

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304911962>

The city as a common good

Book · January 2013

CITATIONS

0

READS

94

4 authors, including:



Ilaria Boniburini

University of the Witwatersrand

10 PUBLICATIONS 5 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Architecture Power Knowledge [View project](#)



Eddyburg [View project](#)



Sébastien Sindeu, *Tanger, tombeaux des Phéniciens*, 2010.

Les Cahiers d'architecture La Cambre-Horta
Nouvelle série, n° 9, avril 2013

Publication de la faculté d'architecture La Cambre-Horta de l'Université libre de Bruxelles

19 place Flagey, B-1050 Bruxelles

T : +32 2 640 96 96 / F : +32 2 647 46 55 / E : judith.le.maire@ulb.ac.be

www.archi.ulb.ac.be

Direction de ce numéro

Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto, Harry Smith

Comité de rédaction

Bernard Deprez, Jean-Louis Genard, Maurizio Cohen et Guy Pilate

Traductions

Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto, Harry Smith

Conception graphique

La Lettre volée / Ante Post a.s.b.l. (Bruxelles)

LES CAHIERS D'ARCHITECTURE LA CAMBRE-HORTA N°9

La ville comme bien commun

Planification urbaine et droit à la ville

THE CITY AS A COMMON GOOD:
URBAN PLANNING AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Cette publication a reçu le soutien de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles et du FNRS.

© 2013 La Cambre-Horta (ULB) & La Lettre volée/Ante Post a.s.b.l.

ISBN : 978-2-87317-395-1

Dépôt légal : Bibliothèque royale de Belgique D/2013/5636/3 – 2^e trimestre 2013

La Lettre volée : E : lettre.volee@skynet.be - www.lettrevolee.com

Les opinions émises dans cet ouvrage n'engagent que leurs auteurs.

L A L E T T R E V O L É E

Sommaire

<i>Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto et Harry Smith</i>	
Préface du comité éditorial	6
<i>Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto and Harry Smith</i>	
Foreword of the editorial committee.	9
<i>Ilaria Boniburini</i>	
As a way of introduction	
The “right to the city”: practices and imaginaries for rethinking the city	14
<i>Première partie / Part One</i>	
Une opportunité pour une « réponse unitaire » : les « biens communs »	
An opportunity for a “unitary answer”: the “common goods”	43
<i>Edoardo Salzano</i>	
The city as a common good: building the future drawing from our history	44
<i>Julie Aubriot et Luisa Moretto</i>	
Le droit à l’eau au Sud, un outil paradoxal pour penser le droit à la ville : entre coproduction et contestation des services urbains	62
<i>Deuxième partie / Part Two</i>	
Inclure les différences et donner la place au pluralisme : espaces publics et habitat	
Embracing differences and giving space to plurality: public space and housing	83
<i>Marcello Balbo</i>	
Cities with migrants: rights and fears.	84
<i>Sabine Guisse</i>	
Designer l’espace public pour soutenir le droit à la ville: l’objectif de capacitation spatiale.	100
<i>Vincent Calay</i>	
Du squat au marketing urbain. Quand l’hospitalité devient outil d’action publique . .	123

Harry Smith and Paul Jenkins

Urban land access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the right to the city in post-war Angola . . 139

Fran Klodawsky

Ending homelessness in Canada: right to housing and right to the city 157

Troisième partie / Part Three

Construire un imaginaire partagé et aller au delà de la planification rationnelle dominante
Building a shared imaginary and moving beyond mainstream rational planning 177

Mark Purcell

To inhabit well: counter-hegemonic movements and the right to the city 178

Jacqueline Leavitt and Ayse Yonder

Planning through the lens of everyday life: from local to global 195

Fabien Bressan (Robins des Villes)

La participation des habitants dans les projets urbains. 221

Loïc Géronnez

**Vers des Community Land Trusts : essai à partir d’une pratique associative
orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain** 245

David Dodge

**Right to the City-NYC’s policy platform and condo conversion campaign:
grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City** 265

Sergio Belda, Jordi Peris, Alexandre Frediani and Alejandra Boni

**Resistance and alternative against the new discourse of the right to the city:
the case of the Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia
(Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)** 283

Camillo Boano, Melissa Garcia Lamarca and William Hunter

**Mega-projects and resistances in contested urbanism:
reclaiming the right to the city in Dharavi** 306

Richard Pithouse

The right to the city in South Africa 330

Résumés français / English abstracts 350

Les auteurs / The authors 358

Préface du comité éditorial

Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto et Harry Smith

En tant qu'enseignants et chercheurs dans le vaste domaine du développement et de la planification urbaine, nous sommes constamment confrontés au besoin de pourvoir les étudiants d'instruments nécessaires à leur pratique aussi bien pendant qu'après leurs études. Parallèlement, nous ressentons le désir et le besoin de contribuer à penser, produire et analyser de nouvelles approches théoriques et pratiques, à la fois pour comprendre la ville et pour fournir un meilleur environnement de vie aux êtres humains. Cependant, bien que la recherche sur les cadres conceptuels soit passionnante et féconde, la traduction de ces abstractions et de ces théories en approches opérationnelles et pratiques innovantes peut souvent sembler moins fructueuse ou originale.

C'est dans cette perspective que nous entendons contribuer au débat scientifique sur le droit à la ville, en explorant la variété des processus, structures et relations, tant au niveau conceptuel, abstrait et théorique qu'à travers une approche des pratiques, de l'expérimentation et des matérialisations. Cette publication offre de multiples analyses des relations entre conception et application dans la planification urbaine. Des exemples y sont fournis quant à la façon dont l'idée de droit à la ville peut guider la pratique du développement urbain tout en montrant les limites théoriques et pratiques.

L'accent est donc mis sur les politiques, les programmes et les projets qui interviennent dans les divers processus d'urbanisation et les différentes formes de structures urbaines et d'urbanité, qu'ils se déploient dans les pays du Nord ou du Sud, qu'ils s'articulent autour d'enjeux d'équité, de droits, de démocratie ou de différences (socio-économiques, culturelles, etc.). L'objectif de cette publication est d'explorer les relations socio-spatiales cristallisées dans des approches alternatives – au niveau politique comme sur le plan de la planification et de la conception – et des pratiques émergentes de la régénération urbaine. Ces développements, évolutions et gestions sont activés par des mouvements citoyens, des agences gouvernementales ou d'autres acteurs et institutions. C'est pour cette raison que l'idée du droit à la ville est évoquée à travers une confrontation dialectique des « politiques sociales » et de la « planification urbaine ».

La structuration de ce *Cahier* repose sur deux principes. D'une part, les villes sont construites sur la base de contributions tant sémiotiques que matérielles, ce qui signifie que tant les imaginaires que les pratiques sont fondamentaux pour façonner l'espace urbain, sa forme physique et technologique, sa structure socio-économique, les relations spatiales et sociales, les subjectivités, les relations avec la

nature et la reproduction de la vie quotidienne. D'autre part, comme la culture néolibérale hégémonique s'est accrue à l'échelle urbaine dans tous ses aspects physiques, sociaux et culturels, la ville est une arène où sont confrontés discours et pratiques contradictoires. Les imaginaires alternatifs peuvent contester les visions globalisantes qui prédominent, montrer les contradictions du projet néolibéral régnant et proposer d'autres ensembles de normes, de croyances, d'idéaux. Dans le même temps, des pratiques originales émergent à différentes échelles de contestation, jaillissant souvent de lieux et de groupes marginaux et déshérités, mais aussi de projets nationaux. Il est donc nécessaire d'étudier la variété des imaginaires et des pratiques qui, malgré – ou à cause de – l'hégémonie de la culture néolibérale, sont résilients ou émergents, ainsi que l'expose Ilaria Boniburini dans son article.

Dans notre invitation aux contributeurs, nous avons d'abord fait appel à deux sortes d'apports : d'un côté, des articles explorant la variété des imaginaires spatiaux du droit à la ville et, de l'autre, des articles présentant des pratiques urbaines *bottom-up* de développement, de régénération ou de gestion. À la lecture des articles reçus, nous avons compris que cette distinction était inopérante : la plupart des contributions de ce *Cahier* présentent des études de cas dans lesquelles l'exploration du droit à la ville est soulignée à travers une intéressante dialectique entre les imaginaires et les pratiques.

Cela confirme que les transformations urbaines passées, présentes et futures, quel que soit le résultat des efforts des mouvements urbains ou des réseaux plus professionnels d'acteurs, sont profondément interconnectées avec la dimension sémiotique et que c'est

de cette façon que nous pensons, représentons et envisageons le monde urbain. Au-delà de la capacité des cas présentés et des approches théoriques examinées à matérialiser et à relater les changements dans la vie urbaine, il apparaît clairement que les imaginaires et les pratiques du droit à la ville ont besoin de se soutenir mutuellement pour émerger. Cette interrelation est explorée dans l'introduction rédigée par Ilaria Boniburini, qui fournit une critique de la littérature et une discussion conceptuelle sur le cadre du débat auquel les articles de cet ouvrage contribuent.

De plus, l'intégration des imaginaires et des pratiques dans les communications produites pour cette publication a écarté l'idée d'une présentation en deux parties respectivement centrées sur les uns et les autres. Nous avons préféré présenter les articles suivant trois sections distinctes relatives aux différentes positions adoptées par les auteurs par rapport au droit à la ville. Elles sont décrites plus avant dans l'introduction : d'abord, le droit à la ville se dessine dans la première partie comme l'opportunité d'une « réponse unitaire » par rapport aux « biens communs ». Dans la seconde partie, les différences et l'espace dévolu à la pluralité sont rassemblés sous l'intitulé « espace public et logement ». Enfin, la troisième partie présente des contributions sur les approches qui construisent un imaginaire partagé et allant au delà de la planification rationnelle dominante.

Pour mener à bien l'édition de ce *Cahier*, nous avons bénéficié de la collaboration professionnelle et volontaire de nombreuses personnes depuis la soumission des premiers articles entre avril et novembre 2010 jusqu'à la fin 2011. Nous souhaitons remercier tout particulièrement les auteurs qui ont répondu avec

enthousiasme à notre demande et qui ont obligamment rencontré nos attentes pour préciser et clarifier des questions essentielles à cette publication. Nous voudrions également remercier nos collègues universitaires – Chiara Sebastiani de l'Université de Bologne (Italie) et Todd Weir de la Queen's University (Irlande du Nord) – qui ont revu et commenté certains articles, ainsi que nos collègues de la faculté d'architecture de l'Université libre de Bruxelles qui nous ont assisté pour la correction des communications (Sabine Guisse, Sarah Levy,

Melina Giannakis). Nous remercions également Sébastien Sindeu pour les photographies de sa collection personnelle qu'il nous a autorisés à utiliser pour ce *Cahier* et Annika Cattaneo pour la réalisation du plan.

Nous espérons et croyons que cet effort collectif a produit une collection d'articles qui contribueront au débat sur le « droit à la ville », à travers une réflexion intégrant pratiques et imaginaires, fournissant ainsi un socle pour les discussions futures sur ce concept, son potentiel et ses limitations.

Foreword of the editorial committee

Ilaria Boniburini, Judith Le Maire, Luisa Moretto and Harry Smith

As lecturers and researchers on the broad subject of urban development and planning, we are constantly confronted with the need to provide students with the instruments they require to face professional practice during and after their studies. At the same time, we need and aspire to contribute to the thinking, production and analysis of new possible theoretical and practical approaches to both understanding the city, and providing a better environment for the life of human beings. However, although the research on conceptual frameworks is passionate and fecund, the translation of theories and abstract concepts into innovative practical and operational approaches may often appear less fruitful and original.

It is within this perspective that we aim to contribute to the scientific debate on the right to the city, exploring the variety of processes, structures, and relations – both at the conceptual, abstract and theoretical level as well as at the practical, experiential, and material one – that this idea has inspired. This publication offers multiple analyses of the relations between this concept and its application in the urban planning domain, providing a number of examples of how the concept of the right to the city can give practical guidance on urban development, as well as of its limitations in theory and practice.

The focus is thus on policies, programmes and projects that aim to intervene in the diverse processes of urbanization and different forms of urban structures and urbanity present in countries in the Global North and South, addressing issues of equity, rights, democracy, differences (socio-economic, cultural, etc.) and ecology. The publication aims to explore the socio-spatial relations embedded in alternative approaches – at policy, planning and design levels – and emergent practices of urban regeneration, upgrading, development, and management activated by grassroots movements, government agencies or different actors/institutions. This is the reason why we decided to explore the idea of the right to the city within the dialectical confrontation of “social politics” and “urban planning”.

The rationale of this *Cahier* rests on two main principles. First of all, cities are built on the basis of both semiotic and material contributions, which means that both imaginaries and practices are fundamental in shaping urban space, its physical form and technology, its socio-economic structure, the social and spatial relations, the subjectivities, the relations with nature, and daily life reproduction. Second, as the neo-liberal hegemonic culture has emphasized the urban horizon and the city level in all its physical, social and cultural aspects,

the city is an arena where oppositional discourses and practices take place. Alternative imaginaries can challenge prevailing worldviews, show the contradictions of the neo-liberal hegemonic project and propose various forms of alternative sets of norms, beliefs, ideals; while alternative practices emerge at various scales of contestation, springing from deprived and often marginalized local groups and places, but also as national projects. There is a need to analyse the variety of imaginaries and practices that in spite of, and because of, the hegemony of the neoliberal culture, are resilient or are emerging – as is explained by Ilaria Boniburini in this volume.

In our invitation to contributors, we firstly made a call for two different kinds of contributions: on the one hand, papers exploring the variety of socio-spatial imaginaries on the right to the city and, on the other, papers presenting bottom-up practices of urban development, regeneration or management. While reading the final versions of the articles we received, we realized that this distinction did not apply: most of the contributions included in this *Cahier* present cases in which the exploration of the right to the city is undertaken through an interesting dialectic between both alternative imaginaries and practices. This confirms that urban transformations, past present and future, whether the result of the efforts of urban movements or of more professional networks of actors are profoundly interconnected with the semiotic dimension – that is the way we think, represent and envisage the urban world. Beyond the capacity of the cases presented and the theoretical approaches

investigated to materially and successfully bring about changes in urban life, it appears clearly that imaginaries and practices on the right to the city need a mutual underpinning to emerge. This inter-relationship is explored in the introductory chapter written by Ilaria Boniburini, which provides a literature review and conceptual discussion to frame the debate to which the articles in this book contribute. In addition, the integration of imaginaries and practices in the papers produced for this publication led to discarding the editors' original idea that the book would be presented in two parts, respectively focused on each of these, in favour of presenting the papers according to three separate sections related to the different positions the authors have taken with respect to the right to the city, which are extensively described by Ilaria Boniburini in her chapter: first, an opportunity for a "unitary answer": the "common goods"; second, embracing differences and giving space to plurality: public space and housing; and third, building a shared imaginary and moving beyond mainstream rational planning.

To complete this *Cahier*, we benefited from the professional and voluntary collaboration of many people. First of all we would like to thank the authors of the papers contained in this edition, who enthusiastically responded to the task we invited them to participate in. They obligingly responded to our requests for strengthening of particular points, clarification and other amendments which as editors we felt were needed. And they patiently stuck with us through what proved to be a lengthy process due to a range of circumstances, from the submission

of the first drafts during April to November 2010, and the submission of second drafts in mid 2011, to the final checks and editing during the end of 2011.

We would also like to thank academics from other universities – Chiara Sebastiani (University of Bologna, Italy) and Todd Weir (Queen's University, Northern Ireland) – who reviewed and commented on some of the articles, and the colleagues at the Faculty of Architecture of the Université libre de Bruxelles who helped us check the language in the papers in French (Sabine Guisse

and Sarah Levy). We thank also Sébastien Sindeu for the photos from his personal collection which he allowed us to use for this *Cahier* and Annika Cattaneo for the creation of the map.

We hope and believe that this collaborative effort has produced a collection of papers which will contribute to the debate on the "right to the city" through a reflection on its realization through both imaginaries and practices, providing a basis for further discussion on the concept, its potential, and its limitations.



Sébastien Sindeu, *Tanger, quartier populaire en bordure de la kasba*, 2010.

As a way of introduction. The “right to the city”: practices and imaginaries for rethinking the city

Ilaria Boniburini

Introduction

In recent years, the concept of the “right of the city”, coined by Henry Lefebvre in the upheavals of 1968, has regained attention amongst scholars, urban movements, activists, NGOs, and policy makers.

This resurgence is connected with mounting concerns over neoliberal restructuring and the progressive dismantling of the welfare system. These have increased the inequality in the distribution of resources, resulted in the deterioration of the living conditions of those at the lower steps of the social ladder and exposed new vulnerabilities. Furthermore, the most recent crisis, which is the culmination of the incessant unfolding of global economic crises since the early 1970s, has brought forth new manifestations of discontent and exasperated social polarization¹. The resulting marginalization of segments of the population on economic or social bases, and the consolidation of “a society subservient to financial power by politics”² further detract control and political power from the inhabitants over the future of nations and cities.

This paper would like to put into context and bring into the current scientific debate the alternative practices and imaginaries which have emerged at various scales and addressing issues of resource distribution, equity, rights, democracy and differences – which have been collected for this *Cahier*. The aim is to critically examine their claims and values in order to envisage new urban imaginaries capable of better representing the pluralities of society, expanding the envisioned democracy that through centuries we have been able to imagine, but not realize, and responding to the multiple challenges and needs that the contemporary city seems incapable of addressing in its present state. The case studies presented in this *Cahier* also offer the opportunity to expand our knowledge about strategies and tools which are useful for translating the imaginaries into socio-spatial projects to build better cities and for checking our progress, because as Géronnez reminds us, a definite solution does not exist, we are proceeding by trial and error, therefore a monitoring mechanism becomes fundamental³.

The neoliberal city contested

Differences and difficulties characterize the analysis of the events and processes that have occurred since the shift towards neoliberalism. However, scholars agree that there is plenty of evidence around the globe of neoliberal uneven geographical development. They recognize that inequalities in urban areas are spreading worldwide under the effects of a globalized world economy, although with different determinants in developing and industrialized countries. If vulnerability and exclusion from the access to basic goods and urban services seem to be worsening in the cities in the South, urban areas in the North are exposed to new phenomena of poverty, social-spatial segregation, gentrification, destruction of common heritage sites and popular quarters, and exclusion of growing sectors of population from the economic and social opportunities that the city should offer.

The worldwide resonance and catastrophic consequences of the latest crises have also contributed to further analysing this phase of capitalism and its connivances with the urban transformation process. The beginning of the latest crisis is traced to the so-called sub-prime mortgage and housing asset-value crisis, which hit the US in 2007, provoking despair among low income and middle low income households⁴. More generally the harmful effects of the crisis on human beings can be epitomised in the loss of their home by millions of people around the world due to their incapacity to meet mortgage payments; increasing unemployment and worsening of working conditions; growth of poverty and famine, which undermine the health and life expectancy of the population; and further cuts to social protection measures⁵.

The globalization of markets, deregulation of capital flows and minimization of state control over financial activities on the one hand, and the deregulation of urban planning, the incorporation of real estate rent into the financial circuit, which increasingly ties together urban development and management with market mechanisms and economic powers, have had tremendous repercussions on the urban space. The close link which emerged between financial gains and real estate gains more generally created a wave of urban development dictated by the financial markets rather than the needs of the population, with tremendous consequences for the urban structure and its inhabitants. In Italy, for instance, it first filled in the voids of the already compact city and then spilled over into the sprawl of the metropolitan cities, increasing housing prices and land consumption, degrading the territory, depressing the economy instead of rescuing it, and dissipating resources through the construction of futile infrastructures⁶.

In these transformations the city is an essential pawn – an engine of economic growth oriented to consumerism – but also a victim: the fragmentation found in the infinity of enclosures, ghettos, enclaves that characterize it, undermines the meaning and essence of the city itself⁷. The gentrification of popular areas destroys traditional neighbourhoods and gives way to redevelopment speculation, contributing to a process of impoverishment which no longer involves only marginal groups. The often conflicting coexistence of populations with very different patterns of living, lifestyles, employment status and consumption habits, seems to damage livability, particularly for the vulnerable groups – constantly subjected to an effort of adaptation – instead of enriching the meaning of cities and citizenship.

Nevertheless, contradictory and conflicting processes are at work. First, neoliberalism being a dialectic process, it destroys the Keynesian mechanisms, policies, institutions and agreements, but on the other hand it creates new or co-opted institutions and practices which are directed at maximizing entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade⁸. Second, the socio-spatial landscape of urbanization under capitalism is more than just the product of the transforming power of capitalism and it implies specific human organization in a spatial-temporary context that involves all forces and aspects of human life⁹.

The dominant discourse on the city, on the one hand one is hinged on entrepreneurship, competitiveness, revitalization, and the construction of a “new” city (in which the architecture of the famous architects, big events and big infrastructure become powerful symbolic tools and materials), and on the other hand produces an alarmist representation of the city. This stigmatizes the urban riots and legitimatizes security policies, monitoring, cleaning (material and otherwise), and divisions, by banishing or transforming those who are considered the source of fear¹⁰. The responses of this representation contemplate the spatial separation, in the form of gated communities, enclaves and other areas of “selective” social reproduction from which the Other (the poor, the migrants, etc.) are kept out. These are instead relegated to the ghettos – places with high concentration of discomfort, where environmental conditions are on average worse than in the surrounding area. This strategy includes the militarization of the territory: the imperative of control, security and surveillance which colonizes many aspects of our civilian urban life by projecting on it the image of “battlefield”¹¹.

Conflicts between different and diverse uses, aspirations and needs arise and contestation is therefore unavoidable, although it may be confined to small initiatives, in peripheral parts of the world, and be unable to gather momentum or credibility. However, the most recent crisis has stimulated the insurgence of new urban movements or revitalized old ones

and motivated fresher debates about how to get out of this crisis differently from the past.

It is within this context that the “right to the city” has been increasingly investigated in order to capture the nature of the conflicts between different aspirations and to build a process of change that involves redistribution of material, social, political, cultural, and symbolic resources based on principles of democracy, equality, recognition of differences and inclusiveness. The actions and proposals invoked in the name of the “right of the city” may not incorporate the theoretical and material implications of Lefebvre’s concept and they may not contest hegemonic neoliberal market logics or the dominant modes of state action. As Pithouse¹² has pointed out, popular movements tend to invoke radical changes and fight the *status quo*, in particular the social-economic capitalist system, by invoking different traditions, in which the economy is not driven by the market mechanism. Meanwhile the discourses of governments, international organizations, and non-radical fringes tend to co-opt the “right to the city” as a slogan for reformism or for legitimating weak participatory forms of urban governance, or exaggerating the systemic implications of proposed policies and urban programmes¹³. In any case, the discourses around the concept have stimulated the debate in many domains and the “right to the city” itself has become a “contested territory” where competing imaginaries are struggling for hegemony¹⁴. A point in case is the conflicts among different conceptions which emerged in Brazil during the debate and endorsement of the *Estatuto da Cidade* (City Statute), in which the conceptions close to Lefebvre’s meaning of the “right to the city” were silenced in favour of those actors with less radical perspectives¹⁵.

The resurgence of the “right to the city” as a slogan and manifesto.

For instance, in the case of the Charters and other documents released at the World and European Social Forum, the “right to the city” takes the form of a political manifesto, which invokes radical transformations through social and political actions, challenging the privileges of powerful global neoliberalism¹⁶. They represent the cries of inhabitants, increasingly disenfranchised and marginalized, against inequalities and social exclusion and a call for democratic participation of urban dwellers in decision-making processes.

The first World Charter for the Human Right to the City was presented by the non-governmental organization FASE at the 6th Brazilian Conference on Human Rights in 2001 and collectively authored on the occasion of a seminar at the World Social Forum in 2002. Accordingly to Osorio, two previous documents appear to have influenced the proposal: the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City, which was presented

at Saint-Denis in May of 2000, and the Treaty for Democratic, Equitable and Sustainable Cities, Towns and Villages, approved at the World Conference on the Environment in Rio de Janeiro in 1992¹⁷. The second World Charter for the Human Right to the City one was released in July 2004 at the Social Forum of the Americas, subsequently presented at the World Urban Forum in September 2004 and later discussed in Porto Alegre during the World Social Forum in January 2005¹⁸.

During the European Social Forum in 2010, a document containing principles and actions was drafted by a group of urban movements, associations, activists, researchers and unionists with the aim to create a permanent urban forum for affirming a worldwide “right to the city”¹⁹. The petitioners considered it was essential to stop evictions of inhabitants from their homes, public spaces and districts; to safeguard the role of labour and its rights; and to oppose the initiatives of privatization of public goods and spaces – and a number of principles were developed accordingly²⁰.

In the case of World Urban Forums (WUF), the “right to the city” assumes a more ambiguous role, reflecting the broader range of actors – and their different mandates – that participated in the events. In 2010 the WUF was specifically dedicated to “The Right to the City – Bridging the Urban Divide” and the concept was more of a slogan for mitigating the adverse effects of the current state of affairs and introducing more social equity and democratic participation in the process of urban planning and governance, than the manifesto for a revolutionary change.

This forum was the result of a process which started in 2005, when the International Social Science Council hosted the debate on “Urban policies and the Right to the City”²¹ organized by UNESCO and UN-HABITAT. Both agencies interpreted the “right to the city” as a rights-based approach in pursuit of development in order to distribute the benefits and ensuring equal participation in the development process. The concept was put forward in support of the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals, which state that the international community is engaged in the effort to strengthen respect for all international human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights to development²². The “right to the city” was embraced because it was considered necessary to shift from a needs-based approach to a rights-based approach in order to ensure the (re)distribution of development gains, to enhance democratic participation of all urban dwellers in the decision-making process, to enable urban inhabitants to fully realize their fundamental rights and liberties, and promote city inclusiveness.

The outcomes the 2005’s debate were presented at the Vancouver World Urban Forum in 2006, where ideas, policies, and practices promoting the “right to the city” were shared and discussed among city majors, policy makers, international organizations, academics,

professionals, and non-governmental organizations. Finally the concept landed at the Rio World Urban Forum in 2010. The discourse on the city that emerged from the official Dialogues, in spite of the interesting inputs, was considered unsatisfactory: a missing opportunity to discuss the issues at stake. The radical content of the concept originally launched by Lefebvre was lost in order to achieve a broad consensus among the participating actors around public policy and legislation that combine urban development with social equity and justice. The criticism of the capitalist system implied in the Lefebvre’s concept was dismissed and reduced to the acknowledgement of distresses and problems without the identifications of causes. The emphasis was on social inclusion, urban democracy and the satisfaction of individual rights, but within a structurally unequal system.

In parallel, a more “populist” Social Urban Forum (SUF) was also held as an alternative to the former. This appeared to be “colonized” by influential people connected with political parties or big NGOs, and only at first glance resulted in a true alternative to the official WUF; in fact it did not provide the alternative debate and discussion that activists and some academics expected²³.

Concepts and theories inspired by political ideals

Meanwhile an increasing portion of urban research has revisited the concept of the “right to the city”²⁴, which continues to be a “working slogan and political ideal”²⁵ to inspire a comprehensive alternative socio-spatial project.

Before analysing some of these re-interpretations of the concept, it is vital to recall Henry Lefebvre’s meaning of the “right to the city”²⁶. Two principles are at the basis of his concept. First, the city is an *œuvre*, that is a projection of society, a complex ensemble and meeting of systems of objects, values and difference in the course of transformation and revision. Second, that all inhabitants participate in its construction, emphasizing the space of everyday life as a site of resistance. As Purcell has stressed, Lefebvre’s exhortation is to “radically rethink the social relation of capitalism, the spatial structure of the city and the assumptions of liberal democracy”²⁷.

The right to appropriation

The first principle includes the prerogative of physically occupying and using urban space, through the re-creation of existing spaces and the production of new ones. The emphasis is

on the kind of city inhabitants have the right to access: a place that is (and can be) actively produced resisting the commodification of goods, the repressive economic and political power of the bourgeoisie, and the masculine violence embedded in the existing representation of the space, which erases differences. Lefebvre calls for a city in which use-value is promoted in conflict with the dominant production of space for profit, because the exchange value under capitalism and industrialization tends to destroy the city and to subordinate the city to economic forces and specific interests.

It is important to remember that Lefebvre's "right to the city" just anticipated the struggles for adequate housing and public services taking place in many western countries in the 1960s and 1970s. They were animated by social movements, labour unions, activists, students, and other city dwellers such as squatters, rent strikers, tenants' unions, campaigners for free public transport, feminists reclaiming the street, just to mention a few. This experience pointed to the birth of an alternative civil society in the urban core and brought to attention issues such as identity politics, rights to difference, and social justice, to name but a few, which had been relevant for the application of spatial and geographical principles to urban and regional planning.

In several western cities, the protests and strikes contributed to the adoption of a bundle of legislative and administrative measures, which allowed social housing, public transportation, and collective amenities such as schools, kindergartens, green areas, to be granted to a certain extent to the entire population. The majority of these goods were recognized as "common goods"²⁸. As such they were removed from the sphere where the rules of the market operated and, as Lefebvre envisaged, planned and managed for their use-value and not market value.

The contribution of David Harvey to the "right to the city" dates back to the early 1970s²⁹, but more recently he has pointed out that the "right to the city" is the "right to change ourselves by changing the city"³⁰. This involves imagining and institutionalizing a new mode of urbanization and reproduction of daily life, new socio-ecological and political-economic relationships, and more generally, the generation of alternative ways of living together, arranging our lives in space, and inhabiting this planet³¹. Harvey calls for a "dialectical utopianism" capable of overcoming the socio-ecological forms imposed by uncontrolled capital accumulation, class privileges, and gross inequalities of political-economic power with the overthrowing of the physical and institutional structures that the free market produces³². The envisioned alternative city should point towards different paths of development, revealing a variety of ways of life, uses of resources, relations to the environment and cultural and political forms, and

sustain human rights that are as sympathetic as possible to the right to be different. As Lefebvre forty years earlier, Harvey insists on the reaffirmation of use value over money value through a greater democratic control over the land rents and development gains created by the urban process and consequently a public management of the way these resources are re-utilized in the production of space³³.

The commodification of basic urban social amenities and the exploitative profit-based forms of contemporary capitalism are also at the centre of the debate among critical urban theorists. Criticism has become even stronger after the most recent global financial crisis because the dominant recovery measures perpetrate the abuses of financial power and benefit bankers, financiers, politicians, and those people who have produced the crisis itself at the expense of investments in basic services, amenities and social security. For instance the members of the *City* network³⁴ effectively translate the "right to the city" into "Cities for People, Not for Profit", an urban imaginary that envisages "radically democratic, socially just and sustainable forms of urbanism" and cities directed at the satisfaction of human needs instead of being the result of imperative profit-making choices³⁵. Through this formulation the authors oppose the "*hypercommodification* of urban life" and socio-spatial forms with a radical proposal: "the abolition of the rule of private finance, and thus with it the rule of private capital, over the urban economy, and indeed, that of the world economy as a whole"³⁶.

The right to participation

Lefebvre's second principle dictates that inhabitants should play a central role in any decision that contributes to the production of urban space. He does not speak about citizens or residents but about people that are living out the routine of city life, thus he establishes an egalitarian principle: all people, no matter if they have or not other rights or titles (citizenship, property ownership, etc.), have the same right to be part of the city.

This principle and the expansion of the meaning of those having rights over the city has become very important for broadening the discussion about space, rights and citizenship and their mutual constitution; as well as expanding the conceptualization and application of the liberal tradition of citizenship rights³⁷. As Fernandes reminds us, contemporary societies have gradually reinforced and expanded the original citizenship rights and internationally recognized these in treaties and declarations, as well as nationally safeguarded them by legislation and constitutions³⁸. However, their effective materialization in socio-legal and political systems is very weak and is further at stake within the profound socio-

economic changes taking place, especially in the context of economic globalization and neoliberalism³⁹. Therefore the “right to the city” and its implied concept of “citizen” offer the opportunity to update the dominant legal rights of man, particularly to extend the attribute of citizen to all those people that are still considered anachronistically non-citizens⁴⁰.

The right to public space

A derivation of the right to participate is the claim for an inclusionary public domain that both Friedmann⁴¹ and Mitchell⁴² put forward focusing on the meaning, accessibility and usage of public spaces among different people. This claim has become stronger in time when public space is physically constrained by privatization, commercialization and imposition of extensive surveillance and threatened by pseudo-public space and political discourses that instil a diverse image and representation of the public⁴³. A dramatic consequence is that the places where struggles can occur are diminishing because new forms of surveillance and control are implemented at discursive and material level. Both authors identify in public spaces the place where people express their sovereign “right to the city” as a social and political community.

For Friedmann the imaginary is that of the “convivial city”, a city that provides life space, cooperation, solidarity and secure existence to people, and in which its streets belong to the people, because “before they are traffic arteries to facilitate the city’s commerce, streets are places of human encounter”⁴⁴. For Friedmann, as for Harvey, a new city can arise only when a new type of development, one that is not exclusively based on the rule of the economy and unlimited accumulation, is found and pursued.

Mitchell highlights the right to representation (rights of free speech, assembly, protest, etc.), which needs the public space (physical and virtual) to be exercised and to achieve social justice. The author states that it is fundamental that mass movements take up physical spaces because the visibility of struggles is crucial in spurring recognition of the legitimacy of demands and giving evidence of the power created by representation. Though Mitchell’s thinking is based on the idea and practice of public space in the context of American cities, the concept of a right to public space inherent in the “right to the city” appears as a key element in the livelihoods of the urban poor of the cities of the South⁴⁵.

The right to a pro-poor welfare state

Parnell and Pieterse, addressing the concept from the perspective of the countries of the Global South, interpret the “right to the city” as an approach for urban poverty reduction, upon which the developmental role of the state should be based, and from which alternatives to neoliberal urban managerial positions should be articulated⁴⁶. Two elements are emphasized in their interpretation. First, though the approach is rights-based, the focus on poverty reduction points not only at the realization of individual human rights but also to targeting the needs of households and neighbourhoods collectively, thus insisting on socio-economic rights and ensuring effective redistributive actions. The objective of the proposed pro-poor welfare system is not so much about targeting the distribution of urban services at the individual scale, but instead at the household and neighbourhood scale by defining public goods, regulatory reforms, greater law enforcement and fiscal policies that enable redistribution and cross subsidization within cities. Second, the realization of the “right of the city” through the implementation of “multi generation rights of the urban poor” implies understanding the role of location and scale across city regions, and the imperative of involving governments at various scales, not only national, because effective democratic processes must be embedded in the routine functioning of the state, which is both future oriented and city regional in scope⁴⁷. For the authors, this requires the building up of an administrative state architecture and operating system in which all residents are recognized, identified, enumerated; but also political pressure and contestation from progressive civil society groups.

Simone appears to find a synthesis between Parnell and Pieterse’s approach and Harvey’s call for new modes of urbanization, new socio-ecological and political-economic relationships, and more generally the generation of alternative ways of living together. He affirms that the “right to the city” should go beyond the welfare state and “the right to be maintained – that is, to be housed and serviced” by embracing “the selective right to use the city as an arena of mutable aspirations, to varying degree of realization”⁴⁸. This right cannot be fully granted by any form of urban government, but governments can allow a most open, flexible, not hierarchical, encapsulated and dominating use of space and spatial arrangements that inhabitants can put together by connecting with institutions, economic activities and population at large. It means to allow difference and allow people to find “their own vernaculars and practices for realizing themselves as creators of life and not just consumers or victims of it”⁴⁹, leaving space for experimentation, and alternative practice of production of space.

Theorize the city today

The “right to the city” also represents a great challenge from a theoretical point of view. In the light of contemporary urbanization processes – which vary greatly from continent to continent, particularly the rapid urbanization and the consequent urban experience of non-Western countries – another question opens up: what does it mean today to theorize the city? Through the case study of Sub-Saharan Africa Smith and Jenkins have pointed out how the shift from rural to urban is also a determinant phenomenon for the articulation of the “right of the city”, which here takes on a different perspective⁵⁰.

In this respect, Marcuse translates the “right of the city” into three specific complex questions, which may help to start finding some new meanings: whose right, what right and what city. The first recognizes that it is not everyone’s right with which we are concerned, but primarily with those that do not have it now⁵¹. Therefore, there is the need to analyse discontent, deprivation, exclusion and dispossession across economic, cultural and political lines, but also recognizing that there is a conflict among rights, demands and claims, which need to be addressed. The second stresses that the right is not a legal claim, a juridical right aiming at defining what is allowed to people or belongs to people, but multiple rights and a moral claim “founded on fundamental principles of justice, of ethics, of morality, of virtue, of the good”⁵². The third is probably the most crucial question for urban scholars and planners as it calls for envisioning the future city, the kind of city we want, which is not necessarily a city in the conventional sense. Marcuse identifies some general principles: “justice, equity, democracy, the full development of human potentials or capabilities, to all according to their needs, from all according to their abilities, the recognition of human differences [...] sustainability and diversity”⁵³.

The dialectic between (counter) hegemonic imaginaries and (counter) hegemonic practices

Recognizing the urgency to give voice to alternative different socio-spatial projects and different forms of urbanization in order to contribute to the meaning of the “right of the city” and following Marcuse’s call, the meaning of the city, this *Cahier de la Faculté d’Architecture La Cambre-Horta* has explored and compared different concepts and practices in various locations since the opening of the new millennium.

The working hypothesis is that the analysis of the oppositional demands embedded in the various conceptualizations of the “right of the city” or the material practices related to it may help to refine what a city is for and for whom.

The re-distribution of resources, common goods, collective planning, and participatory democracy, or the right to differences (socio-economic, cultural, spatial) are some of the elements addressed by the experiences selected for this study. The common concern is the prioritization of equity and the striving for a just city in which all inhabitants’ interests are represented and taken into account in its design, planning and management. This preoccupation unites different actors, different processes of urbanization and socio-economic and political contexts, different forms of urban structures and urbanity in both northern and southern countries.

In the process of selection of experiences for the study, the counter-hegemonic nature of the urban policies, programmes, projects and imaginaries produced has overruled the profound differences among the contexts of the cases in terms of socio-economic and geo-political backgrounds, urban transformation processes and political economy structures. This approach was suggested by the fact that in the current processes of globalization and societal change – and in the context of the neoliberal project and global market economy – the destiny of cities, and more generally territories, is increasingly interdependent, as well as struggles, resistance and emancipation.

The selection, synthesis and comparison of concepts and experiences rely on the utilization of two categories of analysis: urban imaginary and urban practices. These categories emphasize respectively the semiotic and material dimensions of forces and processes in urban space – its physical form and technology, its socio-economic structure, the social and spatial relations, the subjectivities inhabiting it, the relations with nature, and the reproduction of daily life.

The concept of imaginary, drawn from cultural political economy⁵⁴, historical-geographical materialism⁵⁵ and critical discourse analysis⁵⁶, stresses that the discursive activity of mapping space is a fundamental prerequisite for the structuring of any kind of knowledge and a crucial tool in political struggles. In this perspective, an imaginary is a semiotic order (i.e. a specific configuration of genres, discourses and styles) and, as such, constitutes the semiotic moment of a network of social practices in a given social field, institutional order, or wider social formation⁵⁷. In cultural political economy an economic imaginary has been defined as the (re)articulation of various genres, discourses, and styles around a particular conception of the economy and its extra-economic conditions of existence⁵⁸.

In this conceptual framework the urban imaginaries are understood as descriptive, regulatory or projecting narrations of complex urban reality, which reflect through the articulation of various discourses, genres, and styles a particular conception of cities, human settlements, neighbourhood, urban governance, or citizenship, and are devised for representing and simplifying complex realities such as cities, in order to shape, control, manage, or govern

them⁵⁹. Imaginaries include representations of how cities are and were, as well as representations of how cities might or could or should be. They may also envisage possible socio-spatial practices, activities, policies, social subjects, social relations, instruments, objects, space, times, and values. Urban imaginaries are profoundly different from utopias because of their “performative, constitutive force in the material world”⁶⁰. This prerogative is the result of the continuing interaction between the semiotic and extra-semiotic domains, and presupposes some degree of relation to the real material world – to needs and above all to substantive instrumentalities for implementation. Where an imaginary is successfully implemented, it transforms and naturalizes the elements that characterize it, which in time become prerogatives and characteristics of the new cities. Urban imaginaries are also different from the actually existing socio-spatial urban realities, which are the chaotic sum of all urban activities and interventions that significantly transform the socio-spatial structure of the city or part of it. The totality of these activities is so unstructured and complex that it could not be an object of effective calculation, management, governance, or guidance.

Socio-spatial practices are instead concrete actions involving the direct transformations of the material world undertaken in a given reality (neighbourhood, city, region, nation) at a specific time involving one or more of the following realms: urban planning, urban legislation, urban governance, provision of common goods (water, public spaces, infrastructure, etc.), housing, urban intervention (regeneration, rehabilitation, re-construction, etc.), citizenship and participation. Such actions, activities, interventions, policies, and regulations act by modelling the physical environment through banning or promoting actions, behaviours or social relations. These practices have great transformative power and include both the planning practices themselves, namely those developed by the actors involved in decision-making related to urban transformation processes (planners, officials, administrators, etc.) and urban practices, that is the way in which the city is lived and practised, resulting in continuous adjustments and adaptations, material and cultural forms of appropriation⁶¹. However, in practices, there is also an implicit semiotic dimension, as there is an interplay between materiality and the symbolic, between concrete uses and the shape of the space on the one hand and the symbolic values and processes of signification on the other.

The theoretical framework for defining urban imaginaries and practices also refers to the concept of counter-hegemony in order to take into consideration the key role of the power-knowledge relations in the affirmation of specific societal projects. Hegemony, in Gramsci, is a comprehensive term for conceptualizing power and the struggle for power, which depends on consent rather than just force. It indicates the ability of one social class to dominate over

others, not only in political and economic terms, but also in cultural terms, referring to the capacity to project one’s practice as universal and “common sense”⁶². However, hegemony is not a static, rigid system of top-down domination, but a dialectic process involving counter-hegemony (resistance and contestation to domination) and continually transforming itself because counter-hegemonic forces challenge dominant institutions, imaginaries, and practices⁶³. The struggles for hegemony are waged through battles over imaginaries, but also through the mobilization of material resources and capacities⁶⁴.

The socio-spatial landscape of the urbanized capitalism is something more than the product of the transformative power of capitalism and technology; its incessant restructuring includes changes in the social construction of relations between space-times and it needs the city for reproducing itself⁶⁵. As urbanization creates contradictions, contestation is unavoidable, and counter-hegemonic practices and imaginaries represent struggles for hegemony and contribute to the production of an alternative city and society by linking changes in the urban environment, spatial relations and power struggles over spaces with social organization and transformations.

The process of formation of socio-spatial imaginaries and practices operates at the semiotic and material level. Material practices need imaginaries to envisage comprehensive and complex counter-hegemonic projects, and imaginaries need the experience gained by material practices if eventually they want to materialize these. Imaginaries may challenge prevailing worldviews, show the contradictions of the hegemonic projects and/or propose various forms of alternative sets of norms and ideals of justice, democracy, freedom, citizenship and ecology that are spatially specific, as the case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* in Brazil has highlighted⁶⁶. Meanwhile counter-hegemonic practices, often initiated by deprived and marginalized groups and localities, struggle for the “de-naturalization” of existing conventions and practices of everyday life and the replacement with others in order to respond to their unheeded needs and aspirations and unrecognized rights.

The imaginaries collected in this *Cahier* envisage comprehensive and multidimensional projects stressing the social relations, urban organization, rights, and ecology by highlighting principles and approaches to guide change. Material practices instead give accounts of procedures, tools, knowledge (employed and produced) and actors involved in the specific localities. The case studies included here operate in relation to an interwoven set of signifiers, highly discursive in nature (symbols, values, visions, etc.), which get reformulated and reconfigured through participatory “bottom-up” practices. On the one hand, local specificities (in terms of culture, values, forms of inequality, discrimination and erosion of democ-

racy) may help to expand, or re-interpret the meaning given to the concept to date. On the other hand, the investigation of the strategies adopted (in terms of policies, activities, discourse, etc.) functions as a learning experience, increasing our knowledge and capacity to challenge dominant institutions, imaginaries, and practices in pursuit of an alternative city.

Towards the synthesis of differences and the re-emergence of the political

The imaginaries and practices presented in this *Cahier* appear to lead towards two principal conclusions, though these are expressed through different principles, strategies and tactics.

First, all papers imply that a great challenge for the city yet to come⁶⁷ – and for the first time in the history of humankind – is to become the “unitary answer” to a multiplicity of needs and plurality of cultures, identities and individualities.

Second, the condition for this to happen is that the people (the sovereign) rescue the political from domination by the existing economy. As stated by Géronnez⁶⁸, reminding us of Lefebvre, the synthesis belongs to the political forces, which are the social forces. We can say that the synthesis of all possible and emerging imaginaries, each representing its own values, aspirations and interests, belongs to the “political”⁶⁹ and not to the politicians, administrators, professionals or technicians, and even less to the bankers. This imaginary of a plural city must project from the circumstances of our times and be a constant aspiration, which does not get built once for all. It can be found “away from longings for faraway and deracinated citadels of achievement that need no further work”; instead we have to move “towards a pragmatism of the possible based on the continual effort to spin webs of social justice and human well-being and emancipation out of prevailing circumstances”⁷⁰.

An opportunity for a “unitary answer”: the “common goods”

In cities, equality in difference is the goal of a dialectic we never achieved. We can broadly say that it requires a reasonable balance of conditions offered to different and diverse social groups and individuals, in which there tends to be a fair and equal participation in the use of the “city as a good and not a commodity” and equal chances to take part in its governance⁷¹. This means first – and this may sound banal but is ontologically fundamental – to consider the city as a system: the expression and spatial organization of a society, an ensemble of individuals and families that are joined to one another by the ties of shared identity, solidarity and common rules. Second, it requires seeing the city as a value in itself, for the use

that society can make of it and not for what the city can add in terms of material wealth (money) and power to selected interests, social groups or individuals. Third – and this helps to understand what a “unitary answer” may be –, it means satisfying needs that individuals cannot satisfy alone, without joining together and sharing the management of a community. Here we must consider the community in its broadest sense and scalar meaning, from being the representation of its various localities, to the human race, who share the same destiny of belonging to the same planet.

We should go beyond the archetype of urban life, searching among the differences and great diversity of cultural and material conditions of the various realities that make up the “global”, critically investigating the relationships between habitat and human beings in the course of our existence on the planet. Elements towards this should not come only from the history and tradition of the European or Fordist city, but also from all the other histories, cultures, traditions that have characterized population and places in the world.

From the European experience, not always fully accomplished but certainly upheld by some urban scholars like Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells, we should retain the ideas of sharing services and utilities such as water, health, education, open spaces, parks, and other collective spaces, and the access to housing at an affordable price. This means to consider these elements, and all other elements, which we progressively see as fundamental to our existence and to the survival of the human species and habitat as “common goods”.

The system of property rights through which capitalism uses has been recognized as defective or even in some cases destructive of the social and physical world⁷². We must overcome the vision to which belonging, possession and use are linked to property rights, which means giving other rights equal value, relevance and recognition⁷³. A system of collective management (like common goods) is increasingly being accepted as a preferable property domain⁷⁴. The attribution of goods to people may result in others being deprived from those goods (either in another place or another time). Therefore we need to take account of the elsewhere and of the future. Among the common goods, there is certainly the possibility of using amenities and services which are necessary for social and individual needs such as health, learning, culture, recreation as well as the natural resources. However, the commons are not defined once and for all, they derive from the availability, needs, culture, and results of struggles over conflicting values. In this regard the role of spatial planning can be decisive, and great is the responsibility of planners to make evident to decision makers the consequences of their choices⁷⁵.

An example of the application on the ground of the recognition and management of a common good is the management of an essential service like water outside the market mech-

anism, as happened in Caracas and Johannesburg⁷⁶. From these experiences it appears that a new idea of social contract between inhabitants, and between inhabitants and institutions, around the provision of water can be born, and this can also be the starting point for a broader vision of the city.

Embracing differences and giving space to plurality: public space and housing

One of the great difficulties is to embrace and give space to the plurality of values and needs that individuals and groups express. It implies the dialectic between the recognition of differences – which requires to locate citizenship not in the “citizen”, but in the social practices of integration and exclusion exercised by institutions of the state⁷⁷ (1990) – and thinking of ways to construct and synthesize a new broad (though not total) agreement among different and oppositional interests⁷⁸.

The issue of acknowledging and representing differences in a city that experiences greater cultural diversity and social mixture, as a consequence of migration, confers to the “right to the city” a new and more complex implication. Lefebvre’s principle that all inhabitants have the right to access and use the city has greatly expanded the challenge of inclusion in the face of migratory flow, as this conflicts with national legal restrictions and exclusionary measures. Under such conditions, the “right to the city” must bring into the imaginary of the future city the accommodation and recognition of the appropriation of space and the right to participate also to migrants⁷⁹. This means re-organizing the potential configuration and organization of the city also from a socio-spatial perspective and not only political and legal. In this respect, besides housing and urban services, “public space and its physical as well as symbolic use is a critical ingredient to acceptance or rejection of diversity” because it is where the sense of understanding and tolerance can be better practiced⁸⁰.

The capacity to listen and read diversity, and to design, plan and manage public spaces, by those who have been recognized traditionally as having the responsibility for planning and design, acquires importance. Therefore, policies, as well as urban design, for public spaces become critical to building a common future. They require renewing attention and new approaches for embracing the expanding variety of inhabitants, including tourists, temporary dwellers, visitors but also those groups that are not generally recognized as inhabitants: squatters, homeless, and so forth. The city must show “hospitality”⁸¹ to the various “guests” and resolve conflicts over the contrasts arising between conflicting usage among social groups. Again, the public space becomes an essential domain for giving recognition to all different

identities which compose the mosaic of the city. Learning from citizens’ knowledge of places and transforming it into a multiplicity of uses which allows for the inclusion of people⁸², emerges from the case studies, as well as the observation of daily life and interaction between spaces⁸³, but also objects and people⁸⁴, in order to understand how places can ease the appropriation of space by a plurality of individuals.

However, in a time in which the lack of affordable housing⁸⁵ is still undermining the acquisition by inhabitants of a safe and decent shelter – one of the most basic means of survival – access to housing and land for shelter in the Global South, as well as housing policies that recognize the diversity of the inhabitants in Western countries remains a great challenge. The right to housing or “housing as a social service”, as it was expressed in Italy⁸⁶, was the strongest claim embedded in the early articulation of Lefebvre’s “right to the city” by urban movements and unions’ coalitions in Western Europe and became also the fundamental right attached to the “right to the city” claimed by NGOs and other organizations in the Global South⁸⁷.

The case of Angola illustrated in this *Cahier* offers the opportunity to understand the profound differences and implications of conceptualizing and implementing the “right to the city” in contexts far from the European one, where Lefebvre’s concept was first developed. It examines examples of alternative approaches to providing access to housing and land by exposing the challenges and contradictions posed by the intersection of two factors: a socio-political system where prevalent norms were derived from indigenous or pre-colonial socio-cultural orders overlaid by the colonial experience; and post-war legislative change for the reconstruction and “development” of the country based on policies which were not discussed publicly and which ignored *de facto* land rights⁸⁸.

It emerges that though securing the right to housing cannot be considered as equal to the “right to the city” as it does not promise the appropriation by its inhabitants of the use values of urban space – with all that this means in Lefebvre terms – and full democratic participation in decision-making processes and public life, it remains a fundamental accomplishment, which we cannot dismiss, even if it appears to be a conformist approach to the “right to the city”⁸⁹. However, as for many other “goods”, housing may need to be disassociated from the right to private property and the needs of capital accumulation.

The case of the homelessness in Canada offers another point in case⁹⁰ which shows how the inclusion of shelters for the homeless in the housing policies helped to give tangible meaning to the discourse on the “right to the city” in Canada and started to move towards its translation into material terms.

Building a shared imaginary and moving beyond mainstream rational planning

The construction of a shared imaginary among many different and often oppositional urban actors and therefore the synthesis of oppositional claims, needs, interests, values and aspirations about city (and society!) remains probably the greatest challenge we have to face as professionals, intellectuals and citizens.

Purcell suggests thinking of it in terms of building “networks of equivalence” which are “counter-hegemonic combinations of differentiated but equivalent popular struggles”⁹¹. Equivalence stands for equal and mutual recognition of each diverse claim, in which “the groups must work together to forge a shared vision, a vision that allows each to understand their co-operative project in a similar way”⁹². This does not make the networks collective or unitary bodies with a single will, instead each will must resonate with the others and contribute to build something that does not yet exist.

The concept of “networks of equivalence” assumes that in the social field, a range of different political movements are simultaneously engaged in “widening themselves out” by entering into political common cause with other groups in society⁹³. Several papers in this *Cahier* present cases which may be seen as attempts to build “networks of equivalence”, or point out to practices which may help us to create “networks of equivalence” and the recuperation of the “political” through a dialectic interaction between urban designers, architects, urban planners and inhabitants, including individuals and organized urban movements⁹⁴. In particular, the case of the Right to the City national alliance in the United States appears to be a successful effort to bring in diversity and at the same time to unify visions in order to fight the negative impacts of gentrification and move towards the building of more sustainable and just communities⁹⁵.

Working with not only different, but also competing and conflicting interests, requires an incessant process of analysis and attempts at democratic participatory planning by urban design- and urban planning-related practitioners. The concept of the “right to the city” has offered inspirations and indications of how to move away from mainstream planning paradigm to planning theoreticians and practitioners inclined toward activism, as Leavitt and Yonder in this *Cahier* explain. These authors propose an alternative framework for urban planning practice and education which is consciously tied to social movement building and stresses the “everyday life”. The latter is understood beyond the meaning of daily routine. The term embraces all “that do not conform to the common organizational logic of modern society [...] difference and contradictions, the extraordinary, the hidden potentialities and

‘unfulfilled possibilities’ [in order to focus] on the local and particular settings and how the particular relates to the broader society through a web of relations”⁹⁶ – not forgetting the most vulnerable, the hidden, the forgotten, the marginalized, the “other”. The “everyday life” is also used to recognize the nuances and subtleties of the living spaces in the so called “slums” by “integrating into urban design and planning the notion of casual, rhizomatic, fluid and of course incremental production of spaces that respond to people’s needs and aspirations, enabling sustained adaptation”⁹⁷. A critical regionalist approach to architectural and urban production is called for by Boano *et al.* in order to “negotiate the diverse desires of the people and the need to formally upgrade infrastructures and living conditions while realizing the rights of citizens to participate in the production of Mumbai”⁹⁸.

The resurgence of the political appears linked not only to the rethinking of more democratic participatory planning (and design) processes, but also to the recognition of the importance of acting politically and giving back to politics the fundamental role that it deserves in society making and change, and the role played by discourse practices in the battle for the alternative production of space. This confirms the fundamental role that the re-instatement of “the political” plays in creating and building socio-spatial resistance to hegemonic projects, as discourses are highly ideological and political practices. The case of Angola, where the “political” is confined to the individual and household level due to a weak civil society and a constrained public sphere, demonstrates once again the necessity to achieve a social organization of the political⁹⁹.

Several cases studies point to the ambivalent nature of the state in the processes of urban development, even when officially oriented to the inclusion of the marginalized and dispossessed, and the role it plays in reframing radical claims of popular struggles¹⁰⁰. The analysis of the way the right to the city was put into use in contemporary South Africa shows that the state tends to tie it to a technocratic conception of development; and by re-structuring its discourse, but also through the repression of activists, damaged the capacity to implement the right to the city, but not the capacity of the continuing proposal of imaginaries which are alternatives to the return to revanchism¹⁰¹.

The experience of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* in the city of Salvador da Bahia shows how crucial the political training of its members was for being transformative and able to push for substantial changes in social, cultural and economic relations in the city and beyond. While the neologism of “contested urbanism” developed by Boano, Garcia Lamarca and Hunter helps to better understand the power relations embedded in the urban transformations of Dharavi, which systematically excludes slum dwellers from the production

and management of their living spaces, more importantly it shows us the nuances to be found in the battles which emerged in response to an immediate everyday need or concern, but often expanding into other areas as new needs came up.

In conclusion, it is also significant that a number of the papers included in this *Cahier* express the necessity of a dialectic between “expert knowledge” of the space and other types of knowledge – from the traditional and quotidian usage of the space, or from the constant and almost ethnographic observations of the interactions between human beings and space and human beings and objects¹⁰², for instance. However, this call requires to be taken to a deeper level. Santos¹⁰³ may help us to define what it may take when he explains the necessity of going beyond the “abyssal thinking” – an intellectual, philosophical and political disposition based on (Western) modern science and its epistemological disputes between scientific and non-scientific forms of truth. This has the ability to become a mechanism of separation that creates divisions within reality, making some elements recognizable, respected, relevant, and condemning all the rest as being irrelevant and non-existent. Instead he proposes “an alternative thinking of alternatives” which recognizes the plurality of heterogeneous knowledge, the dynamic overlap between these while respecting their respective values and independence, and the incompleteness of each of them.

This call may help us not only to enrich the meaning of the “right to the city”, but also to question the meaning of the city itself, which, in the light of the urbanization processes and urban experience in the Global South, calls for a revised conceptualization.

1. Giovanni ARRIGHI, “The Winding Paths of Capital. Interview by David Harvey”, *New Left Review*, 2009, n. 56, p. 61-94; Luciano GALLINO, *Finanzcapitalismo*, Torino, Einaudi, 2011; David HARVEY, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, London, Profile Books, 2011.
2. Luciano GALLINO, *Finanzcapitalismo*, *op. cit.*
3. Loïc GÉRONNEZ, “Vers des Community Land Trusts : essai à partir d’une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain”, in this publication.
4. David HARVEY, “The Right to the City”, *New Left Review*, September-October 2008, vol. 54, p. 23-40.
5. Luciano GALLINO, *Finanzcapitalismo*, *op. cit.*
6. Paolo BERDINI, *La città in vendita*, Roma, Donzelli, 2008; Walter TOCCI, “L’insostenibile ascesa della rendita urbana”, *Democrazia e Diritto*, 2009, 1, p. 17-59.
7. Paola SOMMA, “La vivibilità nella città sconnessa” in Ilaria BONIBURINI (ed), *Alla ricerca della vivibilità*, Firenze, Alinea, 2008, p. 39-44.
8. Neil BRENNER and Nik THEODORE, “Cities and geographies of ‘Actually existing neoliberalism’”, *Antipode*, 2002, vol. 34, p. 349-379; David HARVEY, “Neoliberalism and the City”, *Studies in Social Justice*, 2007, vol. 1, 1, p. 2-13.
9. Neil BRENNER and Nik THEODORE, “Cities and geographies of ‘Actually existing neoliberalism’”, *op. cit.*
10. Leonie SANDERCOCK, *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, London, John Wiley, 1998.
11. Stephen GRAHAM, “Cities as Battlespace: the New Military Urbanism”, *City: Analysis of Urban Trends Culture Theory Policy and Action*, 2009, vol. 13, 4, p. 383-402.
12. Richard PITHOUSE, “The Right to the City”, in this publication
13. Richard PITHOUSE, “The Right to the City”, *loc. cit.*; Margit MAYER, “The ‘Right to the City’ in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements”, *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 2009, vol. 13, 2-3, p. 362-374.
14. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, “Which right to which city? In defence of political-strategic clarity”, *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, Vol. 2, 1, 2010, p. 315-33 quoted in RICHARD PITHOUSE, “The Right to the City”, *loc. cit.*
15. Sergio BELDA, Jordi PERIS, Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, “Resistance and Alternative against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)” in this publication.
16. See also the initiatives of shack settlement movements in South Africa (Richard PITHOUSE, “The Right to the City”, *loc. cit.*).
17. Leticia OSORIO, “The World Charter on the Right to the City” in UNESCO, UN-Habitat & ISSC, *Internal Public Debates: Urban Policies and the Right to the City*, Paris, Unesco, 2006, p. 106-110.
18. The international mobilization was fomented by the socio-political process that led to the legal construction of the “right to the city” in Brazil. For an account of the development of this legal-urban order, see Leticia OSORIO, “The Projected Law of Territorial Responsibility: The challenge of placing public interests above private interests in the production of cities”, *Bulletin on Housing Rights and the Right to the City in Latin America*, 2008, vol. 1, 4, p. 8-10 and Edésio FERNANDES, “Constructing the ‘right to the city’ in Brazil”, *Social Legal Studies*, 2007, vol. 16, 2, p. 201-219. As the authors explain, the new legal framework contains innovative and progressive claims, but also limitations because the process has been dissociated from the development of a legal-environmental order. Therefore, “although it affirms social interests and collective rights, still expresses a naturalist approach to the environment, which often seems to be an abstract space. As a result, most environmental laws in the region have not confronted the problems of the concentrated land structure nor the social conflicts over property rights historically existing in Latin American cities” (Edésio

FERNANDES, "Constructing the 'right to the city' in Brazil", *loc. cit.*, p. 210].

19. Information available in eddyburg.it: <http://eddyburg.it/article/articleview/11972/0/335/>.

20. Few principles were identified for the alternative vision and actions. First, a holistic view, because the various issues identified in the urban condition (evictions, segregation, gentrification, privatization, etc.) are different facets of the same strategy. Second, the city is not a consumable good, but a common property. It must take into consideration the needs and demands of all its citizens, guarantee everyone comfortable access to workplaces and public services, and offer housing at an affordable rent for every income. Third, urban policies must be the responsibility of its inhabitants. The city was envisioned as a place of true democracy. Not only representative democracy, but also the associative one, in which the networks of people and associations that make up the socio-spatial web of the city form the basis of municipal power. Moreover, the demands of better urban living and working conditions and rights are considered jointly as they have common grounds and aspirations: to create an economy which does not waste resources, distinguishes necessary goods from those imposed by producers, promotes local products, values research and work necessary for subsistence and personal growth, and aims to increase the ability to understand, participate, and enjoy.

21. UNESCO, and ISSC, *Internal Public Debates: Urban Policies and the Right to the City*, *op. cit.*

22. *Id.*

23. Adrian ATKINSON, Barbara LIPIETZ, Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA and Shipra NARANG SURI, "Two World Urban Forums. What Happened in Rio? Where Does it Lead?", *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 2010, vol. 14, 5, p. 566-585.

24. John FRIEDMANN, "The Right to the City", *Society and Nature: The international Journal of Political Ecology*, 1992, vol. 1, 1, p. 71-84; Mustafa DIKEÇ and Lettie GILBERT, "Right to the City: Homage or a New Societal

Ethics?", *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 2002, vol. 13, 2, p. 59-74; Mark PURCELL, "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal*, 2002, vol. 58, 2-3, p. 99-108; David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2003, vol. 27, 4, p. 939-941; Don MITCHELL, *The Right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, London and New York, The Guildford Press, 2003; Abdoumalq SIMONE, "The Right to the City", *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 2005, vol. 7, 3, p. 321-325; Mark PURCELL, *Recapturing Democracy. Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, New York, Routledge, 2008; Edésio FERNANDES, "Constructing the 'right to the city' in Brazil", *loc. cit.*; Mona FAWAZ, "Neoliberal Urbanity and the Right to the City: a View from Beirut's Periphery", *Development and Change*, 2009, vol. 40, 5, p. 827-852; Marvi MAGGIO, "Il diritto alla città e la pianificazione urbanistica. Proposte per Firenze e non solo", *eddyburg*, <http://eddyburg.it/article/articleview/13562/1/124/>; Peter MARCUSE, "From Critical Urban Theory to the Right to the City", *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 2009, vol. 13, 2-3, p. 185-197; Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*; Peter MARCUSE, James CONNOLLY, Johannes NOVY, Ingrid OLIVO, Cuz POTTER and Justin STEIL (eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*, London, Routledge, 2009; Martin WOESSNER, "Rescuing the 'Right to the City'", *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 2009, vol. 13, 4, p. 474-475; Susan PARNELL and Edgard PIETERSE, "The 'right to the city': Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental State", *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2010, vol. 34, 1, p. 146-162; Neil BRENNER, Peter MARCUSE and Margit MAYER (eds), *Cities for People, not for Profit. Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, London and New York, Routledge, 2011.

25. David HARVEY, *Social Justice and the City*, London, Arnold, 1973.

26. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Droit à la ville*, Paris, Anthropos, 1968.

27. Mark PURCELL, "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

28. About the concept of "common good" see Edoardo SALZANO, "The City as a Common Good: Building the Future Drawing from our History" in this publication.

29. David HARVEY, *Social Justice and the City*, *loc. cit.*

30. David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*

31. *Id.*

32. David HARVEY, *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

33. David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*

34. The editorial board of the journal *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, which has widely contributed to the scientific debate around the right to the city with the publication of a special issue in 2009 "Cities for People, Not for Profit", now out as a revised publication: Neil BRENNER, Peter MARCUSE and Margit MAYER (eds), *Cities for People, not for Profit. Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, London and New York, Routledge, 2011.

35. Neil BRENNER, Peter MARCUSE and Margit MAYER, "Cities for people, not for profit", *City: Analysis of Urban Trends Culture Theory Policy and Action*, 2009, vol. 13, 2-3, p. 176-184, p.177.

36. *Ibid.*, p.181.

37. Eugene J. McCANN, "Space, Citizenship, and the Right to the City: A Brief Overview", *GeoJournal*, 2002, vol. 58, p. 77-79.

38. Edésio FERNANDES, "Constructing the 'right to the city' in Brazil", *loc. cit.*

39. *Id.*

40. For an application of the "right to the city" to citizenship issues, in particular to those of migrants, see Marcello BALBO, "Cities with Migrants: Rights and Fears"

in this publication.

41. John FRIEDMANN, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*

42. Don MITCHELL, *The right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, *op. cit.*

43. Don MITCHELL, "The End of Public Space: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1995, vol. 85, 1, p. 108-133; Margaret KOHN, *Brave New Neighborhoods: the Privatization of Public Space*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004; Setha M. LOW and Neil SMITH (eds), *Politics of Public Space*, London and New York, Routledge, 2006.

44. John FRIEDMANN, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*, p. 140.

45. However, the meaning of public space cannot be established in the abstract, as notions of public and private space vary amongst nations, and their conceptions, usage, norms and legislation depend upon culture, political control both at the symbolic and material level.

46. Susan PARNELL and Edgard PIETERSE, "The 'right to the city': Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental State", *loc. cit.*

47. *Id.*

48. Abdoumalq SIMONE, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*, p. 323.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

50. See Harry SMITH and Paul JENKINS, "Urban Land Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Right to the City in Post-War Angola" in this publication.

51. Peter MARCUSE, "From Critical Urban Theory to the Right to the City", *loc. cit.*

52. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 193

54. Substantively, cultural political economy points out to the overall complexity of the social world and the importance of "complexity reduction" as a condition of social action, which involves discursively-selective "imaginaries" and structurally-selective institutions. "Imaginaries" are semiotic systems that provide the basis for the lived

experience of an inordinately complex world; institutions provide the means of embedding lived experience in broader social relations and, perhaps, rendering it consistent across different social spheres.” (Bob JESSOP and Stijn OOSTERLYNCK, “Cultural Political Economy. On Making the Cultural turn without Falling into Soft Economic Sociology”, *Geoforum*, 2008, vol. 39, 3, p. 1155-1169).

55. David HARVEY, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 1996.

56. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, *Analysing Discourse. Textual analysis for social research*, London, Routledge, 2003.

57. *Id.*

58. Bob JESSOP, “Critical Semiotic Analysis and Cultural Political Economy”, *Critical Discourse Studies*, 2004, vol. 1, 1, p. 159-174.

59. Ilaria BONIBURINI, *Multilateral Aid Organizations’ Imaginaries for the City of “Developing Countries”, Semiotic and Material Practices in the Case of Nairobi*, Doctoral Thesis in Progettazione Urbanistica e Territoriale, Dipartimento di Urbanistica e Pianificazione Territoriale, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2011.

60. Bob JESSOP and Stijn OOSTERLYNCK, “Cultural Political Economy. On Making the Cultural turn without Falling into Soft Economic Sociology”, *loc. cit.*

61. Carlo CELLAMARE, *Fare Città*, Milano, Elèuthera, 2008.

62. Antonio GRAMSCI, *Quaderni del carcere*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975.

63. Mitch ROSE, “The Seductions of Resistance: Power, Politics, and a Performative Style of Systems”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2002, vol. 20, 4, p. 383-400; Helga LEITNER, Eric S. SHEPPARD, Kristin SZIARTO and Anant MARINGANTI, “Contesting Urban Futures. Decentering Neoliberalism” in Helga LEITNER, Jamie PECK and Eric S. SHEPPARD (eds), *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, New York, Guilford Publications, 2007, p. 1-24; Stephen GILL, *Power and Resistance in the New World Order*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008; Ngai-Ling SUM, “The

Production of Hegemonic Policy Discourses: ‘Competitiveness’ as a Knowledge Brand and its (Re)Contextualizations”, in *Critical Policy Studies*, 2009, vol. 3, 2, p. 184-203.

64. Sergio BELDA, Jordie PERIS, Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, “Resistance and Alternative against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)”, *loc. cit.*

65. David HARVEY, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, *op. cit.*

66. Sergio BELDA, Jordie PERIS, Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, “Resistance and Alternative against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)”, *loc. cit.*

67. With this term we are not referring to a particular historical experience of human settlement but to an idea of settlement that territorially embraces the habitat and is yet to come.

68. Loïc GÉRONNEZ, “Vers des *Community Land Trusts* : essai à partir d’une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain”, *loc. cit.*

69. The political includes a structural dimension which refers to the three domains on which the political actor (understood as a plurality of actors) acts: territory, people, sovereignty; but it also refers to a specific acting dimension which is related to the collective exercise of power in the name of the public good. This notion includes the modalities of collective acting which are rooted in the public sphere – Habermas’s *Oeffentlichkeit* (Jürgen HABERMAS, *The Theory of Communicative Action. Vol. 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1985), through which a collective defines its common interests, internal relations and a shared vision of its heritage, resources, assets and development paths.

70. Ash AMIN, “The Good City”, *Urban Studies*, May 2006, vol. 43, p.1010.

71. Edoardo SALZANO, “The city as a common good: building the future drawing from our history” in this publication.

72. Stefano RODOTÀ, *Il terribile diritto*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1990.

73. *Id.*

74. Vandana SHIVA, *Earth Democracy*, Cambridge, South End Press, 2005; Franco CASSANO, *Homo Civicus, la ragionevole follia dei beni comuni*, Bari, Dedalo, 2009; Ugo MATTEI, *Beni comuni*, Bari, Laterza, 2011.

75. The attribution of a good to private or public property has important implications and consequences related to the type of legal restrictions and exclusions that can be applied in terms of access, use and management allowed. However the relationship between ownership and access is not obvious. For instance, the status of public ownership does not mean necessary accessibility (think about military compounds), but certainly private property allows the owner to define access at their discretion. We explore now the category of collective goods belonging to public or private – property which is subject to real rights of enjoyment and use allocated to a community. They are particularly important, since they are subject to a special legal regime. They are open to possession and use by the collective, which can be regulated but not excluded, and the right is attributed to a specific community. The utilities in object do not exploit the good and are capable of being used by all (Vincenzo CERULLI IRELLI, *Proprietà pubblica e diritti collettivi*, Padova, Cedam, 1983). The status of the collective good, rather than the public good – at least in principle – can provide the necessary accessibility, inclusion, openness and differentiation.

76. Julie AUBRIOT and Luisa MORETTO, “Le Droit à l’eau au Sud, un outil paradoxal pour penser le droit à la ville : entre coproduction et contestation des services urbains” in this publication.

77. Iris M. YOUNG, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990.

78. Mark PURCELL, “To Inhabit Well: Counter-hegemonic

Movements and the Right to the City”, *loc. cit.*

79. Marcello BALBO, “Cities with Migrants: Rights and Fears”, *loc. cit.*

80. *Id.*

81. *Hospitalité* in French (Vincent CALAY, “Du squat au marketing urbain. Quand l’hospitalité devient outil d’action publique”, *loc. cit.*).

82. Vincent CALAY, “Du squat au marketing urbain : quand l’hospitalité devient outil d’action publique”, *loc. cit.*

83. Jacqueline LEAVITT and Ayse YONDER, “Planning through the Lens of Everyday Life: from Local to Global” in this publication; Fabian BRESSAN, “La Participation des habitants dans les projets urbains” in this publication; Vincent CALAY, “Du squat au marketing urbain: quand l’hospitalité devient outil d’action publique”, *loc. cit.*

84. Sabine GUISSSE, “Designer l’espace public pour soutenir le droit à la ville : l’objectif de capacitation spatiale” in this publication.

85. By this, we mean that the price of acquiring accommodation must be proportional and adequate to the spending capacity of individuals and families.

86. Edoardo SALZANO, “The City as a Common Good: Building the Future Drawing from our History”, *loc. cit.*

87. Harry SMITH and Paul JENKINS, “Urban Land Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Right to the City in Post-War Angola” in this publication.

88. *Id.*

89. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, “Which Right to Which City? In Defence of Political-strategic Clarity”, *loc. cit.*, quoted in Harry SMITH and Paul JENKINS, “Urban Land Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Right to the City in Post-War Angola”, *loc. cit.*

90. Fran KLOWDASKY, “Ending Homelessness in Canada: Right to Housing and Right to the City” in this publication.

91. Mark PURCELL, “To Inhabit Well: Counter-Hegemonic Movements and the Right to the City” in this publication.

92. *Id.*

93. Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader. Selected writings 1916-1935*, edited by D. Forgacs, New York, NYU Press, 2000, quoted in Mark PURCELL, "To Inhabit Well: Counter-Hegemonic Movements and the Right to the City", *loc. cit.*

94. See in this *Cahier*: Sergio BELDA, Jordie PERIS, Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, "Resistance and Alternative against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)"; Fabian BRESSAN, "La Participation des habitants dans les projets urbains"; David DODGE, "Right to the City-NYC's Policy Platform and Condo Conversion Campaign: Grassroots Visioning and Policies for the Future of New York City"; Loïc GÉRONNEZ, "Vers des *Community Land Trusts* : essai à partir d'une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain"; Richard PITHOUSE, "The Right to the City in South Africa"; Jacqueline LEAVITT and Ayse YONDER, "Planning through the Lens of Everyday Life: from Local to Global".

95. David DODGE, "Right to the City-NYC's Policy Platform and Condo Conversion Campaign: Grassroots Visioning and Policies for the Future of New York City", *loc. cit.*

96. Jacqueline LEAVITT and Ayse YONDER, "Planning through the Lens of Everyday Life: from Local to Global", *loc. cit.*

97. Camillo BOANO, Garcia LAMARCA and William HUNTER, "Mega-Projects and Resistances in Contested

Urbanism: Reclaiming the Right to the City in Dharavi" in this publication.

98. *Id.*

99. Harry SMITH and Paul JENKINS, "Urban Land Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Right to the City in Post-War Angola", *loc. cit.*

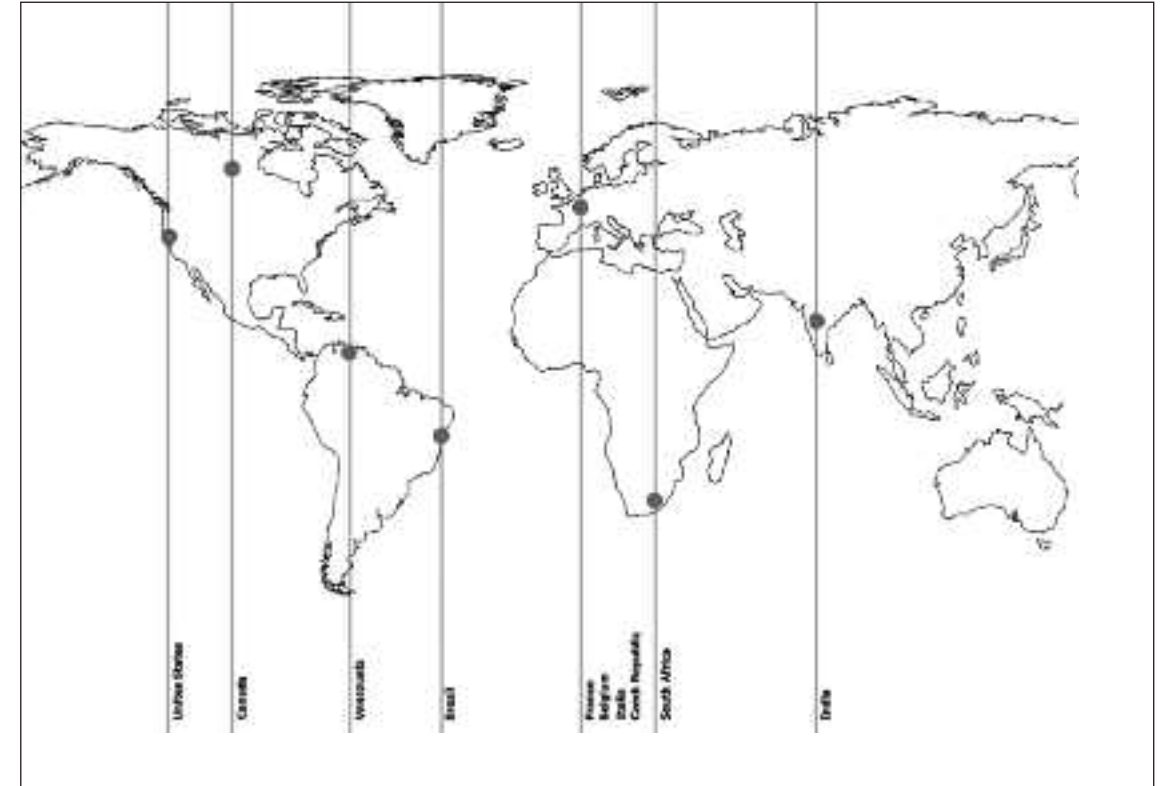
100. Harry SMITH and Paul JENKINS, "Urban Land Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Right to the City in Post-War Angola", *loc. cit.*; Richard PITHOUSE, "The Right to the City in South Africa", *loc. cit.*

101. Richard PITHOUSE, "The Right to the City in South Africa", *loc. cit.*

102. Sergio BELDA, Jordie PERIS Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, "Resistance and Alternative against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)", *loc. cit.*

103. For an account of this experimental approach see Sabine GUISSSE, "Designer l'espace public pour soutenir le droit à la ville : l'objectif de capacitation spatiale", *loc. cit.*

104. Boaventura DE SOUSA SANTOS, "Beyond Abyssal Thinking. From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges", *Eurozine*, 2007, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-06-29-santos-en.html>; Boaventura DE SOUSA SANTOS (ed.), *Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledges for a Decent Life*, Plymouth, Lexington Books, 2007.



légende ???



Sébastien Sindeu, *Bruxelles, Étangs d'Ixelles*, 2011.

Première partie
Une opportunité pour une « réponse unitaire » : les « biens communs »

Part One
An opportunity for a "unitary answer": the "common goods"

The city as a common good: building the future drawing from our history

Edoardo Salzano

Yesterday. The “right to the city” as it developed in post-fascist Italy

Following the war

The Fascist era left Italy with a heavy legacy to bear: widespread destruction caused by a conflict that affected the entire country and a closed “autarchic” and tentatively self-sufficient economy, largely based on archaic agricultural practices. Following a brief phase of unity among anti-fascist political party groups, a split developed in Italy, starting in 1947. The parliamentary majority of the centre-right was opposed by a block of leftist political forces, which had established hegemony among the country’s intellectual ranks. Private property and economic liberalism strongly supported by state assistance were the main pillars of governing political policies; and it was these factors that significantly affected the processes and outcome of Italy’s post-war reconstruction.

Reconstruction therefore took place within a realm of economic policies that mainly favoured two specific sectors: *private building* (considered a useful intermediary step for significant transformation of the country’s work force, from one that was predominantly agricultural to a more industrial expansion), and the *manufacturing industry* (having a solid basis in the North), focused on the production of consumer durable goods (automobiles, as well as home appliances). At the same time, agriculture, especially in the southern regions of the country, was instead left behind to the inefficient production means of the past.

Immigration, from South to North, from small towns and countryside to major cities, and from the mountains towards valleys and coasts was changing the arrangement and distribution of the country’s population throughout its territory, as incessant building activity chaotically transformed the physiognomy of its major cities and coastlines. Italy entered the world market and there was a considerable increase in the wellbeing and spending capacities of families. This however also brought about an extended devastation of the territory, serious conditions of overcrowding, congestion and general hardship in cities.

Italy enters the 1960s

By the end of the 1950s, Italy had changed significantly, completing its transformation, from a predominantly agricultural economy to a decidedly industrial one. However, cities were to pay a heavy price. Migration came along with the shifts of investments in already developed areas, penalising many parts of the country. The decision to favour the automobile instead of collective public transportation resulted in increased congestion and traffic in cities. Territorial imbalances also started to arise as an impediment to the development of the very sectors that were advancing the country’s economy.

From the rhythms and values of life in the countryside, there was an abrupt passage to city life. The increase in income and incentives towards individual consumption significantly influenced the shaping of people’s needs and their ways of living. Women’s sudden entrance into the work force, with tasks much different from agricultural activities and family rearing, had radically changed the way in which they led their lives. Their jobs included house-keeping (but without the facilities of the patriarchal life) and work in factories or offices. Living conditions in the city were completely new and different from rural conditions and, in searching for a home, one had to take into account the high values determined by the strong incidence of urban real estate rents.

The spontaneity that was left to entrepreneurial endeavours began showing limitations as well as heavy costs. The emerging economic system started to demonstrate a clear “dis-economy of congestion”, and, while Italians in the early 1960s were being offered the benefits of development (increased wages, greater personal freedom, opportunities for encounters and exchange, access to urban services), a series of burdens were being posited, indicating harsh social disadvantages.

In the meantime, relevant changes were occurring within the country’s political arena. A political proposal started to emerge for an “opening to the left”, which, in the early 1960s, was to lead to the formation of a centre-left majority in municipalities and soon after to the first centre-left national government in 1962. The main topics discussed in the encounters between the parties were national economic programming, the institution of the regions as decentralized public powers, the nationalization of electric energy resources, public education reforms, and reforms of urban planning legislation.

Social struggles and regional-territorial calamities

In those years reforms and measures regarding the growth patterns of cities were proposed by a Christian-Democratic minister. The law he introduced planned for a pre-emptive expropriation of lands that were destined for urban expansion, which limited their use by property developers. The proposal sparked a furious reaction of the right-wing factions of government, who described it as a bill that would have expropriated property and taken away homes from homeowners. The reform was voted down. In the meantime however, a series of events reopened the issue.

Several municipal districts, especially those driven by left-wing majorities, in regions of northern and central Italy, had abandoned the *laissez faire* urban-planning schemes promoted by the government, and started to apply more modern planning methods. They were attempting to offset the pressures of urban land speculation in order to contain and limit the disordered expansion of cities, while also providing significant and viable public spaces. The women's movements had organized a large-scale mass campaign to obtain the inclusion and allocations of adequate spaces for collective use in urban plans, and regulated financial assistance for early-childhood care and full-time schooling for children.

Accompanying the ongoing social demands and best practices of those years, there were also a series of dramatic events. In 1966 a few serious incidents significantly impacted public opinion: the sudden land-slide collapse of an entire neighbourhood in Agrigento, and the dramatic flooding in Florence and Venice. Those calamities demonstrated how the territory – devastated by the onslaughts of development in very sensitive areas, the threats from excess building upon fragile grounds and the abandonment of agriculture and forestry – could rebel by ravaging the city, its assets and the very lives of its citizens. Parliament reacted immediately for recovery, through a law that was to introduce more rational measures in land use. It was not a comprehensive urban planning bill, but a calculated rationalization of planning practices: a “bridge law” (*“legge ponte”*) towards a later, more ample, reform process.

The “bridge law”, however, had a stunted life. Its proposed innovations were contrasted by internal conflicts within the same parliamentary majority as well as follow-up actions of the Constitutional Court. The Court aimed to point out contradictions between the need to allocate adequate spaces for public uses at reasonable prices and the priorities of privatization that characterized the right to property in Italy¹. Furthermore, at the same time, an even stronger series of social pressures were brewing.

1968-1969: Affirming rights to the city

The year 1968 held unique characteristics in Italy. Only in Italy did student movements and labour movements join forces and grow in solidarity². The student movement contributed to one other big event: the labour dispute that opened between the spring of 1968 and autumn of 1969. Two lines of demands arose: the somewhat traditional claims, related to a renewal of contracts and working conditions in factories, and the improvement of workers' life in cities and in rural areas. This was also tied to the demand for greater participation in democracy that stemmed from various sectors of society and brought forth the emergence of new forms of political expression. For the first time, the claims of workers and their organizations did not focus exclusively on questions of salaries, contracts and working conditions. They started to deal instead with issues relating to the city. Problems of transportation, housing, and social services became the centre of a dispute, which resulted in a large-scale nationwide labour strike.

The autumn of 1969 was the most crucial moment of the conflict: it dealt with affirming *rights to the city* as an essential component of a reformed society. These themes were not only brought up by the country's intellectual elite or by the more radical factions of the left, but were backed also by the working classes through the organized labour unions that were actively protesting and with the largest political party of the left, the Italian Communist party (PCI), which then set forth to obtain widespread electoral consensus. Themes such as the “right to the city” and “housing as a social service” soon became popular slogans, which further fuelled disseminated disputes throughout the country. The first term resulted in explicit demands for democracy and participation in urban planning decisions, and for neighbourhoods equipped with everything that is needed for a satisfactory life: public services, public places for meetings, and public parks for healthy living and recreation. The slogan “housing as a social service”, called for the housing question to be regulated by government agencies as an alternative to the market regulation, so that a balance could be achieved between the prices of homes and family incomes.

From that moment on, legislative innovation started in order to define a framework of objectives, procedures and instruments that were positively constructive³. Significant milestones were finally reached, particularly regarding the issue of housing and public spaces. These two themes summed up the “right to the city” of those years in Italy⁴.

Ideas of and for the city

The aforementioned achievements, once attained and established, soon generated violent reactions: the reform movement was strongly opposed by a “strategy of tension” that had the unexpected complicity of upper levels of political influence. Urban and suburban land use was one serious issue: would it be “the city as home to society”⁵, or the city as a machine for producing wealth for real-estate investors and landowners? And what ultimately was the idea of the city that could provide a clear image reflecting the struggles of those years?

The links between culture, politics and society were very tight. The antifascist Resistance, encompassing the group of values that inspired not only left-wing forces, contributed to render permeable the barriers that separated academic realms, political parties and social movements. The urban planning culture posited itself explicitly as a service to society. The Italian urban planning movement was sustained and nourished by a host of urbanists and administrators that were associated with the National Institute of Urban Planning and, above all, with its prestigious journal *Urbanistica*. Through its effective presentation and description of innovative approaches in the field, the journal strongly contributed to increasing the awareness of young Italian architects and engineers regarding experiences in more advanced countries. Attention was now focused on the constitution of neighbourhoods capable of promoting and sustaining a community spirit, and on the removal of territorial and social imbalances.

Many young architects had experimented with new housing and planning principles in projects for public housing, promoted by the INA-Casa programme (1949 to 1963). Such experiences for the most part led to unsatisfactory results, nonetheless there started to be an effective application of models that were taken from the experiences of other countries.

The exemplary models that most impressed young professionals – as propagandists of the idea of a “city at the measure of man” including relevant social factors – were those of the cities of European Social Democracy: from the Karl Marx Hof of “Red Vienna” to the projects of Bruno Taut in the years preceding Nazism, as well as the neighbourhoods of Holland and Scandinavia. Beyond the recognisable form of these new settlements, what drew attention was the efficient collective transportation connections to different parts of the city, their ample areas of urban greenery, their innovative building methods and well-equipped public spaces, and the additional functions that could reduce material efforts in domestic work (from schools to kindergartens, and even services connected to domestic chores like laundry). Additionally, there were the services of health clinics, athletics centres, and other outdoor spaces for picnics and recreational encounters, as well as bicycle and walk paths that connected

different socially relevant areas. The examples of good practices in Europe stimulated in Italy the proposal of new models, in which organization of spaces appeared to be guided more by the rhythms of children, their parents, the elderly and every-day citizens than by speculative real-estate investments⁶.

What also stood out in those countries was how land-ownership policies were addressed and managed through the provision of large quantities of public space, over which they could govern and direct the expansion of the city, hence liberating the decisions of urban planning and organization from the load and pressure of real-estate interests and speculation. It soon became apparent that such land management policies were one of the primary and fundamental conditions necessary for building liveable cities for all inhabitants⁷.

Today. Form and substance of the neo-liberalist city

The cultural context

The watchwords and achievements of the 1960s and 1970s are placed within a broader picture of social progress: newly established rights to divorce and abortion, the charter of workers’ rights, the institution of the National Health Service and the abolition of mental asylums, the introduction of full-time elementary schools, the establishment of state nursery schools, and the right to vote at eighteen years of age. These accomplishments emerged from a strong interweaving of the proactive roles of intellectuals, together with significant social forces, who envisioned accessible and attainable horizons in that European context, which were consistent with their aspirations and the ability to bridge certain objectives (the desired city) with the tools for achieving them (legislative and administrative action).

In the early 1970s, the “strategy of tension” provoked by terrorist attacks, strongly impeded the realization of any real progress. The 1980s became ‘turning point’ years, which led to a regression and the beginning of a decline that still characterizes our country, perfectly correlated with the broader transformations taking place internationally. Those were the years of triumph for a new vision of society and new values became instilled in the country’s mindset. Everything was declaimed in terms of efficiency and achievements of modernity, and a great emphasis was placed on the pursuit of a development model which now seems unstoppable as it appears projected towards the highest apex of global ambition and competition.

Wealth in the country had grown, but inequalities were increasing at the same rate as privileges. Moral principles were weakening and individual success was becoming the primary

objective to which everything else could be sacrificed. A clear explanation of this is illustrated in “the fall of the public man”, in which Richard Sennett determined the old roots and the actual configurations⁸. All of this found expression in the fate of the city and its government.

The city of Neo-liberalism

Many different episodes in the country – in the terrain of culture, politics, legislation, administrative action – had articulated a transition from one concept of the city and urban planning to another: from the inspired principles of “rights to housing and the city” and “cities of welfare» to what can be defined as the “neo-liberal city”. In several university environments, urban planning was not criticized for its limited ability to face new needs and demands, but for its opposition to the “urban project”, a flexible instrument for the transformation of cities, which gradually turned into a system of decisions that were defined by input and directives deriving from property ownership and real estate investment. In short, planning initiatives were becoming increasingly entrusted to such speculative endeavours. Moreover, in response to this intellectual shift corresponded new laws and municipal decisions that allowed for an increasing number of derogations in urban planning regulation and more explicit forms of negotiated bargaining in the name of real estate interests.

Two major events perfectly illustrate this new context. In the year 2000, a proposal was adopted for a new way to intervene in the city of Milan: no longer would there be an “urban plan” that defined the rules, constraints and opportunities established in advance on the basis of objective criteria, but a generic outline document was to take effect, as the sole article of reference by which the municipality could choose and decide upon proposals for new buildings as presented by landowners and real estate investors⁹. In 2003, an influential parliamentary figure of the right presented a national urban planning bill that was to formally substitute negotiation processes with property owners involved in planning procedures, to be decided by democratically elected public authorities¹⁰.

Even if the proposed legislation of the centre-right did not succeed in being passed, many similar measures were approved – indicating a near continuity from the Craxi era to Berlusconi¹¹, and from the right-wing governments to those of the centre-left. For them, urban planning, along with its procedures and regulations, was to be substituted by a more generalized prospect of derogation. Decisions regarding the organization and use of urban and suburban areas were gradually transferred from collective bodies, wherein a plurality of positions reside, to more centralized offices (such as the mayor, president of the province or region, prime

minister), or else to special nominated “commissaries” that were equipped with full power and financing, even when in opposition to applied legislation. Consequently, the primary objective was becoming exclusively to gather and encourage any initiative that would obtain consistent increases in value for specific areas, regardless of the real necessities of planned territorial development and/or transformations.

The element that best characterizes the urban condition in the territories of Italian neo-liberalism is the continuous affirmation of a habitat model based on a prevalence of individualistic solutions – as precarious as they are costly and strongly differentiated according to the different spending capacities – to the needs that in the stages of urban welfare had been dealt with in a generally egalitarian, communal, and cohesive manner, while maintaining prudence with resources.

The *right to housing* ended up as a widespread solicitation to seek low-cost homes in areas far from the city centre that were usually not “valorized” by urban plans, not served by transportation networks or by public services, and equipped with only minute allotments of private greenery in place of public urban parks. A myriad of houses therefore fuelled urban sprawl and formed a wider dispersion of residential settlements. However, this model, as promoted by advertising images of a “happy home and garden”, was only open to those with sufficient income. For all others the only alternatives would be lodgings far from the workplace, or possibly even precarious adjustments to living arrangements in abandoned buildings.

The *right to communal services* had become increasingly contradicted and denied. National budgetary and financial policies continuously shifted resources from social endeavours to economic activities and initiatives that were likely to favour private real estate projects of high prestige, but of little or no social use. Municipalities found that significant portions of their resources were transferred away by the state; so in response, taxes on new developments, established in 1977 to finance the acquisition and use of public spaces, were “liberated” from this constraint and allocated towards the growing needs of municipalities. Many major public works (such as hospitals) were completed through an “*Italianate*” system of project financing, in which the state bears all business risks and allows private investors to profit by increasing the cost of ancillary services. The privatization of public services that were critical to the lives of citizens (such as rail transport) led to favouring high-priced services and to a systematic reduction of the short and medium-haul services at lower prices.

Even public squares, as the places that symbolically represent (more than any others) the social character of the “city as a common good” started a gradual downhill decline. It is perhaps useful to further elaborate on the role of public space, for the effects and protests

that its decline and dilapidation generate; and this may help in reflecting upon a possible alternative ideology.

City squares, other public spaces and democracy

In the cities of European tradition there have always been important public spaces: the places for encounters, exchange, trade, the celebration of religious rites, as the areas designated for carrying out common activities and employing common services. From the Greek to Roman cities and on throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the role of public squares was a decisive one, for they represented the main meeting place of the people and they were the spaces which the town's main buildings overlooked. It is in these places that individuals and families became citizens and members of the community; it is where they encountered one another, learned about "others", exchanged information and feelings, sought and offered work, and hastened to important events in the city. A city without squares and palaces to be used for common services was unthinkable, like a body without a skeleton.

In the last centuries, the emancipation movement of organized labour, which started through solidarity in the factories, was extended to the entire city. Through the growing dialectic between labour and capital, the welfare state was born. The places of communal functions were becoming enhanced with new components: kindergartens, schools, health-care centres and hospitals, sports facilities and neighbourhood markets were all the result of struggles to which organizations of the working classes had dedicated their active efforts. The empowerment of women had additionally enhanced the role of public spaces, which was intended to alleviate their toils and chores of housework.

Today all this is changing. In Italy, "urban planning standards" – the basic tool for obtaining reasonable quantities of areas to be dedicated to open space and services of common interest – are undergoing a decline; and there are serious proposals for their complete abolition. Areas that were once allocated to public space by urban plans and acquired as part of a collective patrimony, are now being eroded by private uses, or distorted in their uses by commercialization. Financial revenue – destined by law to the realization of spaces and public facilities – is being diverted toward the running costs of municipalities.

The traditional city squares, open spaces for all, are now gradually being replaced by the great cathedrals of commerce, characterized by the exclusion of "others" (in the name of security) and by the implicit obligation to reduce the interests of their visitors to purchasing goods. The city square, as a site of encounter, integration, diversity and free access is now

being replaced by large shopping malls, airports and train stations (the so called "non-places"). In parallel, citizens are being reduced to customers, and the one time bearers of rights are reduced to being bearers of credit cards.

The link of continuity between private space and egalitarian public space (open to the rich and poor alike, to citizen and foreigner, to the young and old), already challenged by the social zoning of rationalism, is becoming broken by the segregation and further social marginalization of *gated communities*. Moreover, rules are currently being overridden by deregulation processes that have progressively extended to every dimension of planning. The factory workplace is being devastated by a growing recourse to precarious and temporary work arrangements, and housing is no longer a *right* that must be provided to everyone, who is standing alone before the market; and it is a market that is characterized by a growing impact of income and revenue.

Public spaces and public space are two connected concepts. The definition of *public space of the city* does not consist solely in the physical places dedicated to collective functions. Critical factors of these spaces are the guarantee and promotion of their *usage*, along with the possibility for each and every person to partake in the decisions that govern them. In other words, they deal not only with urban planning practices, but also with equality and thus democracy.

The ability and capacity to affect the process of decisions regarding the city is a requirement that was increasingly requested throughout the course of history, especially following the movements of 1968. This demand for more participation first transpired through experiences of the "councils", formed directly in the factories, in the places of learning and in the neighbourhoods. These experiences were, however, isolated. And if we look at what has happened over more recent decades, we find that democracy, instead of making progressive steps ahead – at least in Italy – took a few huge steps backwards, in relation to the very principles of a liberal democracy. The city's fate is no longer something that is still – albeit imperfectly – in the hands of citizens and their elected representatives.

Tomorrow. A new imaginary: the city as a common

The new urban movements: the hope for the future

How to reinstate something that has the dignity of being defined as the "right to the city"? And what idea of the city today can summarize the contents of that "right"? I shall attempt to provide some answers in this concluding part of the paper.

If we agree that the idea of the city, as practiced and proposed through neo-liberalist theory, is unsatisfactory, that the ideology that sustains it should be critiqued and replaced, and that the habitat of mankind should have a better future, then we should look towards what resists current trends and aims to propose viable alternatives. The starting point may then be the myriad incidents that arise from below and express individual suffering. When such hardships are experienced by a large number of people, there are often consequential shared initiatives of protest (and sometimes even counter proposal). Within these new experiences circulates a large number of new and diverse energies, wisdoms and skills.

There is a great list of issues that call for the formation of various kinds of active citizenship groups. They take place in a wide range of places where new ways of “political activities” are being tested by means of collective participation, and involve the fate of many: the deteriorating conditions of the physical environment and landscape; the danger to human health posed by disease and risks of biological deprivation; conditions of urban life, as it loses services and communal spaces to be shared by all; the difficulties in accessing affordable housing in areas that are conveniently located and close to services and workplaces; the precarious status of employment; the privatization, corporatization and commercialization of essential public goods, services and utilities such as water, health, and education.

A significant urban movement in Italy, for instance, aimed at, and succeeded in, opposing land consumption and the ever growing transformation of countryside (often characterized by good farming practices or pleasant landscapes) into urban areas (affected by real estate speculation and unwarranted development)¹². The phenomenon arises from a combination of various factors, such as the urban sprawl previously mentioned and incentives for individualist endeavours leading to energy misuse, subtraction of precious virgin lands, destruction of landscapes and cultural heritage, and pollution of watersheds¹³.

Along with these there are civil rights issues: freedom and citizenship for all; true equity through open access to information, participation, and decision-making processes; the equality of rights among persons threatened by segregation because of skin colour, culture or religion, ethnicity or language, gender or social status.

If we look at these claims as a whole, we see how they can represent a push *to transform individual hardships into common action*. This is a decisive step¹⁴, which also acts as the very leap that pushed the working classes in factories to become strong by using the only tool they had against the *ownership* of capital: the *solidarity* of those in true possession of the workforce. The factory, as a place where conflict occurred, was in itself likely to push

for solidarity. Today, the human habitat is instead becoming a place in which tendencies of dispersion, fragmentation, and segregation are pervasive.

There is finally one concept, to which all of the above mentioned disputes implicitly relate, and which can (and should) act as a reference: *the city (and by extension, all of human habitats) needs to be considered as a common good*.

The city as a common good

To better comprehend the meaning of the expression “city as a common good”, it may be useful to reflect upon the three words that compose it.

With European experience (but probably in the historical experience of all civilizations), *the city* is a *system* wherein the household, the places of life and common activities (schools and churches, squares and parks, hospitals and markets, etc.) along with other places of work activities (factories, offices) are tightly integrated and served by a network of infrastructure that connects the different parts and provides them with water, energy and gas. The city is not just a cluster of homes. It is the physical expression and spatial organization of a society, that is of an ensemble of individuals and families that are joined to one another by the ties of shared identity, solidarity and common rules.

Saying that the city is a *good* means to say that it is not a commodity. Good and commodity are two different ways of seeing and living the same objects. A *commodity* is something that has value only when it can be exchanged for money. A commodity is something that does not have value in and of itself, but only for what it can add to material wealth, and to power over others. A commodity is something that can be destroyed to build another that has a greater economic value: a beautiful landscape can be destroyed to dig a mine, as a man can be degraded to the status of slavery. Each and every commodity is equal to any other, because all commodities are measured by the money with which they can be exchanged.

A *good*, instead, is something that has value in and of itself, for the use that is made, or that can be made, by the persons who benefit from it. A good is something that helps in satisfying basic needs (nutrition, shelter, health), knowledge (education, information, communication and the possibility to inform others), feelings and pleasure (friendship, solidarity, love, aesthetic enjoyment). A good has a distinct identity. And every good is unlike any other. A good is something that is used without destroying it.

Common does not mean public, even though it would be useful, for all intents and purposes to become so. Common means belonging to a group of persons that are united by ties of

identity and solidarity. It means that it satisfies a need that individuals cannot satisfy alone, without joining together and sharing the management of a community. The term common, at the same time, presents some negative connotations. A community is a social figure that *includes* the members of that specific organism, but concurrently *excludes* the others. It is perhaps possible to avoid such a limitation with a clarification. In the experience of contemporary life, every person belongs to a number of communities. They belong to a local community, which is where they were born and raised, where they live and work, where their relatives live along with the people they see every day, and where they can find daily services. They belong to the communities of their village, their towns, and their neighbourhoods. But every person also belongs to wider communities, which share their history, their language, their customs and traditions, and human destiny.

The subjects of a "global city"

In cities, equality has always been the goal of a dialectic that never subsided. There were always many differences among the people who lived there: between different categories of subjects relating to the production of the city (e.g. land and buildings owners and non-owners), and differences in the use of the city. So the city was also a place of conflict, in which the more disadvantaged groups have always attempted to reach acceptable levels of satisfaction in relation to their needs.

We can say that a just city is one in which there is a reasonable balance of conditions offered to different social groups, and in which there tends to be a fair and equal participation and use of the "city as a good", and equal chances to compete in its government. It is likely and apparent that this objective was never reached completely. It did however seem to come close to it in the age of welfare, at least in that part of the world where the virtues of a bourgeois capitalist system had led to a reasonable balance between the opposing forces within it (but then exported its contradictions through colonial exploitation). Today, in any case, it seems that that world is ever further away.

The general trend in fact seems to be an accentuation of all the imbalances, between the rich and poor, the exploited and the exploiters, opulence and poverty. There is an increase in case histories of differences leading to a strong proliferation of enclaves and enclosures, each of which containing different social groups with differentiated access to goods, closed off by their inability to communicate with others and establish better means of understanding, sharing and cooperation.

They are however united by a common destiny: to *belong to the same planet*, with increasingly limited resources, which are also contested among alternative uses, where the privatization and commercialization of common goods often prevail. *We belong to a habitat in which the scale of the traditional "local" is increasingly integrated into a "global" dimension*, which links the various "local" within a system that is increasingly governed by distant and unreachable agents; a handful of men endowed with invincible powers. The human habitat is hence becoming characterized by an integration of different places, each with its own history, different traditions, peculiarities and specific conflicts, but all linked together by a single functional process of economic exploitation within a single territorial system. This territorial system was defined by Saskia Sassen¹⁵ as the "global city", which relies on two specific elements that are essential to its survival and functionality. On one side, there is the "global infrastructure", as the set of technological networks, exemplary places, and world-class apparatuses that guarantee the life and activities of social groups in power. On the other, there are the flows of peoples and social groups that poverty has "liberated" from the possibility of living in their places of origin and keeping their traditional activities, thus reducing them to mere on-hand labour forces, eligible to be used in places where low cost exploitation is appropriated.

Between the inhabitants of the "global infrastructure" and the "planet of slums"¹⁶, there lives the mass of the "third layer". That is a set of classes and groups that belong to the culture of the masters, which is induced to share their masters' ideology and values, to aspire to sit one day at the desks where decisions are made, and to share the levels of remuneration and benefits granted to the inhabitants of the "first layer". Their fate wavers from the fear of being thrown among the poor by one of the recurring crises, to the hope of being promoted by a stroke of luck to the upper layer. In fact, for the dominant groups, these persons constitute a form of social fabric of protection against the multitudes of the exploited, which are always on the brink of insurgence.

If this representation of tomorrow's city (which is already present among us) is acceptable, then the concept of the "right to the city", as it has been developed in the last century, presently requires a commitment of particular importance, since it calls for dealing with the issue as part of the global framework in which it now stands. *We must search for it in the habitats of man*. We must then break down the barriers that exist between and within the cities and the different layers that make up the "global city". Attempting to achieve equity at this level requires attention to that which creates division, rather than focusing only on that which unites: the great diversity of cultural and material conditions among the various

realities that make up what is “global”. In other words, it is not in the archetype of urban life that one can find the exclusive references of a new paradigm. A valid lesson (making use of the ruins of the past) to be applied to the construction of a new entirely human city should be searched for among all the histories, cultures, and traditions that have characterized population and places in the world.

Regaining history and public space

The traditional city has not yet disappeared entirely. There is also life and hope, and there are hardships along with the desire to fight their causes: thus the seeds of a possible future. Common goods and values, open spaces and public spaces, collective functions: this is the point of departure, which is signalled by what is really moving in society. And *this* is what is ultimately indicated to us by and throughout history.

“*Historia magistra vitae*” – history is the teacher of life. For this very reason, those powers that aim to keep things the same have often tried to erase history from our memory, along with the awareness of our past, the roots of what we are and the seeds of what will be. To recuperate memory means to retrieve history; and this is necessary to counter those who attempt to flatten mankind in the present, so that we are led into believing that nothing is changeable, because everything that has been is what will be, and everything is already crystallized in this unchangeable present.

History – and the struggles of today – give us a precise indication: *to start with the defence and recovery of public space* for each and every one of its aspects. Since the city square is public space, the areas devoted to collective functions are as well. Public space is social policy for housing, is the provision of services and activities that are accessible to all inhabitants (from education to health, from recreation to culture, from learning to work), is society’s capacity to govern urban transformations and the possibilities of every citizen to participate in the city and its institutions. Democracy also is public space, as it shows the ways of practicing it, beyond the narrow current configuration of representative democracy.

Given today’s situation, and in light of what has been lost, the first task is *the defence of the methods and tools of urban planning*. Without a holistic and long-term vision regarding the land, territory and their changes, it is not possible to realize a fair and humane city. And it will not be possible to guarantee a future in which the “right to the city” is built. This is not a merely a technical issue: not just any urban planning approach will suffice. A planning

process is required that forgoes the objectives and privileges of real estate interests, the growing “economic value” of the territory and rapid “urbanized development” regardless of its purpose, and instead embraces the welfare of present and future populations, in terms of health, access to resources, and all common goods, both natural and historical. An urban planning process that sets the priority to contrast the consumption of land and other finite natural resources, while satisfying the collective needs of housing, services, and mobility, through an effective organization of city and territory. An urban planning approach focused on attaining a fair allocation of utilities, the freedom to use and access the spaces of life and communal functions regardless of social, cultural, or economic conditions, acknowledging the beauty of defining new landscapes and the conservation of existing ones.

Today urban planners are often reduced to the status of “facilitators” of real estate interests, acting as “negotiators” amid the expectations of owners and users of areas to be “developed” regardless of any real social priorities, and they are often utterly indifferent to much more serious inequalities subsisting between individuals, social groups and the various classes that inhabit the city. Planners, we must therefore work a great deal – at least in Italy – to change this current cultural and professional trend.

Urban planning means also the direct participation of citizens in governing land use, and in the decisions that help create the conditions of future life. It means engaging in efforts to expand the capacity and possibility, to actively partake in political agendas (to readily contribute in building a common good) beyond the limits of representative democracy and the institutions of permanent delegation. It ultimately means giving everyone a real chance to be free in actively participating in public life, and making liberty independent of property¹⁷. This implies the building of a new economy, in which human work is not a form of alienation or denigration of man reduced to a commodity, but it is “the peculiarly human instrument, through which man can reach his goals”¹⁸. This however opens up a discussion that extends well beyond the issues dealt with in this essay, and in this volume.

1. The Constitutional Courts had often censored regulations regarding expropriation indemnities, especially in reference to the disparity of treatment between owners that could earn profits from the increases in real-estate yields deriving from urban planning decisions, and those to whom expropriation indemnities responded with much lower payoffs.

2. Alberto ASOR ROSA, *Il grande silenzio. Intervista sugli intellettuali*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2009.

3. In those years “the forces that pushed hardest for reforms in housing and urban planning were much stronger than at the start of the centre-left when Sullo was in power. The main difference consisted in the active presence of the worker’s movement” (Paul GINSBORG, *Storia d’Italia dal dopoguerra a oggi. Società e politica 1943-1988*, Torino, Einaudi, 1989, p. 445, transl. by the author).

4. With the urban planning “legge ponte” bill of 1967 and the follow-up decrees of 1969, Italy was able to develop an overall urban planning regulation programme. This called for leadership in relation to public decisions in the transformation of the territory and the obligation to reserve certain quantities of space for public use and services. Through the housing laws of 1962 (plans for economic project housing), 1967 (obligation to have municipal planning and the application of quantitative norms and standards), 1971 (ten-year programme for residential building and balance of expropriation indemnities at agricultural value rates), 1977 (programmes for the renovation of existing buildings) and 1978 (limitations on rent levels for private lodgings), it became possible to control every segment of the housing stock, while developing residential areas equipped with all of the amenities that make a city civilized and liveable.,

5. Edoardo SALZANO, *Fondamenti di urbanistica. La storia e la norma*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003, p. 3.

6. Mario GHIO, Vittoria CALZOLARI, *Verde per la città. Funzioni, dimensionamento, costo, attuazione di parchi urbani, aree sportivi, campi da gioco, biblioteche e altri servizi per il tempo libero*, Roma, De Luca, 1961.

7. The book by Hans BERNOULLI, *La città e il suolo urbano*, Venezia, Corte del fontego, 2006, (ed.orig.: *Die Stadt und ihr Boden*, Zurich, 1946), had a great deal of success in Italy, even if originally published in an incomplete edition (1951).

8. Richard SENNETT, *The Fall of Public Man*, London, Penguin Books, 2001.

9. Municipality of Milan (Councillor of Regional Development) *Ricostruire la Grande Milano. Outline Documentation for Municipal Urban Planning Policies*, Milan, July 2001; Edoardo SALZANO, “Il modello flessibile a Milano”, *Urbanistica*, 2002, 118, p. 140-148.

10. The legislative bill proposal “Principles Regarding Regional Planning Practices” was presented by a group of delegates from the right, first signed by Maurizio Lupi, former councillor in Milan. It was approved at the Chamber of Deputies in 2004, but later blocked by the Senate. It was later presented in the XV legislature (2006).

11. Bettino Craxi from 1983 to 1987; Silvio Berlusconi was prime minister in 1994, from 2001 to 2006, and then again from 2008 to 2011.

12. I refer here to the “Stop Land Consumption” urban movement, started by a few associations in the regions of Piemonte and Lombardy, which now count thousands of members and associated committees of citizens. It is currently having a growing effect on the policy making of several municipalities. (<http://www.stopalconsumoditeritorio.it/>).

13. Compared to other European countries, in Italy, land consumption is more sensitive for its regional territorial features (the plains and valleys, as the main areas of urban spread, represent nearly one-fourth of the total territory, and cultural and natural heritage destruction by urban sprawl is frequent in every part of the country). Nevertheless, governing politics, at national and regional levels, have not taken on any initiative to understand the phenomenon, nor to rectify it. Even city planners started to take the matter into consideration only a few years ago. See Maria Cristina GIBELLI, Edoardo SALZANO

(eds), *No Sprawl*, Firenze, Alinea, 2006.

14. I recall an expression used by a young boy in a don Lorenzo Milani school, who acted against authoritarian teaching methods: “I’ve learned that the problems of others are similar to mine. To resolve them alone is avarice, and to resolve them together is politics” (Lorenzo MILANI, *Lettera a una professoressa*, Firenze, Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1967, p.6).

15. Saskia SASSEN, “The Global City: Introducing a Concept”, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 2005, vol. XI, 2, p. 27-43.

16. Mike DAVIS, *Planet of Slums*, London and New York,

Verso, 2006.

17. “But what society goes so far as to force you to acquire health insurance, meals and a decent home; the certainty of being cared for in case of an accident on the job, or to pay for protection in the case of job-dismissal? This is a society where, if you do not have money, you are not a free woman or man. In short, with capitalism, money is the right to have rights”. Raj Patel interviewed by Benedetto VECCHI, « Società marchiate a vita », *Il Manifesto*, 24 March 2010, p. 11.

18. Claudio NAPOLEONI, *Elementi di economia politica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1980, p.4.

Le droit à l'eau au Sud, un outil paradoxal pour penser le droit à la ville : entre coproduction et contestation des services urbains

Julie Aubriot et Luisa Moretto

Les droits au cœur de la ville : de l'approche par les droits au droit à la ville

Les droits de l'homme s'inscrivent dans une tradition philosophique longue et complexe. S'ils ont pris une importance formelle et symbolique après l'adoption de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme (1948), ce n'est qu'après la chute du mur de Berlin que ces derniers ont été perçus comme des moyens de changer la manière de construire la politique globale autour, non plus de la puissance, mais du respect des droits individuels¹. À la fin des années 1990, le respect des droits s'est imposé comme valeur de référence alors que les premiers bilans, plutôt négatifs, sur les potentialités du « tout marché » commençaient à voir le jour. De la même manière, à cette époque, des réflexions sur les politiques de développement, sur les politiques néolibérales et sur l'impact des ajustements structurels, notamment en Afrique, étaient engagées et l'État était à nouveau identifié comme un acteur capable de promouvoir le développement. Par conséquent, les droits font aujourd'hui partie intégrante du développement². Par ailleurs, l'approche par les droits (dont l'interprétation est plurielle), centrée sur l'État et son rôle de promotion des droits de l'homme et visant à assurer un accès équitable des personnes à différents types de biens et de services sur le long terme, s'est progressivement imposée comme le cadre de référence du développement.

Si, il y a dix ans, il n'y avait pas de consensus sur le lien entre droits et services essentiels, notamment en milieu urbain, il en va autrement aujourd'hui³ : l'accès aux services essentiels (logement, santé, eau, etc.) est un droit pour tous, il s'agit de trouver les moyens de parvenir à les réaliser à l'échelle urbaine. En effet, les droits sociaux, relatifs aux besoins fondamentaux des individus et aux services essentiels, peuvent également être qualifiés de droits créances⁴ dans la mesure où leur satisfaction exige une action de l'État sous la forme d'une prestation et confère aux citoyens une créance contre la société ou l'État qui est tenu de leur fournir, pour y satisfaire, des prestations positives impliquant la création de services publics. Longtemps considérés comme des droits de seconde génération, cette dichotomie

est aujourd'hui internationalement dépassée et les droits sociaux connaissent une reconnaissance identique à celle des droits civils et politiques.

Les questions d'accès aux services essentiels se posent particulièrement en milieu urbain. En effet, le contexte actuel est marqué par une urbanisation forte à l'échelle du globe⁵, notamment dans les pays en développement. Par conséquent, les villes sont au cœur de l'agenda développementaliste du XXI^e siècle et la réduction de la pauvreté urbaine devient un défi majeur dans la mesure où la croissance urbaine continue de s'accompagner d'une augmentation et d'un approfondissement des inégalités à l'échelle des villes. Le phénomène de « fracture urbaine⁶ », caractérisé par des villes divisées et composées d'espaces laissés pour compte, notamment en termes de desserte de services, est largement répandu dans de nombreux endroits du globe.

Face à ce constat, les politiques néolibérales, souvent considérées comme étant à l'origine de ces dynamiques d'exclusion, sont régulièrement mises en accusation dans une partie consistante de la littérature. En réponse, le droit à la ville, entendu comme le droit de tous les citoyens à un logement adéquat, à des services essentiels décentes, à un accès équitable aux dispositifs sociaux, ainsi que le droit de participer à la vie politique, économique et sociale de la ville⁷, est de plus en plus proposé comme un cadre permettant de repenser les manières de faire la ville. En effet, « Le droit à la ville est la revendication opposée à l'idée capitaliste – et néolibérale – de l'espace urbain ; il lance un défi au néolibéralisme, sur la définition de ce à quoi sert la ville⁸ ». Dans ce nouvel agenda du développement urbain, les droits sociaux, tout comme les notions d'universalité, d'égalité et de participation des citoyens aux décisions affectant la vie de la cité sont centrales.

Dans ce cadre, un nouveau droit social émerge depuis une dizaine d'années : le droit à l'eau. Formalisé au niveau international en 2002 par l'adoption du Commentaire Général n° 15⁹, il est défini comme le droit de chacun de disposer d'un « approvisionnement suffisant, physiquement accessible et à un coût abordable, d'une eau salubre et de qualité acceptable pour les usages personnels et domestiques ». Ce dernier a pris une ampleur encore plus grande depuis sa reconnaissance par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies (juillet 2010)¹⁰ et le Conseil des droits de l'homme (septembre 2010)¹¹. Par conséquent, le droit à l'eau représente un des aspects fondamentaux du droit à la ville. Si cette façon d'envisager le développement urbain semble utopique, notamment dans les pays en développement ou émergents, elle permet néanmoins de poser la question de la justice sociale dans la ville.

Historique de l'émergence de l'approche par les droits

1948 : Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme (DUDH).

1986 : Déclaration sur le Droit au Développement. Texte politique qui affirme que le développement est un droit. Paradoxalement, si l'émergence d'une certaine forme de néolibéralisme transnational voit le jour à cette époque, dans le même temps, émerge l'idée de la nécessité de créer un nouvel ordre économique mondial, notamment à travers le droit au développement ou le développement durable.

1992 : Sommet de Rio sur le Développement Durable : il est affirmé que le développement n'est pas qu'un fait économique.

1993 : Conférence mondiale sur les droits de l'homme de Vienne. La Déclaration et le Programme d'action de Vienne marquent le départ d'un nouvel effort pour consolider et appliquer l'ensemble des instruments rela-

tifs aux droits de l'homme édifiés depuis 1948 sur la base de la DUDH.

1997 : Réforme du système des Nations Unies. Les droits de l'homme occupent désormais une place centrale dans la réforme : l'idée est d'approcher le développement autrement et de relégitimer le rôle de l'État dans la desserte de services tout en mettant l'accent sur la participation des populations.

2000 : Le PNUD publie son rapport annuel sur le développement humain intitulé « droits de l'homme et développement humain ». Dans ce dernier, il est démontré que la notion de développement humain et les droits de l'homme poursuivent le même objectif et sont complémentaires : ils visent tous deux à améliorer la vie des individus, à étendre leurs libertés, à faire évoluer positivement leur bien-être et à s'assurer du respect de la dignité de chacun.

Le droit à l'eau : quelle réalité urbaine ?

Dans la réalité, la construction du droit à la ville reste une question pleinement ouverte. En effet, ce concept est peu décliné en initiatives, actions ou engagements précis permettant sa mise en œuvre : sa construction se fait encore, pour l'instant, au travers d'une multitude d'expériences et de pratiques essayant de faire appel à cette idée séduisante et puissante pour la traduire en une réalité concrète. En même temps, le droit à la ville se bâtit sur différents aspects de la vie urbaine qui vont des droits socio-économiques – notamment le droit au logement et aux services – au droit d'utiliser la ville comme une arène permettant de réaliser ses aspirations¹².

Dans cette perspective, nous présentons ici deux expériences de mobilisations citoyennes déployées pour garantir l'accès à l'eau des populations urbaines défavorisées, d'une part, et les collaborations et conflits avec les pouvoirs publics qui en résultent, d'autre part. Dans un premier temps, la pratique d'accès à l'eau au Venezuela, analysée dans cet article, s'insère dans le cadre des réformes en cours pour améliorer l'accès aux services à travers une plus grande participation des citoyens. Le cas d'étude présenté dans cet article se base principalement sur une étude théorique et empirique réalisée dans des quartiers pauvres de la péri-

phérie sud de Caracas¹³, même si l'analyse qui en découle est généralisable au reste du pays.

Dans un second temps, l'expérience sud-africaine exposée concerne la ville de Johannesburg, poumon économique de l'Afrique du sud, et plus précisément Soweto, le plus ancien et le plus important *township* de la ville. Soweto a été l'objet du plus important projet de rénovation de réseaux d'eau jamais réalisé à l'échelle municipale depuis la restructuration du gouvernement métropolitain en 2000. Ce projet, caractérisé par la mise en place de compteurs à prépaiement, a été source de controverses importantes. Malgré la spécificité de l'exemple, celui-ci apporte, néanmoins, des éclairages plus généraux dans la mesure où l'installation de ce type de compteurs s'est généralisée dans les villes sud africaines ces dernières années tant dans le secteur de l'eau que de l'électricité, créant souvent des mobilisations sociales importantes. Le propos sera élaboré à partir d'enquêtes de terrain réalisées entre juin 2009 et décembre 2010.

Les exemples analysés présentent des similitudes importantes du fait du renouveau politique, économique et social insufflé dans les deux cas au cours des années 1990 et qui s'est concrétisé, entre autres, par l'adoption de nouvelles constitutions ayant permis l'institutionnalisation du droit à l'eau. Malgré ces convergences, ces deux cas d'études présentent aussi des différences considérables dans la mise en œuvre de ce droit qui renvoie à des pratiques et à des imaginaires considérablement opposés. Si en Afrique du Sud le droit à l'eau passe par l'opposition des citoyens aux politiques nationales et locales et donc à la mise en place d'un contre-projet « par le bas », au Venezuela, on assiste au contraire à une situation de collaboration entre la population et les pouvoirs publics dans le cadre d'un nouveau dispositif étatique de fourniture d'eau potable. Ainsi, cet article se propose d'étudier, à partir des cas sud-africain et vénézuélien, comment la reconnaissance et la définition d'un droit à un service de base, ici le droit à l'eau, permet le développement de nouveaux modes de participation de la société dite civile à l'élaboration de politiques de l'eau (coproduction et contestation) et permet de contribuer à une réflexion plus large sur la réalisation du droit à la ville.

Caracas

D'après HIDROVEN (*Compañía Anónima Hidrológica de Venezuela*)¹⁴, en 2005, l'eau potable était disponible pour 89 % de la population nationale. Cependant, l'accès à l'eau varie de manière significative entre les zones rurales et urbaines, ainsi qu'entre les quartiers formels et informels¹⁵, ces derniers quartiers étant caractérisés par des conditions d'accès aux services d'eau inégales, inférieures aux standards nationaux et irrégulières. Dans ce cadre contrasté

de distribution et d'accès à l'eau potable, le Venezuela a été témoin dans la dernière décennie de changements importants dans les politiques urbaines relatives à la fourniture et à l'accès aux services urbains de base, en particulier pour l'eau potable et l'assainissement.

Ce changement dans la politique urbaine a été supporté par un nouveau cadre administratif, législatif et politique. Au niveau administratif, la Constitution actuelle de 1999 et la *Ley Orgánica del Poder Público Municipal* – LOPSAPS (2001) – transfèrent les responsabilités pour la distribution et le contrôle des services d'eau aux municipalités ou districts métropolitains en cohérence avec le principe de subsidiarité. D'un point de vue légal, des normes reconnaissant le droit à l'eau des citoyens ont été approuvées. La Constitution de 1999 (art. 304) souligne que « toutes les eaux sont un bien public de la Nation et sont insubstituables pour la vie et le développement », et la LOPSAPS (2001, art. 3.b.) identifie dans « l'accès de tous les citoyens aux services d'eau potable et d'assainissement » l'un des principes sur lesquels repose l'idée de service public utilisé dans cette loi. Plus explicitement, la *Ley de Agua* (« Loi de l'eau »), approuvée en 2007, affirme que « l'accès à l'eau est un droit humain fondamental » (art. 5.1.). Enfin, de manière plus significative, au niveau politique, le gouvernement actuel de Chavez développe une forme innovante de « démocratie participative » (*democracia protagónica y participativa*) pour construire une alternative contre-hégémonique au modèle néolibéral de développement¹⁷. Si le cadre normatif qui établissait la compétence municipale pour les services n'est pas une nouveauté¹⁸, cette nouvelle relance de la décentralisation du service d'eau aux municipalités est caractérisée par une forte impulsion de la participation citoyenne, au point que l'article 184 de la Constitution de 1999 prévoit l'établissement de mécanismes flexibles pour que les États et les municipalités (re)transfèrent aux habitants et groupes organisés la gestion des services, en respect du principe de coresponsabilité.

Du point de vue de la production et de la distribution de l'eau, l'entreprise publique HIDROVEN est devenue le fournisseur d'eau le plus important au niveau national après la fermeture de la compagnie publique nationale de distribution d'eau INOS (*Instituto de Obras Sanitarias*). Ainsi, en 1991, HIDROVEN distribue l'eau à environ 80 % de la population vénézuélienne dans 20 des 23 États du pays et opère à travers dix compagnies hydrauliques publiques de distribution d'eau. Dans la périphérie sud de Caracas (*los Valles del Tuy*, qui est l'objet de cet article), une de ces dix compagnies, Hidrocapital, est responsable du captage, du traitement, du stockage et de la distribution de l'eau¹⁹. Cependant, bien que cette région présente des sources abondantes d'eau douce, la production d'eau reste insuffisante et la priorité va à l'approvisionnement de la capitale plutôt qu'aux centres urbains périphériques.

De plus, malgré des améliorations importantes liées au recouvrement des coûts du service, le système de distribution d'eau semble souffrir de nombreuses carences structurelles liées notamment à l'entretien, au renouvellement du système et à la dépendance vis-à-vis de l'État pour les investissements²⁰.

Pouvoirs publics et participation citoyenne pour l'accès à l'eau

Dans ce nouveau cadre institutionnel et législatif favorisant l'établissement du droit d'accès aux services et le renouvellement de la participation communautaire, les citoyens sont appelés à s'organiser en associations locales – les Comités Techniques pour l'Eau, *Mesas Técnicas de Agua* (MTA) – pour obtenir les services d'eau. L'idée des MTA est de canaliser l'activisme citoyen afin de garantir l'accès à l'eau au travers d'organisations reconnues institutionnellement par la LOPSAPS (art. 75-77). En effet, dans les quartiers à bas revenus de la Région Métropolitaine de Caracas, les habitants ont été particulièrement actifs dans le déploiement de pratiques informelles et souvent illégales d'accès à l'eau, allant de la création de connexions illégales sur les canalisations publiques à la distribution au moyen de camions-citernes dépourvus de licences. Ces pratiques ont aussi été habituellement couplées à des contestations et des manifestations de citoyens réclamant l'accès à l'eau potable. On retrouve fréquemment les *leaders* de ces mobilisations citoyennes occupant, au sein des MTA, la place de représentants du quartier, généralement élus en assemblée communautaire par les habitants eux-mêmes.

Les MTA sont donc des organisations de base – composées par des représentants des citoyens mêmes – ayant pour fonction de collaborer à la production des services d'eau et d'assainissement mais aussi de dialoguer avec les pouvoirs publics et les habitants à bas revenus pour l'amélioration du service²¹. Elles sont censées collaborer et coopérer dans une structure tripartite entre la communauté, la municipalité et l'entreprise de distribution afin de garantir l'amélioration physique du service d'eau et la participation communautaire dans la prise de décision. La collaboration de l'ensemble de ces acteurs locaux et leur coresponsabilité dans la distribution d'eau doivent se réaliser par la mise en œuvre de tâches bien précises. La société de distribution d'eau, d'une part, promeut la participation communautaire et, d'autre part, finance et réalise elle-même le branchement et la pose des canalisations principales. La municipalité a la tâche d'encourager la formation des MTA et d'en définir le fonctionnement aussi bien que d'apporter une contribution financière à la réalisation du réseau principal²². Les habitants, enfin, participent – par une contribution finan-

cière et en main-d'œuvre – à la mise en œuvre du réseau secondaire et à la pose des branchements domiciliaires.

D'un point de vue opérationnel, les MTA représentent l'ensemble des habitants du quartier face aux opérateurs du service et aux élus municipaux, elles informent sur les droits et les obligations des utilisateurs du service, orientent la participation communautaire dans le développement et la supervision de la fourniture du service et proposent aux opérateurs le système de paiement. Techniquement, les MTA doivent établir un plan du quartier défavorisé montrant les canalisations existantes (formelles et informelles), réaliser un recensement et une étude des besoins en eau, et enfin réaliser – conjointement avec les compagnies de distribution – un diagnostic et un projet de réseau hydrique formel²³.

Coproduction du service d'eau

L'inscription de « droits » ou garanties d'accès aux services dans les lois vénézuéliennes a une valeur considérable car elle témoigne d'un engagement des pouvoirs publics pour leur réalisation, qui doit se concrétiser dans le cadre d'un rapport de complémentarité, de coordination et de collaboration entre les politiques nationales et la mobilisation citoyenne. Les politiques et pratiques actuelles d'accès à l'eau potable au Venezuela visent en effet la construction d'une « proposition contre-hégémonique » alternative au modèle néolibéral d'une économie de marché à travers une démocratie participative, plutôt que représentative, mettant au centre du développement la participation communautaire²⁴. Si l'implication des citoyens dans la distribution et l'accès aux services de base n'est pas *per se* une alternative au néolibéralisme, voire même une facette des politiques urbaines néolibérales²⁵, elle semble prendre une dimension assez singulière au Venezuela : celle d'une véritable coproduction des services.

La notion de « droit » à l'eau s'accompagne, en effet, d'une très forte responsabilisation des acteurs intervenant dans le processus de production et de distribution du service. Si le droit d'accès à l'eau est garanti par le nouveau cadre politique et légal, c'est sur le terrain que les différents acteurs doivent collaborer. Cariola et Lacabana²⁶ soulignent que « la relation avec les institutions est vue d'une perspective de plus grande responsabilité pour les communautés, où ces dernières n'ont pas seulement le droit de demander le service, mais ont également une série d'obligations pour l'obtenir et le faire fonctionner. Cela vient d'une vision de coresponsabilité entre la communauté et les institutions (gouvernements et entreprises publiques), les habitants ne sont pas seulement demandeurs et clients d'un service, ils aident aussi dans sa construction et en sont une partie intégrante ». En même temps, les

municipalités et les compagnies hydrauliques sont censées fournir le support administratif, financier et technique nécessaire.

La reconnaissance de la part des pouvoirs publics du rôle indispensable des habitants et de leurs pratiques informelles au niveau communautaire est essentielle au partage des responsabilités devant produire des synergies capables d'améliorer l'accès à l'eau des quartiers défavorisés. Le raccordement des quartiers pauvres au réseau formel de distribution s'appuie de ce fait sur la connaissance des résidents des connexions illégales, du quartier « envahi » (topographie, localisation des connexions illégales, problèmes de pression) et des conditions d'accès à l'eau (coûts des matériaux, systèmes de stockage, etc.). Cette reconnaissance est davantage témoignée par l'institutionnalisation de nouveaux espaces alternatifs et formels de rencontre et de discussion entre les pouvoirs publics et les leaders des MTA (les « Comités communautaires pour l'eau » et les « Rencontres nationales pour l'eau ») dans le cadre de la LOPSAPS pour échanger sur les pratiques d'accès à l'eau au niveau régional et national.

Dans ce contexte, le droit à l'eau n'est pas exclusivement perçu comme un « paradigme légaliste » à utiliser pour exiger un service, mais plutôt comme une « valeur de référence » à évoquer pour combler les écarts entre le droit institutionnalisé et les limitations de sa réalisation. Cette valeur de référence est clairement identifiée dans le cas du *racionamiento programado* de l'eau qui consiste en une distribution planifiée et rationnée du service de la part de la compagnie hydraulique pour permettre à un plus grand nombre de résidents d'y avoir accès. Cette pratique est généralement discutée conjointement entre l'entreprise publique et les citoyens pour garantir à ces derniers une quantité constante d'eau à des horaires précis, leur permettant ainsi de s'organiser pour l'approvisionnement. En ce sens, il ne s'agit pas d'une privation subie par les communautés mais plutôt d'un accord entre acteurs dans le cadre d'un contrat social plus large du droit d'accès aux services.

Cette pratique de coproduction et de coresponsabilité entre citoyens et pouvoirs publics ne semble pas seulement avoir entraîné une plus grande équité dans la distribution du service, mais aussi un changement significatif dans la manière de penser, de construire et de s'approprier le fait de vivre en ville, spécialement pour les plus défavorisés. C'est d'abord une pratique qui, d'une part, entraîne la reconnaissance de la part des pouvoirs publics de la présence de ces citoyens sur des terrains occupés illégalement et qui contribue donc à une légitimation de l'occupation de ces parcelles par le passage d'un système informel d'accès à l'eau potable à celui de la coproduction. D'autre part, elle permet la reconnaissance d'un nouveau rôle social pour la communauté, celui de la représentation d'un nouveau territoire

urbain et de la responsabilité de son administration et de sa gestion en collaboration avec les pouvoirs publics²⁷. C'est dans cette coproduction que nous identifions – en évoquant Lefebvre²⁸ – l'accomplissement d'un droit à participer aux décisions qui concernent la vie urbaine, mais aussi d'un droit à l'appropriation d'un territoire urbain non seulement par son occupation physique mais aussi par sa réinvention en fonction des besoins des citoyens.

Ensuite, l'implication communautaire dans l'amélioration des conditions de vie pour tous les citoyens, y compris les plus défavorisés, n'est pas restreinte aux services d'eau mais concerne, au contraire, également la production et la distribution d'autres services urbains, toujours dans le cadre du projet social de l'État. En effet, sur la base de l'exemple des MTA, d'autres organisations de base se sont développées pour garantir le droit au logement et à l'occupation de la terre (*comités de tierra urbana*), l'accès à l'énergie (*meses tecnicas de energia*) ou aux infrastructures de santé dans les quartiers pauvres (*comités de salud*). Comme l'indique Colau²⁹, les activités des *comités de tierra urbana* « s'étendent au-delà du processus basique de régularisation et d'attribution des droits de propriété de la terre, car [ces comités] sont incontestablement des agents politiques ayant une vision globale de la ville – une ville de laquelle personne n'est exclu ».

L'analyse présentée nous amène à reconnaître aussi bien une pratique qu'un imaginaire³⁰ alternatifs dans la distribution et la gestion de ce service, comme d'autres services urbains, qui se basent sur une nouvelle forme de négociation entre les citoyens et les pouvoirs publics : le droit à l'eau n'est pas rendu opérationnel exclusivement au travers de la mise en œuvre d'un appareil de normes, mais plutôt sur base de la définition d'un nouveau contrat social entre les différents acteurs (celui de la coresponsabilité) et d'un projet politique commun au niveau national (celui d'une démocratie participative et *protagonica*). Ici, le droit aux services urbains se construit de manière collective³¹, dans le cadre d'une vision politique claire, tant au niveau national que local.

Cependant, il nous semble essentiel de nuancer ces commentaires car les arrangements relatifs à un meilleur accès à l'eau potable exposés ci-dessus se basent de manière substantielle sur la coopération entre les MTA et la compagnie publique d'eau, tandis que la municipalité est souvent complètement absente de ce processus³². Cette forme de coproduction – excluant la participation du gouvernement local – s'insère dans certaines critiques actuelles qui soulignent que le processus de décentralisation fiscale et administrative est encore incomplet au Venezuela³³. En outre, la délégation importante de responsabilités au niveau communautaire, conjointement au soutien à la mobilisation citoyenne pour l'accès aux services, tend à renforcer le lien entre les citoyens et le pouvoir central, notamment dans la figure du

Président Hugo Chavez³⁴. Il serait intéressant d'analyser dans quelle mesure ce projet anti-hégémonique développé au niveau national – qui se base essentiellement sur la centralisation du pouvoir via le transfert des responsabilités au niveau communautaire – pourrait conduire à une vulnérabilité politique et économique des organisations communautaires de base au Venezuela³⁵ mais en même temps aussi à une nouvelle forme de déconcentration avec des facteurs de réussite certains.

Johannesbourg

L'année 1994 met fin au régime d'*apartheid* et fait émerger un espoir de renouveau politique, économique et social en Afrique du Sud. Dès lors, une des priorités du nouveau gouvernement sud-africain, l'*African National Congress* (ANC), est de gommer les inégalités issues de l'*apartheid* et de généraliser l'accès aux services de base dont l'eau. Cette volonté gouvernementale se traduit notamment par l'adoption en 1996 d'une nouvelle Constitution considérée comme l'une des plus progressistes du monde sur l'affirmation des droits sociaux : le droit au logement, à la santé, ou le droit à l'eau³⁶ sont protégés par la Déclaration des Droits (*Bill of Rights*). L'ambition sud-africaine de construction d'une société plus juste dans laquelle les droits fondamentaux de chacun sont réalisés de manière homogène est matérialisée par la Constitution qui propose une rupture totale avec la situation prévalant sous le régime d'*apartheid* caractérisé par le non droit, la ségrégation et la différenciation sociale.

Au lendemain de l'avènement démocratique, l'accès aux services essentiels, et principalement à l'eau et à l'assainissement, représentait un des défis principaux de l'ANC et, dès 1994, l'objectif du gouvernement sud-africain était de « faire du droit à l'eau une réalité³⁷ ». L'enjeu était d'importance : sur les 40 millions d'habitants que comptait alors le pays, environ 15,2 millions n'avaient pas accès à l'eau³⁸ et plus de 20,5 millions n'avaient pas accès à un assainissement de base³⁹. Le gouvernement tenta donc de répondre à ce défi en rénovant en profondeur le cadre institutionnel de gestion du secteur, en mettant en place de nouvelles politiques de l'eau aux échelles nationale et locale et en instituant une politique d'aides sociales dont la « politique de l'eau gratuite » (*free basic water policy*) constitue la pierre angulaire. Cette dernière prend la forme d'une allocation gratuite de 6 m³ d'eau par mois et par ménage offerte à l'ensemble des foyers sud-africains⁴⁰.

Dans le même temps, la responsabilité des services est transférée aux municipalités avec l'adoption du *water services Act* (Act n° 108 de 1997). Pour satisfaire à l'impératif de trouver les moyens techniques et financiers aptes à favoriser l'inclusion des urbains pauvres, la muni-

cipalité de Johannesburg a vu son cadre de gestion des services d'eau profondément révisé au début des années 2000 sous l'impulsion de réformes nationales du secteur et de contraintes environnementales et financières propres à la ville, déclarée en situation de banqueroute à la fin des années 1990. Avec l'appui de la Banque Mondiale, cette dernière a adopté le plan *Igoli 2002* visant à réformer en profondeur sa structuration. Le cadre sociotechnique de gestion des services d'eau est passé d'une gestion éclatée entre les 13 municipalités découpées selon des critères raciaux formant Johannesburg à une gestion centralisée au niveau du Grand Johannesburg (COJ) via la création d'une compagnie de droit privé détenue à 100 % par la ville : *Johannesburg Water* (JW). Un an après sa mise en place, celle-ci signa un contrat de gestion de cinq ans avec JOWAM (consortium d'acteurs privés au capital détenu à 63 % par Suez) afin d'optimiser ses performances. Le recours au secteur privé et l'application du principe du recouvrement des coûts imposé par le plan *Igoli* amenèrent la municipalité à faire des choix techniques souvent controversés, notamment par une société civile organisée et active.

Dès sa création, le défi était de taille pour JW : uniformiser un accès à l'eau très disparate entre des quartiers riches aux conditions d'accès à l'eau égales aux standards européens et des quartiers pauvres caractérisés par un niveau de service faible, voire inexistant. Au-delà de l'extension des services, il s'agissait de réduire l'important taux de pertes (43 % à l'échelle de la municipalité), résultat conjoint de pertes physiques dues à la vétusté des réseaux et de pertes commerciales⁴¹. Dans ce contexte, au début des années 2000, Soweto fut identifié comme la source principale de pertes physiques et commerciales (87 %) à l'échelle municipale, dont 70 % était attribué à des pertes commerciales. Ce non-paiement massif était perçu par la municipalité comme une des manifestations d'une supposée « culture de non-paiement » héritée de l'*apartheid* par les citoyens pauvres.

Dans ces conditions, en septembre 2003, le maire de la ville, Amos Masondo, annonça le lancement d'une vaste opération de rénovation des réseaux : l'*Operation Gcin'Amanzi*' (OGA). Dès 2004, un projet pilote fut mis en œuvre à Phiri, un des quartiers les plus pauvres du township de Soweto. Ce dernier avait deux objectifs : réduire à la fois les pertes physiques en améliorant les infrastructures et les pertes commerciales en installant 170.000 compteurs à prépaiement, outil déjà utilisé pour des services comme l'électricité dans de nombreuses villes sud-africaines qui conditionnent l'accès au service par une obligation de prépaiement.

Mobilisations collectives contre le projet OGA

Dès le lancement du projet OGA, des résistances sont apparues de la part de certains résidents qui s'élevaient contre l'installation des compteurs, l'obligation de payer l'eau et l'insuffisance du volume gratuit proposé dans le cadre de la FBW. Dès août 2003, ces résidents se constituèrent en un groupe organisé : le *Phiri concerned residents forum* avec le soutien de l'*Anti Privatisation Forum* (APF), un des mouvements sociaux très influents à l'échelle de Johannesburg, et de certains de ses affiliés (*Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee* (SECC) et la Coalition contre la privatisation de l'eau) spécialisés dans la défense de l'accès des citoyens pauvres aux services essentiels. La contestation collective contre le projet prit la forme de l'opération *Vul'Amanzi* (« plus d'eau » en zoulou) concrétisée par diverses actions : manifestations devant le conseil municipal ou les bureaux de JW, circulation de pétitions, rebouchage des tranchées creusées pendant les travaux de rénovation des réseaux, coupure des conduites d'eau installées par JW, sabotage des compteurs, etc. En réponse à ces protestations, la répression fut assez vigoureuse de la part de la municipalité et de la compagnie d'eau qui firent intervenir ponctuellement la police⁴² et des compagnies de sécurité privées⁴³ afin de surveiller les travaux. S'il est difficile d'appréhender l'ampleur du phénomène, aujourd'hui, JW estime que 40 à 50 % des compteurs ont été déconnectés illégalement à Soweto⁴⁴.

En outre, en 2006, après trois années de contestations et d'essais de dialogue avec la municipalité, cinq résidents du township, sous l'impulsion de l'APF et avec l'aide d'une organisation légale (CALS) et d'un avocat constitutionnel renommé, ont porté plainte contre les autorités locales et nationales en charge des services d'eau⁴⁵. Dans cette dernière, les requérants dénoncent les conditions de mise en œuvre de leur droit à l'eau, le caractère inconstitutionnel et illégal des compteurs à prépaiement et l'insuffisance du volume d'eau gratuit fourni par la municipalité dans le cadre de la FBW. Ce procès⁴⁶, aujourd'hui terminé, même s'il a été perdu par les requérants, a contraint la municipalité à faire évoluer de manière significative sa politique de l'eau en faveur des plus pauvres.

Une participation citoyenne dans des espaces « inventés »

Ici, tant les pratiques que les imaginaires alternatifs liés au droit à l'eau et développés contre le projet OGA apparaissent comme étant en conflit avec le modèle urbain dominant dans le domaine des services caractérisé par le principe de recouvrement des coûts. En effet,

alors qu'il s'agit pour la municipalité de trouver les moyens techniques de garantir le paiement des usagers via l'installation de compteurs à prépaiement, une partie des urbains pauvres se mobilisent contre ces politiques qualifiées de néolibérales par certains observateurs⁴⁷ et contre leur application à l'échelle urbaine au travers d'actions de « non consentement⁴⁸ ».

Les mobilisations orchestrées par l'APF et ses affiliés contre le projet OGA, développées tant au travers d'actions collectives que via le recours aux tribunaux, peuvent être qualifiées d'anti-hégémoniques dans la mesure où elles s'opposent aux politiques municipales et nationales, à la « privatisation » des services et au principe de recouvrement des coûts adopté en 1996 par le gouvernement dans le cadre du second programme national de développement (*Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan (GEAR)*). Dans ce cadre, les compteurs à prépaiement symbolisent une double menace : celle de la privatisation des services et de la marchandisation de l'eau, illustrée par l'un des slogans adopté par les mouvements sociaux : « *break the meter, enjoy the water* ». Au-delà, les arrangements institutionnels en vigueur au moment du lancement du projet OGA, compris comme une forme de privatisation, ont été un élément catalyseur des mobilisations collectives et ce, même si l'objectivité de cet argument est discutable dans la mesure où il s'agissait d'un contrat de gestion entre la compagnie publique d'eau et une filiale de Suez, et non d'une privatisation *per se*. Pourtant, dans les imaginaires collectifs, la présence d'une compagnie privée d'eau et la mise en œuvre de réformes de recouvrement des coûts sont essentiels dans la compréhension de ce qui fut perçu comme une violation du droit à l'eau et par là même de l'esprit et du but affiché par de la Constitution⁴⁹.

En effet, le droit à l'eau occupe une place centrale dans les répertoires de légitimation et de dénonciation adoptés par les militants. Ces derniers sont informés de l'existence de leur droit, même s'il est souvent assimilé, à tort, au droit à une eau gratuite comme l'illustrent les propos d'une activiste : « Depuis 2004, les résidents de Soweto arrachent les compteurs : ils ne veulent pas payer pour l'eau, c'est un droit, c'est écrit dans la Constitution ! Donc les gens ne paient pas⁵⁰ ! » Dans ce cadre, les privations périodiques de l'accès à l'eau imposées par les compteurs à prépaiement lors de l'épuisement des crédits de consommation prépayés sont perçues comme des violations du droit à l'eau et sont qualifiées de « *silent disconnection*⁵¹ » dans la mesure où la déconnexion est décidée unilatéralement, sans notification préalable et sans négociation possible. Si les références au droit à la ville sont peu présentes dans le discours militant, il nous semble néanmoins que la contestation organisée contre des politiques considérées comme « néolibérales » participe bien, en creux, de la réflexion et de la définition du droit à la ville pour tous.

Au-delà, les mobilisations contre le projet OGA posent la question du rapport à l'autorité publique, de la participation citoyenne à la construction des services essentiels et de la citoyenneté en milieu urbain. En effet, dans un contexte de contestation grandissante contre la qualité des services, d'inefficacité des gouvernements locaux⁵² et de défaillance des espaces institutionnels de participation locale⁵³, la place des contestations extra-institutionnelles est posée. Les mouvements sociaux urbains, critiqués et criminalisés par les sphères institutionnelles qui les considèrent comme non-représentatifs, non-légitimes et « anti-système », sont peu impliqués dans les réflexions sur les politiques de la ville⁵⁴. Ces mouvements inventent une manière de faire entendre leur voix dans des espaces extra-institutionnels ou espaces « inventés »⁵⁵. Malgré cela, ils ne sont ni une menace pour la démocratie, ni l'expression d'un refus de citoyenneté. Au contraire, ils mettent en lumière la situation de millions de citoyens pauvres et contraignent la municipalité à reconsidérer ses politiques sociales en faveur d'une plus grande inclusion. Leur présence témoigne finalement d'une démocratie active et est l'expression de nouvelles formes de citoyenneté qui s'avèrent nécessaires dans un pays où la domination de l'ANC est très forte et l'opposition politique faible, notamment à Johannesburg. Comme le souligne Mitchell⁵⁶ en référence au droit à la ville, le droit à la représentation et l'accès à des espaces publics sont nécessaires pour réaliser plus de justice sociale en ville. Dans une situation de défaillance des espaces « invités⁵⁷ », notamment à l'échelle locale, les mouvements sociaux s'inventent des espaces publics de participation afin de faire entendre leur vision du droit à la ville.

Globalement, il s'agit pour les mouvements sociaux d'un essai de « plaider pour un autre monde⁵⁸ » dans lequel régnerait une meilleure prise en compte des pauvres et qui se traduirait, à l'échelle municipale, par une ville et des politiques urbaines plus inclusives et moins soumises aux lois du marché. Le droit à la ville traverse et sous-tend implicitement les mobilisations sociales contre le projet OGA et plus généralement contre la politique municipale relative aux services essentiels.

Conclusion

Le droit à la ville en tant que tel n'est pratiquement pas utilisé en référence aux politiques urbaines dans les deux pays étudiés ici, et ce, que ce soit par la société dite civile, les pouvoirs publics ou la communauté scientifique – à l'exception de Parnell⁵⁹, Parnell et Pieterse⁶⁰, Parnell et Boule⁶¹ et Steffen⁶². Pour les citoyens en particulier, ce concept n'est pas intégré dans les discours ou les pratiques. Ils se focalisent davantage sur les droits perçus isolément

en fonction des contextes et des besoins (droit à la santé, droit au logement, droit à l'eau). En effet, les droits sociaux deviennent une référence croissante : le débat intellectuel se concentre de plus en plus sur la question des droits humains et sur le rôle de l'État, l'idée étant de réussir à mettre en place la « bonne ville » capable de corriger les effets de l'exclusion sur les pauvres urbains, notamment dans le secteur de l'eau⁶³. Les mobilisations autour du droit à l'eau présentées ici nous semblent être une bonne illustration de la manière de réfléchir au droit à la ville, instrument ambivalent qui peut se traduire en pratique par une participation dans les sphères « extra-institutionnelles » dominées par des actions de contestation (en Afrique du Sud) ou au contraire par la coproduction du service (au Venezuela). Ainsi, poser la question du lien entre l'accès aux services et le droit à la ville peut être porteur de nouvelles interrogations sur la question urbaine.

Bien que les deux cas étudiés présentent des différences substantielles, quatre pistes de réflexion explicitant le lien entre le droit à l'eau et le droit à la ville méritent d'être soulignées.

Tout d'abord, dans les deux cas, il existe une forte critique de l'approche marchande des services urbains et des approches « *top-down* » souvent adoptées par les politiques urbaines pour l'eau. Si le *racionamiento programado* est accepté à Caracas comme une mesure négociée entre la population et les pouvoirs publics pour garantir une plus grande équité dans la distribution d'eau potable, les citoyens pauvres de Johannesburg perçoivent les coupures d'eau comme un facteur d'oppression, les « *silent disconnections* » étant imposées unilatéralement suite à l'épuisement du crédit prépayé. La construction d'un droit d'accès aux services essentiels et aux opportunités que la ville doit offrir se définit, dans ces deux cas, par la présence (au Venezuela) ou la demande (en Afrique du Sud) d'une nouvelle idée de citoyenneté et d'un nouveau contrat social. Ainsi, ces deux exemples soulignent l'importance de la participation citoyenne dans les politiques urbaines mais aussi de l'appropriation des changements en cours de la part des citoyens (qui ont à la fois des droits et des responsabilités), épousant ainsi les contours du droit à la ville de Lefebvre.

Deuxièmement, dans les deux villes analysées, l'institutionnalisation du droit à l'eau dans les lois est fondamentale dans la mesure où le droit constitutionnel est à la base des revendications citoyennes visant à garantir l'accès au service : c'est d'ailleurs avant tout au travers de l'accomplissement des droits socio-économiques que le droit à la ville se construit. En même temps, l'institutionnalisation de l'approche par les droits comporte une forte valeur de référence dans la mesure où elle foment une réflexion plus importante sur la manière de réaliser les droits sociaux dans le milieu urbain plutôt que sur leur nature juridique. Ce phénomène est identifiable à plusieurs échelles : à celle des militants qui évoquent le droit pour

exprimer la vision de la ville dans laquelle ils souhaitent vivre, au niveau des dirigeants qui font référence aux droits pour se fixer un objectif à atteindre lors de la mise en place des politiques urbaines, et, enfin, dans les sphères académiques qui font appel à la notion de droits sociaux, et explicitement au droit à la ville, comme base éthique ou morale pour penser la réduction de la pauvreté et des inégalités à l'échelle municipale, nationale ou internationale.

En troisième lieu, tant l'approche par les droits que le droit à la ville renvoient à des pouvoirs constitués, notamment à l'État, national ou local, confirmant ainsi son « retour dans les études urbaines⁶⁴ ». Après s'être concentré sur les effets du néolibéralisme et le déclin de la puissance des États-nations dans les pays en développement, le débat, qui dépasse largement les sphères scientifiques, se concentre aujourd'hui sur la capacité des gouvernements, nationaux ou locaux, à fournir l'accès aux biens essentiels (comme l'eau, l'électricité, l'assainissement aux ménages) et à des espaces de participation et d'action aux citoyens. Poser la question de la ville en termes de droits sous-tend une idée de progression, de valeur, l'accent étant mis sur les moyens pour y parvenir. Dans ce cadre, Parnell et Pieterse (2010) suggèrent l'adoption d'un « *rights-based urban development agenda* » pour changer la compréhension, la nature et l'échelle des interventions étatiques nécessaires pour réussir à réduire effectivement la pauvreté urbaine. Ainsi, ces deux exemples montrent clairement que, pour s'écarter d'une approche trop souvent binaire opposant d'un côté des réformes néolibérales dévastatrices et de l'autre des résistances socialement progressistes, il est nécessaire de développer une nouvelle réflexion sur la définition des droits dans la ville et sur les mécanismes institutionnels et financiers permettant de mettre en place des politiques adaptées aux besoins des urbains pauvres, processus qui semble déjà être entamé au Venezuela.

Enfin, la demande d'un modèle alternatif de société, du développement et plus largement d'un changement social qui se fait par la contestation des mouvements sociaux à Johannesburg ou par une nouvelle forme de négociation entre acteurs à Caracas représente une entrée possible pour la construction du droit à la ville. À la base de cette demande, nous identifions l'idée d'un droit à la ville qui se matérialise au travers des pratiques et des imaginaires visant à donner la liberté de faire et refaire l'espace urbain dans lequel on vit, au travers d'une action collective visant l'intérêt collectif⁶⁵ et au travers de la concrétisation de droits qui ne concernent pas seulement l'individu, mais l'ensemble de la communauté. Finalement, aujourd'hui, si le droit à la ville est une expression détachée de son contenu philosophique originel, il nous semble que, dans la littérature actuelle, le concept est largement repris pour témoigner d'une réflexion sur l'urbain et est perçu comme un moyen d'action possible pour la « construction d'un monde meilleur⁶⁶ ».

1. Jean GRUGEL, Nicola PIPER, « Do Rights Promote Development? », *Global Social Policy*, avril 2009, n° 9, p. 79-98.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 79-98 ; Susan PARNELL, Edgar PIETERSE, « The "Right to the City" : Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental States », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, mars 2010, vol. 34, n° 1, p. 146-162 ; Harif HASSAN, Sheela PATEL, David SATTERTHWAITE, « How to Meet the MDGs in Urban Areas? », *Environment and Urbanization*, avril 2005, vol. 17, n° 1, p. 3-19. Andrea CORNWALL, Celestine NYAMU-MUSEMBI, « Putting the "Rights-based Approach" to Development into Perspective », *Third World Quarterly*, 2004, vol. 25, n° 8, p. 1415-1437 ; Kate MANZO, « Africa in the Rise of Rights-based Development », *Geoforum*, 2003, n° 34, p. 437-456.
3. Harif HASSAN *et al.*, « How to Meet the MDGs in Urban Areas? », *loc. cit.*
4. Gilles JEANNOT, *Les Usagers du service public*, Paris, PUF, « Que sais-je? », 1998, p. 128.
5. Selon les Nations Unies, l'année 2008 marque un tournant important puisque pour la première fois, plus de la moitié des individus de la planète vivent en ville (UN-Habitat, 2008).
6. UN-HABITAT, « Harmonious Cities », *States of the world's Cities 2008/2009*, 2008.
7. UN-HABITAT, *State of the World's Cities 2010/2011 – Cities for All: Bridging the Urban Divide*, 2010.
8. Mark PURCELL, « Le Droit à la ville et les mouvements urbains contemporains », *Rue Descartes*, 2009/1, n° 63, p. 40-50.
9. L'Observation Générale n° 15 a été adoptée par le Comité des Droits Économiques, Sociaux et Culturels (CDESC) le 26 novembre 2002. Celle-ci est une interprétation des articles 11 et 12 du PIDESC.
10. Résolution A/64/L.63/Rev.1 de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations unies, adoptée le 28 juillet 2010.
11. Résolution A/HRC/15/L.14 du Conseil des Droits de l'Homme, adoptée le 24 septembre 2010.
12. Simone ABDOMALIQU, « The Right to the City », *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 2005, vol. 7, n° 3, p. 321-325.
13. Luisa MORETTO, « Urban Governance and Water Provision Access: An Application of the UN-Habitat Urban Governance Index, The Case of Technical Water Boards in the Caracas Metropolitan Region », 2008, thèse de doctorat, Université de Venise.
14. Francisco CRISTOBAL, *Sector Agua Potable y Saneamiento en Venezuela (1998 – 2005)*, HIDROVEN présentation, 2006.
15. Dernières données disponibles pour la Région métropolitaine de Caracas.
16. Au niveau national, l'accès à l'eau potable par le réseau de distribution est respectivement de 94 % dans les zones urbaines et de 79 % dans les zones rurales (HIDROVEN, 2007. *Situación actual de las empresas hidrológicas, Presentación ante la Comisión Central de Planificación*, 2007), de 88,1 % dans les quartiers formels et de 59,9 % dans les quartiers informels (INE – *Instituto Nacional de Estadística Censo 2001*, <http://www.ine.gov.ve> – dernières données disponibles).
17. Margarita LOPEZ MAYA. « La construcción de contrahegemonía. Notas sobre la concepción del desarrollo económico en el proyecto bolivariano », *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 2006, vol. 12, n° 2, p. 157-63.
18. Henry COING, « Changer les règles du jeu : Caracas, chronique d'une privatisation manquée », in Dominique LORRAIN (s.l.d.), *Gestions urbaines de l'eau*, Paris, Économica, 1995, p. 99-115.
19. Hidrocapital opère dans le *Distrito Capital* et les États de *Miranda* et *Vargas*.
20. Miguel LACABANA (en collaboration avec Cecilia CARIOLA, Rosaura SIERRA, Marianela CARILLO), « An Overview of the Water Supply and Sanitation System at Metropolitan and Peri-urban Level: the Case of Caracas », Development Planning Unit, UCL, London, 2003. Maria Elena CORRALES, « Venezuela: analisis del sector agua potable y saneamiento ». Corporacion Andina de Fomento – CAF, Vicepresidencia de Infraestructura, Informe Sectoriales de Infraestructura, 2004, vol. 2, n° 2.
21. Municipalités et compagnies hydrauliques ont l'obligation de promouvoir la participation communautaire à travers les MTA ; les municipalités sont de plus censées en définir le fonctionnement.
22. Les contributions financières sont également apportées par les États.
23. Pour plus d'information sur les tâches que les MTA doivent accomplir, voir le site http://www.hidrocapital.com.ve/internet/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=4&Itemid=19.
24. Margarita LOPEZ MAYA, « La construcción de contrahegemonía », *loc. cit.*, p.157-163.
25. Bob JESSOP, « Liberalism Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective », *Antipode*, 2002, vol. 34, n° 3, p. 452-72 ; Thomas MALOUTAS, Maro PANTELIDOU MALOUTA, « The Glass Managerie of Urban Governance and Social Cohesion: Concepts and Stakes/Concepts as Stakes », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2004, vol. 28, n° 2, p. 449-465 ; Faranak MIRAFTAB, « Making Neo-liberal Governance: The Disempowering Work of Empowerment », *International Planning Studies*, 2004, vol. 9, n° 4, p. 239-259.
26. Cecilia CARIOLA, Miguel LACABANA, « Los bordes de la esperanza: nuevas formas de participación popular y gobiernos locales en la periferia de Caracas », *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 2005, vol. 11, n° 1, p. 21-42, 125-126.
27. Luisa MORETTO, « Coproduction du service d'eau et recomposition de l'espace intra-urbain dans la périphérie sud de Caracas », *Espaces et Sociétés*, vol. 143, n° 4, 2010, p. 81-99.
28. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Le Droit à la ville*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1968, p. 148
29. Ada COLAU, « The Urban Land Committees and the land regularisation process », *Bulletin on Housing Rights and the Right to the City in Latin America*, 2008, vol. 1, n° 3, p. 6.
30. Pour l'explication des concepts de pratique et d'imaginaire, voir l'article d'Illaria Boniburini dans cet ouvrage.
31. David HARVEY, « The Right to the City », *New Left Review*, 2008, vol. 53, p. 23-40.
32. Luisa MORETTO, « Urban Governance and Water Provision Access... », *loc. cit.* ; « Coproduction du service d'eau... », *loc. cit.*
33. Henry COING, « Changer les règles du jeu : Caracas, chronique d'une privatisation manquée », *loc. cit.*, p. 99-115 ; Eleonore BORGUCCI, « Representaciones y discurso en los procesos de descentralización administrativa en Venezuela », *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Universidad de Zulia, 2003, vol. 9, n° 3, p. 405-430 ; Rickard LALANDER, Francisco Roberto Garcia SAMANIEGO, « Chavismo y oposicion en Venezuela: Exploraciones criticas sobre democracia, descentralizacion y populismo », *Ciudad Politica. Praxis y Ciencia Politica*, 2005, <http://www.ciudadpolitica.com>.
34. Daniel H. LEVINE, « The Decline and Fall of Democracy in Venezuela: Ten Theses », *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 2002, vol. 21, n° 2, p. 248-269. Jennifer L. MCCOY, David J. MYERS, *The Unravelling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, Baltimore/Londres, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004 ; Manuel RACHADELL, « La centralizacion del poder en Venezuela », *Provincia*, juillet- décembre 2006, n° 16, p. 199-282.
35. Margarita LOPEZ MAYA, « Innovaciones participativas en la Caracas bolivariana: la MTA de la pedrera y la OCA de barrio Union-Carpintero », *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 2008, vol. 124, n° 1, p. 65-93.
36. Article 27 de la Constitution : « 1.b. Tout le monde a le droit d'avoir accès à une eau en quantité suffisante » ; « 2. L'État doit prendre des mesures raisonnables législatives ou autres, dans la limite de ses ressources disponibles, pour assurer la réalisation progressive de l'ensemble de ces droits ».

37. *Id.*

38. Compris comme 25 litres par personne et par jour, de qualité acceptable et à une distance maximum de 200 mètres de leur lieu d'habitation.

39. Compris comme une latrine VIP ou un système équivalent. Chiffres issus de *The National Water and Sanitation Programme in South Africa: Turning the "Right to Water" into Reality*, Field Note 8, 2002.

40. Thierry VIRCLOULON, « L'eau gratuite pour tous? L'exemple de la nouvelle politique de l'eau en Afrique du Sud », *Afrique contemporaine*, 2003, p. 119-134.

41. Laila SMITH, « Conflict vs. Cooperation between the State and Civil Society: a Water Demand Management Comparison between Cape Town and Johannesburg, South Africa », in Bernard BARRAQUE (s.l.d.), *Urban Water Conflicts*, UNESCO-IHP, Francis & Taylor, 2011, p. 146-168.

42. Quatorze personnes furent arrêtées dans les mois qui suivirent le début des travaux pour « violences publiques », « provocations » ou « dommages sur propriété privée ».

43. Notamment *Wozani Security*, mieux connue sous le nom de *Red Ants*, compagnie de sécurité dont les hommes, tous vêtus de rouge (d'où leur surnom de « fourmis rouges ») sont célèbres dans tout le pays, notamment pour leurs actions d'ampleur d'évacuation de squats.

44. Chiffres JW, mars 2010.

45. Plainte contre la ville de Johannesburg, la compagnie d'eau *Johannesburg Water* et le ministère de l'eau (DWAf).

46. L'affaire a été entendue une première fois en décembre 2007 devant la Haute Cour de Justice. Le jugement, rendu en avril 2008 en faveur des requérants, a conclu que les compteurs étaient illégaux et inconstitutionnels et que la quantité d'eau gratuite fournie était trop faible. Le juge a demandé aux autorités publiques d'augmenter le volume de 25 l. à 50 l. par personne et par jour et d'offrir le choix aux résidents entre des compteurs classiques et des compteurs à prépaiement. Les autorités publiques

ont fait appel. L'affaire a alors été entendue devant la Cour d'Appel en février 2009. Le second jugement rendu en mars 2009 indiquait que 42 l. d'eau/jour/pers. devait constituer le minimum pour la FBW et s'est prononcé en faveur de l'illégalité des compteurs (et non de leur inconstitutionnalité). Le juge a également demandé à la compagnie d'eau de donner systématiquement le choix aux résidents entre des compteurs à prépaiement ou à postpaiement. L'ensemble des parties prenantes a fait appel et, en octobre 2009, la Cour constitutionnelle, la plus haute autorité de l'État, a rendu son jugement en faveur des autorités publiques en rejetant l'ensemble des arguments avancés par les requérants.

47. Patrick BOND, *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg/Londres, University of Natal Press / Pluto Press, 2000, p. 318; David MCDONALD, John PAPE (s.l.d.), *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa*, Cape Town/ Londres, HSRC/Zed, 2002, p. 208; Dale MCKINLEY, « Democracy and Social Movements in South Africa », Paper for UKZN School of Development Studies Conference: *Reviewing the First Decade of Development and Democracy in South Africa: 22-24th October 2004, Durban*.

48. Richard BANÉGAS, « Lutter dans les Afriques », *Genèses*, vol. 4, n° 81, 2010, p. 2-4.

49. Dale MCKINLEY, "Democracy and social movements in South Africa", *UKZN School of Development Studies Conference: "Reviewing the First Decade of Development and Democracy in South Africa", 22-24 octobre 2004, Durban*.

50. Militante anonyme, entretien réalisé le 8 juillet 2009.

51. CAWP, *Nothing for Mahala*, 2004.

52. Kathy EALES, Laila SMITH, « Water and Sanitation » in *Accountability in Public Services in South Africa*, The World Bank, mars 2011, p. 87-103.

53. Claire BENIT-GBAFFOU, « Démocratisation et participation locale à Johannesburg : la voix et les voies de la société civile face à des institutions participatives

dysfonctionnelles », in Claire BENIT-GBAFFOU, Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBVONY, « *Les Formes de la démocratie locale dans les villes sud-africaines* », *Revue Tiers-Monde*, octobre-décembre 2008, n° 196, p. 741-758.

54. Sean JACOBS, « Sur l'Afrique du Sud postapartheid et le devenir de la "nation arc-en-ciel" », *Politique africaine*, octobre 2006, n° 103, p. 5-27.

55. Faranak MIRAFTAB, « Making Neo-liberal Governance », *loc. cit.*

56. David MITCHELL, *The Right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. Londres/New York, The Guildford Press, 2003.

57. Faranak MIRAFTAB, « Making Neo-liberal Governance », *loc. cit.*

58. Mark PURCELL, « Le Droit à la ville et les mouvements urbains contemporains », *loc. cit.*

59. Susan PARNELL, « Urban Governance in the South: The Politics of Rights and Development in Political Geography » in Kevin R. COX, Murray LOW and Jennifer ROBINSON (s.l.d.), *A Handbook of Political Geography*, Londres, Sage, 2007, p. 595-608.

60. Susan PARNELL, Edgar PIETERSE, « The "Right to the City": Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental States », *loc. cit.*

61. Susan PARNELL, Jacqui BOULLE, « Utopie urbaine et gouvernement local. La stratégie de développement économique et humain au Cap » in Alain DUBRESSON, Sylvie JAGLIN (s.l.d.), *Le Cap après l'apartheid : gouvernance, aménagement et gestion urbaine*, Paris, Karthala, 2008, p. 251-273.

62. Steffen LAJOIE, « Organizing, Power, and Political Support in Caracas, Venezuela », *Diálogos, propostas, histórias para uma cidadania mundial*, 2009, <http://base.d-p-h.info/pt/fiches/dph/fiche-dph-8532.html>.

63. Patrick BOND, « Fighting for the Right to the City: Discursive and Political Lessons from the Right to Water », papier présenté à la Right to Water Conference 2010, Syracuse University, New York, 29 mars 2010; Laila SMITH, *Conflict vs. Cooperation between the State and Civil Society*, *op. cit.*

64. Susan PARNELL, « Urban Governance in the South », *loc. cit.*

65. David HARVEY, « The Right to the City », *loc. cit.*

66. Laurence COSTES, « Le droit à la ville d'Henri Lefebvre : quel héritage politique et scientifique? », *Espaces et société*, 2010, 1/1, n° 140-141, p. 177-191.



Sébastien Sindeu, *Bruxelles, Gare centrale*, 2011.

Deuxième partie
**Inclure les différences et donner la place au pluralisme :
espaces publics et habitat**

Part Two
**Embracing differences and giving space to plurality:
Public space and housing**

Cities with migrants: rights and fears

Marcello Balbo

Introduction

Driven by the internationalization of the world economy, governments have been striving hard to facilitate the movement of money and goods across borders with the aim of attracting foreign investment. Similar measures to bring down barriers to the movement of individuals have not been adopted. Quite to the contrary, governments all over have toughened the control measures on people arriving into their countries, particularly in recent years when migration has increasingly been looked at as a security issue. Nevertheless, the flows of international migration have increased unabated, making the number of people currently living outside their countries of birth larger than ever.

Over the years international migration has taken up a number of features that make it considerably different from the past. Some of the most significant are the following: 1) what was once a predominantly South to North flow now involves also significant movements from low-income to middle-income countries of the South; 2) international migration increasingly concerns *women*, who currently represent almost half of all migrants; and 3) migrants move essentially to cities, particularly large cities, including many in developing countries.

Inevitably, such growing “urbanization of migration” has an impact on urban space. In order to function, cities, particularly but not only large cities, rely on foreign residents who are willing to take up jobs eschewed by the local population. Moreover, international migrants contribute to the cultural richness of city life by adding their specific ways of living and cultural values. Nevertheless, the presence of migrants raises also new issues which government and urban society are not prepared, and in some cases unwilling, to face – cultural identity, multiculturalism, and spatial inclusion among others.

After considering some of the main features of modern-day migration and highlighting its growing urban character, this paper examines the issue of urban policies, the responsibilities entrusted to local governments in dealing with migration. This is done within the context of the decentralization policies adopted by almost all countries of both the North and South, and the often limited capacity of these countries to cope with the challenges linked to the

presence of migrants. How “migrants” changing sense of belonging replaces the quest to become members of the destination country (nationals) with the quest to become members of the local community (citizens) is then highlighted. Such a shift, it is argued, has a direct impact on the sense international migrants attach to the idea of the “Right to the City”.

Moving across borders, where and why

People and goods have been making their way to different parts of the world since well before Roman times. However, as a result of the rapid expansion of information and communication technologies, and the reduction of transport costs, the movement of goods and capital has increased to unprecedented levels in the past two decades. The dramatic growth in world trade, as evidenced by its seven percent average annual increase between 1980 and 2005¹, together with the relentless growth in the flow of communication and information, has brought about the fall of national borders.

On the other hand, though significantly increased, the movement of individuals has not experienced a growth comparable to that of exports. The more than 200 million people who live outside their countries of origin are considerably in excess of the 155 million migrants recorded in 1990, but they represent only 3 percent of the world population, basically the same percentage recorded in the 1960s². Even after adding the estimated 50 million people living outside their home countries with irregular status, the picture does not change significantly. In the past years governments have raised all sorts of barriers to movement, and they continue to do so. In addition, in different regions of the world such as the ex-Soviet Union and the Balkans, new nation states were created, resulting in new borders and new restrictions to the movement of people. As a result, the perception that international migration has grown disproportionately is misleading and one could contend that, despite the intense internationalization of the world economy, people have moved significantly less than one would expect.

Nevertheless, migration remains an integral part of an increasingly globalizing world. People go where labour demand and opportunities are, though they may have to embark on long and perilous journeys. In most cases, migrating inside one’s own country as well as abroad is the only way to escape the scant perspectives the birth-place may offer. But migration is also a carefully assessed strategy adopted to improve the living conditions of those who migrate as well as the family members who remain back home, primarily but not only from an economic viewpoint.

Most international migrants go to a country where the level of human development, as measured by the UN Human Development Index, is higher than in their country of origin. In this framework, the perception of international migration is essentially of a South-North flow, but recent estimates suggest that South-South migration accounts for almost 50 percent of all migration from the South (74 million), likely to be even more once irregular migration is taken into account³. Furthermore, most migrants head to cities, first of all large cities, where employment opportunities and the prospects for better living conditions are higher⁴. The growing “urbanization of migration” is strictly related to the relentless concentration of the world population in cities⁵. There are several reasons for such process. In addition, new destinations have appeared in different countries, the so called “transit cities” such as Tijuana in Mexico, Istanbul in Turkey, and Tunis, nodes of main migration routes where many migrants end up settling upon giving up their hopes to make a way into “fortress Europe” or to realize the “American dream”⁶.

Cities are at the core of the exchange, communication and information flows of globalization and represent the central nodes of encounter of people and cultures. In addition, they provide the best income opportunities and the highest chances for accessing services highly valued by immigrants, such as education and health.

In cities, particularly large cities that have become nodes of globalization, the demand for low-skilled work has increased exponentially, providing labour niches to foreign workers since the local population tends to eschew such jobs. Furthermore, the informal sector offers many work opportunities to migrants, though in extremely precarious and sometimes dangerous conditions, not only in the cities of the South. Migrants are employed often in family-care services, construction, tanneries, metal works, as well as in activities that are on the borderline with illegality or beyond.

Probably most importantly, it is in cities that the networks supporting international migrants in their quest for work, housing and services, can be found. Such networks are vital when arriving for the first time in a country of which little is known in terms of bureaucracy, rules and lifestyle. Such migration “chains” can even determine the city of destination for entire communities and involve multiple economic, social and institutional actors at both origin and destination⁷. But they are also essential in terms of mutual help and defence in case of a hostile social environment, as it is often the case in the cities of destination. The importance of ethnic and family networks is all the more manifest for women migrants, who are exposed more than men to hazard, making them a highly vulnerable population. On the whole, the density of social interactions that exists in the city makes it the obvious place to head to in

the migration strategy, not only for greater job opportunities, but for better living conditions overall.

Yet, though recognizing the contribution migrants make to the national as well as the local economy, most governments look at them as a menace to social cohesion. The “alterity” inherent to their presence, i.e. how individuals include (“we”) or exclude (“they”) other individuals, is crucial in that it brings to the fore core issues such as difference or affiliation, exclusion or inclusion, coexistence or conflict⁸. The local population often perceives migrants as intruders, competitors on the job market and a burden to government budgets since they benefit from subsidized services and may “even” become eligible for public housing. The sentiment is growing that migrants are useful when they carry out tasks other people do not want to take up, but that they should not be given the same rights to housing, urban services, and citizenship as the “nationals”. Essentially, the idea behind this attitude is “we need them but we do not want them”, no matter if they are legal and have lived in the area for a long time or are undocumented.

As a consequence, international migrants hardly have access to the “Right to the City” or the “Right to Urban Life” as stated by Henri Lefebvre, i.e. the right “to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of [...] moments and places”⁹. The obstacles raised to the migrants’ Right to the City contrast with the increasing multi-ethnic character of contemporary urban societies and the seemingly obvious concept that all citizens have access, individually as well as collectively, to such right. In fact, only in this way the city will continue to be the place of encounter and exchange it has always been conceived as, and which Lefebvre was advocating.

Of course, obstacles do not apply to all migrants. Governments have a welcoming attitude towards wealthy, skilled migrants, particularly from developed economies. On the contrary, they are intensifying controls at the borders and have adopted bureaucratic policies more and more centred on security measures. Notwithstanding this, in many countries the high demand for cheap labour makes it quite difficult to enforce the rules and to reduce the number of migrants, including undocumented migrants.

Migrants and urban policies

The fact that migrants add significantly to the Gross Domestic Product of destination countries is by now widely accepted, as well as that remittances are an important contribution to the balance of payments of the countries of origin. The contribution to the national economies

of immigration countries is estimated to range from 5 to 10 percent, as in Italy and Thailand. More in general, it is believed that “population growth due to migration increases real GDP *per capita* in the short run, one-for-one (meaning that a 1 percent increase in population due to migration increases GDP by 1 percent)”¹⁰.

As for remittances, suffice it to say that in 2008 they represented over 20 percent of GDP in Kyrgyz Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Nepal and Honduras, with India being the top recipient country (51 million US dollars), followed by China, Mexico, Philippines and Nigeria¹¹.

Part of international migration is made up of high-skilled professionals. Since urban service economies require professionals and managers, most cities in developing countries, particularly those with dynamic local economies, cannot recruit from domestic labour. Likewise, multinationals need to fill in positions in the cities of the different countries they operate in with highly skilled personnel. However, most migrants fill low-paid jobs in the so-called four Ds sectors of the economy – dirty, difficult, demeaning and dangerous – while the local population takes up better paid jobs. Though migrants can negatively affect the job opportunities for local residents with similar skills, “the body of evidence suggests that these effects are generally small and may, in some contexts, be entirely absent”¹². In fact, due to a clear division of labour, in general, migrants do not affect the economic conditions of the local population. Quite to the contrary, they boost economic growth, thus fostering employment at little cost to the residents.

Moreover, the presence of migrants contributes to the cosmopolitan character of global cities. Such international ambiance represents a value added for, as well as a requirement by, those managers and executives who accept a position far away from their home city and country. All evidence points to the fact that the most successful cities in the world, both in the North and the South, are also crucibles of diverse peoples and cultures contributing to their dynamism and productivity.

Most governments have adopted policies that look at immigration as essentially a security issue. Once again, this is true for both advanced and developing economies, as highlighted by “fortress Europe” and countries as different as South Africa, Thailand and Chile. By adopting more restrictive rules on the delivery of permits and enhancing more severe control at the border, the aim is to slow down the inflow of migrants, with the idea of protecting nationals from migrants’ competition on the job market. Such policies are presented as evidence of the government’s efforts to preserve the interests of the local population. Yet, they are rarely successful, as the various amnesties granted in Italy, Spain, and Chile, among other countries, prove. In addition, the introduction of more stringent rules may be counterproductive,

since they oblige legal migrants to become undocumented migrants once their permits have expired.

However, as a consequence of decentralization policies embraced in essentially all countries, local governments have been entrusted with the responsibility of development policies at the local level, including policies addressing the presence of migrants in the city. As cities attract increasing numbers of them, local authorities cannot avoid dealing with their presence and to respond to their needs and demands, be it from an inclusive perspective or an exclusionary one. In parallel, civil society and community-based organizations often mobilize and set up practices helping migrants to cope with the difficulties their condition as workers, spouses and children living in a foreign country implies, especially where public policies are weak, or absent.

Local *migrants policies* are often quite different from national immigration policies, since they depend on the specific local economic, social and institutional context. In Italy, the thousands of small- and medium-sized firms that make up the vibrant economy of the Northern part of the country can compete on the world market because they hire cheap foreign labour. Yet, local policies vary widely from one place to the other. In Turin, home to the well-known auto maker Fiat and to well-organized trade unions, the local government has played a central role in enhancing migrants inclusion policies in the name of collective interest, given the large number of migrants working directly or indirectly in the auto industry. By contrast, in many medium-sized cities of the north-east where the local economy relies largely on migrant labour, the environment of small and medium enterprises and the policy of *ad hoc* welfare measures have not only thwarted any effort to forge any *policy* for inclusiveness, they have also encouraged an essentially xenophobic discourse. In Karachi, Pakistan, Bengali and Burmese migrants are considered to be “illegal” even after settling in the city for more than 30 years, but the advantages accruing to local enterprises from their cheap labour is too significant to let the government enforce the law. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, most Bolivians working in the clothing manufacturing and retail of Bom Retiro, Brás and Belém are undocumented but they regularly attend the weekly fair at “Kantuta”, in an area specifically made available by the Municipality.

In general, the cities of the South have no explicit migrants policies. Research shows that even gateway cities such as Sao Paulo (Brazil), Santiago (Chile), Johannesburg (South Africa), Bangkok (Thailand) and Istanbul (Turkey) have no explicit measures to deal with the presence of significant and most often increasing numbers of migrants, to the point of being largely unaware of the extent of the phenomenon¹³.

On one hand, the migrants' "demand for the city" (i.e. the need for housing, schools, health services and public space) cannot be ignored even when it brings to the fore profound cultural differences. On the other hand, privatization of public services has led to a weaker government capacity to respond to the "demand for the city" in general, more so where such differences arise. To access water, sanitation or transport, low-income families, including most migrants' households, can no longer rely on public policies and have become increasingly dependent on solidarity networks. In addition, local policies must be tailored to needs and priorities that are different according to the migrants' diverse origins and cultures, a flexibility rarely available in cities where the issue of foreign migrants adds to the conundrum they already face – cities in developing countries in particular.

The waning of public policies pushes migrants to set up ethnic communities where support networks to rely on are easier to establish, thus contributing to the spatial fragmentation and the multiplication of collective cultural groups in the city. The formation of ethnic neighbourhoods is fostered by the possibility of keeping strong links with the community of origin, offered by the lower cost of communication and transport that increasingly make migration only a step in the life strategy of individual migrants as well as families.

Though the social inclusion of migrants depends on the type of activity they carry out and the city's economic and social environment¹⁴, spatial "enclaving" often becomes a source of social conflict since it hampers the dialogue between migrant communities and the local society, resulting in a breach that becomes difficult to bridge. Typically, the use of public space may become a major source of tensions between local residents and foreign communities, where the former feel threatened by uses that are unfamiliar and the latter are denied a space for collective leisure, religious, as well as sport activities.

As already mentioned, parallel to, and as a consequence of weak policies, *ad hoc* practices emerge from society trying to respond to the unsatisfied needs of migrants. Being explicitly targeted to specific issues and communities, most practices are more effective than public policies. Practices are by their own nature narrow in scope, and therefore more apt to respond to the migrants' varied demand. Nevertheless, since they address needs that are circumscribed in both functional and spatial terms, practices do not reach out to the overall migrant population, whereas contemporary cities need policies including the many diversities of their increasing multiethnic urban societies.

Migrants and the Right to the City

In globalized cities, a growing part of the population, including international migrants, links to distant places more than to the community and the local space. As a result becoming *nationals*, i.e. becoming a member of the destination state, is far less important an objective than in the past, when maintaining the ties with the country of origin was arduous. Migrants increasingly see *citizenship* as their priority, i.e. being recognized as a constituent part of the city's cultural and physical space they contribute to shape and make work.

This focus on citizenship rather than nationality underlines the importance migrants give to accessing the opportunities the city offers in terms of jobs, housing and services, i.e. the "Right to the City". More so since the relationship with the country of destination is likely to be temporary, therefore the sense of belonging to its institutions and society is fragile. The substance of being a citizen is more and more focused on very pragmatic aspects, much less on an abstract notion of allegiance to the values of the national community. As has been pointed out, the "new migration", "a world-wide archipelago of ethnic/ religious/ linguistic settlements – oblivious to the trails blazed and paved by the imperialist-colonial episode and following instead the globalization-induced logic of the planetary redistribution of life resources"¹⁵, questions many of the relations that have existed traditionally: identity and citizenship, individual and place, neighbourhood and belonging.

The notion of identity provides a representation of *the other* as a collective individual, and becomes a useful stereotype that defines clear and straightforward boundaries between the inside and the outside, *us* and *the others*, residents and migrants, "local" and "ethnic" use of urban space. Inevitably, stereotypes foster the fragmentation of urban space and spatial exclusion pushing *the others* to bond together in order to resolve their "demand for the city". In Santiago, Chile, Peruvians and Koreans concentrate in the old city, in Dubai the majority of Filipinos can be found in the Satwa district, almost all Indians in Bangkok, Thailand, settle along Sampeng Road and in Sao Chingcha, and most Afghans, Iranians and Uzbek migrants to Istanbul, Turkey, can be found in the Zeytinburnu and Fatih districts; not to mention the well-known Kreuzberg and Tiergarten districts in Berlin, Germany, where the majority of residents are Turks.

In fact, identity is not an inherent feature of the individual, rather it is shaped by the conditions existing in each given place and at each given time. Identity is also moulded by the cultural system individuals belong to and its evolution¹⁶. Therefore, every individual displays different identities in time and space that are the outcome of specific circumstances shaping

the perception and representation others have of the self, individually as well as collectively, and the self of the others. The notion of collective identity is socially constructed and subject to continuous reinterpretations.

Together with the issue of identity, the diversity of communities and cultures that international migrants produce in the city raises the issue of urban inclusion, or Lefebvre's right to urban life. In this perspective, the degree of inclusion of international migrants is a major indicator of how a local society addresses the issue of the "Right to the City", i.e. the right to benefit from the economic, social and cultural bonuses urban life has to offer. However, what inclusion means is rather unclear, since the notion may differ from city to city. In the cities of the North, where basic urban services are essentially accessible to all residents, urban inclusion is synonymous with equal rights, citizenship and political representation. In the city of developing countries, for a large part of the population urban inclusion means recognition of the right to affordable water and sanitation, adequate shelter and the rule of law. The by now often referred to Harvey's definition of the Right to the City as "a right to change ourselves by changing the city"¹⁷ seems to provide only limited scope in orienting the type of actions needed to promote the Right to the City. By subordinating the realization of such right to "the institution of new modes of urbanization" through a different relationship between urbanization and surplus production, though advocating the use of such Right "as both working slogan and political ideal" Harvey actually defers the operational use of the Right to the City into an indefinite moment in time.

What Right to the City?

As a consequence of migration, the city experiences greater cultural diversity and social mixture. The main difficulty in accommodating this social mix lies in reconciling community rights with the individual rights on which modern societies are based, as well as with the set of shared values and a related allegiance to them that lie at the heart of social cohesion. Unless it openly addresses these quandaries, the concept of the "multicultural city" will be only wishful thinking within the context of the contemporary city¹⁸.

Under such conditions, the Right to the City must be viewed as warranting migrants, and all other citizens, with access to adequate and affordable housing and services, as well as public space, without waiting for rather indefinite "new modes of urbanization"¹⁹. In Johannesburg, where the government is trying hard to provide decent housing to South Africans, for lack of recognition, Mozambican migrants live in a status of non-belonging even after years,

therefore with living conditions that are permanently precarious; in Istanbul, most Iraqi migrants have settled in the Dolapdere, Kurtulu and Osmanbey neighbourhoods of the Sisli district where, in the absence of public policies to support them, they can rely on community networks²⁰.

What is felt as the Right to the City depends on the different migration strategies individuals privilege – temporary, permanent or circular. Inclusion policies need to vary accordingly, with the objective of tailoring such a right to each migration course. For migrants who intend to stay for only a limited period of time, employment and decent housing are the indisputable priorities, while for those who aim to settle for good the priority is access to the widest possible range of services and opportunities that the city can offer, both for themselves and for their families.

Though primarily an individual right, the notion of Right to the City is also modelled around the distinct values and life styles of the different communities that make up the city. In fact, a city of globalization is by definition a city where the coexistence of a plurality of values and identities can be found. Thus, besides having to account for migrants' mutable identities, the notion of the Right to the City also implies: 1) acknowledging that every culture bears values worth respecting (equality of status); 2) accepting the multiplicity of identities and the equality of difference); 3) "resourcing" each collective group (equality of means); 4) the "representation" in governance and decision-making of all collective groups (equality of access); and 5) the "value" of the distinct cultural expression of each group (equality of space)²¹.

Against this background, the main way to promote urban inclusion for individuals as well as collective cultural groups is to strengthen the nexus between migrants and the system of players in the urban society: the local authorities, as the main providers of urban services; the business community, as the labour demand side; and the political system, in order to secure a voice in local policies²². Migrants' exclusion is most often due to the weakness of such nexus, which makes them "disconnected" from the city and the hosting urban society, producing marginalization, frustration and, ultimately, conflicts.

New communication technologies enhance a space of flows that escapes the control of any locale²³. The space of flows weakens the city as a well identifiable and identified entity to the supremacy of networks. It also reduces the commitment to the city of the globally networked elites, who can easily move elsewhere leaving those segments of the urban population who cannot escape from the local space to address the problems of the local. Such "de-spatialization" of parts of the population contributes even further to the need for a new notion of the "Right to the City" as the right to remain different and reinforce diversity, as a

consequence of the weakening of a territorially-based notion of citizenship²⁴. In Italy, most local governments strongly oppose any proposal for providing an adequate place where Muslims can pray, not to speak of a mosque, with the result that Friday prayer is held in the street or in the parking of a shopping centre, where allowed.

The Right to the City and urban space

Diversity and collective values are contradictory elements, and the objective of reconciling them may prove quite difficult. This is particularly true with space, a rival good whose use by one individual (or a group) basically prevents its use on the part of other individuals. Different “users” may thus come to compete, and at times even clash. At the same time, locals and migrants experience each other in each other’s individual and collective uses of space, making urban space the main arena of encounter and collision.

The presence of migrants inevitably brings about a process of spatial reorganization and “re-hierarchization” of the urban space. This affects whole districts that used to be regarded as attractive places by city residents, as has been the case with many (portions of) historic districts in European as well as Latin American cities²⁵. In contrast, neighbourhoods, squares and streets inhabited by migrants become new poles of attraction for all residents, such as Small Lima in Santiago, Chile, “a multicultural urban space, characterized as a point of encounter between Santiaguinos, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Colombians, Bolivians, among others”²⁶, and the market area at Porta Palazzo in Turin, Italy. In the Gulf’s cities where they make up the majority of the urban residents, migrants of different origins inevitably mould large parts of the city space to their own preferences and needs.

On the other hand, the weakening of the sense of belonging, along with the multiple features identity displays, lead migrants to adhere only to a certain extent to the hierarchy of places as accepted by the local population, and their use. This is particularly evident with those open spaces where migrants set up ethnic markets, or perform religious events, celebrations and fairs which the locals do not share or may even be fearful of for being unfamiliar with. On Sundays, large groups of fellow migrants assemble at open places to chat, picnic, exchange information, and pray. City gardens and parks serve to set up barbecues for large gatherings of people, where exotic food is prepared, filling the air with smells that may stink to the local’s nose.

The result is a widespread increase in the fragmentation of urban space, symbolic as well as physical, so characteristic of many contemporary cities, which governments are often

unable or unwilling to oppose. Measures that foster the social and spatial inclusion of the poorest segments of the population, including most international migrants, such as regularization of irregular settlements, subsidies to access basic quantities of water and sanitation, and to education and health services, are often rebuffed or deferred in time because they are politically hazardous.

The right to housing, services and public space

The way migrants settle in the urban space varies widely from dispersal to concentration, according primarily to two factors, the functioning of the housing market and the degree of invisibility migrants want or need to live in²⁷. Finding a place where to stay is the first need migrants have to satisfy when settling in the city of migration. Though in “cities of migrants” such as Tijuana, Vancouver or Sharjah, one of the Gulf Emirates, the housing market is relatively accessible to newcomers, in most cities migrants have no access to the rental market, since homeowners do not contemplate renting out to poor foreign workers for fear of insolvency or not being able to get back their property, should they need it, and for sheer xenophobia. When they are willing to rent to foreigners, they often demand significantly higher rents than the market and several months’ advance payment.

On the other hand, migrants are rarely eligible for government housing which *ad hoc* regulations reserve to locals. Furthermore, the ongoing privatization of public housing and deregulation of the housing market affects the migrant population particularly hard, since it usually has no means to protect itself from rising rents and so-called market evictions. As a matter of fact, market mechanisms have an enormous influence on the spatial segregation patterns of migrant communities.

In many cities, as a response to the difficulty of accessing the housing market, migrants tend to concentrate in areas where they can find cheap accommodation by sharing the dwelling, occupying dilapidated often un-serviced housing, and living in the informal settlements that can be found in all cities of the South. Lack of affordable housing has brought many foreign Africans to occupy whole parts of downtown Johannesburg, such as “Little Lagos”, known as such because of the number of Nigerians who live there after taking over whole buildings – referred to as “building hijack”. In Berlin, Germany, beginning in the 1960s Turks have “ethnized” entire districts such as the well-known Kreuzberg area, only to be followed in more recent years by migrants from Eastern Europe. Similarly, the best chances migrants from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey who moved to Vienna since the 1970s have to find a dwelling

is in the privately owned small un-serviced flats of the *Gründerzeit* houses built before 1919, particularly in Gürtel West²⁸. Migrants from Myanmar and Cambodia concentrate in clearly defined “ethnic” compounds in the outskirts of Bangkok. In Sao Paulo most migrants live in the centrally located but run down *cortices*, in Indian cities in the *havelis*, and in Nairobi, in the squatter settlements that punctuate the capital city of Kenya.

Given the lack of services, it is often the migrants themselves who establish ethnic neighbourhoods with the goal to set up their own schools and clinics, or as a strategy to push NGOs, local associations and the local authorities to provide a minimum level of basic services. On the other hand, ethnic enclaves often add to the exclusionary pattern of the contemporary city, and are but a further manifestation of it. The physical or cultural divide that results from their existence makes any attempt to foster inclusion even more difficult. It often hampers the social mobility of migrants, particularly women, as they reproduce traditional systems of living, practices and hierarchies within the community and the family²⁹.

Together with housing and urban services, public space and its physical as well as symbolic use is a critical ingredient to acceptance or rejection of diversity. Because of uses that often do not fit with those the local population considers suitable, public space is likely to become the place where conflict surfaces blatantly. For this reason, public space is where the sense of understanding and tolerance (by the local population) has to be fostered primarily, together with that of belonging and citizenship (by the migrants)³⁰. Where this is not the case, the result is growing mistrust and fear by the locals, and the adoption of practices of resistance by the migrants, driving them into invisibility and into being spectators of the city instead of actors³¹.

The issue is whether it is such ways of using public space that should not be consented by society, or is it the society’s rules that no longer fit with the growing diversity and the multiplicity of “public spaces” that the globalized city inevitably entails. Whatever the case, in many cities, migrants try to be as “invisible” as possible, and to reduce all unnecessary contacts with the local population. Because of their precarious security status, even when fully legal – Mozambicans in Johannesburg, Bengalis in Karachi, Bolivians in Buenos Aires and Moroccans in Milan – most of them live a sort of “understated” life that takes place exclusively in the home and work space, the only spaces where they feel safe. The use of public space is very limited and often confined to activities that set up a protective social environment, such as chatting inconspicuously with friends, strolling with a pram, or holding a community feast or an ethnic festival.

Yet, apart from the ethnic food and music festivals where the local population may look

sympathetically at migrants, in the globalized city, public space is where the physical, as well as cultural presence of the *other* becomes more visible, thus making encounter and strain across diverse communities explicit. Therefore, a policy of public space is critical to building a common culture and getting rid of the stereotypes that foster social and spatial exclusion. Only when the multiplicity of uses that take place in public space are perceived as a constituent part of urban life will the city of globalization be a truly cosmopolitan city, where multiple cultural forms comfortably interact³². The increasing presence of multiple cultures in the globalized city requires a redefinition of what collective space is, and of the public sphere in general. “Newcomers reveal the limits of the public sphere as constituted and imagined by the society and its legislators at a given time”³³.

The city of the Right to the City

The city of full citizenship for everyone is based on the recognition that all those who share the same space should enjoy the same rights while respecting their legal obligations and the diversity of the “other”, granting that all individuals contribute to economic and social progress, not only beyond but because of difference³⁴. In this view, among the many rights that come with the respect for diversity, such as the right to work, security, and participating in local decision-making among others, removing the lines of spatial divide stands out as most important. To be socially inclusive, the city of the Right to the City must be, above all, spatially inclusive. This basically means guaranteeing adequate housing, access to basic services, including schools and health services, and the use of public space. Access to, or exclusion from, these goods and services is crucial in shaping the bonds migrants build with the city, to become part of the local community or be excluded and ostracized.

Public policies are crucial to set the stage for fostering inclusion or making urban space more and more fragmented, where migrants are not entitled to belong fully to the urban society. Among them a central place is taken by those policies that have an impact on housing, services and public space, by definition a “political” space where differences, appropriation and exclusion are constantly negotiated between individuals and communities of different origins.

In contemporary globalized cities, meeting the “*other*” is the norm, and collective space is where the encounter takes place. Most differences originate outside the citizens’ known world, making them more difficult to be understood and accepted, but the city of the Right to the City is precisely where equivalence of differences is recognized as the root of a new sense of belonging, a sense shaped mainly by and in the use of space.

1. UNCTAD, *Handbook of Statistics 2009*, New York and Geneva, 2010.
2. UNDP, *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development*, New York, 2009.
3. Dilip RATHA and William SHAW, *South-South Migration and Remittances*, Washington, World Bank, Development Prospects Group, January, 2007; UNDP, *Human Development Report 2009*, *op. cit.*
4. Marcello BALBO (ed.), *International Migrants and the City*, Nairobi, UN-HABITAT, Cooperazione Italiana, Università IUAV di Venezia, 2005; *Cities – Magnets of Hope, Habitate Debate*, September 2006, vol. 12, 3.
5. UN-HABITAT, *Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009*, London and Sterling, VA, Earthscan, 2009.
6. Giovanna MARCONI, "Migrants Stranded at the Border of Their Dream. Learning from Transit Cities in Mexico and Turkey", *Triolog*, 2009, vol. 101, 2, p. 8-12.
7. Mirko MARZADRO, "Conexiones translocales y formación de territorios migratorios. El caso de los Cochabambinos de Bérgamo", *SSIM Paper Series*, 2, December 2009.
8. Engin F. ISIN, *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
9. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Le Droit à la ville*, Paris, Anthropos, 1968. English translation by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (eds), *Writings on Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996.
10. UNDP, *Human Development Report 2009*, *op. cit.*
11. WORLD BANK, 2009, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/RemittancesData_Nov09\(Public\).xls](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/RemittancesData_Nov09(Public).xls).
12. UNDP, *Human Development Report 2009*, *op. cit.*
13. Loren LANDAU, "The Laws of (In)hospitality: Black South Africans in South Africa", *Forced Migration Working Paper Series*, 7, 2004; Marcello BALBO, *International Migrants and the City*, *op. cit.*; Camilo ARRIAGADA LUCO, *Santiago de Chile*, November 2006, http://www.miurbal.net/focus_santiago.html, ; Renato CYMBALISTA, Yara ROLNIK XAVIER, *Sao Paulo*, http://www.miurbal.net/focus_saopaulo.html, November 2006; Ahmet İÇDUYGU, Kristen BIEHL, "The Changing Trajectory of Migration to Turkey" in Marcello BALBO, Ahmet İÇDUYGU, Julio PÉREZ SERRANO (eds), *Countries of Migrants, Cities of Migrants: Italy, Spain, Turkey*, Istanbul, Istanbul Bilgi University Press (forthcoming).
14. Tito ALEGRÍA, "Contribuciones para una teoría de la segregación residencial y los mercados étnicos de los inmigrantes en ciudades de América Latina", *SSIM Paper Series*, 4, April 2010.
15. Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Culture in a Globalised City*, <http://rizomatic.wordpress.com/2008/07/04/culture-in-a-globalised-city-zygmunt-bauman>, 2008.
16. Luc BOLTANSKI, Ève CHIAPELLO, *Le Nouvel Esprit du capitalisme*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999 ; Bruno OLLIVIER (ed), *Les Identités collectives à l'heure de la mondialisation*, Paris, CNRS, 2009.
17. David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *New Left Review*, September-October 2008, 53, p. 23-40.
18. Hans MAGNUS ENZENSBERGER, *Civil War*, London, Granta Books in association with Penguin, 1994.
19. Marcello BALBO, "Social and Spatial Inclusion of International Migrants: Local Responses to a Global Process", *SSIM Paper Series*, 1, October 2009.
20. Ahmet İÇDUYGU, Kristen BIEHL, "The Changing Trajectory of Migration to Turkey", *loc. cit.*
21. Michael SAFEER, "Securing the Right to the City: the Case for Civic Cosmopolitanism" in UNESCO, *International Public Debates, Urban Policies and the Right to the City*, Paris, 2005, p. 30-32.
22. Saskia SASSEN, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From medieval to global assemblages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2006.
23. Manuel CASTELLS, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban Regional Process*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1989.
24. Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Culture in a Globalised City*, *op. cit.*
25. Fernando CARRION, "The Historical Centre as an Object of Desire", *City and Time*, 2005, vol. 1, 3:1, <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org>.
26. Alma TORRES, Rodrigo HIDALGO, "Peruvians in Santiago, Chile: urban transformations and perception of immigrants", *Revista Polis*, 2009, 22, p. 3, <http://www.revistapolis.cl/polis%20final/English/22e/doc/Torres-Hidalgo.ingl.pdf>.
27. Marcello BALBO, *International Migrants and the City*, *op. cit.*
28. Vanessa REDAK, Andreas NOVY, Joachim BECKER, "Modernizing or Polarizing Vienna" in Frank MOULAERT, Arantxa RODRÍGUEZ, Erik SWYNGEDOUW, *The Globalized City. Economic Restructuring and Social Polarization in European Cities*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 167-180. CITIES FOR LOCAL INTEGRATION POLICIES (clip), *Housing and Segregation of Migrants. Case Study: Vienna, Austria*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2009.
29. Stephen CASTLES, "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization", in *International Migration Review*, 2002, vol. 36, 4, p. 1143-1168; UNITED NATIONS, *International Migration and Development. Report of the Secretary-General*, General Assembly, Sixtieth session, 2006.
30. Jordi BORJA, "Los derechos en la globalización y el derecho a la ciudad", *Mientras Tantos*, 2003, 87, p. 85-95.
31. Elena OSTANEL, "Practice of Citizenship, Practice of Resistance: Mozambicans in Johannesburg, South Africa", *SSIM Paper Series*, 3, March 2010.
32. Ulrich BECK, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2006.
33. Nilufer GÖLE, "Islam, European public space, and civility" in Krzysztof MICHALSKI (ed.), *Conditions of European Solidarity, vol. II: Religion in the New Europe*, Budapest, New York, Central European University Press, 2006, p. 128.
34. Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Globalization. The human consequences*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1998.

Designner l'espace public pour soutenir le droit à la ville: l'objectif de *capacitation spatiale*

Sabine Guisse

Introduction

L'usage de l'espace public constitue une condition essentielle de l'exercice du droit à la ville. Le citoyen y accorde de l'importance tant en termes pratiques (mobilité entre lieux urbains, extension de l'espace de vie au-delà de la cellule privée) qu'en termes sociaux (présentation de soi, construction de l'identité, interactions sociales). *A priori*, la jouissance de ce territoire commun est protégée par des lois qui en garantissent un accès inconditionnel : pour tous, et à tout moment. Mais si on se penche sur la façon dont l'usager le vit effectivement, on se rend compte que cette autorisation d'accès ne garantit pas l'exercice du droit à la ville. En effet, ce dernier découle également de la qualité du vécu de l'espace public : avoir droit à la ville, c'est pouvoir la parcourir, l'utiliser de façon aisée. Si cette aise¹ dépend notamment du parcours personnel de l'usager (ses forces et ses faiblesses, durables ou momentanées), elle dépend également de la nature de l'environnement avec lequel il interagit. Il compose donc avec ces éléments d'ordre social (autres usagers), atmosphérique (climat, luminosité) ou matériel (surfaces, espaces, objets) qui vont soutenir ou au contraire contraindre son usage. Tous influent sur la qualité de son vécu et ce, d'autant plus dans le cas de l'espace public. En effet, l'usager est contraint non seulement de le fréquenter, mais aussi de s'en accommoder sans cesse. Majoritairement extérieur, cet espace public nous soumet aux conditions atmosphériques, ouvert et continu, il nous confronte aux autres usagers et enfin, personne ne peut l'aménager selon ses propres besoins. Si les conditions atmosphériques et sociales sont difficilement malléables, on peut considérer que les éléments matériels le sont par contre. En définitive, l'aménagement de l'espace public est une pratique qui porte une responsabilité non négligeable dans la possibilité que le citoyen a ou non d'exercer son droit à la ville.

C'est sur base de ces constats que, dans le courant de l'année 2005, une recherche a été proposée aux pouvoirs publics bruxellois² interrogeant la façon dont l'aménagement de l'espace public peut influencer sur la qualité de l'expérience urbaine. Une grande quantité

d'observations de terrain ont permis d'identifier, au cœur des situations d'usage, certains ingrédients logiques et conditions de l'aise dans l'usage de l'espace public. Cette étude aboutit aujourd'hui à une méthode de design adressée aux architectes, urbanistes, designers, mais aussi aux administrations investies dans l'aménagement de l'espace public. La particularité de cette méthode est qu'elle inclut, outre des outils de conception, des outils d'observation à mettre préalablement en œuvre par le concepteur sur les sites des projets concernés. Elle inclut une perspective qualifiée d'attentionnelle. De la recherche à la prospection, il s'agit donc d'intégrer un principe de reconnaissance de la réalité vécue. Toute situation d'usage observée est considérée non seulement comme une source d'information pertinente, mais aussi comme valable pour la construction de l'évaluation et l'énonciation d'objectifs. La capacité des conditions matérielles à soutenir l'usage est définie à partir du terrain, selon les comportements usagers observés, et ce, sans aucune visée normative. Cette attitude attentionnelle face à la réalité du terrain nous semble un prérequis indispensable dans une recherche qui vise le soutien de droits. Pour être effectif, le droit doit, en effet, être accessible et il semble que les conditions de cette accessibilité, qui varient d'un usager à l'autre, d'un moment à l'autre, ne puissent être observées que dans les situations réelles.

Par cet article, il s'agit de montrer comment l'aménagement de l'espace public urbain participe, mais peut aussi participer davantage au développement du droit à la ville. Une première partie est consacrée à la problématisation, en termes de droit à l'usage de l'espace public, de méthodes dites de design observant, telles que celle que nous avons élaborée. Elles sont envisagées à partir des questions éthiques qui se posent tout particulièrement lors de leur application sur l'espace public. À travers un canevas critique, le rôle intégrateur ou au contraire autoritaire de telles méthodes est évalué, tel leur potentiel soit à soutenir les usages urbains dans toute leur pluralité ou, au contraire, à les contraindre dans une visée normative. L'objectif sera de mettre en évidence leurs possibles impacts, qu'ils soient restrictifs ou extensifs, en termes de droit. Dans une seconde partie, selon ce canevas critique, la méthode de design observant est exposée. Nous mettrons en évidence, à chaque moment critique, la façon dont elle tente de répondre au plus près à cet enjeu du droit des usages. Dans une troisième partie, nous énoncerons quelques possibles applications pratiques de cette méthode dans la réalité urbaine concrète. Par ces évocations de cas, les perspectives envisageables d'un aménagement de l'espace public soutenant le droit à l'usage de l'espace public, et donc le droit à la ville, sont mises en évidence.

Design observant et droit à la ville

Depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle, l'industrialisation contribue à ce que la conception des objets usuels, en s'éloignant du mode de la fabrication traditionnelle ou de la commande, prenne également de la distance avec leurs destinataires : les usagers. Depuis, un nombre croissant de designers, devenus médiateurs entre entité de production et public de masse, considèrent les usagers comme de véritables mines d'information. En effet, pour concevoir, le designer doit tenir compte du fait que les objets et les individus ont des capacités d'action qu'ils exercent l'un sur l'autre lors de leurs interactions et qui jouent un rôle quant à la tournure des situations vécues. Il s'agit de forces et de faiblesses spécifiques liées à leurs dispositions propres (constitution, apparence, état, ...). Or, ces capacités sont plus ou moins indéterminées, il est difficile de les identifier *a priori*. Il est donc intéressant, pour le designer qui projette de les réunir dans l'usage, d'en saisir plus précisément les contours. Pour ce faire, il peut observer les moments de rencontre entre sujets et objets, lorsque s'exercent leurs capacités d'action respectives. Au cours de chaque interaction, les actants se fixent et révèlent explicitement une série de dispositions particulières. Par le biais d'observations répétées, il est possible de déceler des tendances dans les agissements des sujets et des objets dans le cadre de leurs rapports mutuels. Le designer peut donc observer des orientations usagères et esthétiques, mais aussi des appréciations pratiques et ergonomiques. Par rapport à une clientèle visée, il optimise les objets en croisant ces critères de l'usage avec ceux de la rentabilité économique. Le principe est de compter sur les capacités d'action des sujets et des objets et la potentielle répétitivité des situations observées.

Depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle, les concepteurs de l'espace public s'intéressent eux aussi plus particulièrement aux usages. À l'époque, l'urbanisation galopante fait appel à la rationalisation de l'action urbanistique. À ce titre, l'urbanisme naissant trouve notamment des ancrages dans la réalité du terrain : la ville devient pour certains un véritable laboratoire. Si le bâtisseur est inspiré par les usages au moins depuis le début de notre ère (Vitruve, par exemple, s'intéresse à l'ergonomie des temples pour les pèlerins et fait des recommandations sur base d'observations des rituels³), l'avènement de l'urbanisme et l'explosion démographique à la fin du XIX^e siècle donneront à ce type d'approche un écho politique sans précédent (hygiénisme, modernisme, sécuritarisme). Les périodes d'urgence (reconstruction après-guerre, exode rural, immigration), notamment, vont encore accélérer la mise en œuvre matérielle des théories urbanistiques et architecturales. Les théories d'aménagement de l'espace public, plus spécifiquement, trouveront une légitimité particulière dans leur référence aux usages. L'assise

empirique et la référence à l'individu seront autant d'arguments convaincants pour les politiques, mais également pour leurs électeurs.

Cependant, faire de l'espace public un laboratoire dont le résultat des expériences est censé guider en retour l'aménagement pose nombre de questions d'ordre éthique. Par rapport au design d'objets d'ordre privé évoqué précédemment, si le principe de compter sur la répétition des situations est bien le même, le passage du terrain en tant que champ d'observation au terrain en tant que champ d'action est, par contre, lui, beaucoup moins évident. La réalité observée est ouverte et complexe tandis que l'action projetée est tiraillée entre enjeux (politique, technique, ...) et valeur commune du bien en question. Lorsqu'il agit sur l'espace public, le designer observant doit plus que tout autre prendre position.

Si le client de l'objet privé est identifiable par un profil type et s'associe à l'objet pour des périodes (de plus en plus) limitées dans le temps, l'usager de l'espace public est, quant à lui, pluriel et négocie avec un environnement beaucoup plus pérenne. Les modalités de constitution d'un échantillon représentatif d'usagers et d'ajustement de l'objet selon les résultats de l'expérience sont donc beaucoup plus délicates. Par ailleurs, bien que la configuration des objets d'acquisition privée soit dépendante de la mode ou du portefeuille du client, l'utilisateur peut, de nos jours, la plupart du temps, opérer un certain nombre de choix. L'environnement public, par contre, se donne tel quel à l'usager qui doit s'en accommoder : ce dernier ne dispose de quasiment aucune possibilité de l'aménager ou l'arranger dans sa substance concrète. Ensuite, les objets de l'espace public s'utilisent nécessairement... en public. Jugé notamment sur la façon dont il manipule les aménagements, l'individu joue constamment son image. Sur l'espace public, scène la plus vaste de la vie urbaine, les relations entre les individus prennent quasi exclusivement la forme de relations visuelles plus ou moins éphémères : on peut parler d'*hypertrophie de l'œil* (Breviglieri et Stavo-Debauge⁴). Dans ce contexte, l'issue plus ou moins positive des négociations de l'usager avec le monde matériel peut avoir, par le biais du mécanisme d'association, des impacts notoires sur le plan social, allant de sa reconnaissance à sa stigmatisation, ainsi que celles de ses semblables ou de son quartier. Enfin, la proximité de la discipline urbanistique avec le monde politique crée des liens de dépendance susceptibles d'influencer les pratiques de recherche et d'action. Finalement, l'exploitation des enseignements de l'usage dans le design de l'espace public, quelle que soit sa tournure, implique des répercussions extrêmement ciblées sur les usages et donc potentiellement effectives. Ce type de stratégie peut donc influencer sur le rapport des citoyens au monde, à la ville et aux autres. De ce fait, elle touche de près à la question du droit à la ville.

Jusqu'à présent, les méthodes d'aménagement observatrices d'usages ont tendance à se focaliser sur des usages types. Il y a notamment les méthodes assimilables à des « visions urbanistiques » orientées au sein desquelles l'observation est sciemment instrumentalisée pour normaliser les usages. Spatialistes⁵, elles sélectionnent les usages à observer (comportement d'achat, criminel, ...) et les étudient de façon à les soutenir ou à les contraindre par l'aménagement. D'autres méthodes cherchent réellement à ce que ce soit la réalité usagère qui informe le processus de conception, mais en réduisent la pluralité. Nous pensons notamment aux urbanistes et/ou architectes comme Kevin Lynch et son critère d'*imagibilité* de la ville (Lynch⁶), Jan Gehl et ses cartographies et typologies d'usage de la ville⁷ ou encore *l'urbanisme descriptif* et le *critère de prestation* de Bernardo Secchi (Secchi⁸; Vigano⁹). L'un des futurs enjeux de la recherche est d'ailleurs d'identifier les modalités selon lesquelles ce type de méthodes a tendance à se concentrer sur un profil particulier d'usage, d'usager et/ou d'espace de pratique urbaine. Enfin, les méthodes d'aménagement « curatives », ciblées vers les personnes considérées comme (af)faibl(i)es physiquement et/ou socialement (personnes âgées, personnes handicapées, enfants, population immigrée, fonctionnaires européens, faibles revenus, ...) peuvent encore être citées.

Bien qu'inspirées par les usages, de telles approches « ciblées » abordent peu, ou pas, la question des relations entre différents publics. Plus fondamentalement, elles risquent, par leur reconnaissance partielle de la réalité des usages urbains, de priver toute une série d'usagers d'une pratique aisée de l'espace public, et donc d'une partie non négligeable de leur droit à la ville. En effet, l'extension, sur le territoire public, de visions aménageuses cadrées sur un seul et même usager type, réduit drastiquement les opportunités d'usage. Dans ce cas, nombre d'usagers ne parviennent pas à trouver leurs marques dans ces aménagements. Deux possibilités s'offrent à eux : les plus forts peuvent s'adapter, détourner des objets, ou bien disposent de ressources privées leur permettant de se passer de cet espace; mais les plus faibles et démunis doivent s'en accommoder. Ces derniers sont alors limités dans leurs usages. Finalement, tous ceux qui ne parviennent pas ou n'éprouvent pas l'envie d'envisager leur pratique de la ville comme une conquête constante des formes urbaines finissent par désertir l'espace public dès que possible. Lorsqu'ils atteignent une grande échelle, ou sont porteurs de valeurs ou de pratiques foncièrement communes (centre historique, place publique, lieux de service, ...), ces lieux affranchis de la pluralité des usage(r)s remettent en question la condition publique et le statut de bien commun de ce territoire.

En mettant en place notre propre méthodologie de design observant, nous avons pu identifier des points délicats au départ desquels se dessine la prise en considération plus ou

moins large des usages urbains. Les options méthodologiques opérées à chaque étape du processus semblent être des points de basculement cruciaux. Que ce soit par le type de méthode de recueil des données (échantillonnage, technique, forme et archivage), par le type de conceptualisation et/ou d'opérationnalisation, les méthodes observantes ont tendance à opérer une sélection plus ou moins restrictive des usages urbains qu'elles reconnaissent et envisagent d'encadrer par l'aménagement. C'est de cette façon que nombre d'entre elles, même si plusieurs se laissent é-« porter » par l'observation de façon conséquente, peuvent se faire normatives et/ou excluantes.

???

Un design observant axé sur le droit à l'usage

Notre projet de recherche ambitionne l'élaboration d'une méthode de design d'espace public davantage attentive aux usages urbains dans toute leur pluralité et leur complexité. Pour ce faire, nous avons définitivement opté pour une posture observante, excellent outil d'objectivation, qui, à certaines conditions, permet de nourrir et de relativiser l'action aménageuse au bénéfice d'un rééquilibrage de la part « bien commun » de l'espace public. Le premier objectif de la démarche est de prendre de la distance par rapport aux visions aménageuses que l'on pourrait nommer intentionnelles (autorité politique, esthétique, morale, économique), qu'elles s'inspirent ou non des usages. Le second objectif est de développer la perspective attentionnelle (attention portée aux usages) en travaillant à sa continuité à travers tout le processus méthodologique. Dans cette section, nous allons aborder les fondements de notre méthode à partir du canevas critique précité. Chaque option méthodologique sera présentée depuis l'angle de la réponse qu'elle propose à la question du droit à l'usage.

Méthode de recueil des données

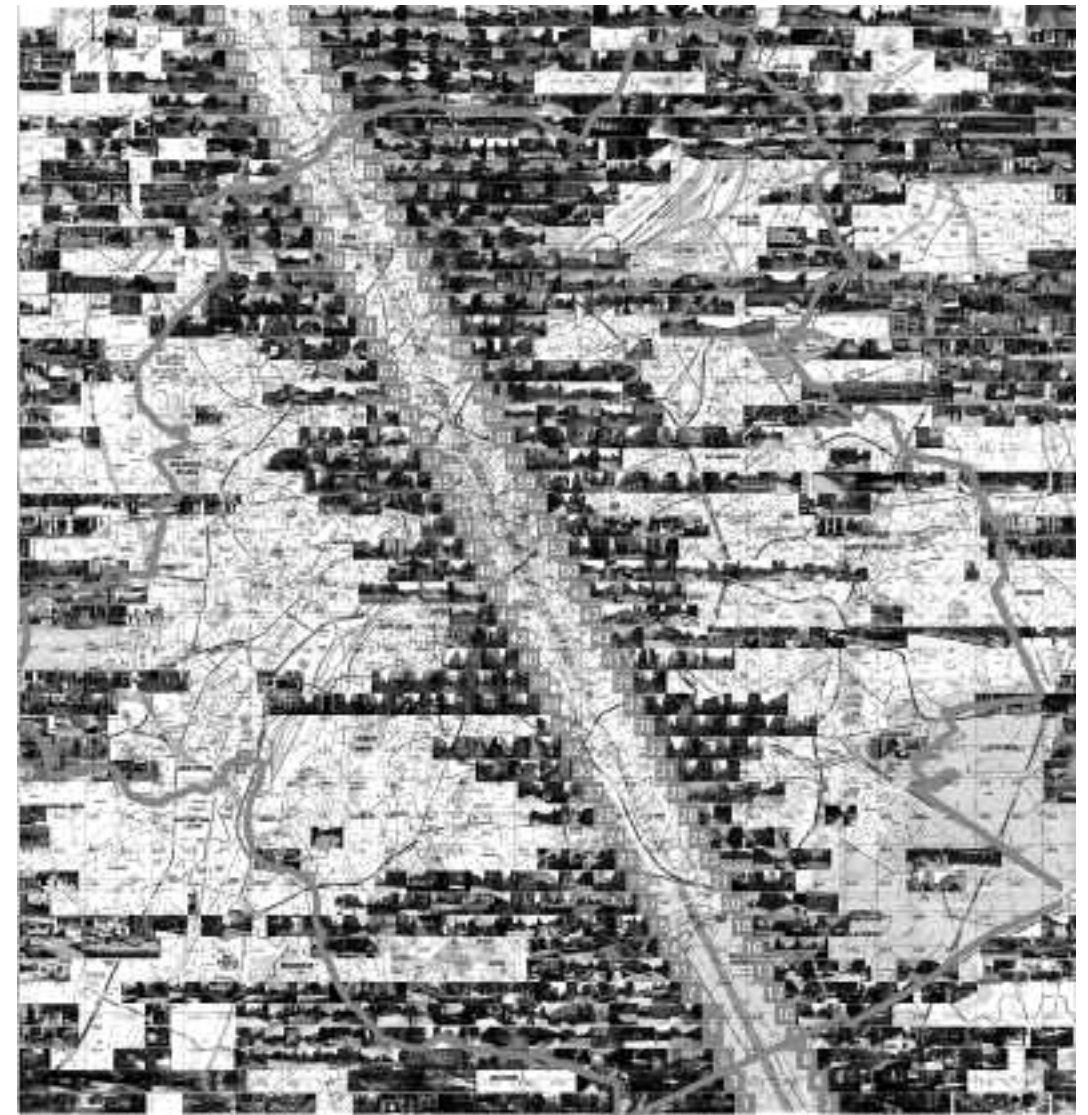
La méthode mise en œuvre se fonde sur des observations de terrain. À l'instar de la sociologie pragmatique, l'approche « conjugue l'action exercée par l'objet sur les humains et l'action exercée sur les objets par les humains, sans privilégier aucune de ces deux dimensions mais, au contraire, en les nouant dans l'observation concrète des situations » (Heinich¹⁰). Très proche du terrain, cette posture inductive constitue une première réponse à la question du droit parce qu'elle laisse parler les usages.

Une seconde réponse est formulée par le biais de la représentativité de l'échantillon. Bien que limitée à la Région bruxelloise, l'étude s'est construite sur l'observation d'une variété de

lieux et d'usagers. L'un des terrains d'investigation est emblématique de cette représentativité : un *transect* à travers l'ensemble du territoire régional, soit quinze kilomètres de voie publique en ligne droite à travers le tissu urbain, traversant quartiers centraux et périphériques, plus ou moins densément bâtis ou peuplés, favorisés socialement, résidentiels, mixtes, touristiques ou commerciaux, alternant impasses, chaussées, rues, quais, places et carrefours. Cette multiplicité d'actants spatiaux et sociaux donne à voir des situations d'interactions diversifiées, tentant de représenter au mieux la pluralité des usages urbains.

Le territoire d'observation n'est pas délimité *a priori*, ses frontières se dessinent par l'usage : il comprend ce que l'utilisateur peut voir, humer, toucher et entendre lorsqu'il pratique l'espace public légal. Au sein de la configuration spatiale, les éléments proches et/ou lointains avec lesquels l'individu interagit sont isolés. Ils sont nommés *accroches spatiales* de l'usage : tel trottoir, tel poteau, tel banc, telle rangée de voitures ou d'arbres, telle pelouse, tel commerce, telle bordure, telle route, tel potelet, tel feu de signalisation, telle pente, tel paysage, tel panneau, tel seuil, telle jardinière ou encore telle station de métro, ... Par leur forme, leur texture, leurs dimensions et/ou leur fonction, ils outillent ou contraignent l'usage de l'espace public. L'objet de l'observation n'est pas non plus restreint : on s'intéresse à tous les types d'usages, qu'ils soient plus ou moins massifs ou marginaux, grégaires ou solitaires, récurrents ou exceptionnels, communs ou décalés, extravertis ou discrets, prévisibles ou non, ...

L'observation donne lieu à une formulation spontanée, non formatée et franche des opportunités et contraintes spatiales que rencontre l'usage. À la fois plurielle et désintéressée, c'est une possible expression « publique » de ce que l'espace public permet et interdit aux usages. Elle devient la « voix » d'un échantillon du premier public de ce territoire. Elle assure une représentativité plurielle, à la mesure de ce bien commun dont on joue le sort lors d'aménagements. Une telle pratique aménageuse invite, aux côtés du citoyen *lambda* qui « dit » l'espace public dans ses propositions et revendications lors des assemblées participatives, le citoyen *lambda* qui « vit » l'espace public par ses usages. Dans la série des nouvelles méthodes d'aménagement attentionnelles, elle s'inscrit d'ailleurs en complément des méthodes participatives dont la représentativité de l'échantillon participant fait régulièrement défaut. La logique de flux, non négligeable dans le rapport au monde urbain, y est le plus souvent niée : les participants invités sont les « habitants », rarement les usagers de passage. Sans compter que nombre de lieux urbains ne sont justement pas peuplés à proprement parler (zones administratives, pôles commerciaux). Particulièrement exigeant (en termes de temps, de capacité, de préoccupation), l'acte participatif revient, par ailleurs, le plus souvent dans les mains d'une population au profil particulièrement homogène (pensionnés, belgo-



Transect : observation déambulatoire des usages de l'espace public régional bruxellois. (Photo : Sabine Guisse, 2008.)

belges, instruits, ...), non représentatif de la société urbaine, voire marginal sur le terrain des usages physiques de la ville.

Enfin, la méthode présente la particularité de ne pas tenir pour acquis ou suffisants les résultats de la recherche qui l'a générée. Aucun des outils qu'elle offre n'est applicable de façon automatique, il s'agit d'une méthode à situer. Lors de son application par des tiers, elle renvoie explicitement et systématiquement le concepteur à observer les usages sur son propre site de projet.

Conceptualisation

La sociologie pragmatique est une discipline qui « s'allie à des fortes modélisations théoriques » (Heinich). Les données de terrain, extrêmement complexes, doivent en effet, être rationalisées, à la fois pour pouvoir effectuer des montées en généralités théoriques mais aussi pour pouvoir nourrir l'action. Tout l'enjeu méthodologique de cette conceptualisation se situe dans sa fidélité au terrain : comment rationaliser cette matière sans être réducteur ? Pour répondre à cet aspect, les concepts qualifient l'interaction individu-espace, plutôt que ses actants. Ils la qualifient à la fois dans sa forme (typologie) et dans son issue (évaluation).

La forme de l'interaction peut être identifiée parmi une typologie de neuf *figures d'interaction spatiale*. Elle est illustrée dans un catalogue de photographies de situations d'usage de l'espace public bruxellois prises durant la recherche. Ces archives témoignent de la pluralité des usages, mais aussi, en second plan, de la pluralité des actants sociaux et spatiaux qui la génèrent. Elles nuancent la rationalisation théorique. Pour être appliquée par des tiers, la méthode exige du concepteur qu'il constitue son propre catalogue local des figures d'interaction qu'il observe.

L'issue de l'interaction se traduit en termes de *(dé)capacitation spatiale*. Ce concept témoigne du potentiel qu'a l'espace de donner des moyens, mais aussi d'imposer des contraintes à l'individu qui fréquente la ville. Cette posture s'inscrit dans les traces de la sociologie pragmatique qui considère que les acteurs sont dotés de *compétences* et de *capacités* (Genard¹¹) qui se révèlent notamment dans leurs relations à l'espace. Les situations de *capacitation* ou *décapacitation spatiales* sont départagées à partir des signes de *malaise* ou *d'aise* (Breviglieri¹²) exprimés par l'usager à l'épreuve des objets et espaces urbains. Ces signes traduisent la qualité de l'interaction : si les conditions spatiales contraignent ou, au contraire, soutiennent l'usager dans sa pratique. Le couple *aise-malaise* implique un point de rupture net qui permet une

distinction très claire des sentiments. À partir de ce point, ces concepts recouvrent une infinité d'affects dans les deux sens opposés, d'intensités et de formes diverses. En bref, ces concepts d'*aise* et de *malaise* permettent la pluralisation des critères d'évaluation spatiale et donc, la reconnaissance de ceux qui émergent de la diversité des individus. Enfin, situé à la rencontre entre individu et objet, le concept de *capacitation* traduit une optique non pas déterministe, mais que l'on pourrait qualifier de « potentialiste » et pragmatique. Il reconnaît la marge d'action individuelle entre les risques et opportunités d'usage identifiés dans les objets.

De façon générale, la forme et l'issue de l'interaction sont déterminées à partir des expressions faciales, verbales (plus rares dans l'espace public), mais aussi corporelles de l'usager : comment réagit-il à l'objet ? *Aise* et *malaise* sont identifiables sur base d'indices comportementaux (Thomas¹³) tandis que les *figures d'interaction* peuvent être lues dans la façon dont l'usager aborde l'objet. Sa démarche, ses gestes et sa posture participent à l'identification de la *figure d'interaction* qui s'incarne à ce moment précis. La conceptualisation des données récoltées sur le terrain, bien qu'elle nous invite à nous centrer sur les objets matériels, reste donc intimement liée à chaque situation. Une conceptualisation de ce type, par sa proximité avec la réalité du terrain, confirme la perspective attentionnelle, plutôt qu'intentionnelle ou normative, de la méthode.



Formation [pyblik] : mise à l'épreuve de la méthode auprès de professionnels de l'aménagement. (Photo : Sabine Guisse, 2009.)









Logo	Figure d'interaction	verbe 1 action de l'espace/verbe spatial (ou d'un individu)	verbe 2 action de l'individu	script capacitant (extraits)	script décapacitant (extraits)
	AIMANT	attirer	rejoindre	rencontrer socialiser sociabilité subjectivité visibilité rapports	suffocation isolement
	ABRI	isoler	se cacher	protection perméabilité recul	sauf-à-dire aménagement
	SCENE	montrer	se montrer / voir	subjectivité reconnaissance animation	embourgeoisement trouille
	SIGNE	signifier	laisser une trace / associer	subjectivité customisation	détermination isolement intimidation réduction anxiété navigation restriction suffocation
	ETRENTE	encadrer	se lover	spécificité invitation compréhension espérer fonctionnalité efficacité organisation souplesse	intimidation anxiété infériorité tendance
	BAIN	immerger	plonger	renouveau opportunités stimulation	intimidation anxiété infériorité tendance
	BUTEE	retenir	(s') accrocher	signal lien repas projet	obstacle limite
	PASSAGE	emmener	traverser	vie traversée sociabilité sécurité guide	restriction embourgeoisement enfermement
	FLOU	laisser	inviter	éducation droit liberté recul subjectivité invitation conscience information	embourgeoisement incapacité désorientation manque d'attention

Tableau des figures d'interaction spatiale de l'espace public.
(Photo : Sabine Guisse, 2009.)

Opérationnalisation

Une méthode de design directement inspirée des enseignements issus des observations de terrain est ensuite à mettre en œuvre. Il s'agit de quatre procédures à enchaîner par les concepteurs. L'objectif est de travailler à l'intensification de la *capacitation spatiale* d'espaces publics en projet. L'opérationnalisation des données de terrain sous forme de procédures s'oppose aux recettes aménageuses et aux proscriptions et prescriptions spatiales qui remplissent la plupart des manuels d'aménagement urbain. Cette forme permet de soutenir les usages de l'espace public tout en laissant s'exercer les créativité du maître d'ouvrage et du maître d'œuvre. Le pluralisme esthétique de la méthode est d'ailleurs affirmé par les illustrations volontairement diversifiées du *catalogue des figures d'interaction*.

La procédure de *reconnaissance* invite tout d'abord l'aménageur à observer et analyser les usages du site qu'il est appelé à transformer. La méthode contient des conseils d'observation : technique, zone d'investigation, moments d'observation, ... Quel que soit le temps pouvant y être consacré, il est préconisé de choisir des moments au cours desquels les circonstances d'usage varient : espace envahi et déserté, jour et nuit, soleil et pluie, semaine et week-end, ... Cela permet d'enrichir substantiellement l'échantillon d'usages observés sur un même espace et donc d'être plus représentatif. Pour chaque usage, il s'agit d'identifier précisément quel usager et quel objet (*accroche spatiale*) interagissent, selon quelle forme (*figure d'interaction*) et quelle issue (*capacitation ou décapacitation spatiale*). Finalement, le diagnostic du lieu observé s'établit à partir de ce que l'espace a démontré pouvoir empêcher et permettre aux usagers au cours d'une succession de micro-situations d'usage. Traduits dans un code iconographique témoignant de leurs formes et issues respectives, les usages observés sont cartographiés sur un plan qui servira de fond à la mise en œuvre des procédures suivantes. Parallèlement, les situations d'usage photographiées, ou leur description détaillée, sont compilées dans un catalogue local, classées par *figure d'interaction*. Cette étape aide à la conscientisation de la richesse usagère locale tout en enrichissant le catalogue.

Ce type de relevé des usages d'un lieu ne peut cependant jamais prétendre à une représentativité exacte et ne permet d'établir qu'un diagnostic partiel. Son objectif n'est pas de livrer un jugement absolu, définitif et arrêté sur tel ou tel espace mais plutôt de situer le projet en lui servant de base mais aussi de nourriture.

C'est l'enclenchement des procédures de *pluralisation* et d'*articulation* qui, en s'appuyant sur le diagnostic local, confirme l'intégration de la procédure de *reconnaissance* dans la conception. Le concepteur y est invité à diversifier les *accroches spatiales* pour multiplier les

possibilités d'usage. Nous avons, en effet, pu observer que l'aise dans l'usage s'appuie notamment sur certains agencements des éléments spatiaux qui permettent à l'utilisateur de moduler ses expériences dans l'espace de proximité, et donc, de les adapter, sans véritable détour, à ses aspirations mais aussi à ses forces et à ses faiblesses.

Par la *pluralisation*, le projet propose aux usages une forme de continuité : diversifier les types d'accroches (varier le style d'un luminaire, l'essence d'un arbre, la forme d'un banc, la fonction d'un bâtiment, ...) tout en activant la même *figure d'interaction* que celle déjà observée. Il s'agit donc pour le concepteur de dessiner un autre dispositif spatial qui continue à présenter à l'utilisateur une opportunité d'usage similaire. Il peut l'imaginer, mais aussi s'inspirer d'accroches spatiales issues des catalogues de figures d'interaction : celui réalisé à partir des données locales, afin de multiplier des accroches qui fonctionnent déjà dans le quartier ou le catalogue fourni dans la boîte à outils pour importer des accroches inédites.

Par la procédure d'articulation, le projet propose aux usages une alternative plutôt qu'une continuité. Dans ce cas, la méthode met en avant le potentiel *capacitant* de certaines associations. Cette procédure exploite une série de relations privilégiées entre usages, révélées par nos études de cas. Les relations de complémentarité (*Butée et Scène*, *Passage et Bain*, *Passage et Scène*, *Passage et Abri*, *Aimant et Abri*, *Bain et Étreinte*, *Butée et Abri*) lient des usages qui se nourrissent l'un l'autre. Par exemple, la *Butée* peut servir d'appui pour que le public d'une *Scène* puisse se poser ; et la *Scène* peut servir de distraction à l'utilisateur qui se repose sur ou est bloqué par une *Butée*. Les relations de symbiose (*Scène et Abri*, *Passage et Butée*, *Flou et Étreinte*, *Flou et Signe*, *Bain et Étreinte*, *Bain et Passage*) lient des figures d'interaction inverses. Leur association permet notamment de pallier à des situations de *décapacitation*. C'est l'un des grands principes du projet de *capacitation spatiale* : ne pas nécessairement condamner les *accroches spatiales* dont on a vu qu'elles mettaient mal à l'aise certains usagers car celles-ci se révèlent souvent être l'outil d'autres usagers. Par le projet, on cherche plutôt à développer dans l'espace de proximité un système pluriel d'accroches permettant la coexistence d'une diversité d'usages dans un même lieu afin d'offrir une alternative ciblée à ces usages spatialement *décapacités* ou simplement non *capacités* par la *figure d'interaction* existante.

La procédure d'extraction, enfin, implique le repérage de potentiels, humains et spatiaux, inexploités dans le cadre des usages préexistants au réaménagement. Les espaces exploitables mais interdits d'accès et/ou de vue (chantiers, friches, infrastructures) sont identifiés. Leur potentiel d'usage public peut être informé par les usages de certains espaces types repérés au cours de la recherche et mis à disposition dans la méthode. Les usagers dispo-



Complémentarité entre *Butée* et *Scène* : un navetteur appuyé sur une rambarde observe de jeunes danseurs occupant un espace dans une gare, Bruxelles, gare du Luxembourg. (Photo : Sabine Guisse, 2008.)

nibles sur le site mais ne fréquentant pas l'espace public (employés de bureaux, personnes âgées, ...) sont repérés par le biais de statistiques et d'entretiens. Afin d'inviter ces personnes sur l'espace public, on peut alors envisager le développement d'*accroches spatiales* que la recherche a identifiées comme particulièrement *capacitantes* pour ce type de population.

Le projet de *capacitation spatiale* vise à la fois le respect des opportunités d'usage existantes et la gestion des situations de *décapacitation spatiale*, mais aussi le développement d'autres usages, l'exploitation de nouveaux espaces, l'invitation de nouveaux usagers qui ne trouvent, jusqu'à présent, pas exactement ou pas du tout leur place dans l'espace public tel qu'il existe. Son objectif est la conception d'aménagements qui permettent davantage à la pluralité des usagers de s'inscrire dans l'espace public de façon aisée. L'utilisateur à l'aise, qui trouve des appuis à la pratique à laquelle il aspire, peut davantage développer son propre usage personnalisé et acquérir de ce fait, sur l'espace public, une forme de reconnaissance. Ensuite, l'espace public pratiqué par les corps¹⁴ demeure un lieu essentiel de mise à l'épreuve de la société. Ses dynamiques d'usage contribuent constamment, que ce soit par le biais de confrontations (rencontre ou conflit) ou de mentalisations (stigmatisation



Un équipement collectif (l'arrêt de bus) qui encadre l'usage (s'asseoir dans un milieu dominé par le flux routier), Bruxelles, chaussée de Gand. (Photo : Sabine Guisse, 2008.)

ou reconnaissance), tant à la destruction qu'à la construction sociale. Pour les individus, l'expérience de l'espace public urbain est un moyen de prendre conscience des réalités sociales et spatiales qui composent leur ville. Cet espace public, tel que le conçoit l'École de Chicago, qui met en présence la diversité des individus, génère, comme par apprivoisement, une tolérance accrue des différences et peut donc augmenter l'aise des usagers face à l'étrangeté.

Développement du droit à la ville à travers un design d'espace public « capacitant »

Dans cette section, des pistes de *capacitation spatiale* sont exemplifiées à partir de la procédure d'*articulation* et plus spécifiquement par la relation de *symbiose* entre figures d'interaction inverses (pour rappel : *Scène et Abri*, *Passage et Butée*, *Flou et Étreinte*, *Flou et Signe*, *Bain et Étreinte*, *Bain et Passage*). Outre le fait de pouvoir se passer d'un ancrage local (par rapport aux procédures d'*extraction* ou de *reconnaissance*), l'entrée par cette procédure est particulièrement éloquente pour le lecteur puisqu'elle permet d'envisager la résolution des situations de *décapacitation spatiale*.

Entre passage et butée

L'espace public est un réseau, dont la perméabilité permet aux individus de se déplacer et de relier différents points de travail, de loisir, d'approvisionnement, de services administratifs. Lieu de passage, l'espace public est également un lieu de séjour, que l'on peut s'approprier dans la durée. Parce qu'il est majoritairement extérieur, mais aussi parce qu'il propose des équipements spécifiques et des échelles généreuses, il s'inscrit en véritable complément de l'espace privé. Habiter l'espace public familier (de son quartier, de son lieu de travail) offre aussi aux usagers la possibilité de nuancer l'image rendue par le décor spatial. À l'intersection de ces usages, une condition majeure de la *capacitation spatiale* sur l'espace public urbain peut-être formulée : la possibilité pour l'utilisateur de moduler librement la cadence de sa pratique.

D'une part, il s'agit d'assurer une mobilité sur tout le réseau. Le libre parcours de l'espace public est assuré de façon légale, mais il y a moyen de soutenir les flux de diverses façons. Pour diminuer la sensation de détour éprouvée par le piéton, le maillage viaire peut, par exemple, être affiné, notamment par le percement de passages et d'autres espaces publics à travers les îlots particulièrement massifs. Par ailleurs, l'intégration de transports publics dans les parcours piétons (en fonction de différents facteurs tels que la desserte, la fréquence ou encore le coût) offrent l'opportunité d'effectuer des « sauts de puce » pour parcourir plus rapidement, et de façon encadrée, des bouts de ville. Il y a aussi des zones qui sont soustraites à l'espace public : par exemple, lors d'événements ou de chantiers autour desquels l'espace public est clôturé pour un temps donné. En contrepartie de la privation d'espace praticable et de l'imposition de détours, la possibilité d'ouvrir pour les usagers externes un droit, ne fut-ce que de regard, ou d'usage canalisé (des baies, des passages) pourrait être réfléchi. Ces lieux, que l'on pourrait nommer « îlots temporaires », participeraient en quelque sorte à la logique de *patchwork* urbain.

D'autre part, il s'agit de ménager des supports spatiaux pour la pause de l'utilisateur qui soient à la fois fréquents (à l'échelle du piéton) et variés. Le banc public est le plus connu, mais les usagers investissent bien d'autres appuis (seuils de porte, édifices techniques, bordures, murets, ...). Il est intéressant, dans un souci de pluralité, de décliner les supports de la pause afin qu'ils permettent des positions diverses, des plus installées (le fauteuil, la chaise longue, la surface de gazon, ...) aux plus éphémères (l'oreille de trottoir, le feu de signalisation, l'assise haute, ...). Dans la perspective plus spécifique de reconnaissance et de démonstration de savoirs faire, il s'agit d'intégrer des équipements pluriels et typés : terrain de sport,

tables de ping-pong ou d'échec, piste de danse, *skatepark*, équipements de musculation, jardin, ...

Entre scène et abri

L'espace public est un lieu de socialisation dans lequel chacun est amené à croiser le voisin ou l'inconnu, à éventuellement échanger des regards, voire des mots. Outre le fait d'y communiquer, l'individu s'y construit par sa confrontation aux autres mais également s'y présente, s'y expose constamment. En ville, les occasions de confrontation à l'autre sont multipliées au-delà des rencontres familières liées au quartier qui, dans une certaine mesure, se rapprochent des relations de voisinage rurales. Par exemple, la relation d'étrangeté (entre passant et population locale de quartier), typiquement urbaine, peut être particulièrement intense parce qu'elle est duale. Les locaux repèrent tout de suite les passants, tandis que ces derniers, à partir du tableau éphémère qu'ils perçoivent, élaborent des images sociales rapides mais durables. Par ailleurs, en ville, les probabilités de rencontres sont moins prévisibles et, le cas échéant, intensifiées par l'effet de surprise. Cela s'explique par le fonctionnement horaire particulièrement étalé et fluctuant et par la multiplicité des initiatives à l'origine d'évènements qui caractérisent l'environnement urbain. L'utilisateur pourra régulièrement être surpris par l'apparition d'une foule là où il ne l'attend pas ou par l'émergence d'un passant dans un lieu *a priori* désert.

À l'inverse, l'espace public peut aussi être un lieu de recul social. Pratiquement désert à certains endroits (zones techniques, naturelles) et/ou à certains moments (au cœur de la nuit, durant les congés), l'espace public peut aussi devenir un lieu pour s'isoler du monde en général, trouver la solitude. La ville multiplie et diversifie les occasions d'isolement par le biais d'un tissu qui, contrairement au tissu rural classique, intègre en son sein ces zones potentiellement désertes plutôt que de les cantonner à la périphérie. En ville, enfin, il est possible de s'extraire de son monde familier en prenant ses distances ou en plongeant dans l'anonymat d'une foule.

De façon générale, les configurations spatiales mettent en jeu l'image de l'utilisateur. Lorsqu'elles se font appui, elles lui permettent de démontrer ses forces : des savoir-faire, des affinités, des inventivités, des appropriations, des détournements, des insouciances, des agilités, des familiarités, des habiletés, ... À l'inverse, l'aménagement peut trahir les faiblesses de l'utilisateur. Mal à l'aise, ennuyé, il s'affiche sous des jours crispés et démontre des maladresses, des aversions, des embarras, des résignations, des soumissions. Pour l'utilisateur, l'espace public urbain est donc un terrain particulier d'opportunités pouvant contribuer à son émancipation

(découvertes, rencontres, apprentissages, maîtrise) mais aussi un terrain d'entraves pouvant participer à son amoindrissement (peurs, gêne, détresse). Dans ce cadre, l'aménagement *spatialement capacitant* visera à articuler dans l'espace de proximité des appuis spatiaux permettant à l'utilisateur de moduler le degré d'engagement de son corps dans la ville : de s'exposer ou de se faire oublier. La stratégie, dans une perspective globale de stimulation des usages, quels qu'ils soient, consiste à travailler sur des nuances spatiales fines. La palette des appuis se compose de toute une série d'outils spatiaux.

Il est possible, par exemple, de développer des scènes aidant l'utilisateur à se montrer. Celles-ci procèdent par le biais de dégagements, de décrochements de niveau (promontoire ou arène), de pentes. On peut aussi imaginer permettre à l'utilisateur de laisser des traces dans l'espace public par un travail sur l'espace privé (balcon, fenêtre, jardinet avant) ou sur l'espace public (murs et vitrines consacrés à l'expression). L'utilisateur se met en exergue également par son attitude. C'est le cas notamment lorsqu'il détourne un élément spatial au profit d'un usage particulier, qui n'était *a priori* pas prévu. Sa démarche lui permet d'exposer son habileté, son inventivité ou encore sa témérité sur la place publique.

Lorsque ce détournement répond à un réel déficit de l'aménagement, il faut cependant se montrer attentif. Le détournement n'est pas une tactique accessible à tous. En effet, utiliser un objet ou un espace qui n'est pas prévu pour cet usage peut exiger, par exemple, de l'agilité physique de la part de l'utilisateur. Cela veut dire que toute une série d'utilisateurs ne sont pas aptes au détournement. Ensuite, cette forme d'usage correspond à une démarche de la part de l'utilisateur. Par cette attitude, il est soudain reconnu, et plus ou moins mis en exergue sur l'espace public. Le détournement impose un degré d'exhibition que tout utilisateur n'est pas prêt à accepter.

Pour soutenir les dissimulations, des masques peuvent être mis en œuvre permettant de se cacher plus ou moins, selon leur opacité (un feuillage, une grille, un mur), entièrement ou partiellement selon leur position et leur dimension. On peut également mettre à disposition des camouflages, tels que les pôles d'activités (parce qu'ils attirent la foule). La dissimulation partielle s'apparente à l'effet de coulisse qui permet à l'utilisateur qui ne veut ou ne peut se montrer complètement de bénéficier malgré tout des opportunités de l'espace public, que ce soit en termes de socialisation, mais aussi de mobilité et d'équipement.

Œuvrer à une déclinaison fine de ces appuis permet aux acteurs de passer facilement d'une forme d'usage à une autre, et, pourquoi pas, de saisir peu à peu les potentialités, qui les rebutaient peut-être *a priori*, d'isolement ou au contraire d'exposition de soi offertes par l'espace public urbain.

Entre bain et flou d'une part, étreinte et passage d'autre part

L'espace public, d'autant plus lorsqu'il est urbain, est un lieu d'expérience de l'étrangeté. Par rapport aux villages, les villes se présentent davantage sous forme d'un ensemble de quartiers dont les accents traduisent des concentrations de communautés culturelles, socio-culturelles (« bobo », populaire, bourgeois, ...) ou fonctionnelles (touristes, employés de bureau, ouvriers, étudiants, ...). Ces indices identitaires peuvent se lire dans l'apparence et le langage de la population qui peuple l'espace public et/ou dans l'aspect ou la *customisation* des habitats et commerces. Parallèlement à cette fragmentation liée aux usages, mais pas nécessairement en superposition, on peut aussi évoquer les découpages de type architectural et urbanistique (typologies stylistiques et fonctionnelles). L'histoire de la ville peut, en effet, se lire dans les aménagements des extensions progressives ou des lieux stratégiques. Sur une étendue relativement restreinte, Bruxelles est emblématique de cette configuration socio-spatiale en *patchwork*, avec des « poches » particulièrement identifiables. Pour l'usager qui parcourt la ville, la succession de ces « poches » ponctue son parcours, l'anime tel un *road movie*. Ces dépaysements peuvent lui procurer du plaisir, un apprentissage, mais peuvent aussi le déstabiliser. Dans des lieux marqués par une identité, la rencontre sociale se dualise entre passants et locaux et peut prendre la forme d'une confrontation. Baigné dans ces mondes parfois si différents du sien, l'usager peut éprouver un sentiment d'enfermement.

L'étrangeté expérimentée dans l'espace public peut aussi se produire par le biais du « Flou », soit des objets ou espaces dotés d'une faible détermination (sémantique ou fonctionnelle). Peut en résulter une certaine disponibilité : objets à détourner, grands espaces vides ou lieux tellement saturés de signes différents qu'ils s'ouvrent indéfiniment à d'autres significations. Le *Flou* peut alors stimuler la créativité usagère et l'affirmation individuelle. Cependant, cette relâche de sens peut aussi désorienter l'usager. Pour que l'expérience d'étrangeté du *Bain* ou du *Flou* reste *capacitante*, il faut qu'elle demeure un choix. La *capacitation spatiale*, ici, devrait permettre à l'usager de moduler son expérience de la ville entre défi émancipateur à construire avec ses propres ressources, et encadrement qui accueille ses faiblesses.

Par le biais des figures d'interaction de l'*Étreinte* et du *Passage*, l'aménagement peut contribuer à diminuer les potentielles sensations d'égarement ou d'enfermement éprouvées par l'usager. L'*Étreinte* entre usager et objet est potentialisée par la présence d'*accroches spatiales* normalisées, faisant appel au sens commun. La terrasse de café, l'épicerie, la boulangerie, les bancs publics, l'arrêt de bus, le parc, jouent un rôle d'accueil au cœur du quartier : en encadrant l'usage, ils légitiment le séjour de passants aspirant à la pause. Fonctionnels, leur

usage est sans équivoque¹⁵. Sans eux, le passant est contraint de passer son chemin, à moins qu'il ne soit suffisamment téméraire pour détourner des objets, de la même façon que le font les locaux (s'arrêter en plein milieu du trottoir, s'asseoir sur un seuil d'entrée, ...). La présence de la ville au cœur des poches identitaires peut également être soutenue par le passage de transports en commun (de surface). Ceux-ci drainent à travers les quartiers un public plus large que la population locale et réfèrent donc à une portion de ville plus étendue. Plus spécifiquement, en résonance avec le rappel de la dimension collective de l'urbain, le *Passage* sera l'affirmation de la présence du réseau urbain qui équipe la mobilité. Or cette mobilité s'appuie sur la lisibilité spatiale¹⁶ qui peut être soutenue par une signalétique¹⁷, un renforcement de l'identité des voiries trans-quartier par le biais d'éléments spécifiques reconnaissables (bordures, luminaires, bancs), un développement des transports en commun, ... De manière générale, il s'agit de pouvoir régulièrement, au cœur du dépaysement, se raccrocher à des éléments de lisibilité référant à la dimension collective de la ville.

Conclusion

Ces pistes de soutien du droit à la ville par le biais d'aménagements attentifs aux usages, dans toute leur pluralité, invitent à relativiser les idéaux du bon usage (horizons aménageurs de « convivialité », « d'urbanité », de « mixité », ...) en soutenant une reconnaissance, au même titre, des marginalités usagères prenant tant la forme de forces que de faiblesses particulières. La méthode d'aménagement ne comprend pas d'indications esthétiques : la *capacitation spatiale* n'est pas une affaire de style. Finalement, cette méthode met à disposition tant de l'usager que du concepteur, une série de moyens plus que des biens consolidés. Elle se veut un support pour le respect, mais aussi le développement et la stimulation des subjectivités aménageuses et usagères. En cela, elle cherche à soutenir un droit à la ville particulier – le droit à la ville plurielle, le droit à la ville *patchwork* – en ce qu'elle génère une constante mise en présence de la diversité des identités, mais surtout des attitudes citoyennes. L'objectif ultime étant de ne pas cesser d'augmenter les possibilités de co-construction entre individu et architecture, et par la même occasion, entre individus.

Le type de design proposé concrètement dans la dernière section entre explicitement en conflit avec de puissantes visions aménageuses actuelles. Dans une tendance néolibérale de la gestion de l'espace public urbain, l'usage de la ville est, notamment selon des arguments sécuritaires¹⁸, orienté vers le flux et le contrôle social. Selon nos propres termes, il s'agit d'une élection délibérée de quelques figures d'interaction telles que la *Scène* ou encore

le *Passage* qui, non nuancées et non contrebalancées, peuvent mettre à mal le droit à la ville en contraignant une série d'usages. Par ailleurs, d'autres visions cadencassent la conception architecturale par le biais de prescriptions esthétiques. Parce qu'elles se présentent comme suffisantes, leur utilisation est systématisée et peu remise dans le contexte de l'usage, si ce n'est en termes d'exigences techniques¹⁹.

Le *patchwork* bruxellois semble résister à une menace d'homogénéisation de ses aménagements urbains. Nos observations ont mis en évidence la pluralité des opportunités d'usage qui se présentent, le plus souvent par hasard, à la croisée des multiples typologies d'aménagement urbain. À Bruxelles, cette multiplicité tient notamment à la stratification historique, à la juxtaposition des particularismes communaux ou encore à l'importante diversité sociale de la population. Cependant, la méthode offre la possibilité d'optimiser la diversité spatiale en vue d'augmenter l'aise des usagers. À ce titre, elle pourrait spécifiquement être convoquée en vue de nuancer des aménagements à tendance néolibérale du centre ville et des voiries régionales ainsi que la réorganisation « chirurgicale » des *accroches spatiales* à l'échelle locale et, notamment, à l'articulation des différents types d'aménagement, d'usages et de population.

1. Dans un souci de prise en compte de la pluralité des usages de l'espace public, et des conditions particulières à la ville, le critère d'aise doit être précisé. La sociologie pragmatique, qui investigate les relations sujets-objets et leurs interactions les distingue selon 3 régimes d'engagement de l'individu (Laurent THÉVENOT, *L'Action au pluriel : sociologie des régimes d'engagement*, Paris, La Découverte, 2006) : *familier, en plan et en justice*. Cette théorie lie nécessairement l'aise d'un usager au premier régime, qui a la particularité d'être rattaché à des lieux spécifiques (le milieu familial), alors que l'environnement des deux autres semble in(dé)fini. Ce régime, ou du moins ses médiums cognitifs spécifiques caractérisés d'« impressionnels », « perceptuels » ou encore « sensibles » (Jean-Louis GENARD, « Investiguer le pluralisme de l'agir », *SociologieS* (en ligne), Grands résumés, discussion de *L'Action au pluriel. Sociologie des régimes d'engagement* de Laurent Thévenot, 2011, <http://sociologies.revues.org/index3574.html>), nous estimons que l'aise de l'usager dans ses interactions avec le monde matériel peut se réaliser dans un environnement bien plus large que l'environnement familial. En effet, ce dernier est potentiellement générateur également de malaise (contrôle social, ennui) autant que l'aise peut naître dans des lieux qui échappent au familial, au sens strict du terme. La

revues.org/index3574.html), précisent que l'aise d'un usager se révèle de façon infra propositionnelle dans l'intimité de son rapport avec les objets. Cela valide certaines options méthodologiques de notre recherche (observations de terrain, archivage des images). Au même titre que d'autres auteurs (Jean-Louis GENARD, « Investiguer le pluralisme de l'agir », *loc. cit.* et Michel GROSSETTI, « Les Ressources de l'activité sociale », *SociologieS* (en ligne), Grands résumés, discussion de *L'Action au pluriel. Sociologie des régimes d'engagement* de Laurent Thévenot, 2011, <http://sociologies.revues.org/index3575.html>), nous estimons que l'aise de l'usager dans ses interactions avec le monde matériel peut se réaliser dans un environnement bien plus large que l'environnement familial. En effet, ce dernier est potentiellement générateur également de malaise (contrôle social, ennui) autant que l'aise peut naître dans des lieux qui échappent au familial, au sens strict du terme. La

ville, par son pouvoir d'attraction, par ses dimensions, génère quantité d'occasions de contact avec l'étrangeté (lieux étranges, étrangers). Face à ces usages non familiers de la ville, les conditions de l'aise doivent être élargies : l'usager mobilise d'autres outils que ceux de la proximité pour être à l'aise. Les usagers en situations d'étrangeté, potentiellement déstabilisantes, pourront, par exemple, être épaulés par un environnement fonctionnel, lisible. D'autres troubles pourront être réglés par le biais d'ajustements interactionnels entre usagers étrangers l'un à l'autre, selon des codes convenus de civilité (Jean-Louis GENARD, « Investiguer le pluralisme de l'agir », *loc. cit.*). Si ces outils sont disponibles, les situations urbaines étranges deviennent alors autant de surprises, d'opportunités, d'occasions d'expériences d'usage ou d'interaction sociale susceptibles d'enrichir celles soutenues par le confort de l'environnement familial. Cette valorisation de l'épreuve d'incertitude et de l'expérience de la nouveauté peut être rapprochée d'un quatrième régime, le régime *exploratoire*, théorisé par Nicolas Auray (« Les Technologies de l'information et le régime exploratoire » in Pek VAN ANDEL et Dominique BOURSIER (s.l.d.), *La Sérendipité dans les arts, les sciences et la décision*, Paris, Hermann, 2010). De façon générale, c'est par leur attache au sens commun que ces conditions permettront d'aborder sereinement ces situations de trouble. L'aise sera procurée par une assise relative conférée par l'usage.

2. Cette recherche a été financée durant quatre ans (2006-2009) par le programme *Prospective Research for Brussels*.

3. Audrey BERTRAND, « De la rue aux lieux de culte : quelques réflexions sur les modalités d'une interface urbanistique dans les villes romaines » in Pascale BALLETT, Nathalie DIEUDONNÉ-GLAD et Catherine SALIOU (s.l.d.), *La Rue dans l'Antiquité. Définition, aménagement, devenir*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008, p. 77-81.

4. Marc BREVIGLIERI et Joan STAVO-DEBAUGE, « L'Hypertrophie de l'œil. Pour une anthropologie du

« passant singulier qui s'aventure à découvrir » » in Daniel CEFAL et Carole SATURNO (s.l.d.), *Itinéraires d'un pragmatiste. Autour d'Isaac Joseph*, Paris, Économica, 2007.

5. Spatialisme : théorie déterministe qui postule du pouvoir absolu de l'actant spatial sur l'usage face à l'individu, considéré comme passif. Les aménagements spatialistes poursuivent des objectifs transformateurs voir curatifs envers les comportements sociaux existants.

6. Kevin LYNCH, *L'Image de la cité* (1960), trad. Claudia Renau, Paris, Dunod, « Aspects de l'urbanisme », 1976.

7. Jan GEHL, *Life between Buildings. Using Public Space* (1971), trad. Jo Koch, Copenhague, The Danish Architectural Press, 2006 ; Jan GEHL et Lars GEMZOE, *Public Spaces Public Life. Copenhagen* (1996), trad. Karen Steenhard, Copenhague, Arkitektens Forlag et Kunstkademiet Forlag, 2004 ; Jan GEHL, Lars GEMZOE, Sia KIRKNAES et Britt STERNHAGEN SONDERGAARD, *New City Life*, trad. Karen Steenhard, Copenhague, The Danish architectural press, 2006.

8. Bernardo SECCHI et Laboratori PRATO, *Un progetto per Prato. Il nuovo piano regolatore*, Florence, Alinea, 1996 ; Bernardo SECCHI, *Première leçon d'urbanisme* (2000), trad. Patrizia Ingallina, Marseille, Parenthèses, « Eupalinos », 2006 ; Bernardo SECCHI et Paola VIGANO, *Antwerp. Territory of a New Modernity*, trad. Ilene Steingut, Amsterdam, Sun Architecture, "Exploration in/of urbanism" n°2, 2009.

9. Paola VIGANO, « Un projet pour Prato » in Ola SODERSTROM *et al.* (s.l.d.), *L'Usage du projet. Pratiques sociales et conception du projet urbain et architectural*, Lausanne, Payot, 2000, p. 83-91.

10. Nathalie HEINICH, « La Réflexivité comme méthode d'enquête : sociologie de l'inventaire du patrimoine » in Jean-Didier BERGILEZ, Sabine GUISSÉ et Marie-Cécile GUYAUX (s.l.d.), *Architecture et réflexivité. Une discipline en régime d'incertitude*, Bruxelles, La Lettre volée, « Les Cahiers de La Cambre » n°6, 2009. La sociologie pragmatique aboutit à une « théorisation de l'action individuelle » (Michel GROSSETTI, « Les Ressources de l'activité

sociale », discussion in *SociologieS* [En ligne], Grands résumés, L'Action au pluriel. Sociologie des régimes d'engagement, 6 juillet 2011, <http://sociologies.revues.org/index3575.html>), tandis qu'est développée ici plutôt une théorie interactionniste de l'« action matérielle ».

11. Jean-Louis GENARD, « Capacités et capacitation: une nouvelle orientation des politiques publiques? » in Fabrizio CANTELLI et Jean-Louis GENARD (s.l.d.), *Action publique et subjectivité*, Paris, LGDJ, « Droits et Sociétés », n°46, 2007.

12. Marc BREVIGLIERI et Danny TROM, « Troubles et tensions en milieu urbain. Les Épreuves citadines et habitantes de la ville » in Daniel CEFAÏ et Dominique PASQUIER (s.l.d.), *Les Sens du public : publics politiques et médiatiques*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2003.

13. Rachel Thomas questionne l'accessibilité des espaces publics en ciblant particulièrement la mobilité. Elle identifie, elle aussi suivant des degrés d'aise ou de malaise éprouvés par l'usager de l'espace public, six figures du rapport à l'environnement sensible (Déambuler, Noctambuler, Traverser, Passer, Piétiner, Fuir). Ces rapports affectent le déplacement du piéton (trajectoire, vitesse, actions motrices, ...), sa posture (positionnement des membres inférieurs et supérieurs, orientation de la tête et du buste, ...) et son attention (visuelle, sonore, kinésique, ...) à l'espace. Chaque figure implique que l'usager produit des indices comportementaux spécifiques. Rachel THOMAS, *Les Trajectoires de l'accessibilité*, Grenoble, À la Croisée, « Ambiance Ambiances », 2005.

14. Essentiellement régi par des pratiques de filtrage selon les communautés d'intérêt, le fonctionnement de l'espace public virtuel diffère de celui de l'espace public matériel où la société vit aux aléas des rencontres et confrontations d'acteurs.

15. À ce titre, la figure d'interaction de l'Étreinte peut être rapprochée du régime d'action en plan (Laurent

THÉVENOT, *L'Action au pluriel*, op. cit.) dans lequel les acteurs interagissent avec des objets fonctionnels, normalisés, qui le mettent « à l'abri d'épreuves de justifications en public (action en justice) mais aussi de l'obligation de devoir se "découvrir" en familiarité » (Jean-Louis GENARD, « Investiguer le pluralisme de l'agir », loc. cit.).

16. Telle qu'élaborée notamment dans les travaux de Kevin Lynch.

17. Voir à ce sujet les nouvelles initiatives de promotion de la marche à pied en ville par le biais d'une signalétique de plans et fléchages insistant sur la durée des parcours plutôt que sur la distance. Il a en effet été prouvé que des parcours indiqués en minutes semblent moins longs aux piétons que s'ils sont indiqués en Km. Voir notamment *Legible London* à Londres, (graphiste Tim Fendley) ou encore l'opération « Bouger 30 minutes par jour, c'est facile ! » lancée par l'Institut National de Prévention et d'Éducation pour la Santé dans les villes françaises (Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille, Lille, Nice, Nantes, Nancy et Meaux, qui seront rejointes par d'autres villes volontaires dans le courant de l'année 2011).

18. Le terme *sécuritaire* est approprié, ici, dans un sens bien précis : qui privilégie les signes de la sécurité, le contrôle et combat avant tout le *sentiment* d'insécurité. Ces dispositifs *sécuritaires* doivent être démarqués des dispositifs *de sécurisation*, dont la nécessité dans l'espace public est évidemment indiscutable (un garde-corps ou une haute bordure entre une voie rapide et un trottoir, une chicane ou un dos d'âne ralentissant la vitesse automobile dans des lieux jugés « sensibles », ...).

19. Exigences dont l'objectivité peut être toute relative (Jean-Louis GENARD, « Raisons Techniques, Raisons Publiques » in Jean-Didier BERGILEZ, Taha BOUHAS-SOUN, Geoffrey GRULOIS et Irène LUND (s.l.d.), *De la participation urbaine – La Place Flagey*, Bruxelles, La Lettre volée, « Les Cahiers de La Cambre » n°3, 2005).

Du squat au marketing urbain Quand l'hospitalité devient outil d'action publique

Vincent Calay

Faire cohabiter dans un même espace un *squatter*, un touriste et un investisseur peut paraître étrange car les uns et les autres ne s'intègrent pas de la même manière dans les outils d'action publique déployés dans les villes contemporaines. Le *squatter* « ébranle l'ordre urbain¹ » dans la mesure où sa présence questionne les principes normatifs régissant une ville et indique l'existence d'un interstice où cet ordre ne joue pas. Le touriste, par contre, constitue une figure chère aux politiques urbaines, figure agencée autour d'une flânerie esthétique renforçant les principes d'ordonnement de la ville nés avec les mouvements hygiénistes. L'investisseur bénéficie des mêmes faveurs comme pourvoyeur de fonds donnant à la ville une assise économique susceptible, notamment, de lui apporter l'embellissement nécessaire à son arpentage touristique.

Ces trois figures cohabitent dans la ville mais sont rarement associées. Elles partagent pourtant un point commun : chacune dispose d'un « droit à la ville » particulier. Un tel « droit à la ville » est appréhendé comme une mise en forme particulière d'une « hospitalité » urbaine, c'est-à-dire un agencement de la capacité d'accueil de l'environnement urbain à certains types de pratiques. Surviennent également, en négatif, diverses formes d'inhospitalité : l'accueil du touriste dans la ville engendre une appropriation de dispositifs propres, par exemple, à l'habitat et à la mobilité, appropriation souvent exclusive de ses usages premiers, transports et habitat s'insérant dans l'économie de l'attractivité touristique. Le *squatter* constitue aussi une source d'hospitalité pour la ville : l'activité de *squat* peut, dans certaines circonstances, devenir le centre d'une mobilisation collective visant à faire reconnaître les usages non économiques en valorisant les aspects culturels de la vie urbaine.

En ce sens, l'hospitalité, malgré la variété de ses formulations, peut se comprendre comme un outil d'action publique. En effet, elle fait l'objet de différentes formes d'action qui partagent une même ambition : être reconnues dans l'espace public. L'hospitalité est cause d'activisme dans le cas du *squat* et devient un instrument d'action des pouvoirs publics lorsqu'il s'agit d'accueillir touristes et investisseurs. Toutefois, ce qui se joue dans ces deux situations de mise en forme de l'hospitalité comme outil d'action publique n'a ni le même sens, ni la même portée.

L'article propose d'investiguer cette zone frontière où se différencie le *squat* du tourisme et de l'investissement. Il procède en étudiant une « affaire² » qui a mobilisé l'actualité poli-

tique bruxelloise dans la seconde moitié des années 1990 : l'affaire de l'Hôtel central. Aborder la problématique sous cet angle permet de saisir les liens qui se dessinent entre des versions contrastées de l'hospitalité de la ville autant que ce qui les différencie : il s'y est joué une opération médiatique de *squat* d'un hôtel du centre historique de Bruxelles en vue de contester l'activité spéculative de son propriétaire. En outre, cela s'est doublé d'une attitude ambivalente des pouvoirs publics qui donnèrent leur assentiment à la pratique de *squat* tout en négociant avec le propriétaire spéculateur³.

Cette affaire permet d'envisager les différentes facettes de l'hospitalité décrite dans cette introduction au sein d'un même espace. En effet, son étude donne à voir le déploiement historique d'un processus de différenciation qui distingua progressivement une hospitalité socioculturelle liée au *squat* et au mouvement social le sous-tendant, d'une hospitalité managériale associée au marketing urbain. La description de ce mouvement de différenciation donne accès à la naissance et au déploiement de catégories nouvelles dans les luttes urbaines et dans le monde institutionnel à partir d'une « soupe primitive » dans laquelle les limites de telles catégories étaient incertaines. L'article propose de cette manière une enquête sur le processus de *fabrication* des hospitalités urbaines, fabrication qui engendre l'émergence de tensions entre catégories et modèles d'hospitalités refaçonant les rapports de pouvoir dans la gestion des politiques urbaines.

L'article est organisé en trois parties qui correspondent à trois étapes du processus de différenciation entre hospitalité socioculturelle et managériale. Dans une première partie, il décrit les premières incertitudes nées dans cette affaire : incertitudes portant à la fois sur l'identité même de la contestation – appréhendée, à l'origine, comme un « activisme patrimonial » – et sur l'objet du scandale, dont les variations de géométrie seront appréciées. Dans une deuxième partie, il rend compte d'un premier mouvement de différenciation composé en deux parties : d'une part, la mobilisation de catégories juridiques qui occasionna une première solidification des positions des parties prenantes de l'affaire, d'autre part, suite à l'écart entre parties prenantes provoqué par l'émergence du droit, la naissance d'un réseau d'activismes urbains fondés sur la pratique du *squat* et renforçant par un argumentaire politique – et non plus juridique – les positions prises dans le cadre de l'affaire. Enfin, dans une troisième partie, l'article présente la manière dont la différenciation s'est radicalisée au moment où les nouvelles formes d'hospitalités issues de l'affaire firent l'objet d'une traduction dans un instrument d'action publique imaginé pour organiser le statut de Bruxelles comme capitale européenne de la culture en 2000.

La « soupe primitive » : incertitudes et tâtonnements dans la fabrication d'une cause politique

L'identité incertaine des contestataires

La contestation de la logique spéculative par le *squat* fut traduite dans l'espace public local au prix de multiples hésitations. En effet, l'identité des contestataires ne correspondait pas aux catégories instituées localement pour qualifier les luttes urbaines, principalement associées à ce moment à la protection du patrimoine et à la rénovation urbaine. En effet, il est intéressant de remarquer, en se penchant sur les écrits journalistiques, que les cadres cognitifs employés au début de l'affaire pour décrire le mouvement se fondent sur la qualité factuelle des acteurs – ce sont des « occupants » – et sur leur qualité professionnelle – il s'agit d'« artistes » et d'« architectes » : « Pour l'heure, la quarantaine d'occupants – artistes et architectes – planchent sur un projet de réhabilitation de l'ensemble. En dix jours, ils entendent “réanimer” le bâtiment et améliorer son état, ne serait-ce qu'en nettoyant les lieux⁴. »

Une telle qualification des acteurs de la contestation demeure de l'ordre du constat. N'apparaît pas à ce moment de description de l'action comme cause politique aux attributs précis. Il faut attendre plusieurs semaines pour que le discours journalistique rapporte l'action d'occupation à deux ordres de catégories cognitives disponibles, « les comités d'habitants » et les « défenseurs du patrimoine » : « Au début de l'année, des militants de la Fondation Pied-de-biche/*Stichting Open Deur* (regroupant des membres du comité de quartier et des défenseurs du patrimoine) avaient investi, pendant dix jours, l'ex-palace inoccupé...⁵ » À ce moment, l'action d'occupation se transforme dans l'espace public en endossant la double identité de protection de l'habitat et du patrimoine : disparaît la qualité professionnelle des acteurs au profit de leur engagement pour une cause politique.

Toutefois, suite à l'expansion de ce type d'action d'occupation d'immeubles et à la naissance d'un nouveau réseau de la contestation urbaine⁶, la qualification de l'action dans l'espace public commença à s'intégrer à de nouvelles catégories descriptives. Ce fut particulièrement le cas au moment de la seconde occupation de l'hôtel en 1996 et du lancement du mouvement « Bruxelles Ville Libre » : « Cette association, “démocratique, indépendante et polyglotte”, défend la grande ville comme cadre de vie et veut revitaliser son tissu social et culturel⁷ ». La mobilisation collective acquiert une nouvelle portée dans l'espace public : de simple occupation d'un immeuble, elle monte en généralité pour devenir un collectif politique dont la cause est « la grande ville » et le « tissu social et culturel ».

D'ailleurs, dans les années qui suivirent, la stabilisation de nouvelles catégories pour qualifier les mouvements de contestation urbaine apparut tangiblement. Par ailleurs, phénomène nouveau, la parole politique des acteurs fut directement relatée : « Comme lors de l'occupation des anciens bâtiments des Mutualités socialistes, [...] [les occupants] ont échafaudé un projet de réaffectation socioculturel alternatif. [...] ils entendent y créer un «lieu permanent du possible», baptisé Centre social. Il manque à Bruxelles un endroit de rencontres, explique notre interlocuteur, un endroit pour relier aussi bien les différents ensembles de la production humaine (le culturel, le social, le politique) que la pluralité de la vie (les loisirs, la création, les rencontres, la «militance»...) »⁸. »

À ce moment, la consistance du mouvement apparaît à la fois dans son organisation, dans son discours et dans les modalités pratiques de son action. En effet, l'auteur de l'article décrit en profondeur le type d'action menée et donne accès à la manière dont il est défini par les occupants de l'immeuble abandonné. À cette étape de l'affaire, l'objet de la mobilisation est précisément défini comme une production de nouveaux espaces urbains capables d'accueillir le pluralisme de ses usages non économiques. De ce fait, survient, dans le processus, un déplacement d'une action de contestation soutenue par le *squat* à une action d'occupation fondée sur la production d'une hospitalité particulière qui bénéficie d'une pleine reconnaissance dans l'espace public médiatique.

Les géométries de l'objet du scandale

Toutefois, avant d'atteindre cette étape de stabilisation, l'objet du scandale a connu différentes formulations. En effet, le sens donné à cette occupation varia, tout d'abord, dans l'espace formé par les différents acteurs impliqués dans l'affaire tels la Ville de Bruxelles, le promoteur, la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale et le collectif d'associations qui lança l'alerte. Il varia également dans le temps de l'affaire car, comme on vient de le voir, celle-ci a occasionné un déplacement progressif de l'objet du scandale, passant d'une dénonciation de la stratégie spéculative à la réclamation d'un droit global à la vie urbaine centré prioritairement sur une hospitalité sociale et culturelle.

À ses débuts, la caractérisation de l'affaire dans l'espace public se polarisait entre la protection de l'habitat, la protection du patrimoine et la dénonciation de pratiques spéculatives au centre de la ville. Toutefois, une telle polarisation s'est progressivement transformée : elle a, d'une part, structuré les modalités du récit de l'affaire par la mise en place d'acteurs et de relations structurées, mais elle a, d'autre part, subi plusieurs déplacements avec la

reconnaissance progressive de nouvelles formes d'activismes urbains et le dessin conséquent de nouveaux systèmes actantiels⁹ parallèles à ceux de l'affaire et d'une autre portée. Détaillons à présent ces deux glissements dans les logiques d'action.

Tout d'abord, un système actantiel structura la trame narrative journalistique de l'affaire : la relation triangulaire entre habitant, patrimoine et promotion immobilière agençant une « politique » spécifique. En effet, l'affaire, dans toute sa durée, s'est organisée autour de ces trois pôles, occasionnant à la fois la mise en place de cadres cognitifs partagés par les différents acteurs et une visée normative sur la ville, avec, dans cet ensemble, une tendance au désaccord et à l'opposition. Toutefois, si, comme nous l'avons vu dans les premiers temps de l'affaire, la dénonciation ne fut pas justifiée de façon précise, les acteurs de la dénonciation sont passés d'une contestation par l'illégalité du *squat* à une contestation par voie juridique. Ce passage de l'anti-droit au droit lui-même manifeste un éclatement dans la mobilisation collective et, plus particulièrement, une dynamique de spécialisation.

En effet, après un premier temps consistant en une dénonciation de l'activité spéculative, une seconde vague de contestation a généré une polarisation entre deux mouvements aux positionnements contrastés par rapport à l'affaire. D'une part, le collectif d'associations a intégré une relation triangulaire le liant à la commune et au promoteur immobilier, jouant le jeu du droit de l'urbanisme et se faisant procédurier pour parvenir à ses fins, notamment en employant la menace du recours au Conseil d'État contre une décision de la commune jugée favorable au promoteur. D'autre part, l'idéologie véhiculée par le mouvement s'est progressivement affirmée au prix d'un déplacement de l'action vers d'autres espaces de la ville aux enjeux spéculatifs importants et, corrélativement, à la montée en généralité de la cause à l'ensemble de la ville et non plus à un espace spécifique. C'est à ce moment, d'ailleurs, que fut mise en place une rhétorique de portée générale fondée sur le droit à la ville, relayée par la presse¹⁰.

Cela amène à considérer un second plan dans l'objet du scandale, celui de sa généralisation et de l'ouverture de sa portée politique à un domaine extra-juridique et non institutionnel. Le collectif déplaça son engagement vers d'autres espaces de la ville jugés victimes de la spéculation et transposa la pratique d'occupation de l'espace en déployant des activités artistiques, de sensibilisation de la population locale aux enjeux globaux de promotion immobilière et d'ordre environnemental en développant un potager sur un terrain non bâti¹¹. Dans cette perspective, l'engagement politique s'organisa progressivement autour d'une rhétorique du droit à la ville fondée sur la liberté de son usage contre sa seule valorisation économique. Toutefois, cette rhétorique résultait de la répétition de modalités d'action nouvelles dans les luttes urbaines. En outre, par le truchement d'alliances avec d'autres acteurs, le

mouvement généré par la répétition d'actions d'occupation a engendré progressivement une dynamique favorable à un projet urbain fondé sur une hospitalité socioculturelle de la ville.

Mobiliser le droit pour différencier les positions : solidification institutionnelle vs déplacement et extension de la cause

Solidification institutionnelle et métrique du projet urbain

Parallèlement à la mobilisation de procédures de recours par le collectif dénonciateur, cette affaire fut l'occasion d'affirmer et de construire le caractère réglementaire d'un nouvel outil d'action publique censé fixer un projet de ville : le Plan régional de développement¹² (PRD). En effet, plusieurs élus favorables à la mobilisation contre l'activité spéculative touchant l'Hôtel Central ont saisi cette affaire comme un moment d'affirmation de capacités normatives du PRD : la Ville de Bruxelles et la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale solidifièrent leur position dans l'affaire par l'entremise d'une mobilisation de l'objet PRD et de son interprétation. Ce faisant, l'affaire présenta pour la Région un levier permettant d'affirmer *la grande ville*, objet du PRD, dans la gestion des affaires urbaines et de déployer un projet urbain centré sur la mixité fonctionnelle.

Néanmoins, un tel processus de montée en généralité de l'affaire transita, pour les institutions régionales, par une focalisation sur la question du nombre de chambres que l'hôtel reconstruit par le promoteur devrait comporter. Ce point d'argumentation de nature technique devint le cœur des débats menés par les élus à l'égard de l'affaire. Il permettait en effet de mesurer un projet de ville fondé sur la mixité des fonctions urbanistiques avec, initialement, une position de principe : tout nouvel hôtel construit à Bruxelles ne doit pas comporter plus de 50 chambres. C'est bien la question de l'échelle des développements immobiliers et celle de leur mesure qui étaient à l'ordre du jour mais elles furent abordées de façon défensive, à travers une guerre du chiffre qui manifesta un positionnement à la fois legaliste et incertain des pouvoirs publics.

Cette métrique connut, en effet, de nombreuses variations au cours du temps. Lors des premières réactions des élus publiées dans la presse à ce sujet, une opposition radicale se dessina entre le promoteur, proposant un projet de 180 chambres, et les élus régionaux et communaux arguant de la limite maximale de 50 chambres au nom de la protection du logement : « La circulaire régionale sur les hôtels a évité une inflation de chambres ! Il faut des régulateurs publics aux investissements privés. Le PRD n'autorise plus que les hôtels de

moins de 50 chambres. Il faut tenir le pari de faire réhabiter les gens dans le centre-ville¹³. » Toutefois, l'année suivante, en 1996, l'échevin de l'urbanisme de la Ville de Bruxelles fit porter à 144 chambres le nombre maximum autorisé par le PRD. Aussi, quelques mois plus tard, le collectif Bruxelles Ville Libre menaça d'introduire un recours au Conseil d'État contre le permis octroyé par la commune en arguant de la limite de 50 chambres. Cette menace de recours mena finalement à un accord sur un nombre maximum de 139 chambres. Pourtant, au printemps 1999, le journal *Le Soir* indique l'ouverture d'un nouvel hôtel de... 239 chambres¹⁴.

Une telle transformation de la métrique de la mixité urbaine et, plus généralement, de la manière dont se mesure l'existence d'un projet urbain permet de saisir la solidification d'une version institutionnelle de l'hospitalité urbaine. En effet, de telles transformations révèlent l'implication croissante des pouvoirs publics dans une négociation avec le promoteur immobilier : l'assertion initiale d'une règle étalonnant le projet de ville a ployé au profit d'une incertitude. Une telle transformation de la position des pouvoirs publics induisit un déplacement de la mobilisation collective contre l'action spéculative. En effet, la mobilisation collective cessa l'appel au droit pour revenir à un activisme urbain fondé sur la pratique d'occupation, la formulation discursive de la cause, l'extension de son action à d'autres espaces de la ville et la structuration d'un nouveau réseau de la contestation urbaine.

Déplacement et extension de la contestation urbaine : critique de la métrique du projet urbain et solidification d'un « droit à la ville »

Un tel déplacement de la mobilisation coïncida avec son extension en tant que Bruxelles Ville Libre en janvier 1996. Cette nouvelle appellation du collectif tranchait avec sa dénomination initiale de Fondation Pied-de-Biche et témoigne de la montée en généralité de la cause. Un tel grandissement transita par un déplacement de l'action vers d'autres espaces de la ville aux enjeux semblables mais aux configurations impliquant la création de nouvelles modalités d'action. En outre, ce grandissement de la cause s'étaya d'une reconnaissance du mouvement dans l'espace public médiatique présentée comme une routinisation des revendications. Ainsi, la thématique du « droit à la ville » – compris comme la volonté d'organiser une hospitalité urbaine centrée sur les usages non économiques de l'espace urbain – devint une coordonnée forte des discours reconnus dans l'espace public. Lors de l'occupation d'un terrain vague et de la réalisation d'un dispositif *ad hoc* – un potager urbain – le journal *Le Soir* caractérisa la mobilisation de cette façon : « Pour Bruxelles Ville libre, c'est le conflit devenu classique entre le droit de propriété et le droit à la ville. Le droit à la

propriété n'est cependant pas absolu, estime Bruxelles Ville libre, et le droit de la ville est prioritaire. Apparemment, on préfère un champ rocailleux derrière une palissade à un endroit vivant créé par des Bruxellois pour des Bruxellois¹⁵ ! » Une telle revendication du « droit à la ville » se double d'une revendication d'une identité urbaine centrée sur l'autonomie qui accompagne la montée en généralité de l'action à la ville dans son ensemble et accentue la composition d'une totalité urbaine bruxelloise.

L'extension du combat mené par Bruxelles Ville Libre porta également sur un espace important dans l'histoire des luttes urbaines bruxelloises (en décembre 1996 et janvier 1997) : le quartier européen de Bruxelles. Ce déplacement de la mobilisation s'accompagna d'une configuration d'action nouvelle. Pour maintenir leur volonté de voir reconnaître la diversité des usages non économiques de la ville et grandir la cause métropolitaine bruxelloise, les activistes s'attaquèrent à l'un des symboles de l'asservissement de Bruxelles à sa périphérie : deux artères, l'une pénétrante l'autre sortante, habituellement qualifiées d'autoroutes urbaines larges de quatre à cinq voies de circulation, traversant le quartier européen et intensivement fréquentées par les migrations pendulaires quotidiennes liées au travail. Leur propos était de réapproprier ces artères en faveur de la vie locale en les remettant à double sens. Cette action du collectif apparut dans l'espace public sous un aspect à la fois original mais aussi plus routinier témoignant d'une stabilisation d'un nouveau mode de contestation et de sa reconnaissance médiatique : « Les "jeunes fous chevelus" avec plein d'idées dans la tête de "Bruxelles ville libre", on les connaît bien dans la capitale. Rappelez-vous : l'occupation de l'Hôtel Central par la fondation "Habitat", c'était eux ; la fondation "Legumen" et son potager, boulevard Jacquain, c'était encore eux, etc. Ils nous reviennent avec une nouvelle fondation et un nouveau combat, visant, comme à l'accoutumée, une valorisation sociale et culturelle du milieu urbain. Cette fois, la cible, c'est le quartier européen [...]»¹⁶. »

Dans ce cas, l'action menée s'agença autour de formes de pratiques spécifiques, adaptées à l'espace d'action. En effet, dans ce cas d'intervention, la contestation portait sur l'homogénéisation des usages de l'espace générée par le façonnement de Bruxelles comme espace économique hôte de travailleurs issus de Régions périphériques. De ce fait, l'animation de l'espace s'organisa autour de la valorisation de l'hétérogénéité des usages non économiques de la ville. Du *squat* et du potager urbain, l'on passa à un dispositif destiné à récolter les représentations des usages de la ville réalisées par les usagers du quartier : « Pour l'occasion, 300 boîtes seront distribuées pour être peintes, barbouillées, remplies (de suggestions...), voire même transformées. Au même moment, des boîtes aux lettres

seront inaugurées pour que tout un chacun puisse y déposer ses idées quant au devenir de son quartier, les choses qu'il faudrait faire pour l'améliorer, le bouleverser, le rendre plus habitable et plus humain¹⁷. » Ce dispositif convoque donc la participation des usagers de l'espace à la refondation de son hospitalité et de sa capacité à être habité d'une pluralité d'usages ordinaires et locaux.

Le mouvement Bruxelles Ville Libre connut ensuite des extensions qu'il ne pilota pas directement, notamment à travers la multiplication d'actions de *squat* par différents collectifs. Ces initiatives occasionnèrent la stabilisation de plus en plus précise d'une forme spécifique d'hospitalité urbaine. L'affirmation et la reconnaissance progressive de cette nouvelle forme d'hospitalité urbaine connut une traduction institutionnelle suite à la création de la « Délégation au développement du Pentagone » par l'échevin de l'urbanisme de la Ville de Bruxelles en 1996. Cette délégation fut à l'origine d'un projet de réaffectation d'une gare secondaire du centre-ville en centre socioculturel, baptisé Recyclart : « L'originalité du projet, c'est qu'il s'inscrit dans ce mouvement qui combine lutte urbaine et art dans la ville, explique Henri Simons, échevin de l'urbanisme. Les milieux culturels s'intéressent de plus en plus à la revitalisation des quartiers en crise : on l'a vu notamment à l'Hôtel Central. Le projet à la gare de la Chapelle permettra de dégager les mêmes énergies¹⁸. » Cet établissement stabilisa rapidement une approche de l'hospitalité centrée sur le lien entre développement social et culture. Cette thématique, portée par des acteurs culturels bruxellois de plus en plus nombreux, occupa une part importante des travaux préparatoires à l'événement « Bruxelles 2000, Capitale européenne de la culture ». Un tel centrage sur une hospitalité urbaine combinant développement social et culture, se confronta néanmoins au renforcement d'une optique de développement économique soutenue par les pouvoirs publics, engendrant un fort antagonisme entre modèles d'hospitalités urbaines.

Radicalisation des antagonismes :

la naissance de catégories de référence des formats d'hospitalités urbaines

Le type d'hospitalité structuré suite à l'affaire de l'Hôtel Central dans le champ de la critique revint à l'ordre du jour dans le cadre des travaux préparatoires à l'événement « Bruxelles 2000, capitale européenne de la culture ». Dans ce cadre apparut l'enjeu de la stabilisation institutionnelle de ce type d'hospitalité socioculturelle de la ville. En effet, l'organisateur des travaux préparatoires, également président du directoire de l'événement, s'était engagé auprès d'une série d'acteurs liés à l'association Bruxelles Ville Libre à faire valoir le modèle

d'hospitalité défendu par le mouvement. Néanmoins, ce soutien et son implémentation dans les différentes initiatives organisées dans le cadre de Bruxelles 2000 se heurtèrent à la volonté des pouvoirs publics d'employer cette initiative afin de développer l'attractivité internationale de la ville à des fins économiques. Un antagonisme apparut entre une hospitalité socio-culturelle née au sein de la critique sociale, souhaitant rendre la ville à la pluralité de ses usages, et une hospitalité à finalité économique fondée sur le positionnement de la ville dans la compétition globale.

Une telle confrontation entre deux modèles d'hospitalité urbaine eut un impact important sur l'orientation prise par l'organisation de l'événement. En effet, l'incompatibilité de points de vue entre le président du directoire de l'initiative et les pouvoirs publics, qui président son conseil d'administration, conduisit à sa démission. Lui succéda un gestionnaire d'événements culturels, Robert Palmer, ancien directeur d'une initiative comparable à Glasgow en 1990. Ce nouveau directeur de l'initiative se profilait comme défenseur d'une optique économique pour le projet : « Il est impossible pour une ville de se développer économiquement si elle n'évolue pas aussi culturellement. Il y va de la réputation de la ville à l'extérieur, de son image, mais aussi de son identité profonde¹⁹. »

L'optique choisie par le nouveau directeur de l'initiative généra d'ailleurs de nouvelles tensions au sein de l'équipe qu'il était chargé de reprendre car plusieurs de ses membres partageaient les vues du président démissionnaire. De ce fait, le conseil d'administration choisit de démanteler l'équipe héritée du président démissionnaire et laissa à Robert Palmer le soin de recruter de nouveaux « gestionnaires de projets ». Celui-ci s'adjoint les services d'un *general manager* issu de grandes sociétés privées (Arthur Andersen, *Continental Foods*, *Campbell Soup USA*) et de sept autres personnes missionnées spécifiquement comme gestionnaires de projet : « Ce ne sont pas des programmeurs ou des commissaires d'exposition. C'est vraiment une autre manière de voir. Ils ont pour tâche de dynamiser, de rassembler, de favoriser la communication, les échanges d'idées. La programmation ne doit pas être le fait d'un petit groupe de personnes mais bien le reflet de tout le secteur culturel qui se parle. Les coordinateurs devront relier ces énergies²⁰. »

Un tel tournant gestionnaire permit d'éviter la confrontation entre deux manières de voir le développement urbain en lien avec la culture. Là où le président démissionnaire montrait un engagement politique au profit d'une hospitalité urbaine centrée sur la culture et le développement social, le nouveau directeur se contentait de poser quelques enjeux qu'il devrait affronter tout au long de sa gestion du projet, sans manifester d'engagement politique. Ce tournant managérial apparaît donc autant comme un déminage des tensions politiques que

comme la relégation du développement d'une hospitalité socioculturelle à Bruxelles. L'opposition entre la vision globalisée d'une culture réduite à sa valeur marchande et sa vision localisée comme outil de développement social est désamorcée par une logique gestionnaire dont la principale tâche est d'accorder les intérêts particuliers des différentes parties prenantes, sans que ne prévale un projet collectif.

Ce tournant managérial ne fut pas sans impact dans la fabrique d'un nouveau modèle d'hospitalité urbaine. En effet, malgré les justifications économiques mises en exergue par le nouveau directeur, l'optique managériale visant à construire différents réseaux et à lisser les oppositions permit la coexistence d'initiatives marquées par l'attractivité internationale comme la rénovation d'un quartier de musées et d'autres développant une hospitalité socio-culturelle telle la Zinneke Parade, sorte de carnaval préparé par différentes associations de quartier visant à valoriser l'hybridité des identités urbaines locales. De ce fait, le tournant managérial s'est d'abord présenté comme un tournant « organisationnel » marqué par le lissage des tensions et une dynamique intégrative garante de la survie du projet.

La stabilisation partielle qu'a connue l'hospitalité socioculturelle à l'occasion de la mise en place de Bruxelles 2000 permet d'identifier le lien entre le marketing urbain développé à cette occasion et l'action de mobilisation collective issue de l'affaire Hôtel Central. En effet, la stabilisation de cette hospitalité issue de la critique sociale s'est réalisée sur base de la reconnaissance publique d'initiatives venues de la société civile et du monde artistique et culturel. Néanmoins, la reconnaissance de ces initiatives se limita à leur intégration à un ensemble « culturel » au contour flou et lâche définissant l'identité de Bruxelles comme Capitale européenne de la culture. De ce fait, la pénétration de ces initiatives dans le champ institutionnel ne s'assimila pas à la reconnaissance de la perspective particulière sur le bien commun qui leur était associée. Aussi, l'hospitalité socioculturelle apparaît non comme un projet partagé pour la ville mais bien comme un projet réduit à quelques initiatives cohabitant avec d'autres aux optiques très différentes. Ce type d'hospitalité s'y présente comme l'élément d'un assemblage plus vaste « qui se tient », non par l'intermédiaire du partage d'un principe de justice commun, mais bien grâce à une dynamique organisationnelle tissant un réseau pacifiant les relations entre types d'hospitalités urbaines potentiellement antagonistes.

Les pouvoirs de l'hospitalité

Ce phénomène de fabrication d'hospitalités urbaines interroge la façon dont la question du droit à la ville se compose comme enjeu politique et de mobilisation collective. Il met égale-

ment en lumière la manière dont les formulations du droit à la ville issues des mobilisations collectives se transforment au contact des dynamiques institutionnelles, en particulier au moment de leur inscription dans le droit objectif. De ce fait, l'analyse de ces deux affaires a permis d'étudier la structuration et le jeu des tensions entre droits à la ville formels et informels. L'affaire de l'Hôtel Central montre comment la question de la lutte contre la spéculation immobilière a occasionné une polarisation entre deux formulations du droit à la ville : l'une défensive centrée sur les aspects techniques et incertains de préservation de la mixité urbaine, l'autre proactive qui réorganise l'espace urbain, agence de nouveaux enjeux d'aménagement autour d'usages non économiques de l'espace et fait progressivement émerger des dispositifs de mobilisation des subjectivités dans l'aménagement urbain.

Aussi, ce phénomène de fabrication d'hospitalités urbaines permet-il d'ouvrir, pour conclure cet article, à un double questionnement qui pourrait s'avérer central dans une analyse à la fois pluraliste et critique de l'action publique urbaine : d'une part, comment peut-on aborder la question du droit à la ville à travers la valorisation du pluralisme des modes d'entrée en relation avec l'environnement urbain ? D'autre part, comment penser la question des (in)hospitalités urbaines comme nouvel espace de critique et de réflexion sur la ville ?

La fabrique de l'hospitalité comme outil d'action publique

L'affaire de l'Hôtel Central a permis d'étudier l'émergence de dynamiques mêlant quête d'un droit à vivre l'urbanité et reconnaissance de la pluralité de ses usages. Cette mise en exergue a également permis de souligner les limites d'un tel brassage lors de sa rencontre des institutions publiques. D'une part, dans le cadre de l'affaire de l'Hôtel Central, la critique s'est progressivement organisée autour d'un double jeu : l'un légaliste, mobilisant les voies de recours administratifs pour faire valoir une interprétation du modèle institutionnel de la mixité, l'autre extra-juridique, par le développement et le maintien de pratiques d'occupation d'espaces livrés à la spéculation. D'autre part, la stabilisation de formats d'hospitalités lors de la réalisation de Bruxelles 2000, révèle le choc entre un projet urbain de type socioculturel et une optique de managérialisation de la politique culturelle par le marketing urbain.

Ces affaires ont ainsi permis de souligner autant le caractère itératif de la construction d'un « droit à la ville » par les associations qui le mobilisent, que le caractère tâtonnant de la construction de revendications et les incertitudes planant sur leur reconnaissance dans l'espace public. En outre, elles ont permis de cerner un processus de dualisation du projet urbain entre un monde institutionnel dominé par une approche technique et défensive et un

monde non institutionnel, développant, malgré son attente à l'égard des institutions publiques, une approche globalisée et positive du projet. Ces affaires ont également permis de saisir au sein des institutions publiques la réduction de dynamiques de reconnaissance de droit à l'urbanité qui étaient nées de la critique construite par les mouvements de contestation. Cela permet de souligner la manière dont certaines pratiques privilégiant une hospitalité socio-culturelle ont pu se maintenir dans le cadre institutionnel d'une hospitalité managériale.

Les (in)hospitalités de la ville comme nouvel espace critique ?

Ce bilan réalisé, une autre question s'ouvre : comment potentialiser les enseignements de ces analyses de mouvements revendiquant et organisant un droit à la ville et leurs rapports aux institutions publiques ?

Plusieurs chercheurs ont souligné le profond intérêt de l'étude de la question de l'hospitalité urbaine en raison de la capacité de cette notion à appréhender le rapport d'appartenance à une communauté²¹. La question de l'hospitalité permet en effet de saisir autant la manière dont se noue un rapport à la différence, à ce qui est étranger à un groupe, que de comprendre la manière dont cette différence est intégrée à une communauté et en est altérée²².

Dans l'affaire de l'Hôtel Central, cette question de l'hospitalité ressort à plusieurs niveaux.

Tout d'abord, s'observe dans l'action du collectif Pied de Biche puis de Bruxelles Ville Libre un travail intense de mise en hospitalité de différents espaces de la ville. Le travail mené sur des immeubles à l'abandon pour les rendre à nouveau « accueillants » aux pratiques « urbaines » qui l'animaient auparavant. Le développement d'un terrain vague en espace public animé par une mise en culture potagère et d'autres activités culturelles, transformèrent un espace livré à la spéculation, c'est-à-dire hostile à toute pratique « urbaine », en un espace accueillant divers usages des habitants de la ville. De même, l'action menée dans le quartier européen, en se concentrant sur la mise à double sens d'« autoroutes urbaines » et sur la collecte de la diversité des usages de cet espace tenta de le réchauffer, de recréer une hospitalité pour la diversité potentielle des pratiques tenues dans cet espace, contrant, par là, autant la domination automobile que le caractère monofonctionnel d'un *central business district*.

Ensuite, parallèlement à cet « apprêtement²³ » de l'environnement urbain par le collectif, les institutions publiques montrent une autre forme d'hospitalité à travers l'accueil favorable de l'action du collectif malgré son illégalité. Les institutions publiques ont aménagé leur environnement normatif pour accueillir l'initiative du collectif Pied-de-Biche. Toutefois, cet accueil n'a pas généré de transformation radicale de l'environnement engageant l'action des pouvoirs

publics. Au contraire, c'est le collectif lui-même qui dut se conformer aux cadres réglementaires et juridiques pour faire porter sa voix aux sein des institutions publiques, notamment en intégrant les procédures de recours organisées par le droit objectif et en se faisant le gardien d'une certaine interprétation du cadre normatif. À l'occasion de l'affaire Bruxelles 2000, une même hospitalité a pu s'observer à l'égard d'initiatives liées au projet urbain porté par une frange du monde socioculturel. Toutefois, cette hospitalité a imposé à l'initiative de s'intégrer à un cadre normatif et cognitif construit autour d'une logique managériale. Cette logique managériale a montré son caractère ouvert et tolérant à l'égard de la diversité et de la différence mais au prix d'un renoncement à une cohérence politique d'ensemble. L'hospitalité managériale, construite par la figure organisationnelle du réseau, s'agence par la lâcheté – au double sens du terme – des liens : l'engagement politique y est totalement amoindri au profit d'une dynamique de divertissement et de consommation culturelle où « tout est bon à prendre ».

Ainsi, les formes d'hospitalités dégagées de la construction de « droits à la ville » se tendent entre plusieurs pôles difficilement réductibles, à la cohabitation plutôt douloureuse. L'action du mouvement Bruxelles Ville Libre permet de voir émerger différentes techniques de mise en hospitalité de l'environnement urbain à des pratiques non économiques qui structurent un projet de ville d'un ordre différent de celui véhiculé par les élus et, avec eux, la trame cognitive et normative des institutions publiques. Ce projet de ville a la particularité de questionner la manière dont la ville « accueille » des pratiques « urbaines » qui ne sont pas centrées sur la consommation. Il met en exergue cet enjeu de l'hospitalité de la ville à la multiplicité de ses usages. Il souligne donc avec acuité la manière dont l'environnement urbain peut donner ou retirer certaines capacités aux personnes qui le fréquentent, en particulier lorsqu'il se voit dominé par une hospitalité financière et managériale.

De ce fait, un projet de ville centré sur l'hospitalité se présente avant tout comme un projet d'apprêtement d'un environnement pluraliste permettant tout autant l'accueil de l'étranger que le maintien de la cohérence d'une communauté, dynamique à laquelle le mouvement socioculturel étudié autant que son accueil managérial ont répondu sur des modes variés. Ces modes sont, néanmoins, chacun caractérisés par un rapport spécifique à la violence et à l'apaisement. Le premier faisant violence aux principes d'une communauté tout en apaisant les tensions par une conformation minimum aux règles, le second pacifiant l'accueil des différences au prix d'un renoncement à la cohérence et au radicalisme politique des premiers.

De là, il ne reste plus qu'un pas à faire pour ouvrir à ce nouvel enjeu de l'hospitalité de la ville en se demandant ce qu'est capable d'accueillir un certain ordonnancement de ses

environnements matériel, cognitif et normatif et ce qu'il en écarte. La critique se construira à ce moment sur les « conséquences hospitalières » de certains modes de gouvernement de la ville.

1. L'expression est de Luca PATTARONI, « La Ville plurielle. Quand les squatters ébranlent l'ordre urbain » in Michel BASSAND, Vincent KAUFMANN et Dominique JOYE (s.l.d.), *Enjeux de la sociologie urbaine*, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2007, p. 283-314.

2. Sur la forme d'affaire et son intérêt heuristique, voir Nicolas OFFENSTADT et Stéphane VAN DAMME, (s.l.d.), *Affaires, scandales et grandes causes. De Socrate à Pinochet*, Paris, Stock, 2007. Voir également Damien de BLIC et Cyril LEMIEUX, « Le Scandale comme épreuve. Éléments de sociologie pragmatique », *Politix*, 2005, vol. 18, n° 71, p. 9-38.

3. En 1987, un promoteur belgo-britannique dénommé Landmaster Invest racheta un îlot complet au centre de Bruxelles face à la Bourse. Cet îlot du centre ville se composait de logements, d'un hôtel, l'Hôtel Central, et d'un cinéma. Le promoteur choisit de le laisser pourrir sur pied en ne renouvelant pas les baux arrivant à expiration et en évitant tous travaux d'entretien. Une telle pratique spéculative connut différentes dénonciations au lendemain de la création de la Région en 1989 et déboucha en janvier 1995 sur une occupation de l'hôtel par un collectif d'associations. Créé pour l'occasion, et dénommé « fondation Pied-de-Biche », ce collectif était issu à la fois de comités d'habitants mais aussi du monde artistique et de l'architecture. L'occupation de l'immeuble fut largement médiatisée et bénéficia de la tolérance des pouvoirs publics locaux, c'est-à-dire de la Ville de Bruxelles – l'une des principales communes composant le territoire de la Région – et de son bourgmestre libéral de l'époque. Le

soutien tacite accordé par la ville permit une prise de position politique en faveur de la conservation de l'îlot et de sa réhabilitation. Mais le promoteur ne l'entendait pas ainsi et afficha son projet de destruction et de reconstruction de l'îlot. L'année suivante, en janvier 1996, confronté à un relatif *statu quo*, le collectif à l'origine de la dénonciation de la stratégie de pourrissement de l'îlot occupa à nouveau l'Hôtel Central en donnant au mouvement une portée nouvelle : la fondation Pied-de-Biche qui, l'année précédente, forçait les portes d'un chancre pour lui redonner vie devint Bruxelles Ville Libre.

4. Citation extraite d'un des principaux quotidiens francophones belges, *Le Soir* du 14 janvier 1995.

5. William BOURTON, *Le Soir*, 16 février 1995.

6. Dans ces *Cahiers*.

7. William BOURTON, François ROBERT, Jean WOUTERS, *Le Soir*, 9 janvier 1996.

8. William BOURTON, *Le Soir*, 11 avril 1998.

9. La notion de système actantiel permet de saisir la manière dont les acteurs organisent le contexte d'action dans lequel ils agissent. Cette notion permet ainsi de comprendre comment l'acteur suivi conçoit les rapports avec d'autres acteurs, comment il identifie ces acteurs, comment il les hiérarchise ainsi que les types de rapports qu'il entretient avec eux. Cette notion caractérise également la manière dont l'acteur suivi qualifie le type d'action en jeu. La notion de système actantiel fut utilisée par Luc BOLTANSKI dans son article classique intitulé « La Dénonciation », *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 1984, vol. 51, n° 1, p. 3-40.

10. Dans ces *Cahiers*.

11. Dans ces *Cahiers*.
 12. Le Plan régional de développement fut entamé dès la création de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale en 1989 et, après consultation de l'ensemble de la population et de nombreux acteurs locaux, fut publié en intégralité en 1995. Il s'agit du principal document de fond orientant l'action publique à Bruxelles. Il connut une première modification en 2001 pour intégrer un volet consacré au développement économique et à l'internationalisation et est, actuellement, en cours de reformulation comme Plan régional de développement durable (PRDD).
 13. Citation de Charles PICQUÉ, ministre-président de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, issue d'une interview réalisée par *Le Soir* publiée le 17 février 1995.
 14. « L'hôtel Central a fermé en 1987. Il rouvrira en 2001 et comptera quatre étoiles et 239 chambres. Une inimaginable résurrection. En outre, il préservera l'âme architecturale du quartier de la Bourse. L'essentiel de ses façades et ses gabarits ne changeront pas. Le groupe hôtelier anglo-belge Renthotel/Landmaster tiendra sans doute parole, porté par la vague d'optimisme qui déferle sur l'immobilier bruxellois. La saga de l'hôtel Central ne peut être racontée en quelques mots. L'hôtel ferma car il était obsolète, dans un marché en pleine dépression. Il fut racheté par des investisseurs britanniques qui flairaient la bonne affaire. Mais soudain, l'îlot devint le symbole d'une lutte contre les chancres qui gangrenaient la ville. Et on vécut un incroyable bras de fer entre investisseurs, hommes d'affaires, groupes de pression, habitants... La Ville de Bruxelles trouva difficilement son camp et son cap mais finit par élaborer une reconversion qui tenait la route. Et ce vendredi, on a inauguré la première pierre d'un chantier qui pèse 1,2 milliard et symbolise le renouveau du centre-ville. L'échevin de l'urbanisme Henri Simons rayonnait de satisfaction. » in François ROBERT, *Le Soir*, 24 avril 1999.
 15. François ROBERT, *Le Soir*, 6 juin 1996.
 16. Alain GÉRARD, Rudolf MARTON, *Le Soir*, 21 décembre 1996.

17. Alain GÉRARD, Rudolf MARTON, *Le Soir*, 21 décembre 1996.
 18. Nicolas VUILLE, *Le Soir*, 15 février 1997.
 19. Jean-Marie WYNANTS, Sylvain PIRAUX, *Le Soir*, 1^{er} juillet 1997.
 20. Jean-Marie WYNANTS, Jean-Marie BATTIG, *Le Soir*, 25 juin 1998.
 21. Joan STAVO-DEBAUGE, *Venir à la communauté. Une Sociologie de l'hospitalité et de l'appartenance*, Thèse de doctorat en sociologie, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences sociales, 2009; Anne GOTMAN, « La Question de l'hospitalité aujourd'hui », *Communications*, 1997, n° 65, p. 5-19; Isaac JOSEPH, « Prises, réserves, épreuves », *Communications*, 1997, n° 65, p. 131-142; Claude RAFFESTIN, « Réinventer l'hospitalité », *Communications*, 1997, n° 65, p. 165-177.
 22. « La tension qui noue l'hospitalité à l'appartenance et dynamise le parcours qui va d'un terme à l'autre est donc récurrente : en réponse aux troubles d'une inhospitalité endurée par l'étranger ou à l'occasion des « chocs » et des dommages nés de sa rencontre, l'hospitalité tout comme sa mise en défaut peuvent, elles aussi, être la source d'une critique et le moteur d'une histoire. Ainsi, il y a donc récursivité, puisque l'hospitalité est susceptible de constituer un moteur de la révision des modalités d'accomplissement de l'appartenance à la communauté et d'ordonnement de la communauté – nous le verrons empiriquement. Ce mouvement ne laisse aucun de ces deux termes en l'état, il est capable de faire bouger leurs exigences et contraintes respectives. Le réglage de leur composition dans la communauté, la recherche de leur équilibre par la communauté, n'est pas une mince affaire : selon nous, c'est même une tâche proprement politique et peut-être même l'une des principales, aussi souterraine soit-elle. » (Joan STAVO-DEBAUGE, *Venir à la communauté*, op. cit., p. 52 et sq.).
 23. Expression introduite par Joan STAVO-DEBAUGE, *Venir à la communauté*, op. cit., p. 749 et sq.

Urban land access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the right to the city in post-war Angola

Harry Smith and Paul Jenkins

Introduction

The notion of the “right to the city” emerged in the Western world, or the Global North, mainly developing from Lefebvre’s formulation of the idea in 1968 through other theoretical writings, advocacy action, and even policy-making, in both the Global North and the Global South. However, the transference of this concept to different socio-political environments is not direct, and has to take account of local contexts and institutional frameworks – institutions being understood here as both organizations and the mental models that underpin these¹.

The idea of the “right to the city” was formulated in one of the parts of the world that first underwent rapid urbanization, and which became (and still is) one of the most highly urbanized – Western Europe. Where this notion has been most conspicuously enshrined in policy and in the institutional framework of government is also one of the most highly urbanized parts of the world, though in this case in the Global South – Brazil². But the experience of urbanization is different around the world, and the paths followed by different societies in the shift from rural to urban have an impact on how the idea of the “right to the city” may be articulated in such different contexts, and what the key issues in such articulation may be. A key issue is the notion of “rights” and the legal underpinning of these – whether from a conceptual or operational point of view. This differs enormously across the world.

This paper focuses on the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, one of the least urbanized parts of the world – now rapidly urbanizing – where the colonial experience of the late 19th and early 20th centuries had a profound effect on the nature of cities and of the claims from different social groups on the city. A key claim in this context is the right to residence and associated right to access land for shelter. The paper first briefly explores the original meaning of the concept of the “right to the city” as formulated by Lefebvre and considers how recent reinterpretations of this may apply to the cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the policies of the different colonial powers and of post-colonial regimes have created different urban lega-

cies and conditions. The paper then provides an exploration of the particular case of Angola, where attitudes to the city from the colonial period endured after 25 years of post-independence civil war and provided the background for the formulation of new urban planning and land legislation. Drawing on research undertaken in peri-urban areas in Angola in the years following the end of its post-colonial civil war in 2002, the paper describes a situation where urban dwellers claim their right to inhabit the city on a day-to-day basis using socially legitimate forms of land access which are largely not recognized or formalized by the state. It then focuses on some experiments in the introduction of incremental rights to urban land undertaken in Angola in recent years, and contrasts such approaches with the mass evictions that have taken place in the same period. The paper concludes reflecting on the relevance of the notion of the “right to the city” in a macro-region of the Global South where the very idea of the “city” is being redefined on the ground.

Origins of the “right to the city” and its relevance in Sub-Saharan Africa

As indicated in the Introduction to this issue, the “right to the city” has become a hotly debated topic in various circles in recent years, with the term being used by academics, NGOs, governments and international organizations in different ways. Lefebvre’s original formulation of the concept combined two key rights: to participation and to appropriation³. The former refers to the city inhabitants’ right to “play a central role in any decision that contributes to the production of urban space”⁴. The latter involves both a right to occupy existing urban space and to produce urban space so that it meets the needs of inhabitants, thus prioritizing urban space for its use value rather than for its exchange value. Importantly, Lefebvre saw such rights as appertaining to the inhabitant rather than to the officially (and normally nationally) defined citizen, therefore seeking to enfranchise everyone inhabiting the city. This was the basis for the radical nature of Lefebvre’s vision, and for its appeal to subsequent critics of the prevailing systems of capitalism and liberal citizenship.

Lefebvre’s original formulation of the “right to the city” was as a demand rather than a “right” in the legal sense, but has been found to be poorly defined by later critics. Purcell notes that Lefebvre’s idea of the “right to the city” is contingent in two ways: in relation to the possible outcomes of the urban politics it may generate; and in the sense that it was formulated in the midst of a particular urban conjuncture⁵. For Purcell, its contingency in relation to possible outcomes means that the idea of the “right to the city” is not inherently and necessarily positive, and this has gone largely unchallenged in the literature. As Purcell

points out: “The right to participation means that inhabitants will play a central role in the decisions that produce urban space. What inhabitants will do with that decision-making power remains undetermined. They may pursue the production of urban space to meet the needs of inhabitants, but what those needs are will be determined through negotiation and political struggle”⁶.

From his “Northern” perspective, Purcell has further elaborated on his interpretation of Lefebvre’s “right to the city” in this volume, defining it as a “conjoint claim” that can constitute a starting point for urban movements to develop their counter-hegemonic projects, potentially but not necessarily leading to legal codifications. Purcell redefines the “right to the city” as a “right to inhabit urban spaces well”, i.e. in a way that realizes a full and dignified urban life, with this being constantly redefined. This maintains Lefebvre’s idea of the “right to the city” as a counter-claim against the commodification of urban space⁷.

So, the “right to the city” was formulated as a right to participation and appropriation of space by those who inhabit the city. But what about contexts where the actual inhabitation of the city is contested? Should the idea of the “right to the city” in these contexts be interpreted as including – and perhaps putting first – a right to inhabit the city? Different manifestations of control over who inhabits the city have appeared during history in different places, illustrative examples in recent times being those of official migration control on China and apartheid in South Africa. Though the latter is an extreme case of exclusion from the city, it reflects a strong legacy of control of urban residency rights induced by colonialism, which is found throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Urban centres created or transformed by the European colonial powers displayed varying degrees of segregation from, and openness to, the indigenous population in their respective areas of settlement, ranging from fuller “cohabitation” of colonial and local population in West Africa to complete separation in South Africa, where the city was seen as a home for the settlers from the metropole but as a workplace for the majority indigenous population, the latter thus having access only to temporary types of accommodation such as barracks⁸.

Then there is Purcell’s definition of the “right to inhabit urban spaces well”. This has perhaps been the underlying assumption in the use of the notion of the “right to the city” by NGOs and development agencies to revisit, reformulate and perhaps reinvigorate claims for rights to land, shelter and urban infrastructure and services in the Global South. Souza is dismissive of this use of the idea of the “right to the city” as “conformist”, seeking to address the symptoms of prevailing power structures rather than exploring radical alternatives as some social movements are doing⁹.

Writing from an African perspective, Simone appears to simultaneously echo Purcell and de Souza¹⁰. Though for Simone the “right to the city cannot ultimately be reduced to the right to be maintained in the city, to be housed and serviced”, he does see these as “critical elements of the right to use the city”. Simone proposes conceptualizing the “right to the city” as “the right to pursue multiple aspiration”. This has significant implications for government and governance structures, as neither can provide the resources for the enactment of such right. This formulation recognizes the nature of urban governance and urban life in contemporary rapidly urbanizing Sub-Saharan Africa, while at the same time remaining close to the essence of Lefebvre’s ideas. As Purcell notes, part of the radicalism of Lefebvre’s formulation was that he saw all decisions as contributing to the production of urban space, not only those of capital and the state¹¹ – a view that is particularly appropriate to the conditions of weak state and “formal” private sector prevalent across Sub-Saharan Africa.

However, in the current wave of rapid urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa, the emerging African city displays profound differences with the Parisian urban context where Lefebvre’s ideas were developed, as well as with other urban contexts around the world where the “right to the city” may have become a slogan in recent years. These differences are not only due to the nature of current urbanization in this macro-region – which is happening largely without industrialization, and thus makes Harvey’s and other Marxist authors’ identification of urbanization with capitalism more complex and problematic – but also to the legacy of the colonial period. This affects not only the conceptualization of the city itself, as seen above, but also the systems of values and related organizational arrangements and capacities around urban development and its management. In this geographic context there are marked differences, and also continuums, between so-called legal systems and rights, and rights that emerge or are recognized through social legitimacy.

Jenkins and Andersen, in exploring the formal-informal continuum in Sub-Saharan Africa, point out that the perceived formal-informal duality is predicated on a social model composed of three key entities conventionally labelled “society”, the “state” and the “market”, whose relations are mediated by the discourse of liberal democracy, with this being underpinned by the following norms or values: individualism as the basis of social relations; citizenship within a representative democracy as the basis of political relations; and utilitarian rationality as the basis of economic relations¹². They contrast this “Northern” model with prevalent norms in the Global South derived from indigenous or pre-colonial socio-cultural orders, which may feature, for example: kinship and community as the basis for social relations; accepted authoritarianism or negotiated patronage as a more prevalent basis for political

relations than elected representation; and social redistribution or reciprocity as the predominant basis for economic relations. The authors argue that these “local” norms generally have more social legitimacy than the “Northern” norms, which were imposed through colonialism and post-colonialism, and continue to be assumed as the basis for definition of what is properly “urban”.

Rights that emerge or are recognized through social legitimacy are particularly important in situations where the so-called “formal” system, including the state, is weak, and it is argued in this paper that inhabiting the city well and pursuing multiple aspirations in it requires, in the context of the city in Sub-Saharan Africa, a formal recognition of existing socially legitimate forms of participation and appropriation in the use and creation of urban space. The paper does so focusing on what is arguably an extreme case of rapid urbanization and appropriation of urban space in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa – that of post-civil war Angola.

The case of post-war Angola

Action-research on access to land in peri-urban areas and its connection to the legislative process

The authors of this paper were involved in some aspects of the manifestation of the “right to the city” within Sub-Saharan Africa, as Angola emerged from a decades-long civil war, which had provided a proxy stage for the Cold War since the country’s independence from Portugal in 1975. In 2002 an Angola-based NGO, Development Workshop (DW), together with the Centre for Environment and Human Settlements (CEHS) and the British NGO One World Action, started a research programme into access to land in peri-urban areas in Angola, focused mainly on the cities of Luanda and Huambo. This research comprised several components including research consultancies on issues such as the legal basis for land access and institutional attitudes to urban land and informal settlements, an investigation of quantitative trends in land supply and demand, and of institutional capacity to deal with these, field research in the peri-urban areas through qualitative interviewing of households, and proactive advocacy to inform policy and engender partnerships.

The historical context in which this research took place was one of post-war legislative change in order to deal with reconstruction and “development”. Two key laws with great significance for those living in peri-urban areas were drafted and approved by the Angolan

Parliament during the years following the end of the civil war: a land law and a territorial planning law. The process of drafting a new land law to replace the previously existing 1992 land law started in July 2001, before the end of the civil war. DW and CEHS started their involvement in trying to inform and influence the rapidly evolving process by holding workshops later that year, involving participants from government and civil society. These “highlighted the misconceptions and lack of knowledge surrounding land issues (and especially urban land issues) among those in positions of authority”¹³. These were followed by a “scoping study” to provide an overview of land and housing rights issues in peri-urban areas from November 2001 to July 2002, commissioned by the Angolan Ministry of Urbanism and Public Works. Subsequently the major research programme that this paper draws on was undertaken by DW and CEHS from 2002 to 2005, initially with a focus on providing information as the basis for policy and practice recommendations, later incorporating a strong focus on advocacy, and subsequently supporting experimental action-research through pilot projects in land development¹⁴. The approach to the research was thus flexible, collaborative and grounded in the context¹⁵.

The official consultation process on the draft land law lasted from July 2002 to November 2003, when the draft law was approved by the Council of Ministers, but DW and other organizations continued to work with the Parliament and the government’s Land Technical Commission until shortly before the law was finally approved in 2004¹⁶. The land law consultation was unprecedented in that it was the first case of acknowledgment of civil society and opening up of a legislative preparation process to wider input through seeking public comment and advice¹⁷. In contrast (reflecting normal praxis) the parallel process of preparation of the territorial planning law, which was approved in March 2003, did not include any form of public consultation.

The new Angolan land law is supposed to operate in a complex land situation which is the result of a layering of historical legacies including¹⁸:

- Pre-colonial customary practices based on communal land tenure.
- The establishment (in theory) of state control over land during the Portuguese colonial period, which introduced the “concession” system whereby the state could grant private companies the right to exploit land, people and other resources, and the category of “vacant” land, which recognized land for exclusive use by indigenous people whilst not attributing to them property rights, neither collective nor individual – this led to the increasing marginalization of indigenously “owned” land to the less productive areas in the latter colonial period and contributed to pro-independence unrest.

- A weak land cadastre that has not been updated since the country became independent and was immediately plunged into civil war (and was under military structures).

- The nationalization of unoccupied land by the post-independence socialist state as well as confiscation of property from a series of groups (mainly settlers and supporting organizations).

- A 1992 land law (the first in the country) that was based on concepts from the colonial and socialist centralization periods, left many areas and procedures undefined, and did not include community traditions or customary law rights of small farmers, or recognize squatter rights in urban areas, but did recognize different “formal” forms of land access from the previous periods and that land use and usufruct could be transmitted between persons or through inheritance.

- The continuation of the “concession” system in the so-called “privatization” era of the 1990s, this time benefitting the indigenous political elites rather than the colonial settlers, who had mostly left the country at independence, through land grabs, particularly in productive rural areas.

According to Clover, the social structure of colonizer and colonized, with the associated differentials in rights and access to resources, was continued in post-independence Angola, particularly during the last two decades, with the political elite taking on the role of the colonizer¹⁹. In rural areas this meant that traditional authorities continued to be de-legitimized even though still being considered as part of land management processes. In cities the poorer sections of society were left to continue to occupy expanding peri-urban areas without provision of infrastructure or services, contributing to the fast growth of the *musseques*²⁰ which had already become a feature in the city of the colonial period. When the DW/CEHS research programme was undertaken it was estimated that in Luanda, the capital city, probably around 75% of the population lived in informal settlements or in informal ways within the formal urban areas, with around 400,000 households in the informal settlements²¹.

The draft land law had features that were negative for those living in urban areas whose land tenure had not been formalized by the state, as it ceased to recognize land “occupation in good faith” and required all properties to be formally titled²². The onus would be on landholders to seek legal title, and this would have to be based on officially planned and demarcated plot layouts. The draft in 2003 gave informal land occupiers a period of one year to formalize the legal title to their land. This would in effect make the vast majority of households in peri-urban areas illegal, as the DW/CEHS research showed (see below), and would give them little chance of legalizing their situation given the weakness of the admin-

istrative land titling system and the planning system, also clearly evidenced in the DW/CEHS research. This research was used by civil society, via the Land Network of which DW was part, to inform the final stages of the legislative process, arguing that the draft did not adequately address the reality of the majority of the population and was as such illegitimate, and that the state did not have the capacity to deal with the process of formal land titling and was hence (indirectly) promoting illegality²³. The land law that was finally approved in 2004 made a concession in extending the period for legalization to three years, but it did not alter the state of illegality into which it would push the majority of inhabitants, as informal landholders, nor did it substantially improve their prospects for regularization.

Attitudes to the city

The approved land law was formulated in the absence of an explicit urban land policy, but reflected implicit views on the approach to the city and urban land among the authorities, which the DW/CEHS research explored as part of the in-depth interviews it held with key actors including government at various levels, private sector, NGOs and land specialists.

Among those interviewed a general perception was found that post-independence urban development – referring mainly to the peri-urban areas – had been “anarchic”, in the derogatory sense of the word. The prolonged war was seen as the main driver of the general urbanization process in Angola, and in consequence of the growth of the peri-urban areas and the large “informal” economy. The involvement of the urban poor majority in this informal economy was deemed by most interviewees to be “parasitic” rather than a survival mechanism in the face of an extremely weak formal economy (even by some NGOs). Though there was some acknowledgement that urbanization would continue after the war had concluded, there was a widespread belief that the state would attract or force rural migrants back to the countryside, either to their places of origin or elsewhere away from the city. This could be seen as a *de facto* urban policy, and it underpinned plans for regional growth pole development in the province of Luanda, which would decongest the city. A redeveloped city would then provide a “better” environment mainly for the middle- and upper-income sectors²⁴. As one interviewee put it, they wanted to make Luanda a “beautiful European city”²⁵.

Against this background, there was limited recognition of any land rights that the majority of the peri-urban population may have – and indeed a deliberate excision of prior Common Law rights. The higher levels of government were generally of the view that untitled constructions in peri-urban land were “illegal”, and therefore open to demolition. More local levels

of the administration and some other actors saw land occupations and constructions without permit as having a degree of legitimacy that warranted official recognition, given the situation, despite their formal “illegality”. However, in general, government interviewees considered that significant urban redevelopment, restructuring and relocation were needed whether *de facto* land rights were recognized or not²⁶.

There was little recognition of the relatively high level of investment made by households in their “illegal” homes, and thus of the impact that significant redevelopment would have on the inhabitants of peri-urban areas where this might occur. Gradual upgrading combined with a consolidation of land rights was not an option that had generally been considered. In addition, the understanding of the value of such occupied land and the implications of this was mixed. The existence of a growing informal land market was generally known, and considered to be part of the “anarchic” situation in peri-urban areas, but there was limited understanding of the types of value (use and exchange), the relation between land value and poverty reduction, and the potential of land as a tax base for urban management²⁷.

These perceptions and attitudes contributed to the shaping of the new land and planning laws that were being put through the Angolan Parliament at the time, which were based on an implicit *de facto* urban policy and, therefore, not openly debated. This implicit policy envisioned the transformation of Angolan peri-urban areas into what was seen as “formal” urban development, largely removing the existing irregular settlements and relocating their inhabitants either within the city or beyond it, in designated growth poles. It can be argued that this implicit urban policy not only ignored *de facto* land rights (an approach that was made explicit in the draft land law), but also the right to the city, in its interpretation of being a right to inhabit the city – falling well short of Purcell’s interpretation of the concept as a “right to inhabit well”²⁸ or indeed Simone’s view of it as a right to pursue aspirations²⁹.

Access to land in peri-urban Angola

The in-depth exploration of institutional attitudes found a lack of knowledge of, and engagement with, the ways in which the population in the peri-urban areas accessed land for shelter. A key component in the DW/CEHS research was a qualitative household survey carried out in Luanda and Huambo. In Luanda interviews were held with a total of 528 households from nine peri-urban areas which were selected to represent a set of six typologies which had been identified, from consolidated neighbourhoods that had been “formally” built in the late colonial era and had since densified; through old informal *musseques* which already existed

at independence, and which have also densified since; to peripheral settlements which have appeared on the “rural” edge in recent years. The set of typologies also included condominiums – “Greenfield” housing schemes built by public-private partnerships mainly for employees of large national companies and expatriate staff – as a comparator. In Huambo, over 80 interviews were held in several neighbourhoods, which were not as clearly classifiable into a typology such as that developed in Luanda because of the complexity of Huambo’s urban transformation during the still recent period of civil war.

In both Luanda and Huambo, around two thirds of the respondents were not the first occupiers of the land. In both cities the most widely reported form of access to land for shelter was via informal purchase (33% in Luanda and 47% in Huambo), with informal occupation of vacant land coming in second place in Luanda (17%), but being less frequent in Huambo (6%). Transfer between relatives was important in both cities (around 10% in Luanda and 18% in Huambo). Informal rent markets were also a key form of accessing land and/or housing (15% in Luanda and 14% in Huambo). In summary, access to land and housing took place predominantly by means of informal markets, mostly via purchase but also through rental.

In Luanda, 80% of the interviewees reported having some form of document that proved the purchase, occupation or rental of the land on which they were living. However, most of these did not confer legal occupancy rights (though most respondents believed they did) and they included a range of documents from “purchase and sale” contracts – some witnessed by the local administration – to receipts of fines paid to the local administration for unauthorized occupation, or rental documents (receipts, contracts). In Huambo, documentary evidence was less prevalent (39%) but presence of witnesses during the purchase of the land was higher (27%). Rental documents were far less common than in Luanda, with only one case being reported.

Residents in the surveyed peri-urban areas therefore used a variety of documents and other mechanisms such as “witnessing” to record and evidence their possession of the land and/or housing. These involved a variety of actors, with the local administration being more highly involved in Luanda, and “witnessing”, including by other residents and traditional chiefs (*sobas*), being more common in Huambo. The surveys showed that engagement with the “formal” system was therefore very limited, but also that such engagement could be manifested in ways that were not necessarily those defined in explicitly established procedures.

Perceptions of rights

Despite the “informal” and “not legal” nature of the evidence of land tenure that the majority of peri-urban residents had in the surveyed cities, most of those interviewed (86% in Luanda and 83% in Huambo) felt secure on their land, with such sense of security decreasing in the more peripheral *musseques* in Luanda. In contrast, when asked about the concept of legal rights to land, a large proportion of respondents (43% in Luanda and 50% in Huambo) had no awareness of this, and awareness among those who did was of a limited nature. In Huambo awareness of land rights was sometimes expressed as having a right to have somewhere to live.

The “disconnect” between the legal and formal status of residents in peri-urban areas and their awareness of this was therefore found to be considerable. People’s perceptions of their security of tenure and their limited awareness of, and concern with, their formal rights reflect the predominance of what can be termed as traditional and informal forms of relationship to land and shelter (“informal” including a variety of degrees of engagement with some elements of the so-called “formal” sector). This was mirrored by a lack of capacity and clarity in the formal organizational structure and processes established by government, which were also explored in the DW/CEHS research.

Returning to Lefebvre’s notion of the “right to the city”, peri-urban dwellers were dealing with access to land for shelter as inhabitants rather than as citizens. The mechanisms that were adapted from customary practice or from what was perceived as being a “formal” process did not rely on their self-awareness as a citizen with rights as much as on their actions as new or continuing residents in an area, seeking to secure their shelter through processes that were seen as socially legitimate. In Simone’s sense of the “right to the city”, this approach was part and parcel of peri-urban dwellers’ seeking of opportunities to fulfil their aspirations, albeit in many cases these may be limited to survival in a difficult urban environment.

The perception of rights thus drew more on “traditional” socio-cultural forms, with very limited perception and/or understanding of “modern” / “legal” forms of rights – which largely reflects the limited judicial infrastructure. This key issue is often little discussed even in literature on rights – the “rights-based” approach to development assumes that a judicial system operates, and in fact is generally benign. The reality in many Sub-Saharan (and often other Southern nation-states) is that the judicial system is dominated by the political and economic elite and has limited relevance for the wider population in both operational (i.e. system capacity), but also conceptual ways (i.e. ignoring issues of socio-cultural legitimacy). As

such, such a perception of rights is not underpinned by either socio-cultural institutions or formal organizational frameworks, which queries how a “rights-based” approach to urban land can develop, as discussed below.

Incremental land rights and pilot projects in Angola

Although the approved land law did away with the recognition of usufruct rights present in previous legislation, and avoided recognizing the widespread social legitimacy embedded within the *de facto* situation in peri-urban areas described above, the research-based advocacy led by DW opened up an opportunity for collaboration between the NGO and the Ministry of Urbanism and Environment (MINUA) in drafting a set of regulations for the management of peri-urban land, thus potentially affecting 75% of the urban population in Angola. Being requested by MINUA to assist in the drafting of a new by-law on peri-urban land allowed DW to reintroduce some key recommendations based on the research, including among others: consideration for rights through occupancy in good faith; ensuring women’s land rights are protected; extension of the time frame for regularization of land occupation; introduction of a framework for the scalable acquisition of upgradeable tenure rights over time; and establishment of procedures allowing peri-urban dwellers to seek regularization of plots via the municipal administration within the framework of scalable rights and within the set timeframe for regularization. The latter was to tie in with the decentralization process put into motion by legislation in 2007, which transferred responsibility for management of housing plots up to a certain size to local administrations. Approval of the draft by-law, however, was delayed³⁰.

In addition to the opportunity to become involved in the drafting of the land law regulations, DW and CEHS considered that the credibility and networks established during the advocacy-related research offered an opportunity for further proactive engagement based on practical experience through pilot projects. The final stages of the research project used the research results to underpin training workshops on urban land management, in which stakeholders from several levels of government, NGOs and private sector started the development of ideas for pilot projects in land development with participatory planning and land pooling, and incremental land titling. DW negotiated with MINUA and jointly raised funds for several pilot projects to be implemented with provincial governments in four provinces³¹.

The pilot projects were successful in implementing a process that allocated plots to households following a system of land pooling which ensured that existing informal occupiers of

the land received compensation in the form of “regularized” plots. Sale of plots, which was managed by the local administration, raised funds for basic infrastructure³². The transition from provincial to municipal control of land for housing, however, added to the already existing lack of clarity in land titling procedures and prevented the formal completion of the land titling process in at least some of the pilot projects – at least by the late 2000s³³.

The pilot projects were limited in what they could achieve *vis-à-vis* the establishment of incremental land rights for those who have been allocated plots. At the end of the day, though the pilot projects were experimental, their replication, scaling-up and adaptation to different peri-urban conditions were predicated on the acknowledgment by government organizations of the possibility of recognizing such an incremental approach to land titling. This still requires some capacity in such organizations – the weakness of which had been part of the concern of lobbying organizations (mainly through the “*Rede de Terra*” NGO/civil society land advocacy network) during the legislative process. More crucially, it affected the acceptance of the more fundamental recommendations emerging from the DW/CEHS research, that certain land rights should be recognized for informal occupiers prior to, and separately from, the administrative process of formal land titling.

It could be argued that the lack of capacity of the state, insofar as it allows peri-urban dwellers to continue with their lives and to rely on “informal” land access arrangements, lessens the potential threat to such city inhabitants since their essential “criminalization” by the 2004 land law. However, the limited capacity of sectors of the state has not precluded it from engaging in recent years in eviction processes which have affected peri-urban dwellers living in areas with particular potential for real estate or infrastructure development – which arguably was the main reason for this legalist stance.

Evictions

It is clear that despite the lobbying by DW and related agencies, the provisions in the legislation passed in 2004, and the successful experiments in incremental land rights and access in several locations around Angola, residents in informal settlements still live under the threat of eviction. Human Rights Watch and SOS Habitat reported 18 mass evictions carried out by the Angolan government between 2002 and 2006 in Luanda, as well as other small scale evictions, affecting a total of around 20,000 people³⁴. In their report, Human Rights Watch (HRW) and SOS Habitat argue that these evictions are not isolated events, but part of systematic abuse by the Angolan government. In most cases, according to HRW and SOS

Habitat, those evicted received little or no information on the purpose of their removal and the planned use for the land they were forced to leave, or on the alternatives they had, thus contravening the 2004 land law³⁵. A consistent approach to compensation was not put in place, with the offer of this often coming after the destruction of the evictees' property, thus negating the possibility of negotiation. Those who were relocated were sent to relocation sites far from their original place of residence and livelihood, and inadequately serviced.

The HRW and SOS Habitat report identified the right not to be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with one's privacy and home, and the right to liberty and security of the person, as two rights contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) – to which the Angolan is signatory – which had been violated. In addition, the report noted lack of compliance by the Angolan government with the provisions made in the Angolan constitution, and also in land and urban management plans and regulations, regarding possession of land, as well as information, notification and compensation. The delay in development of regulations for the land law was seen as contributing to the vulnerability of those living in informal areas, but a gap was also identified between government policies which were apparently sympathetic towards informal residents and actual practice in evictions.

According to HRW, these practices have continued to the time of writing this paper. In 2010, for example, the provincial authorities in Huila, forcibly evicted an estimated 25,000 from the coastal city of Lubango in order to make way for infrastructure projects such as the re-opening of the railway line, beautification of the city and a new road. Again, those relocated were sent to rural resettlement areas with limited services and little provision for shelter. And in August 2011, a further 3,500 people in this city were threatened with demolition of their houses and relocation to rural areas³⁶.

The mass evictions across Angolan cities and towns over recent years have led to increasing protest and resistance, which was initially repressed by the state and later tolerated – a planned march in the city of Benguela in March 2010 was called off after government threats, but marches went ahead in the following months in Benguela and Luanda with police protection. In July 2010, the first conference against forced demolitions and evictions, held in Benguela, brought together civil society representatives from Angola and beyond, who criticized government action, demanded rights, made proposals and advocated civil society participation in equitable urban development³⁷.

Conclusions and prognosis

The case of Angola illustrates the limited scope for implementing a "right to the city" agenda in a context where government policy is implicit, and where the legal system, and the institutional capacity to operate such system, are both weak – all the more so where the political will to further this agenda is unlikely given the current power structure and interests in this country. This is arguably quite a widespread situation in urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa³⁸, and one which queries how such an approach can be embedded within local institutions (conceptual as well as organizational). Critics of the "banalization" of the concept of the "right to the city" would argue that its institutionalization and the obstacles to this in Angola are not the issue, as the "right to the city" in its Lefebvrian sense is not about policy and legal frameworks but about a claim requiring social movements and citizen involvement to pursue this objective. But, here again, Angola provides an example of a polity where not only government structures but also civil society is weak, both through low levels of structuring in urban settings beyond kinship and other "non-formalized" ties, and through high levels of co-optation of some structures at the interface between civil society and government (which crystallize at the local/district level) following decades of control by the party in power.

The claims to the "right to the city" therefore take place mostly through the actions of individuals and households when securing a place for themselves and their families in the city, through finding both shelter and livelihood-sustaining activities. In relation to the former, a key issue that emerges then is what rights do these inhabitants have to the shelter with which they provide themselves? The evidence shows that, in their eyes, they have a right to their home in the sense that they do not generally feel threatened, but they do not have an understanding of how this is (or rather is not) articulated in legal terms. This contrasts with their official legal position since the new land law was passed in 2004, whereby the majority of households in peri-urban Angola are considered to be living illegally on the land their homes occupy, unless a development plan is approved. In this context, the research and research-supported lobbying and pilot projects reported on in this paper can be seen as an important way – possibly one of the most relevant in the current conditions – of furthering the emergence of a "right to the city" agenda in Angola.

Despite the modest gains made for the informal peri-urban dwellers in the legislation and regulation, and despite the pilot projects that have experimented with incremental land rights in various parts of the country with government approval, evictions in peri-urban areas have

continued – as feared when the research described here was initiated. The rush for “development” of certain areas of Luanda is expelling low-income groups to more peripheral areas, sometimes outwith the city, thus negating their “right to the city”. This takes place predominantly where the potential for economic gain by developers and controlling elites, through real estate investment, has increased and there is growing investment in major infrastructure to support formal economic and property development. The powerful groups undertaking such development make use of the new legislation to their advantage, and in this sense there is a need for legislative reform if every inhabitant’s “right to the city” is to be safeguarded. The opportunity to achieve such reform in the post-civil war legislative drive was only successful to a certain extent, despite the effective networking and lobbying by NGOs and the apparent opening to public consultation that took place. Now, though there are signs of some incipient social organization around the issue of evictions, the scope for an effective and coordinated movement around this, and for legislative reform that would recognize *de facto* rights to land for shelter, appears to be still very limited. The main resistance remains, *de facto*, the scale of such socially legitimate, yet formally illegal land access – which is growing fast with continued rapid urbanization, despite Angola’s economic strength.

1. Paul JENKINS and Harry SMITH, “The State, the Market and Community: an Analytical Framework for Community Self-Development” in Michael CARLEY, Paul JENKINS and Harry SMITH (eds), *Urban Development and Civil Society: The Role of Communities in Sustainable Cities*, London and Sterling VA, Earthscan, 2001, p. 16-30.
2. See e.g. Sergio BELDA, Jordi PERIS, Alexandre FREDIANI and Alejandra BONI, “Resistance and Alternative Against the New Discourse of the Right to the City: the Case of the Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)” in this publication.
3. Mark PURCELL, “Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant”, *GeoJournal*, 2002, vol. 58, p. 99-108.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

5. *Id.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
7. See Mark PURCELL, “To Inhabit Well: Counter-Hegemonic Movements and the Right to the City” in this publication.
8. Anthony O’CONNOR, *The African City*, London, Hutchison University Library, 1983; Paul JENKINS, Harry SMITH and Ya Ping WANG, *Planning and Housing in the Rapidly Urbanising World*, London and New York, Routledge, “Housing, Planning and Design Series”, 2007.
9. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, “Which Right to Which City? In Defence of Political-Strategic Clarity”, *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 2010, vol. 2, 1, p. 315-333.
10. Abdoumalig SIMONE, *Uncertain Rights to the City*,

<http://www.africaemediterraneo.it/rivista/documents/ArsUrbisSimone.pdf>.

11. Mark PURCELL, “Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant”, *loc. cit.*
12. Paul JENKINS, Jørgen ESKEMOSE ANDERSEN, “Governing Informal Settlements, on Whose Terms? Developing Cities in between the Formal and Informal” in ECAS 2011 – 4th European Conference on African Studies, *African Engagements: On Whose Terms?*, Uppsala, 15-18 June 2011.
13. Allan CAIN, “Research and practice as advocacy tools to influence Angola’s land policies”, *Environment and Urbanization*, 2010, vol. 22, 2, p. 508.
14. For more information on the links between the research and the lobbying that took place during the legislative process, see Allan CAIN, “Research and practice as advocacy tools to influence Angola’s land policies”, *loc. cit.*
15. DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP (ANGOLA) (DW), CENTRE FOR ENVIRONMENT and HUMAN SETTLEMENTS (CEHS), *Terra – Urban land reform in post-war Angola: research, advocacy and policy development*, Luanda, Development Workshop, “Occasional Paper”, 5, 2005; Paul JENKINS and Harry SMITH, “Collaborative Approaches to Knowledge Development: Action Research in Urban Land Issues in Mozambique and Angola”, *International Development Planning Review*, 2004, vol. 26, 1, p. 25-45.
16. DW and CEHS, *Terra – Urban land reform in post-war Angola: research, advocacy and policy development*, *op. cit.*
17. Allan CAIN, “Research and practice as advocacy tools to influence Angola’s land policies”, *loc. cit.*
18. Jenny CLOVER, “Land Reform in Angola: Establishing the Ground Rules” in Chris HUGGINS, Jenny CLOVER (eds), *From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict and Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Nairobi, African Centre for Technology Studies and the African Security Analysis Programme of the Institute for Security Studies, June 2005, <http://www.acts.or.ke/pubs/books/docs/ground7land.pdf>.

19. *Id.*
20. *Musseque* is the term used for informal settlements in Luanda. It is the name of the red, sandy soil of the interior of Luanda in *kimbundu*, and it began to be used in the 19th century to refer to the huts of indigenous people on the periphery of the city. See Paul JENKINS, Paul ROBSON and Allan CAIN, “Luanda”, *Cities*, 2002, vol. 14, 1, p. 115-127.
21. Paul JENKINS *et al.*, *Planning and Housing in the Rapidly Urbanising World*, *op. cit.*; DW and CEHS, *Terra – Urban land reform in post-war Angola: research, advocacy and policy development*, *op. cit.*
22. This was based on the ancient right, enshrined in Common Law, to occupy un-allocated and un-occupied land over a certain period without contestation – in English known as “adverse possession rights” – a system widely used also in Brazil (“*direito de usucapião*”).
23. Allan CAIN, “Research and practice as advocacy tools to influence Angola’s land policies”, *loc. cit.*
24. DW and CEHS, *Terra – Urban land reform in post-war Angola: research, advocacy and policy development*, *op. cit.*
25. In fact, this approach still underpins urban development in the city, with large scale Chinese investment in so-called “social housing” in new growth pole areas at the periphery.
26. DW and CEHS, *Terra – Urban land reform in post-war Angola: research, advocacy and policy development*, *op. cit.*
27. *Id.*
28. See Mark PURCELL, “To Inhabit Well: Counter-Hegemonic Movements and the Right to the City”, *loc. cit.*
29. Abdoumalig SIMONE, *Uncertain Rights to the City*, *op. cit.*
30. Allan CAIN, “Research and practice as advocacy tools to influence Angola’s land policies”, *loc. cit.*
31. *Id.*
32. *Id.*

33. Todd FLOWER, Robin NIELSEN and Beat WEBER, *Strengthening Land Tenure and Property Rights: Final Report*, USAID, 2008.

34. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, "They Pushed Down the Houses": *Forced Evictions and Insecure Land Tenure for Luanda's Urban Poor*, 15 May 2007, vol. 19, 7(A). Also available at <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/465c29352.html>.

35. Foley (drawing on HRW, "They Pushed Down the Houses": *Forced Evictions and Insecure Land Tenure for Luanda's Urban Poor*, *loc. cit.*) states that: "According to the 2004 land laws, the State can only expropriate land for specific public use, and it must declare this purpose when it does so. Anyone whose land is expropriated for public use has a right to compensation. Where the state grants land concessions for urban development projects it has a legal duty to publicise this widely. Any infrastructure project which may have a significant social or environmental impact must be subject to an impact assessment,

which must include hearings with the local population affected. These specific requirements reinforce the general principle in Angolan law that public administration must provide adequate notice to people whose rights are likely to be affected by its actions." See Conor FOLEY, *Land Rights in Angola: Poverty and Plenty*, London, Humanitarian Policy Group and Overseas Development Institute, "HPG Working Paper", 2007, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4a5b32ca0.pdf>.

36. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, "Angola: Stop Forced Evictions", 2011, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/08/25/angola-stop-forced-evictions>.

37. See, for example, <http://www.buala.org/pt/cidade/angola-o-nascimento-de-um-movimento-pelo-direito-a-habitacao-e-a-importancia-da-integracao-de>.

38. Paul JENKINS, "African Cities: Competing Claims on Urban Land" in Paul NUGENT and Francesca LOCATELLI (eds), *African Cities: Competing Claims on Urban Spaces*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 81-108.

Ending homelessness in Canada: right to housing and right to the city

Fran Klodawsky

Promoting greater access to decent and secure shelter – in other words, the right to housing – has long been a focal point for counter-hegemonic projects in Canada¹. The relative success of such work has varied over the years: whereas in the early 1970s Canada's federal interventions in non-profit housing were hailed internationally, its recent record has raised serious concerns about the extreme difficulties facing many lower income residents and particularly renters². Throughout much of the post-war period, the language of housing rights has been drawn upon as a rationale for these efforts. Interestingly though, discourses of right to the city have been all but absent.

The disjuncture between these two sets of rights claims likely has something to do with the structure of Canadian federalism and, in particular, the manner in which cities are regarded as "junior members" of the federation and "creatures of the provinces"³. But, while jurisdictional divisions of powers contribute to explaining why right to the city arguments have been so muted historically in Canada, such explanations are not meant to preclude their discursive utility in the current period. Indeed, a central goal in this paper is to explore the potential for a normative "right to the city" frame of reference to strengthen the counter-hegemonic imaginaries and practices of equality seeking housing groups. In this context, "right to the city" is conceived of as a conceptual and analytic device. The intent would be to help assess whether particular policies, programs and strategies are likely to help promote access to decent, secure and affordable housing, as well as access to sustainable livelihoods and democratic engagement among Canada's growing, racially and economically diverse urban constituencies. As Purcell has noted, "Claiming a right to the city is claiming a right to inhabit well, to have reasonable access to the things one needs to live a dignified life⁴." Purcell not surprisingly lists shelter among what is required to live well but does not explore this idea in further detail⁵.

In the discussion that follows, I begin by introducing the broad Canadian context within which discourses on the right to housing have been highlighted (and right to the city neglected). I then narrow the focus to examine the institutional outcomes of counter-hegemonic efforts beginning in the mid-1990s to address growing problems of housing affordability and home-

lessness, with a particular focus on the City of Ottawa, Canada's national capital and its fourth largest city. As part of this analysis, I will highlight some admittedly preliminary evidence about the value of incorporating a more explicit "right to the city" framing into the counter-hegemonic imaginaries and practices of the Alliance to End Homelessness in Ottawa.

In 1998, the Caucus of Big City Mayors of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities declared homelessness a national crisis. In the following year, their concerted lobbying efforts, together with a host of other factors, helped push the federal government to respond in a surprising and, for some, dramatic manner. The National Homelessness Initiative (NHI) was an innovative reaction to homelessness, and a signal of renewed federal interest in working differently with cities, despite anticipated provincial concerns. The material resources that the NHI offered were woefully inadequate: management of the problem, rather than its resolution has been the unsurprising outcome⁶. Despite this fatal flaw, the capacity-building opportunities that NHI encouraged are worthy of consideration. In the case of the City of Ottawa, I suggest that NHI's additional funds and its requirement of one overall community plan, helped plant the seeds of a potential, emerging "right to the city" ethos and that this is a constructive development.

Setting the context

Three factors aid understanding how and why, since the mid-1990s, imaginaries and practices promoting the right to housing have been elevated, while right to the city discourses have been absent. These factors are: i) the manner in which the Canadian Constitution has partitioned responsibilities for housing, urban planning and urban affairs; ii) the negative consequences for lower-income renters of Canada's almost total reliance on the private market to provide housing; and iii) the negative impacts on cities' resources and capacity to encourage affordable housing, especially in Ontario, as a result of both federal and provincial government downloading in the early and mid-1990s⁷.

Formally, since 1867, Canadian urban life has been shaped by the British North American Act which laid the basis for a division of responsibilities between the federal government, the provinces, and indirectly, municipal governments: "The federal government has constitutional responsibility for monetary and fiscal policy and the provinces for property and social welfare, whereas municipalities have been delegated responsibility for many of the physical aspects of property"⁸. Informally however, the situation has not been quite so straightforward. Canada is clearly an urban country – with "80 percent of its citizens living in urban areas, and some 64 percent of the population living in the country's 27 large and medium sized metropolitan

areas"⁹ –, and thus the political perspectives of urban residents are often a concern for senior governments. Generally, there has been a growing acceptance of the need for provincial governments to consult with municipalities over decisions that affect local government activities and capacity¹⁰. However, on-going tensions remain between "local government as a provider of services [...] versus an expression of collective goals"¹¹, especially as local governments' fiscal capacity has been increasingly squeezed during the last two decades.

Federal government activities, policies and programs also are recognized as being consequential for cities. Yet, when it comes to urban affairs, there is no clear consensus on how the federal government should intervene. As Bradford notes, "the Liberal government's (2002-2004) New Deal for Cities and Communities attempted what European researchers call an *explicit national urban policy* aiming to transform federal-local relations. Since its election in 2006, the Conservative government has substantially scaled back the federal urban agenda...The two approaches involve different urban visions, policy instruments, and institutional arrangements. And these differences have consequences for the role that local actors – municipalities and community-based organizations – play in urban policy"¹².

The challenges that cities face in being confronted with this more passive and managerial approach remain, given that this same Conservative federal government is still in power. Among other matters, a growing housing affordability crisis has spurred on counter-hegemonic groups' efforts to lobby the federal government on housing and urban issues¹³.

According to housing scholar David Hulchanski (2004), the key insight in grasping the source of housing problems in Canada is not constitutional but rather how the housing system overall, which is heavily reliant on the private market, distributes costs and benefits to different classes of home owners and renters¹⁴. His analysis reveals a consequential dualism in these matters: "The primary part of the housing system received benefits mainly in the form of entitlements (universal rather than selective) as 'natural' parts of the way the housing system operates [...] includ[ing the] government-created and managed mortgage lending system, the special tax treatment of capital gains on owner-occupied housing, the occasional programs to assist with the initial down payment, and the generally superior community services and amenities in districts with higher-cost owner and tenant-occupied housing. Low-income households, if they happen to receive any benefits, generally do so on a selective means-tested basis aimed at meeting minimum needs"¹⁵.

He and others have noted that the majority of Canadians remain well housed with shelter costs well within the manageable range. However, among low-income renters without access to decent subsidized housing, the situation is both alarming and set to deteriorate even further.

Beginning in the late 1980s, tensions were further exacerbated as a result of senior government actions that focused on reining in growing debt loads and other neoliberally inspired policy shifts. According to Bradford: “[...] these changes [...] have resulted in federal or provincial *offloading* as responsibilities flow downward to the local level without matching revenue or authority [...] In the past five years, federal and provincial revenues increased 33.2 and 26.1 percent respectively, while local government revenues rose only 7.7 percent. Federal and provincial transfer payments and grants to Canadian cities now contribute only 18.7 percent of total municipal revenue, significantly below the upper-level transfer to city revenues of 27 percent in the United States and 31 percent in European Union countries (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2001)¹⁶.”

While this disparity eased somewhat when the Gas Tax Fund was initiated in 2005, resulting in additional dedicated funds to municipalities for “hard” infrastructure such as roads and sewers¹⁷, cities continue to face particularly difficult trade-offs in matching revenues and costs. Moreover, added pressures in the form of a changing governance regime, further challenge municipal governments in their interventions at the urban scale. Neither clarity nor consensus exists about the specific nature of these regime shifts, but most scholars certainly agree that welfare state arguments no longer dominate policy discourses and decisions¹⁸. They also generally accept that, at the urban scale, the mid-1970s was a particularly significant break point in the move towards something more attuned with neoliberal arguments about the value of a reduced social role for government, a greater focus on private sector-led economic development, and more onus on individuals to take responsibility for their own wellbeing¹⁹.

In the Canadian case, the mid-1990s was seen as period of important refinements, this time involving efforts to address the “negative aspects of strict versions of neo-liberalism”, without reverting to what were seen as the problematic aspects of previous regimes²⁰. At the level of the nation-state, Saint-Martin notes growing evidence of the emergence of a “social investment state”, by which he means a “view of social policy [...] that is] ‘productivist’ and investment oriented, rather than distributive and consumption oriented”²¹. Complementary to this argument, Keil highlights the ways in which “urban neoliberalism [...] also inevitably creates more fissures in which urban resistance and social change can take root” (Keil, 2002, p. 579) and suggests that “Everydayness is both an imposed reality of mass society and the constantly virulent source of subversive action, never pacified, never resting” (p. 583).

The introduction and specific character of the National Homelessness Initiative is best understood within this dynamic, shifting and complex frame of reference. On the one hand, it was a response to particularly egregious results of neoliberal policy in action and the public’s

negative reaction to these outcomes. There was compelling evidence that federal and provincial cutbacks had contributed to sharp rises in the growth of homelessness among singles and families, adults and youth²². On the other hand, it was also an effort to use added funding in a manner distinct from the “rights to housing” arguments more typical of the 1960s and early 1970s, where ideas of habitation, presence and the reduction of inequalities were at the forefront. Instead, it was an initiative oriented towards investing in local activities and approaches that would mitigate the adverse effects of the withdrawal of funds for social housing and other affordable housing initiatives²³.

A key goal of the National Homelessness Initiative was to encourage co-ordination to solve what were framed as a series of “local” problems, with the goal of pushing local governments and community organizations towards promoting efficient ways to move homeless individuals from dependence on emergency housing and social services towards more independent lives. Community groups and a few politicians had used “right to housing” arguments to press forward their claims for federal government action and were disappointed at what they saw as a much too modest response. Yet, it is an argument of this paper that these albeit modest funds have contributed to a certain way of working at the local level that has, in some places and times, helped focus counter-hegemonic imaginaries on ideas relating to “right to the city” in conjunction with the “the right to housing”. This is very much an emerging trend but one that might be propelled forward to good effect if the value of a “right to the city” imaginary was promoted more explicitly. In order to present this case, the next section outlines activities and efforts that led to the establishment of the National Homelessness Initiative, together with its key characteristics. Following this discussion, the focus shifts to an examination of the efforts in one locale – the City of Ottawa – to reduce and end homelessness.

National housing initiative²⁴

The National Homelessness Initiative was the first Federal policy initiated by municipalities²⁵.

I was drawn to the National Homelessness Initiative because it represented a new model, a new policy approach and a new design for policy intervention²⁶.

From the perspective of the federal bureaucrats who helped establish the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI), such as those quoted above, there was no doubt about its distinctiveness

and significance. Their assessment is quite intriguing, given the NHI's and its successor agency's small overall budget and limited time frame. Over the ten-year period between 1999 and 2009, NHI and Homeless Partnership Strategy's (HPS) total funding envelope was approximately \$1.562 billion²⁷. In contrast, the Gas Tax Transfer was allocated an amount of 13 billion dollars to cover the period 2005-2014²⁸. Despite its small budget however, feelings similar to those expressed above were heard from numerous individuals, both inside and outside government, and they reinforce the conclusion that there was something significant about this program.

The requirement of one overall community plan based on broad community "buy-in" was a new approach launched by the federal government in 1999. Although many decried the obvious disconnect between what the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI, 1999-2006) and the Homeless Partnership Strategy (HPS, 2007-2011) appeared to promise ("ending homelessness"), and what they were able to achieve ("managing homelessness"), this initiative also has been widely recognized as a new and successful approach to promote innovation and collaboration in a place-based manner²⁹. Indeed, in 2002, the Supporting Community Partnerships Initiative (SCPI) program of NHI was identified by UN-HABITAT as a "best practice" in the Urban Governance category (Urban Management and Administration sub-category)³⁰. And, as recently as 2008, one senior civil servant noted that although "NHI was the smallest program representing the most disenfranchised, it generated the highest level of correspondence in the department – from individuals, stakeholders, agencies, municipalities, etc."³¹. This same informant also noted that although the Minister in charge had initially been very skeptical about the program, he soon became a strong champion for it³².

The NHI was announced in December 1999 as a three-year demonstration project, at a time when a variety of circumstances aligned to permit and even promote a somewhat unconventional response to the rapidly growing problem of visible homelessness on urban streets and particularly in Toronto, Canada's largest city. The initiative was extended for an additional three years, between 2003 and 2006, and then again for one more year. In 2007, a very similar but newly named initiative – the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) – was announced in conjunction with two years of additional funds.

In the lead-up to the establishment of the initiative, there were concerted efforts to highlight the seriousness of a growing homelessness crisis and to call the federal government to account. Together with the Big City Mayors, the voices of activists, researchers, and media all conveyed similar messages regarding the growing extent of homelessness, and equally, the new populations, such as families with children and immigrants, that were being affected.

This sort of active and visible consensus about a social issue was very unusual, and it certainly helped to make the case within the Prime Minister's Office about the need for a significant response. Here is how one staffer described the situation: "The [federal] government found itself in a horrible quandary. All the affordable housing programs had been cut/deleted. They were trying to come up with new programs, but politically this would be impossible for the next 5 years... they wanted to open the door a crack"³³.

Finally, in March 1999, political pressure to respond had come to such a head that the then Liberal Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, appointed Minister Claudette Bradshaw as the Federal Coordinator on Homelessness in addition to her duties as Minister of Labour. Bradshaw was a determined individual whose social work and community development background and involvement with social issues made her a committed advocate on this file. As its political representative, she contributed to a more significant outcome than had been anticipated or expected. Here is how Smith³⁴ described her cross-country consultative tour: "In July 1999, when many Parliamentarians returned to their constituencies, Minister Bradshaw took to the road [...] She had long discussions with provincial and municipal politicians but more particularly she visited shelters for the homeless and talked with police and social workers. She toured the unseemly sections of cities late at night with the front-line service workers. She listened to what the homeless had to say and she gave them hugs (she was known for her hugs). From this, the Minister and her team got a personal sense of the architecture of homelessness in Canada³⁵."

The tour convinced Bradshaw of two priorities: one, the need to focus on the "absolute homeless", that is, those living on the streets and in the emergency shelters, and thus on homelessness in the country's largest cities; and two, an assurance that communities should play a lead role in planning, deciding upon and administering any federal funds that would be made available. Moreover, "[t]he Minister also insisted that the small organizations working on the front lines should play a leading role, and that the funding should not be funneled to the 'squeaky wheel' larger organizations. As well, the community process had to be as inclusive as possible, bringing in all the key community players who dealt with homeless people, such as governments, the private sector and homeless people themselves"³⁶. These priorities were consistent with the perspectives of a wide variety of players: community organizations, municipalities, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, and those in the Prime Minister's Office who had lobbied for this initiative.

Despite considerable skepticism at the beginning of the summer of 1999 that even 70 million dollars would be allocated to this file, the National Homelessness Initiative was announced

in December of 1999 with a three-year budget of 759 million dollars. Those within the federal public service who had been working with Bradshaw saw both the initiative and the level of funds attached to it as a considerable victory. However, among housing and anti-poverty advocates as well as some municipal politicians, the mood was quite different. Although the new cash was desperately needed, the exclusion of affordable housing from the roster of possible initiatives greatly frustrated those who saw the right to housing in the form of a national affordable housing policy as a key element to end homelessness.

Federal funding for NHI was announced as a collaborative effort between three departments, and it consisted of a mixture of new programs and enhancements to existing ones. Although less than half of the allocated funds were directed at the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI), its distinctive approach to federal-community relations was at the core of NHI's significance. According to Smith: "the NHI, having travelled through Cabinet, Treasury Board and p/t [provincial/territorial] negotiations, was ready to get in gear – not as a top-down 'program' but through a partnership arrangement, planned and managed by the groups, individuals, local government – all the relevant players on homelessness in the community. This was going further than had other GoC [Government of Canada] programs that were connected with the community through research or advisory boards but that had left the federal government [in] the role of imposing models and making financial decisions"³⁷.

SCPI included three components. The first was intended to "encourage the local collaboration and partnership needed to successfully address homelessness", including the engagement of diverse actors from government, the private sector and voluntary organizations to work together to develop a coordinated "local action plan to fight homelessness"³⁸. The second acknowledged the need for additional information and also promoted the exchange of "best practices" within Canada³⁹. The third recognized that ending homelessness required the coordination of both infrastructure and social supports⁴⁰. Generally, the trajectory of a homeless person was envisioned to consist of needing different kinds of supports at different moments in time but it also assumed that this trajectory would typically move from emergency housing to supportive and transitional housing to regular housing. In the first round of funding this design translated into a focus on emergency shelters, as the most immediate problem was seen as the need to move homeless people away from the street. Later rounds saw more funds being designated for transitional and supportive housing.

Since the introduction of NHI as a three-year pilot, the program has been renewed on several occasions, under both the federal Liberals and their successor Conservative govern-

ments. Most observers now agree that the NHI/HPS has become a necessary, although woefully inadequate, response to Canada's growing homelessness crisis. While this is indeed the case, in this article I want to consider this initiative as also helping to open up spaces for alternate imaginaries and practices that have, in some times and places, contributed to new strategies that are implicitly about the "right to the city" as much as they are about the "right to housing". I present this argument in the context of efforts within the City of Ottawa to reduce and end homelessness.

Ending homelessness in the city of Ottawa

Ottawa's history of engagement in matters relating to housing rights is a long-standing one. In the 1970s, the City of Ottawa was credited with being one of only a few Canadian municipalities that took innovative and proactive steps to address the housing needs of lower income residents, utilizing a variety of approaches and supporting both municipally-led and community-led initiatives⁴¹. In one notable instance – the Centretown Plan –, concepts, principles and specifications were constructed with equal input by City staff and the Centretown Community Association. The right to housing at the neighbourhood scale was deemed a key element and it specified that one quarter of all housing should be and remain affordable ("rent-geared-to-income" social housing) and that such housing should be scattered throughout Centretown⁴². This association helped to spawn a particularly innovative private non-profit social housing organization that has remained a significant counter-hegemonic housing-related presence both in Ottawa and more generally across Canada⁴³.

The propensity for the City of Ottawa to become involved in affordable housing collaborations was sorely tested in the 1980s and, especially, in the 1990s, as both the federal and the provincial governments withdrew from active engagement in promoting a social housing sector⁴⁴. In addition, over the last 25 years, Ontario has been unique in assigning to municipalities fiscal responsibilities for social housing and other social services⁴⁵. In combination with the more general regime shift noted above, the result has been both a more fiscally conservative orientation at the municipal scale and a re-framing of the ways in which social issues are understood. Despite these shifts however, an *ethos* of collaboration has remained part of Ottawa's culture with regard to social housing, aided in part by the periodic circulation of knowledgeable individuals between City Hall and community organizations. It is this culture and level of interaction that helped galvanize community organizations to establish the Alliance to End Homelessness in Ottawa (hereafter "the Alliance") in 1996.

The Alliance came into force in reaction to local trends similar to those that more generally propelled efforts to establish the NHI: growing homelessness in the context of a decline in income and access to decent, affordable housing. The Province of Ontario was the place in Canada where circumstances surrounding such access changed most dramatically⁴⁶. Soon after the Harris Conservatives were elected in 1995, the provincial government: 1) stopped contributing funds to the building of new social housing; 2) reduced welfare rates by about one quarter; and 3) downloaded the responsibility for social housing operations to municipalities⁴⁷.

The period leading up to the start of the National Homelessness Initiative was one in which the City of Ottawa had little room to maneuver, due to pressures from the province to take on increasingly onerous fiscal responsibilities in a context of declining revenues. Yet, as Marquardt⁴⁸ has observed about this period in relation to social security reform, there were important instances of collaboration between the City of Ottawa and community activists that resulted in more egalitarian and inclusive outcomes than would have been the case otherwise. The same argument might also be applied to issues relating to housing and homelessness. From the start, the Alliance included participants from the academy, government and community-based organizations. Relevant academic research was seen as a strategically useful and as a potentially powerful tool for making claims on local government. City officials supported the Alliance's establishment but also influenced its collaborative approach to working with the City. Thus, while the Alliance should be regarded as having a counter-hegemonic imaginary, its practices were shaped more by this spirit of collaboration than by explicitly oppositional tactics⁴⁹. Currently, efforts for reducing and ending homelessness in Ottawa consist of four organizational actors:

The city of Ottawa

The municipality is the provincially designated "service system manager" for social housing and homelessness, as well as the "community entity" for delivery of federal homelessness funding. These designations were established in 1999 when, on the one hand, many formerly provincial responsibilities were devolved to the municipal level and, on the other, NHI was established with the requirement that there be one designated community entity per municipality to deliver federal homelessness funding⁵⁰.

The Homelessness Community Capacity Building Steering Committee (HCCBSC)

The Steering Committee consists of "representatives of the housing and support service sectors, all three orders of government, other funders, researchers, business people, and knowledgeable community members"⁵¹. The Secretariat, located within the city's bureaucracy, provides administrative support to help the committee act as a focal point for collaborative decision-making, including the development on a community plan to guide how best to make use of the NHI/NPS funds.

The Alliance to End Homelessness (ATEH)

The Alliance is the primary vehicle for the development and implementation of counter-hegemonic imaginaries and practices about housing and homelessness in Ottawa. In line with Ottawa's more generally collaborative approach, it describes itself as "a non-partisan coalition taking action to end homelessness"⁵². In 2009, its membership included more than 70 organizations. According to its statement of values and operating principles: "We respect the diversity of perspectives and opinions of ATEH members. We maintain an atmosphere of open communication and find creative ways to incorporate differences into our collective development and implementation of ATEH activities. ATEH members work together and with partners: to generate ideas and solutions that help individuals and families who are homeless or 'at risk' of homelessness. We do this by sharing information, listening with open minds, supporting each other and acting together. We use research and evaluation to develop creative solutions to homelessness. We employ innovative approaches in public affairs activities"⁵³.

Reflecting this approach, the Alliance is a member of the HCCBSC and in turn, someone from the City is an *ex officio* member of the Alliance's Steering Committee. The Alliance is funded primarily by member contributions, although it receives some minor financial support from other local actors.

Federal funds from NHI/NPS as allocated to local agencies by HCCBSC have enabled the homelessness sector to maintain some semblance of stability with regard to provision of services to people who are already homeless and it has also provided some support to local efforts to prevent homelessness among those who are at risk. Nonetheless, as the Alliance's sixth Report Card on Ending Homelessness in Ottawa makes clear, "Despite the dedication of professionals and volunteers in the sector, the millions of dollars spent by government and the many programs involved, we are no closer to ending homelessness"⁵⁴.

The Leadership Table on Homelessness (LTH)

This recent initiative, begun in 2008, was the outcome of efforts by individuals working on issues of housing and homelessness to recruit local businesses to broaden the groups who would publicize, raise funds for and lobby about the growing problem of homelessness. Although still very much a “work in process”, there has been some conflict between this group, the HCCBSC and the ATEH over mandate, purpose and approach. The Leadership Table on Homelessness (LTH) has chosen to focus exclusively on “chronic homelessness”⁵⁵, despite arguments that this focus was likely to be shortsighted in eliminating the problem. There has been some angst about the “maverick” stance of this initiative, but at the same time, efforts to challenge the Leadership Table’s unsubstantiated assumptions have been conducted in the same spirit of working together to identify where constructive impacts might be possible.

Right to housing and right to the city

On the surface, the Canadian context offers very little that is innovative with regard to the “right to the city”, particularly from a legal perspective. At its most straightforward, the Canadian case is an object lesson in the problems that tend to arise when constitutional rules denigrate the independent authority of cities. This recognition was recently tested in a concerted effort by residents of the (old) City of Toronto to challenge the provincial government on the question of “what rights do citizens have to shape their city”, when a provincial edict signaled a shift to amalgamate the old city with six surrounding municipalities⁵⁶. The effort ended when the courts adjudicated that the authority of the *Constitution Act* superseded any substantive claims about citizens’ rights⁵⁷. However, according to Moore Milroy: “[...] Ontario’s strict control over municipal autonomy may not be a weathervane for Canadian practice elsewhere. They point to recent legislation and tabled proposals in the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, which appear to give greater room to municipalities to act independently...”⁵⁸.

This latter observation highlights the possibility of openings for discussions where normative claims for “right to the city” might have some resonance. In this article, I suggest that efforts underway by “right to housing” proponents might have additional strategic benefits if they were to be framed conceptually within a “right to the city” rationale. Such a frame would help explain, for example, the apparent contradiction between concerted efforts and resources being directed at homeless populations, and the continued growth of such populations. It

might also help efforts to highlight causal links between homelessness and popular forms of urban redevelopment that focus on “highest and best use” for individuals, to the denigration of other factors that have impacts on quality of life, such as access to employment and services, feelings of community and sense of place, and democratic political engagement.

The current focus of the Leadership Table is a case in point. Their chosen target of chronic homelessness is based on two rationales. The first is that the current emergency-focused response to chronic homelessness is very expensive and shortsighted. The second is that the visible presence of the homeless is “bad for business”. They accept the logic that limited funds should be directed towards those problems that are most acute and that will, they assume, have the greatest “trickle down” impacts. The Leadership Table’s orientation is at odds with the other three organizational actors identified above, whose orientation is best encapsulated in the HCCBSC’s Community Plan on Ending Homelessness which asserts: “That the community of Ottawa be able to offer a coordinated and complete system, of housing options, supports and opportunities, to:

- Prevent individuals and families from becoming homeless;
- Ensure a full range of affordable housing options and appropriate supports for individual [sic] and families who are experiencing or at risk of homelessness;
- Support individuals and families who are homeless, creating opportunities for them to achieve housing stability; and
- Advocate for private and public investment in long-term solutions to homelessness”⁵⁹.

Given that this vision and mission directly aims to reduce social and income inequalities among all populations now adversely affected by a lack of affordable housing, without compromising their citizenship rights, the statement illustrates an implicit “right to the city” claim that is distinctive from the Leadership Table orientation. Although “right to the city” arguments have not yet been explicit in the work of the HCCBSC or the Alliance, two recent incidents suggest that the time might be right to more actively promote this point of view.

The Alliance’s Sixth Annual Report Card

When first published in 2004, the stated goal of the Alliance’s *Annual Report Card* was to establish a baseline and indicate progress or lack thereof in relation to three quantitative measures having to do with homelessness (“length of emergency shelter stay”), housing (“length of waiting list for affordable housing” and “number of new affordable housing units built”), and income (“gap between the cost of housing and income generated through social support

payments or minimum wage")⁶⁰. Between 2005 and 2008, there were refinements in how grading would take place and according to what criteria, but the goal remained the same. In 2008, given some particularly discouraging results, the Alliance decided that a more assertive and proactive stance was required. Rather than measuring progress (given that there had been so little), the group moved to a target based system. A target of ten years to "end homelessness for families, children, youth, single women and single men"⁶¹ was set and interpreted as meaning that Ottawa needed a plan to:

- Reduce to 2,000 the number of individuals using the shelter system in Ottawa [currently at 7,445 individuals]
- Reduce to 30 days the average stay in emergency shelter [currently at 57 days]
- Reduce to 4,000 the number of households on the Social Housing waiting list [currently at 10,235]
- Reach Canada's housing affordability standard where people spend less than 30% of the pre-tax income on housing"⁶².

In the process, the Alliance signaled its frustration with the implicit assumption that the systems currently in play were contributing to ending homelessness. Their shift to proactive goals was one effort to step outside a system that seemed content to accept homelessness as a fact of life. While this does not in itself signal a shift to a "right to the city" frame of reference, it does open up the question of what constitutes a minimum acceptable community response and level of responsibility to lower income residents in Ottawa.

Community Research Forum 2009

Since 2005, the ATEH has organized a free, one-day community research forum for individuals who work in the sector and/or who have experienced homelessness. The focus of the Forum has shifted over time, from an event whose mandate was to convey practical research results to those working in the sector, to also incorporating "big picture" presentations that help to set the homelessness problem in its larger economic, social and political contexts. One such event was the keynote presentation in 2009 by the incoming President of the Canadian Medical Association, whose remarks signaled a need to draw more explicitly on rights-based arguments: "There are important consequences of acknowledging that the homeless are faced with violations of a wide range of human rights. [...] all levels of government have the responsibility to recognize the rights of homeless people since a Human Rights framework shifts the perception of the homeless as objects of charity to citizens entitled to protection under law.

Moving to a context of Human Rights will change advocacy efforts by increasing the demand for government accountability in the face of this growing problem"⁶³.

Similar to the shift to targets, these words signaled an important turn, where the onus was being put on housed Canadians to address the unmet needs of some citizens. From this vantage point, a "right to the city" orientation is becoming more plausible.

At the same forum, the afternoon plenary was delivered by a member of the Parkdale Activity Recreation Centre (PARC) Ambassador project in Toronto. This initiative had "successfully engaged in community consultation to combat NIMBYism ('Not in My Backyard') about the development in their neighbourhood of an affordable housing project for persons with mental health and addictions histories"⁶⁴. Here was an explicit message that not only decent housing but also inclusive neighbourhoods should be the right of all residents and moreover, that residents under threat of losing their housing were potentially effective actors in presenting the case to their housed neighbours.

This latter presentation is the most explicit example of what a "right to the city" lens might offer to Canadian housing activists. Human rights arguments suggest that the focus on eliminating homelessness is not just a sector specific issue of finding the right "fix" for individuals who lack what it takes to succeed, but rather a societal and a community obligation. The PARC Ambassador program hints at what this would mean in practical terms: not only "bricks and mortar" in the abstract, but rather inclusion and acceptance in the places that those requiring decent housing see as "their" community, including access to services and networks that had been built up over a period of years. The Alliance's interest in highlighting these matters might be regarded as yet another acknowledgement that narrowly focused efforts to work more efficiently and cooperatively will not end and prevent homelessness on its own, and might inadvertently make things worse by neglecting such broader socio-spatial dynamics as gentrification and NIMBYism. Although still very modest in actual practice, the growing interest in understanding homelessness as a violation of human rights would, it is argued here, benefit from an explicit appreciation of thinking normatively about "right to the city". In this manner, the "right to housing" might be more closely connected to the broader context of societal rights, access to appropriate services and opportunities for all, and socio-spatial inclusion more generally.

Conclusions

This article contains two key arguments of relevance to the larger theme of this collection. The first is that, as Keil reminds us, "urban neoliberalism [...] also inevitably creates more

fissures in which urban resistance and social change can take root”⁶⁵. Thinking about the National Homelessness Initiative in this manner signals a need to think more strategically about how certain public policies might allow openings for contest at the same time as other more obvious routes to problem alleviation are blocked. Such, I argue, is one way of assessing the Canadian case. The second and more specific argument has to do with links between living well and “right to the city”. As noted above, “Claiming a right to the city is claiming a right to inhabit well, to have reasonable access to the things one needs to live a dignified life”⁶⁶. In this article I suggest that, at least in the Canadian case, the opportunity now exists to connect the “right to housing” and the “right to the city” through a human rights framework. I premise this argument on four factors. The first is that homelessness and the risk of homelessness are growing concerns for many big city residents, including some of its elites⁶⁷. The second is that the Ottawa example described above is not unique. Across Canada, place-based, regional and national networks are refining their efforts to bring evidence and analysis to bear on public policy to end homelessness⁶⁸. A third factor is the nature of that evidence. There is an emerging consensus about the interconnectedness of public policies directed at homelessness, and those having to do with poverty eradication, mental illness/health, and urban redevelopment, among others. Simultaneously and lastly, simplistic “business case” arguments for focusing on visibly homeless individuals are being undermined by the growing diversity of actors that are acknowledging the myriad adverse impacts of a lack of affordable housing. Within this fluid and dynamic set of debates, the implicit connections that have already been made between quality of housing and mental health, and between feelings of home and community, would benefit from further exploration of a “right to the city”.

1. CENTRE FOR EQUALITY RIGHTS IN ACCOMMODATION, *About CERA*, 2010, <http://www.equalityrights.org/cera/index.cfm?nav=about>.
 2. Tom CARTER and Chesya POLEVYCHOK, *Housing is Good Social Policy*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks, Family Network Research Report F/50, 2004; Miloon KOLTHARI, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living, and on the Right to Non-Discrimination in this Context”, Mission to Canada, United Nations Human Rights Council, 2009.

3. Andrew SANCTON, “Introduction” in Andrew SANCTON and Robert YOUNG (eds), *Municipal Government in Canada’s Provinces*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 3.
 4. Mark PURCELL, *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 93.
 5. *Ibid.* See also Jill WIGLE, “Shelter, Location and Livelihoods: Exploring the Linkages in Mexico City”, *International Planning Studies*, 2008, vol. 13, 3, p. 197-222.
 6. Fran KLODAWSKY and Leonore EVANS, “Homelessness

on the Federal Agenda: Progressive Architecture but No Solution in Sight” in Caroline ANDREW and Katherine A. H. GRAHAM (eds), *Canada in Cities: The Politics and Policy of Federal-Local Governance*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s (forthcoming).

7. David SIEGAL, “Ontario” in Andrew SANCTON and Robert YOUNG (eds), *Municipal Government in Canada’s Provinces*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 20-69.

8. Barbara WAKE CARROLL, “Housing Policy in the New Millennium: The Uncompassionate Landscape” in Edmund P. FOWLER and David SIEGAL (eds), *Urban Policy Issues*, Don Mills, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 71.

9. Neil BRADFORD, *Why Cities Matter: Policy Research Perspectives for Canada*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks, CPRN Discussion Paper F 23, 2002, p. iii.

10. Beth MOORE MILROY, “Toronto’s Legal Challenge to Amalgamation” in Caroline ANDREW, Katherine A. GRAHAM, Susan D. PHILLIPS (eds), *Urban Affairs: Back on the Policy Agenda*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002, p. 157-178. See also David SIEGAL, “Ontario”, *loc. cit.*

11. Beth MOORE MILROY, “Toronto’s Legal Challenge to Amalgamation”, *loc. cit.*, p. 159.

12. Neil BRADFORD, *Whither the Federal Urban Agenda? A New Deal in Transition*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks, Family Network, Research Report F 65, 2007, p. 1.

13. Available data suggest a severe and deteriorating housing affordability situation. Even before the current recession hit, the housing numbers for Canada were grim: 150,000 to 300,000 Canadians are homeless; 450,000 to 900,000 Canadians are among the “hidden homeless”; 705,165 households are in over-crowded housing; 1.5 million households are in “core housing need”; 3 million households are in unaffordable housing; 3.3 million households are living in substandard housing. With the onset of the recession, half a million jobs have been lost, and more than 150,000 Canadian households have been evicted from their homes because they couldn’t afford to

pay their rent. Canada’s housing supply deficit – the gap between the number of new households and the amount of new housing – is growing at 220,000 households annually (Michael SHAPCOTT, “Canada needs a national housing strategy that engages key partners from the community up: A submission from the Wellesley Institute to the Commons HUMA committee for its review of Bill C-304”, 2009, <http://wellesleyinstitute.com/files/billc304wellesleysubmission.pdf>).

14. J. David HULCHANSKI, “What Factors Shape Canadian Housing Policy?” in Robert YOUNG and Christian LEUPRECHT (eds), *Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004, p. 221-250.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

16. Neil BRADFORD, *Why Cities Matter: Policy Research Perspectives for Canada*, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

17. Chris STONEY and Katherine GRAHAM, “Federal-Municipal Relations in Canada: the Changing Organizational Landscape”, *Canadian Public Administration*, 2009, vol. 52, 3, p. 371-394.

18. Gary TEEPLE, *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform: into the 21st Century*, Aurora, Ontario, Garamond Press, 2000.

19. Neil BRENNER and Nik THEODORE, “Cities and the Geographies of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism’”, *Antipode*, 2002, vol. 34, 3, p. 349-379; Roger KEIL, “‘Common-Sense’ Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto, Canada”, *Antipode*, 2002, vol. 34, 3, p. 578-601; Jamie PECK and Adam TICKELL, “Neoliberalizing space”, *Antipode*, 2002, vol. 34, 3, p. 380-404.
 20. Denis SAINT-MARTIN, “From the Welfare State to the Social Investment State: A New Paradigm for Canadian Social Policy?” in Michael ORSINI and Miriam SMITH (eds), *Critical Policy Studies*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 2007, p. 282.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

22. J. David HULCHANSKI, *Housing Policy for Tomorrow’s Cities*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks, Family Network, Discussion Paper F27, 2002.

23. Fran KLODAWSKY, "Tolerating Homelessness in Canada's Capital: Gender, Place and Human Rights", *Hagar: An International Social Science Review*, 2004, vol. 5, 1, p. 105-120.
24. Research for this section consisted of both document analysis and 25 in-depth interviews with bureaucrats, municipal officials and community activists who had some involvement with the NHI or its successor program, the Homeless Partnering Strategy. Support for this research came from Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council funding for the Major Collaborative Research Initiative, "Multilevel Governance and Public Policy in Canadian Municipalities". The material in this section is an abbreviated version of Fran KLODAWSKY and Leonore EVANS, "Homelessness on the Federal Agenda: Progressive Architecture but No Solution in Sight", 2009, unpublished manuscript.
25. Personal interview #1 [civil servant involved in the set up of the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI)].
26. Personal interview #4 [senior federal public servant who moved to NHI soon after it was established].
27. TREASURY BOARD OF CANADA, *National Homelessness Initiative*, 2000, http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/eppi-ibdrp/hrs-ceh/6/nhi-insa_e.asp; HUMAN RESOURCES AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CANADA, *The Homelessness Partnering Strategy: Partnerships that Work*, Ottawa, Publication Services, Catalogue HS4-39/2008, 2008.
28. INFRASTRUCTURE CANADA, *Gas Tax Fund*, 2010, <http://www.inf.gc.ca/ip-pi/gif-fte/gif-fte-eng.htm>.
29. Herman BAKVIS and Luc JUILLET, *The Horizontal Challenge: Line Departments, Central Agencies and Leadership*, Ottawa, School of Public Service, 2004; Neil BRADFORD, *Why Cities Matter: Policy Research Perspectives for Canada*, loc. cit.; Katherine GRAHAM, Alex KER, Susan PHILLIPS, *Implementing the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative through the Community Entity Model in Hamilton*, Ottawa, National Homelessness Initiative, 2003; Ralph SMITH and Sherri TORJMAN (eds), *Policy Development and Implementation in Complex Files*, Ottawa, National Homelessness Initiative and Canada School of Public Service, 2004.
30. UN-HABITAT, *Best Practices and Local Leadership Programme, Urban Management and Administration Subcategory*, 2002, <http://www.unhabitat.org/>, <http://www.bestpractices.org/>.
31. Personal interview #23.
32. Personal interview #23.
33. Personal interview #12.
34. Ralph SMITH, "Lessons from the National Homelessness Initiative" in Ralph SMITH and Sherri TORJMAN (eds), *Policy Development and Implementation in Complex Files*, op. cit., p. 1-32.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
37. *Id.*
38. SERVICES CANADA, *Government of Canada Announces Another Step in Action Plan on Homelessness*, 2000, <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/pe/communiques/00-06.shtml>
39. *Id.*
40. *Id.*
41. Tom CARTER and Ann MCAFEE, "The Municipal Role in Housing the Homeless and the Poor" in George FALLIS and Alex MURRAY (eds), *Housing the Homeless and the Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, p. 227-263.
42. Fran KLODAWSKY and Caroline ANDREW, "Acting Locally: What Is The Progressive Potential?", *Studies in Political Economy*, 1999, vol. 59, p. 149-172.
43. Centretown Citizens Ottawa Corporation has won numerous awards, nationally, provincially, and municipally for innovative design and governance, including, in 2004, the City of Ottawa's Award of Merit for infill design, the Ontario Architectural Association's award of excellence, and an outstanding leadership award granted to their long-standing executive director by the Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association (CENTRETOWN CITIZENS OTTAWA CORPORATION, *About Us*, 2010, <http://www.ccohousing.org/about>).
44. Tom CARTER and Chesya POLEVYCHOK, *Housing is Good Social Policy*, op. cit.
45. David SIEGAL, "Ontario", loc. cit.
46. Fran KLODAWSKY, "Landscapes on the Margins: Gender and Homelessness in Canada", *Gender Place and Culture*, 2006, vol. 13, 4, p.365-381.
47. Diana RALPH, André RÉGIMBALD and Nérée ST-ARMAND, *Open for Business/Closed for People: Mike Harris's Ontario*, Halifax, Fernwood, 1997.
48. Richard MARQUARDT, "The Progressive Potential of Local Social Policy Activism", *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 2007/8, vol. 60/61, p. 21-38.
49. Josh GREENBERG, Tim MAY and Charlene ELLIOTT, "Homelessness and Media Activism in the Voluntary Sector: A Case Study", *The Philanthropist*, 2005, vol. 20, 2, p. 131-152.
50. HOMELESSNESS COMMUNITY CAPACITY BUILDING STEERING COMMITTEE, *Community Action Plan on Homelessness, 2009-2014*, 2008, http://www.ottawa.ca/residents/housing/homelessness/ending_homelessness/ending_homelessness_en.pdf, p. 3.
51. *Id.*
52. ALLIANCE TO END HOMELESSNESS, *About our coalition*, <http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/alliance/index.cfm>, 2010.
53. *Id.*
54. ALLIANCE TO END HOMELESSNESS, *Report Card on Ending Homelessness in Ottawa*, Jan-Dec 2009, http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/ALLIANCE_TO_END_HOMELESSNESS_Report_Card_on_Ending_Homelessness_in_Ottawa, Jan-Dec 2010, <http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/index.cfm>, p. 1.
55. Despite widespread perceptions to the contrary, those deemed to be chronically homeless typically make up a small minority – approximately 15% – of those who use emergency shelters because they have no access to permanent accommodation (Fran KLODAWSKY, "Home Spaces and Rights to the City: Thinking Social Justice for Chronically Homeless Women", *Urban Geography*, 2009, vol. 30, 6, p. 591-610).
56. Beth MOORE MILROY, "Toronto's Legal Challenge to Amalgamation", loc. cit., p. 157.
57. *Id.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
59. HOMELESSNESS COMMUNITY CAPACITY BUILDING STEERING COMMITTEE, *Action Plan on Homelessness, 2009-2014*, op. cit., p. 8.
60. ALLIANCE TO END HOMELESSNESS, *Report Card on Ending Homelessness in Ottawa, Jan-Dec 2006*, <http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/>, <http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/index.cfm>,
61. ALLIANCE TO END HOMELESSNESS, *Report Card on Ending Homelessness in Ottawa*, Jan-Dec 2010, op. cit., p. 1.
62. *Id.*
63. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
64. ALLIANCE TO END HOMELESSNESS, *2009 Community Research Forum on Homelessness*, 2009, <http://www.endhomelessnessottawa.ca/events/eventsalliance2009CommunityForum.cfm>.
65. Roger KEIL, "'Common-Sense' Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto, Canada", loc. cit., p. 583.
66. Mark PURCELL, *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, op. cit., p. 93. See also Jill WIGLE, "Shelter, Location and Livelihoods: Exploring the Linkages in Mexico City", loc. cit.
67. CANADIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BBOT 2010 Policy Resolution, 2010, http://www.bbot.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=392; ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, *Educate Empower Act*, 2010, <http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/resources/annual-reports/0910>.
68. Stephen GAETZ, "Editorial: The Struggle to End Homelessness in Canada: How We Created the Crisis, and How We Can End it", *The Open Health Services and Policy Journal*, 2010, vol. 3, p. 21-26.



Sébastien Sindeu, Cambodge, *Phnom Pen, au bord du Mekong pendant la fête de l'eau*, 2009.

Troisième partie
**Construire un imaginaire partagé et aller
au delà de la planification rationnelle dominante**

Part Three
**Building a shared imaginary and moving
beyond mainstream rational planning**

To inhabit well: counter-hegemonic movements and the right to the city

Mark Purcell

Introduction

This paper is situated within an ongoing intellectual and political project to imagine and bring about alternative urban futures. The paper's central focus is how we might construct counter-hegemonic coalitional movements capable of realizing such alternatives. Of course there are multiple ways to imagine urban alternatives and there are multiple movements working to bring them into being. Movements to resist police racism and brutality imagine a racially just alternative. Movements to resist neoliberalization imagine a non-capitalist alternative. Movements to resist discrimination and violence against gay men and lesbians imagine a non-homophobic alternative, etc. This paper explores how it might be possible for such movements to construct together a broad (though not total) agreement about the urban future around which they can act in concert to resist various forms of domination and inequality and realize another, more communal urban future.

Building such broad coalitions is not easy and requires much thinking through. The paper contributes to that project by developing a particular way to imagine relations among many different oppositional urban movements, a concept I call networks of equivalence. Equivalence, as I discuss below, is a simultaneous relation of interdependence and autonomy. Networks of equivalence are broad counter-hegemonic alliances in which each group acts in concert with others but remains autonomous from them as well. Such alliances are counter-hegemonic in that they aim to dismantle existing hegemonies and construct instead a counter-hegemonic understanding of what the city is for. That understanding is not taken to be unitary and eternal. The specific counter-hegemonic understanding a given network of equivalence constructs must be developed collectively by the network, in their particular context. They must work out together what their counter-hegemonic vision consists of, what for them constitutes a good city. At the same time, I think it is both possible and useful to propose certain organizing ideas, what we might think of as political starting points, from which networks of equivalence can begin to build their agenda together. The main argument of this paper

is that the concept of a right to the city can be an effective starting point from which to construct relations of equivalence. A right to the city should never be assumed to be a fully formed agenda that networks merely adopt; it should be seen rather as a general value movements can begin with, one they can use to initiate their discussions and struggles over what their counter-hegemony entails, over what they desire the city to be.

Method

The paper is primarily made up of a theoretical argument, but that argument has been developed in dialogue with the political practice of actual movements. I have constructed the argument through what I call a directed engagement with particular theorists. By that I mean my examination of the theory is directed toward the goal of imagining political movements in a way that is useful for specific movements I have in mind. The analysis in this paper, of the relationship between networks of equivalence and the right to the city, is drawn from a directed engagement with the work of Laclau and Mouffe¹, Mouffe², Laclau³, Gramsci⁴, Foucault⁵, Deleuze and Guattari⁶, and Lefebvre⁷. The primary movements that guide that engagement are the Duwamish River Cleanup Coalition, an alliance of civil-society groups struggling to increase popular power over a complex, multi-year Superfund cleanup of Seattle's main river, and the Right to the City Alliance, a coalition of diverse urban movements across the US that is trying to build a coordinated struggle against displacement, gentrification, racial and sexual discrimination, and environmental degradation.

So the arguments this paper presents are essentially a moment in a wider dialogue between theory and practice. The concrete cases frame and guide, to an extent, my analysis of the theory. I intend for the theoretical arguments that result from that analysis to offer useful ideas for informing and rethinking political practice. This renewed political practice can then guide a rethinking of theory, and so on. These projects, my theoretical one and the concrete political projects of the movements, are certainly interrelated in the sense that they have an influence on each other. However, they are also autonomous from each other. This is not a method of participant observation where the role of scholar and activist are isomorphic. My theoretical work is not guided only (or even primarily) by the experiences of the movements, nor is its purpose only (or even primarily) to support their particular struggles. The opposite is even more true, of course: their work is not guided primarily by my theoretical arguments. I therefore understand my project and their projects to be autonomous from each other but engaged in relations of mutual support.

Networks of equivalence

The paper argues that networks of equivalence are a particularly fruitful way to imagine political movements in the contemporary era. To define them succinctly, networks of equivalence are counter-hegemonic combinations of differentiated but equivalent popular struggles. They seek to establish simultaneous relations of interdependence and autonomy. As such, networks of equivalence are an attempt to grapple with a long-standing dilemma in left political theory, one most of us probably think we have moved beyond, but that nevertheless keeps stubbornly reappearing. It is the tension between the extremes of 1) reductionism, associated mostly with some forms of Marxism, that tends to reduce political subjectivity to class, but that, as a result, can produce quite cohesive and unified movements, and 2) a kind of postmodernism that celebrates fragmented local movements that are not subject to any kind of overall cohesion and direction, a condition many see in the work of people like Baudrillard, Foucault, or Deleuze and Guattari, among others. Reductionism tends to be associated with an essentialist view of identity, historical determinism, a totalizing view of society, and a normative imagination of social movements as homogenous and disciplined. Postmodernism is associated with a constructivist view of identity, an insistence on the autonomy of “local movements”, the valorization of difference, and an acceptance of heterogeneity in the social field. These two positions are at the same time both ideal and real. Formally, I am bound to declare these two positions ideal points at the end of a continuum, to argue that most theorists fall somewhere in between these non-existent ideals. At the same time, at least some of the principles that these ideals contain are regularly encountered in actual debates about political theory and practice. Most of us can think of an actual person who hews more or less fully to one or the other side of this continuum. So while I must formally define these positions as ideals, I think they are also, at times, real positions held by real participants in these debates.

So one way to face this dilemma is to choose a horn, either by retreating into a reinvigorated reductionism that expunges difference, or succumbing to a nihilistic acceptance of fragmentation that does not seek broader political change. However, if we want to work on the problem, to respond productively to the challenge, we need other options. We need a way to confront the challenge that remains: how to combine local struggles into something larger without reducing each struggle to a homogenous unity. I think the question of how to do this well is a question that preoccupies much of the debates in contemporary political theory, and it is one that is not at all easy to answer.

In my view, there are at least two approaches that offer particular promise for effectively confronting this challenge: contemporary anarchism and radical pluralism. Contemporary anarchist movements, inspired greatly by the work of Deleuze and Guattari and their heirs in the Italian autonomist movement, are actively working on how we might build a global movement for another world while at the same time respecting the autonomous agency of each local struggle. Radical pluralism, as I develop below, is similarly concerned to imagine how we might build wider networks without reducing multiple groups to a single whole. Where the two approaches diverge, I think, is on the question of hegemony: anarchists (for the most part) want a non-hegemonic politics while radical pluralists embrace the hegemonic struggle. In this paper, I will explore only the radical pluralist approach. In doing so I do not mean to argue it is superior to anarchism. The ongoing debate between the relative merits of non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic politics is lively, meaningful, and one I engage elsewhere. In this paper I do not try to resolve the debate, I merely bracket it. My argument is that within the ambit of a counter-hegemonic politics inspired by radical pluralism, the right to the city can be a productive way to begin to construct networks of equivalence that can advance counter-hegemonic urban futures⁸.

Radical pluralism

In an approach they call radical pluralism, Laclau and Mouffe⁹ develop an ontology and politics that help address the tension between multiplicity and unity. They begin with the ontological assertion that society cannot be integrated into a seamless whole; that the variegated field of social relations cannot be “sutured”, in Lacan’s term, into a single “society”. Instead, the social field remains necessarily differentiated. Laclau and Mouffe affirm, in a stance that goes back at least to Rousseau’s *Second Discourse*, that difference is prior to sameness, that the appearance of unity is always constructed out of an original condition of difference. As a result, they reject the opposite idea, the Enlightenment idea that there exist transcendental realities that underlie and unify a world of perceived difference. Although they do not reference them directly, they are actually quite close to Deleuze and Guattari on this point. In *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari urge us to “no longer believe in the myth of the existence of fragments that, like pieces of an antique statue, are merely waiting for the last one to be turned up, so that they may all be glued back together to create a unity that is precisely the same as the original unity. We no longer believe in a primordial totality that once existed, or in a final totality that awaits us at some future date¹⁰”.

Laclau and Mouffe argue that this social difference is not merely trivial, but always contains the potential for meaningful political content. That is, the relations among different parts of society are always liable to develop some measure of antagonism in which the values, desires, or interests of the different parts conflict. There are always also cooperative relations in society, to be sure, but for Laclau and Mouffe it is never possible to eradicate conflict and antagonism. They are always part of the social field, always working to define a difference as an antagonism. For radical pluralism, in short, difference is irreducible, and so antagonism is always liable to emerge.

However, for Laclau and Mouffe irreducible difference does not mean there is no role in politics for *claims* of totality, unity, or universality (Laclau is especially interested in this question¹¹). Claims of “one nation, under God” or universal human rights are common practice in politics. But radical pluralism’s ontology of irreducible difference allows us to understand such claims as *claims*, not as true statements about the world. It allows us to understand arguments about unity as political projects, as attempts to impose a construction of unity on the real ground of difference, or a construction of agreement on the real ground of disagreement¹². These political projects are understood by Laclau and Mouffe in a distinctly Gramscian way. That is, for them, claims about unity are attempts by particular groups to establish hegemony over the broader society¹³. For Gramsci, establishing a wider hegemony in society was necessarily a process of making alliances. He argued that no one group, not even the bourgeoisie or proletariat, could assert control over society on its own¹⁴. Rather, any particular group must form alliances with other groups. It must, in his words, “widen itself out” beyond its narrow self-interest, to incorporate an ever-wider portion of society under its leadership¹⁵. It must progressively “propagat[e] itself throughout society”, broadening its political identity to incorporate the perspective and interests of other groups¹⁶. That incorporation and broadening out is essential to forming what Gramsci calls a “hegemonic bloc” of allied groups that rules the wider society through a combination of coercion and consent.

But for Gramsci, alliances in hegemonic blocs are not reductive; they do not involve one group merely absorbing another into its political program. The way he imagines a proletarian hegemony, for example, does not involve workers dissolving other elements of society (peasants, artisans, petty bourgeois, soldiers) into a proletarian whole. Rather he urges that the interests of other groups be “welded” to those of the working class, an image Gramsci uses often. The implication is that each element is not absorbed into a unified whole but remains distinct. Nevertheless, each is also firmly connected to the others, and through that

connection the many parts form a new whole. Gramsci’s phrasing is that “two ‘similar’ forces” can be “welded into a new organism [...] binding them to each other as allies”¹⁷ and “a multiplicity of dispersed wills, with heterogeneous aims, are welded together with a single aim, on the basis of an equal and common conception of the world”¹⁸.

Laclau and Mouffe take up this idea of “welding” together disparate interests and push it a bit farther, developing what they call a process of “articulation”. Gramsci’s welding metaphor implies that each group is self-contained and integral, that it is not much altered by linking up with others. Laclau and Mouffe’s idea of articulation stresses that each social group is not a self-contained unit that remains the same as it joins with others or separates from them. Rather, for Laclau and Mouffe the process of coming together to form a specifically *hegemonic* force involves each group being partly transformed. Each is transformed because it increasingly takes on board elements of the agenda and identity of other groups, and it comes to partly adopt the interests of others as its own. However, that does not mean that each group dissolves into a homogenous unity. Rather, each group also remains distinct and partly autonomous even as it is remade by the process of coming together. Despite his welding metaphor, Gramsci agrees that each group is partly remade in joining with others. For him the key example is the northern Italian industrial proletariat joining with the southern peasantry. He argues that the workers cannot merely add the peasantry as a strategic and temporary ally, as a reluctant partner that will help them realize proletarian goals. He argues instead that the concept of “hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed – in other words, that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind”¹⁹.

He is saying that the workers must adopt, to an extent, the identity and agenda of the peasants; they must decide to see the peasants’ struggle as different from, and yet also embedded in, their own. In doing so workers must make some sacrifices of their narrow self-interest (what Gramsci calls “economic-corporate” interests in the quote) to incorporate the interests of peasants. The peasants must reciprocate, as must all groups who join the hegemonic formation. Their joining produces a new linked bloc, with an agenda distinctly different from the agenda of any one of the groups, a broader counter-hegemonic agenda that seeks a transformation of existing society. Politics, in this radical pluralist imagination, is a constantly developing process of groups combining, un-combining, and recombining, being partly remade in that process, and struggling together to both undermine the existing order and establish an alternative one.

My concept of network of equivalence is rooted in this idea of politics. It assumes that in the social field, a range of different political movements are simultaneously engaged in “widening themselves out” by entering into political common cause with other groups in society²⁰. None is self-contained and autonomous; each is partly transformed by coming together with others. But that transformation is not total: each also retains a measure of autonomy that prevents them from being reduced to a homogenous larger group. This process of partial transformation involves each group taking on board, in effect, the interests of the other groups. The goal of such combination is radical political change that destabilizes the current political hegemony and constructs a new counter-hegemony. In order to give specific content to that counter-hegemony, to develop the wider agenda of the coalition, the groups must work together to forge a shared vision, a vision that allows each to understand their co-operative project in a similar way. They do not form a collective, unitary body with a single will; nor do they form an association of entirely autonomous groups with equally many wills. Rather the will of each resonates or harmonizes with the others around an organizing vision, and that vision is the core of their co-operative, counter-hegemonic political project. That vision is not something pre-existing that must be discovered. Rather it must be actively and intentionally *forged* by members of the coalition as they struggle and negotiate with each other on an equal footing.

We could summarize this way to imagine political mobilization by saying that each group engages all the others in what I call relations of equivalence: through conscious action, their wills become articulated with each other such that they become simultaneously the same and different, they become dependent on and autonomous from each other, unified and yet distinct, obligated and free.

Right to the City

For contemporary urban movements to forge relations of equivalence and to build up a shared vision for their counter-hegemonic project, I argue that the concept of a right to the city can be an effective place to begin. It is only ever a place to begin, because groups must forge their shared vision together through actual discussion and struggle. But at the same time this intentional process can start from some ground, some set of ideas that others have built up in other intellectual and political contexts. I contend that the tradition of scholarship and activism around the right to the city is particularly well suited to play this role.

The right to the city concept bears some exposition, since it is often invoked but rarely explained in the burgeoning discourse surrounding it. It is important not to assume that its

meaning is self-evident. For my part, when thinking about the right to the city, I tend to start with Henri Lefebvre²¹. However, in doing so I do not mean to argue that his right to the city is more true or foundational than other interpretations, or that we can't move beyond Lefebvre. It is helpful to start with Lefebvre, but we don't need to always finish with him. In 1968, Lefebvre argued that “the *right to the city* is like a cry and a demand. [...] It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life*”²². Lefebvre's idea of a “cry and a demand” is clearly an inspirational call, an evocation of activist crowds in the streets. He wrote about the right to the city shortly before the actions in Paris in 1968, and so the image and *ethos* of large popular demonstrations is fundamental to his way of understanding the idea.

However, we can also read this formulation as a particular way to understand the notion of rights. Drawing on Lefebvre's formulation, we can understand rights as “conjoint claims”²³ made throughout history by mobilized groups. These are demands made by part of society on other parts, or on the whole. This concept is of course different from the idea of rights as individual freedoms codified in the legal codes of the liberal-democratic state. It is, in a sense, a way of “rediscovering the blood that has dried in the codes,” as Foucault says²⁴, a way to put the emphasis on the often bloody struggle that gave rise to a legal right, rather than perceive only the outcome of legal codification. Of course understanding rights as conjoint claims does not mean we have to reject the possibility of legal codification. It is to say instead that rights should be conceived first and foremost as conjoint claims. The right to the city *must always* be a conjoint claim, because that is its necessary animating force. It can also be codified in law, if mobilized groups decide that is a desirable strategy in their particular context (e.g. in Brazil²⁵).

If we see it as a conjoint claim, the right to the city appears as something in historical motion, as something that is continually being remade as new groups initiate new claims in new contexts. But those new claims are always made against the background of those who have come before; new claims never totally remake the right to the city. They always respond to, resist, or redefine existing habits of thought about the concept. The right to the city is therefore only ever partly remade, since it always contains meaning that has been sedimented over the course of a long history of cries and demands.

Lefebvre's phrase for that sedimented meaning, his articulation of the specific content of the right to the city, is “a transformed and renewed right to urban life”. Let me use that phrase to start constructing my own characterization of the content of the right to the city. Lefebvre was greatly concerned with the act of inhabiting the city. He argues that inhabiting is ground

from which the right to the city must be claimed. For Lefebvre, it is “those who inhabit” the city, its users, who must carry forward any claim to a right to the city²⁶. Here he is making a distinction between those who inhabit or use urban space and those who own it. He wants to undermine the dominant understanding of urban space, as owned property whose value is determined by what it can be exchanged for in the market. Instead, Lefebvre develops an understanding of urban space as the collective product of its users, as an “œuvre” produced by the everyday acts of urban inhabitants²⁷. As they work at their jobs, share a break together on the sidewalk, shepherd their children to the park, look for a place to get out of the rain, wait for the bus, sit outside at the café, stand in line for the shelter to open, and move about the city, walking, riding, or driving, inhabitants are carrying out daily acts of survival. They are actively and collectively *inhabiting* the city. In order to inhabit *well* – to realize a full and dignified urban life – the city must make available to them what they need. Claiming a right to the city is claiming a right to inhabit well, to have reasonable access to the things one needs to live a dignified life. For users, the city is a creative and co-operative human project, one that thrives on interaction and affective relations. The right to the city is thus also a right to meaningful interaction among users, the right to make connections, undertake co-operative projects, and build solidarity with fellow inhabitants. For owners, on the other hand, urban space is a commodity to be owned, by those with property rights. Its purpose is either to be valorized in its own right, or to serve as a platform on which accumulation can occur. The right to the city is thus a counter-claim against the dominant idea of a commodified urban space.

So we can rearticulate Lefebvre’s idea of a “right to urban life” as a conjoint claim to a “right to inhabit urban space well”. A claim to inhabit urban space well is an integrative claim, one that necessarily brings together multiple aspects of urban life. Just to take a few concrete aspects, inhabiting well would necessitate affordable, comfortable shelter; meaningful work at good wages; convenient movement around the urban environment; stimulating recreational spaces for children; public spaces for users to gather, interact, and demonstrate; ecologically sustainable urban development; physical safety, especially for women and gay men and lesbians; and affordable, high-quality food, child care, education, and health care. None of these necessities is more significant than the others, each is bound up with the others into the complex geography of a city that actively fosters inhabitance.

That integrative character of a claim to inhabit well can help draw together diverse mobilized groups in the city. Contemporary cities are home to a wide range of activism and mobilization, but frequently that mobilization is sectorial: movements for housing operate

independently from those for good jobs, for better transportation, for ecological sustainability, or against racial injustice. An integrative claim to inhabit well can be a basis on which activists in those various sectors can come to see themselves as *interdependent*. Each group might see itself as struggling for only one aspect of what is required to inhabit the city well. A good job is essential to inhabiting well, but it is by itself quite inadequate without affordable housing, child care, and transportation (just to name a few) that make up the complex fabric of a whole urban life. As a result of this more integrative understanding, different struggles might choose to build links to coordinate action, to build co-operative relationships for acting together in concert to claim a right to inhabit well.

However, even though this conjoint claim to inhabit well urges different movements into co-operation, it also, at the same time, insists on the autonomy of each. That autonomy stems from the radically equal relations among the movements. None of the aspects of urban life above is any more fundamental to inhabitance than any of the others²⁸. Housing, jobs, transportation, meaningful interaction, freedom from violence, etc., all are equally necessary to inhabiting well. As a result, with respect to inhabitance different urban movements encounter each other on an equal footing. The particular concerns of each movement are entirely indispensable to any movement for inhabiting well. That equality implies autonomy, because each group is integral to the co-operative end. No group can be subsumed into another, none is subordinate to, or subsidiary, or derivative of another. Each thus retains a distinct measure of self-determination even as they enter into interdependence with the others.

Moreover, even as the right to inhabit implies common cause among different movements, it also underlines their irreducible difference. Even if all groups inhabit the city, they don’t inhabit the city in the same way. For example, even though both women and men inhabit, the question of physical safety in urban space is very different for each. Public space has a different importance for those without secure shelter than for those who have it. Ecological restoration has a different meaning for middle class white environmentalists than for native tribes who have been decimated by the appropriation and degradation of their territory by whites. As a result, even if inhabitants construct themselves as sharing a position as inhabitants, the particular way each group understands what it means to be an inhabitant who inhabits well can never be reduced to identicalness: their conceptions are only ever *equiv- alent*, always simultaneously the same and different, always both interdependent and autonomous.

To reiterate, I don’t present this way of conceiving the right to the city as a finished agenda for movements to adopt. Rather, I propose it as a useful starting point from which groups

can construct together relations of equivalence in their particular context. Moreover, this process of constructing equivalence is never finished. It must be continually renewed and reworked as each group is transformed in the context of their particular struggle, and in the context of their struggles alongside others for a right to the city. It is worth stating clearly that constructing equivalence is not easy. It is more common for coalitions to be either too fragmented or too unified. Either coalition members remain aloof from each other and the coalition is too loose to act effectively, or fearing disorganization they become too unified, so that one particular issue or group dominates the coalition and the rest capitulate or drop out. Relations of equivalence are rare. They are a knife's edge that is tricky to walk and requires constant effort and vigilance. But they are not valuable because they are common. They are valuable because they are a way to imagine the possible. As Lefebvre²⁹ argued, imagining the possible not only helps us break out of the actual, out of the limits of what currently exists, it also renders us better able to see the kernels of the possible that already exist in everyday activism. Equivalence might be rare, but it often emerges, even if only in fleeting ways, in actual movements. Inchoate relations of equivalence manifest themselves, but only partly, or they emerge and they dissipate quickly. If we carefully articulate equivalence, if we practice imagining what it looks and feels like, we will learn to better recognize it when we encounter it. If we can recognize it better, we will be better at cultivating it, and we can give it space to flourish.

On the ground

We also learn to better see equivalence by examining concrete manifestations. This section therefore presents two brief empirical cases. They are by no means fully realized examples of an ideal equivalence. Rather they are political projects in which one can observe equivalence operating in varying intensities in order to more fully grasp what relations of equivalence might mean.

The first is the case of the Duwamish River Cleanup Coalition. In 2001, a five-mile stretch of Seattle's main river, the Duwamish, was declared a Superfund site by the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). As is common in Superfund procedure, those responsible for the pollution (called "potentially responsible parties", or PRPs) were required to study and carry out the cleanup. Generally the PRPs work closely with the EPA to conduct the cleanup. In some cases, there is meaningful input from the public, in other cases there is not. In this case, a well-organized coalition of civil-society groups, called the Duwamish River Cleanup Coalition

(DRCC), has been able to effectively articulate a popular voice in decisions about the cleanup³⁰. The coalition is quite diverse. It is made up of white, middle-class environmental groups, a Native American tribe, small business groups, low-income neighborhood organizations, and an environmental justice coalition. While there is some synergy among the various interests and agendas of these groups, there is also significant divergence. Nevertheless, the DRCC has been successful in building a cohesive coalition that can act effectively in concert. Although they have not explicitly used the concept of the right to the city, they have constructed a shared vision around *the river* as an inhabited place. Against the PRPs, who imagine the Duwamish primarily as a *waterway*, as a transport channel functional for the economy, the DRCC insists instead that the Duwamish is a river: it is a riverine ecosystem that supports many different kinds of inhabitants, both human and non-human. In their activism surrounding the cleanup, they articulate a similar imagination of what the Duwamish can and should be.

This point of convergence around the river, however, does not mean that the various members have an *identical* sense of their agenda. The DRCC shares an emphasis on an inhabited river, but different members have different ways to understand what it means to inhabit the Duwamish. Residents of neighborhoods along the river are concerned about the health risks of PCBs in their front yards. Middle-class environmentalists are concerned about how poisons will affect salmon migration. The tribe wants to restore particular landscapes as a way to begin reparations for colonization. Small businesses are concerned how the actual cleanup will interrupt their operations. As a consequence of these differences, none of these groups is reducible to any other; they remain distinct in significant ways. However, at the same time they have consciously chosen to understand themselves as committed together to a cleanup that results in a healthy river, a cleanup whose goal is a sustaining and sustainable ecology in which inhabitants can flourish. Negatively, they share an aversion to the spatial imagination of the PRPs, to thinking about the Duwamish as a waterway whose primary function is to ensure economic accumulation.

So in important ways, the DRCC has been able to build relations in which they are both the same and different, both interdependent and autonomous. They have done this by articulating a shared sense of the importance of a lived space, of an inhabited ecology. They do not articulate these relations explicitly in terms of equivalence or inhabitance, and they don't refer to Lefebvre or the right to the city. But their project resonates, I think, with the relations of equivalence I am advocating. They have had significant success building a coordinated coalition of differentiated popular groups that remain distinct and yet can act in concert.

A similar case can be seen in South Florida, where a group called the Miami Workers Center has been organizing to build and maintain an alliance of labor, environmental, and African-American community groups in the region. More so than in the Seattle case, here there is a more conscious attempt to achieve relations similar to equivalence. Gihan Perera, the Executive Director of the Center, echoes Gramsci when he argues that members of a coalition must take on board the agenda of their partners, changing their basic political consciousness in the process: "To build this environmental/labor/community coalition, there is a low road and a high road. The low road is: labor wants jobs; the environmentalists want green buildings; the community wants houses. Traditional organizing theory is, 'Just match up those self-interests and there you've got your coalition.' But I feel like we are at the end of being able to operate at that low level of self-interest because if we don't *adopt each other on a higher plane*, the coalition is going to be limited to that self interest. So, for example, if the environmentalists are happy that they are building green houses but don't understand the importance of supporting the African American community's political power, it will not be a solid coalition. Once that project is over, if the threat to the African American community still continues, those concerned about environmental issues may not be there with support. So our job is to keep the conversation going. Yes, you're here for green buildings, but you also have to be doing this to actually build the power of a black community... That has to be *central to their consciousness as environmentalists*"³¹.

Perera's "high road" overlaps considerably with the relations of equivalence that I am advocating. For him allied groups must "adopt each other on a higher plane," each group must move beyond narrow self-interest and be partly transformed by joining with others. In this case, environmentalists must understand African-American empowerment as central to the agenda of environmentalism, just as African-American activists must understand green houses as central to African-American empowerment. Like the DRCC, the Miami Workers Center is its own autonomous project. I don't want to suggest they are merely a concrete example of the general idea of relations of equivalence. Rather, I argue that their organizing work resonates with my arguments about equivalence. Each can help illuminate and inspire the other, and the Miami case can serve as a model on which groups who want to pursue equivalence can build.

Perera doesn't mention the right to the city or inhabitation in the quote above. However, he has been involved with other activists in a more explicit attempt to pursue a right to the city through a national alliance of community-based organizations called the Right to the City Alliance. In January of 2007, a range of groups from several cities across the United

States, pursuing many different kinds of urban struggles, came together to consciously explore if they felt the right to the city could be what they called an effective "frame" to link together their diverse struggles into a "national movement for the right to the city"³². In the run up to the conference, activists read some of the research on the concept and invited academics to participate in the meetings. The activists were involved in many different issues: gentrification, gay and lesbian youth, juvenile justice, homelessness, racial justice, and historic preservation. But over the course of their two days of discussions, they saw value in seeing their many struggles as "common urban struggles"³³. Their struggles were about race, housing, sexuality, youth, but they were also, they decided, about urban space, about who controls it, about who has a right to inhabit it. They concluded the right to the city has enough potential as a frame that they should move forward with the project. The Alliance went on to meet again at the US Social Forum in Atlanta in June, 2007, and carried out its first national mobilization, called a "March on the Mayors" in June, 2008. It is too early to know what political and policy impact the alliance will have, or what kind of longevity it can achieve. But it seems clear the right to the city idea can at least be an effective starting point for building a broad, and even national, coalitional movement.

Conclusion

It is worth saying again that equivalence is not easy. Balancing sameness and difference, interdependence and autonomy, truly "adopting each other on a higher plane", requires incredible imagination, effort, faith, and trust. But it can be done. It is already being done. In many different places around the world, remarkable new movements are relentlessly inventing new ideas and practices of combination, and they are having tangible success. And many of their strategies resonate productively with past and current theoretical work, of which the relations of equivalence I advocate are only one example. I think a continued and substantive dialogue between theory and practice can and must continue. There is great hope and inspiration to be found in *both* arenas: in the annals of political theory, and in the concrete practices of existing movements. In that respect it is worth highlighting the academic-activist relationship during the first meeting of the Right to the City Alliance in Los Angeles. They took each other seriously. The organizers were very sincere about engaging and learning from academic research and theory, and the academics valued the work and wisdom of the organizers. That relationship has continued, especially among right-to-the-city activists and academics in New York.

I think that positive experience points to a promising way forward for the right to the city. It must be tinkered with, critically questioned, developed, and promoted both in theory and in practice. We must build a body of claims inductively, by means of actual movements making such claims, as in the United States, and in Brazil, in France, in Turkey, etc. But there is an important role for scholarship and research as well, for work that draws together, reflects on, and critically questions existing practices, and reads them against a body of theoretical wisdom, of which Henri Lefebvre is only one example. Of course, we advocate that kind of praxis frequently, but it is less common to actually do it. We must therefore consciously construct encounters between practice and reflection, and those encounters need to be a genuine dialogue, where scholarship is listening seriously to the lessons that have been learned on the ground, and practice takes seriously the new ideas being produced through research and reflection.

1. Ernesto LACLAU and Chantal MOUFFE, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London, Verso, 1985; Ernesto LACLAU and Chantal MOUFFE, "Preface" in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, New York, Verso, 2000, 2nd ed., p. vii-xix.
2. Chantal MOUFFE, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in Chantal MOUFFE (ed), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 168-204; Chantal MOUFFE, *The Return of the Political*, London, Verso, 1993; Chantal MOUFFE, *On the Political*, New York, Routledge, 2005.
3. Ernesto LACLAU, "Identity and Hegemony: the Role of Universality in the Constitution of Political Logics" in Judith BUTLER, Ernesto LACLAU and Slavoj ZIZEK (eds), *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*, New York, Verso, 2000, p. 44-89.

4. Antonio GRAMSCI, *Selections from the prison notebooks* (1947), transl. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York, International Publishers, 1971; Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, edited by David Forgacs, New York, NYU Press, 2000.
5. Michel FOUCAULT, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (1975), transl. Alan Sheridan, New York, Vintage, 1979; Michel FOUCAULT, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Collection edited by Colin Gordon, New York, Pantheon, 1980; Michel FOUCAULT, *The History of Sexuality: an Introduction* (1976), transl. Robert Hurley, New York, Vintage, 1990.
6. Gilles DELEUZE and Félix GUATTARI, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972), transl. Robert

- Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane, New York, Penguin, 1977; Gilles DELEUZE and Félix GUATTARI, *A thousand plateaus* (1980), transl. Brian Massumi, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
7. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Le Droit à la ville*, Paris, Anthropos, 1968 ; Henri LEFEBVRE, *Espace et politique*, Paris, Anthropos, 1973 ; Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, transl. and ed. Eleonore Kofman and Elisabeth Lebas, Cambridge, MA, Blackwell, 1996; Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Urban Revolution* (1970), transl. R. Bononno, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
8. I think also that the right to the city can be useful for establishing equivalence in an anarchist context, but defending that claim is beyond the scope of this paper.
9. Ernesto LACLAU and Chantal MOUFFE, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, op. cit.
10. Gilles DELEUZE and Félix GUATTARI, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, op. cit., p. 42.
11. E.g. Ernesto LACLAU, "Identity and Hegemony: the Role of Universality in the Constitution of Political Logics", loc. cit.
12. Jacques RANCIERE, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (1995), transl. Julie Rose, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
13. Ernesto LACLAU and Chantal MOUFFE, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, op. cit.
14. That claim might sound self-evident to us, but Gramsci was engaged in a real debate with a determinist Marxist position (e.g. Karl Kautsky), which held that the progress of capitalism would eventually proletarianize such a large majority of society that workers would not need allies to achieve a proletarian revolution (Antonio GRAMSCI, *Selections from the prison notebooks*, op. cit., p. 52-120).
15. Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, op. cit., p. 382.
16. Antonio GRAMSCI, *Selections from the prison notebooks*, op. cit., p. 181.

17. Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, op. cit., p. 220.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
19. Antonio GRAMSCI, *Selections from the prison notebooks*, op. cit., p. 161.
20. Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, op. cit., p. 382.
21. Mark PURCELL, "Excavating Lefebvre: the Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal*, 2002, vol. 58 (issue 2-3), p. 99-108; Mark PURCELL, *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, New York, Routledge, 2008.
22. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, op. cit., p. 158.
23. I use this unwieldy phrase instead of the more familiar "collective claims", because I want to remain vigilant in imagining the mobilized entity, the claimant of rights, as multiple bodies joined together (conjoint), rather than as a single, unified body (collective).
24. Michel FOUCAULT, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976* (1997), transl. David Macy, New York, Picador, 2003, p. 56.
25. Edèso FERNANDES, "Updating the Declaration of the Rights of Citizens in Latin America: Constructing the 'Right to the City' in Brazil" in UNESCO, UN-HABITAT and ISSC, *International Public Debates: Urban Policies and the Right to the City*, Paris, UNESCO, 2006, p. 40-53.
26. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, op. cit., p. 158.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
28. This assertion is meant to be an emphatic rejection of any remaining claims by Marxists about one group's struggle being more fundamental than that of any other. Even in Gramsci, who fought against the economic determinism of so many Marxists of his time, one can find the idea that the proletariat will have to be the *leading* element of a counter-hegemonic coalition because of its special position in the relations of production (Antonio GRAMSCI, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, op. cit., p. 211-212).

29. Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Urban Revolution*, *op. cit.*
30. That influence is quite limited in that they only have advisory power, but relative to other Superfund processes, the DRCC has had significant impact on decisions about the cleanup.
31. Cagampang HELLER and Ghan PERERA, *The Right to the City: Reclaiming our Urban Centers, Reframing*

- Human Rights, and Redefining Citizenship*, San Francisco, Tides Foundation, 2007, p. 24-25 (emphasis added).
32. RIGHT TO THE CITY ALLIANCE, *Right to the City: Notes from the Inaugural Convening*, Los Angeles, Strategic Actions for a Just Economy, 2007
33. *Id.*

Planning through the lens of everyday life: from local to global

Jacqueline Leavitt and Ayse Yonder

Under neoliberalism, as cities have become even more central for finance capital and real estate interests, there has been increasing investment in urban infrastructure, monumental projects, and large scale luxury developments. It is not only the large cities that compete for labels as “world cities” to become financial control and convention tourism centers, but also small cities are mimicking such policies. The global developmental drive creates renewed spatial patterns of inequality, segregation, and injustice in access to basic urban services in cities around the world. Cities, where a multiplicity of cultures and identities come together, are increasingly becoming sites of new claims, demands and contestation over space¹.

These trends have renewed the importance of, and created new employment opportunities for, spatial practitioners – planners, architects, urban designers – who, as Lefebvre² indicated, plan for an abstract ideal of the city that ignores the everyday life and the agency of citizens in shaping and reshaping their environment. At the same time, spatial practitioners whose ideology is rooted in visions of a city of equity are also finding their skills in demand by groups who are contesting the massive influx of investment that displaces and evicts the poor. Within this context, there has been “a reinvigoration of theoretical discussions within the discipline of planning on the role of planners”³.

The purpose of this paper is to consider an alternative framework to mainstream planning practice and education that is consciously tied to social movement building. In doing this, we build on the writings on progressive planning that have been variously called critical, advocacy, collaborative, communicative, radical, transformative, or equity planning⁴. We borrow the phrase “everyday life” from two French philosophers, Henry Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau⁵, in order to highlight the fact that people’s lives demand now the same sort of fine grained analysis and attention that comes from linkages to social movements.

We first provide a brief overview of the evolution of the planning profession in the United States, highlighting historical debates about planning’s focus at the turn of the 20th century, the 1930s, the mid-1960s, and roughly from the late 1980s to the present. At each of these points, planning education and practice have chosen particular paths, sometimes overlap-

ping, and not mutually exclusive, but mainly tied to top-down planning. We then discuss what we mean by the concept of everyday life, and explore examples from the US and different parts of the world where organized groups of people are creating new strategies based on their own knowledge and experiences, contesting the exclusionary restructuring of their cities and communities, and scaling-up by linking regionally and globally around the idea of a city based on equity. In the conclusion, we consider the implications of such initiatives rooted in an everyday life perspective for planning practice and education, and why the emerging right to the city movement has the potential to provide a framework to support such initiatives and challenge the mainstream planning paradigm⁶.

Historical debates on planning's direction: missed opportunities

Planning in the United States began as a pragmatic response to improve urban infrastructure and circulation patterns. With its roots in urban reform movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, planning's orientation in the US was dominated by engineering and architecture. The burgeoning cities demanded greater rationality in organizing utilities, infrastructure, and trips to and from workplaces. Yet the history of planning as a profession was not without tensions and opposing ideas about how to deal with the social issues that accompanied growth. Economic tensions intersecting with class, race, and gender in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – the 1930s and the Great Depression, the 1960s, and since the late-1980s – fueled such debates on how to approach urban issues.

As planning developed, those arguing for a greater understanding of daily life were influenced by the settlement house movement and the emerging field of social work, both of which believed in direct experience, especially, with the immigrant communities that were pouring into the cities. At the turn of the 20th century, the settlement house movement, reflecting a feminist and social reformist perspective, was positioned against emerging moves for professionalization in the fields of social work and public administration. The settlement house reformers argued that public service should not model itself after private enterprise as they did not see a divide between the public and the private, the home and the city, the citizens (“neighbors”) and the government⁷. Whether social work, public administration, or planning, one wing upheld the “scientific” approach with efficiency as a key measurement of success. In addition, the “good government” contingent, also known as “*googlies*”, were determined to rid government of corrupt politicians. Even though the settlement house workers, too, wanted to get rid of corrupt machine politicians, Jane Addams, a critical pragmatist,⁸

criticized the detachment of government reformers for being preoccupied with efficiency in administration, “rather than with the ultimate purpose of securing the welfare of the people. They fix their attention so exclusively on methods that they fail to consider the final aims of government⁹”. Mary K. Simkhovich, another prominent settlement house leader (who was appointed to the first Commission of the New York City Housing Authority) argued that, unlike the reformers who worked as “some sort of a missionary, a dogmatist out to convert”, the settlement people “let the life not theory lead the way” and lived in the communities they worked in to get “the slant of the neighborhood”¹⁰. “Trustworthy, accurate knowledge came from ‘minute familiarity’; science, in fact, demanded not only alertness but also the kind of sympathy that came only from intimate knowledge of neighborhood life and thought”¹¹. Planning shunned this approach, and eventually, the settlement movement split away from planning¹².

All this time planning was being practiced and not theorized about. The emphasis on physical planning appeared early on at a two-day conference in 1909, “the first assembly of members and advocates of the emerging city planning movement in the United States” and “represented a transition from planning by laypersons and professionals in allied fields to planning by professional planners”¹³. The conference pitted the views of Benjamin Clarke Marsh against Frederick Laws Olmsted, Jr. Marsh was far more radical and tied housing congestion and health issues to “land speculation and exploitation that could only be checked by the government”¹⁴. Marsh believed that a government commission should be set up in order to determine “what is a fair profit in various lines of business”¹⁵. Olmsted outmaneuvered Marsh, effectively taking leadership over the new organization to emphasize physical planning over social welfare¹⁶.

The introduction of zoning regulations, separating noxious activities from residential areas, and segregating all industrial uses from residential, became a basic and more benign building bloc in planning and intensified this split. Whereas planning would integrate infrastructure and utilities from the onset, housing issues were reinserted into planning at a later point in the 1930s. By the mid-20th century, health issues disappeared in planning and only recently began to be integrated¹⁷.

The turn that planning took is understandable given the need for transportation systems as the growth of manufacturing and the influx of immigrants put pressure on the increasingly urbanized fabric. Equally significant to the split in planning content was the rise of a middle class that identified with planning and emphasized professionalization. Professionalization required a discipline to have a codified knowledge and areas of expertise that were consis-

tently passed on from one generation to another. Planning practitioners, including architects, landscape architects, lawyers, and engineers, whose work focused on physical aspects were the most influential in the development of the academic curriculum that took place in the earliest programs at Harvard, Columbia, and Cornell. Theory was not integrated into the early programs.

Had there been an opportunity for planning to reorient itself it might have occurred after the Great Depression and World War II drawing on key people who had experiences with national planning and welfare legislation, and who subsequently joined planning faculties. One approach for planners might have been to work with organized labor that had sponsored surveys of their members about housing conditions. Walter Reuther, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) that later merged with the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was interested in developing affordable housing for workers, and the AFL was instrumental in passage of the 1937 US Housing Act, and the creation of construction jobs. The Congress of Industrial Organizations published pamphlets proposing the formation of cooperative housing. Renowned academics at the University of Chicago included Rexford Tugwell, part of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "brain trust" and the "initiator" of greenbelt towns, who was asked to form a planning program in the University's social science division in 1946, but the Chicago Program in Education and Research in Planning lasted only nine years¹⁸. The splits within planning education were not all that different from before. The faculty, however, came from different social science disciplines, and "there was almost unanimous agreement that the training of planners had to encompass knowledge in social and economic matters as well as law and design"¹⁹. Despite what was probably a lively debate, as Perloff recounted, the "philosophical issues" about the position of planning as "an overriding force in societal action directed by a scientifically trained elite" and the other extreme of having no planning at all was not resolved²⁰. The faculty output, especially Banfield's work, came to influence the growing field that adopted the rational planning paradigm. In turn, rational planning came to be identified with mainstream planning and would be in demand as suburbanization and concentrations of smaller settlements further away from larger cities required new streets, utilities, linkages to urban areas, etc. Susan F. Fainstein wrote that "This model provided the metatheory for planning activity in the decades since the 1960s, incorporating the faith in scientific method that swept through the social sciences during the Cold War Period"²¹.

Despite rational planning holding sway, another opening appeared in the 1960s when planning practice shifted. Urban renewal in the previous decade had created upheaval in the lives of the poor. Mainstream planning continued to advocate "the traditional response – practically and educationally – [which] was largely *physical* (geographic and design) and

financial"²². Legitimacy of segregation took place through restrictive covenants and redlining at the local level. In the inner cities or at the margins of jurisdictions, planning's involvement with public housing, accompanied by federal regulations regarding family size and race, reinforced segregation. Planners used surveys to condemn buildings on the basis of physical criteria, de-mapped streets in order to assemble land for private developers, offered likely sites for public facilities and infrastructure improvements, and identified thousands of buildings for demolition (for every four units demolished through urban renewal, one was rebuilt)²³. In ways that are reminiscent of the moral rationale for relieving congestion at the turn of the century, physical plans carried weighty overtones about "cleaning" up the cities while opponents of the wholesale displacement leveled accusations of "Negro Removal". Subsequently, the Civil Rights and anti-war movements (and to a lesser extent the feminist movement) led professionals to look inward at their own practices and education.

Planners participated as citizens in the leading social movements and laid the foundation for challenging traditional planning itself²⁴. Marginalized liberal/left planners and students dissatisfied with curricula looked to their profession for ways to be relevant, typically, this took the form of supporting community resistance to urban renewal projects; as planners they lent their knowledge to counter official plans and sometimes their bodies to protest the approaching bulldozers. New perspectives about "planning with people" emerged in the planning profession²⁵. Boston's Urban Planning Aid (UPA) was a beacon for younger planners who wanted to challenge the *status quo*. In Brooklyn, New York, the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) mobilized architecture students and young faculty to work with poor communities in storefront makeshift offices. Paul Davidoff's 1965²⁶ article on advocacy and pluralism and Sherry Arnstein's 1969 article, "The Ladder of Citizen Participation"²⁷, became markers for a more socially oriented and participatory planning. Walter Thabit spearheaded advocacy planning in his consultancy with Powelton Village in Philadelphia and in the development of an alternate plan for Cooper Square in Manhattan²⁸. Herbert J. Gans' *The Urban Villagers*²⁹ also informed an ethnographic methodology that could capture knowledge from the people most affected by urban renewal plans. He did this by developing a participant observation approach that began with his living in the neighborhood. Planning did not adopt these approaches, but rather permitted them to co-exist with the rational model. Planning theory as Friedmann and Hudson stated remained derivative; for example, advocacy drawing from legal theory³⁰.

Other initiatives, rooted in theories of democracy, were taking place outside of planning institutions as students protested the demolition of houses and "Negro Removal". The Black

Panthers and the Young Lords worked with their communities around projects, developing strategies some of which would be incorporated later into planning education (e.g. zoning for day care and more recently food security). This happened in places like Newark, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; and Oakland, California to name a few. Primarily white college graduates, initially many of them activists from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), formed Economic Research and Action Projects (ERAP) in poor neighborhoods to help tenants organize around substandard housing, rising rents, lack of traffic lights, no community centers, and lack of a political voice³¹. While planning was debating its identity, people in the ERAP projects were debating their vision of social change. A showdown surfaced among those who wanted to remain with campus organizing and conducting research and those who wanted to go into the community and work with the poor³². The community orientation was prominent in a national vision embodied in a pamphlet called "An Interracial Movement of the Poor"³³. It required organizers to live alongside the people, some of whom were either working with groups or already knew what the community needed and had never been asked. This approach was as much influenced by the Southern Negro Coordinating Council (SNCC) going into black communities, living and working with people under Jim Crow laws, and sharing the dangers of retaliation from the white power structure. That each of these activities can now be broadly labeled as planning is not to diminish their larger goals of freedom of mobility, the right to vote, and equality.

By and large mainstream planners rejected the more far reaching ideas and according to some, "radical" planning "[...] spawned the progressive planning movement seeking out incremental changes that over time would result in structural changes promoting equality, participation, and legitimacy. Progressive planners promoted public ownership of land and job generating industries, worker-managed enterprises, tax reform, community organizations, and leveraging of public resources through partnerships with private organizations that would agree to serve public purposes"³⁴.

Federal social policies and programs introduced in the 1960s and early-1970s were a response to "grassroots initiatives that sometimes began as riots and disorder of the 1960s, and were inspired in official circles by both idealism and fear"³⁵. By the late 1970s, progressive movements and advocacy planning had helped institutionalize local participation in planning (public review processes, community planning boards, community development corporations, etc.)³⁶. However, as Arnstein³⁷ discussed in her classic article, participation could mean very different things in relation to these programs, ranging from manipulation to full citizen power, with city governments often looking for ways to co-opt community repre-

sentatives. The fight for a seat at the negotiating table rarely addressed issues about transforming political or economic power. These programs created a substantial number of jobs in the newly labeled community development field and nonprofit organizations, even though physical and land use planners continued to predominate in the formal professional organization of planners, the American Planning Association (APA).

Neither advocacy, radical, nor progressive planning could stand up to the backlash that started in the early 1970s with neoliberalization policies. Mainstream planning focused on large-scale urban design and downtown revitalization projects and on attracting corporate investments through public-private partnerships. As the continued disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods further marginalized poor communities of color, mainstream planning largely left them to fend for their own. This did not mean that neighborhood resistance was dead or that planners were completely quiescent. In 1974, as the Planners for Equal Opportunity, a progressive network of planners in the 1960s, was less active, Chester Hartman sent out a call to progressive planners who formed the Planners Network³⁸. Organizations such as the Pratt Center continued to work with low-income communities providing technical assistance, but as its former director Ron Shiffman explains: "We learned early on that it wasn't just doing the planning work or providing the direct technical assistance, but that it was also working with people to focus on education, community and coalition-building and at the same time addressing public policy"³⁹.

In the realm of theory, by the late 1980s, some of the older debates around the nature of the planning process and its substance were taken up again, and Friedmann in *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*⁴⁰ included social mobilization as a legitimate form of practice and scholarship⁴¹. Similarly critical theory identified as its object of analysis the leaders of urban social movements, insurgent groups, guerillas in the bureaucracy, and/or those mediating from within the planning bureaucracies. The communicative model and political economy approaches, as well as critical theory, distinguished themselves from the rational model⁴². Fainstein's analysis, while insightful, takes as its focus the role of the planner from within the planning sphere. Alternatively, Beard and Basolo imply that planning may be at a crossroads now, and argue that for planning "to remain relevant", planners have to go beyond the top-down modernist planning thought to explore alternative modes of practice, especially in the areas of collective action and social movements⁴³.

In short, the planning field has gone through some transformations over the past century in the US, in terms of acknowledgement of diversity issues, establishment of institutions that

provide openings for citizen participation and growth of community planning, as well as theoretical debates among academia that reflect developments in other social science disciplines. On the other hand, despite the excellent analyses that identify more clearly the alternatives to rational planning, the principles of rationalism, efficiency, and quantification still continue to dominate mainstream education and practice. And within the context of neoliberal urbanism, physical planning has regained importance through local and increasingly international practice of urban renewal and designs for privatization of the public realm that Holston describes as “new strategies of segregation, privatization and fortification”⁴⁴.

The history of the planning profession teaches us that there may have been ways to include issues about everyday life from the beginning. Yet, neither a greater focus on social issues, nor advocating for equity would be sufficient to change the power relations in the planning process. It is our contention that progressive planners need to go beyond the planning field to seek solutions *with* those who were often excluded from the formal tradition of planning and citizen participation and whose contributions to community building (women, people of color, etc.) have long been ignored by mainstream planning. We are also proposing that planners who consider themselves progressives search for innovative ways within the mainstream to create openings. Where we differ from those who have spoken about joining forces with social movements and/or building coalitions is in the specifics and the guidelines we proffer at the end of the article. These guidelines reflect the challenge offered by those who have been working around the principles of the Right to the City at the local and global levels.

Everyday life and what planners miss about everyday life

What planners do always affects everyday life in cities. The Goodman brothers indicated in *Communitas*, “the basic reason for city planning is a concern for the city’s heavy investment – bridges, roads and buildings that will last a long time and affect livelihoods and life”⁴⁵. Such investments, as well as the programmed, specialized and structured activities that planners deal with, do have significant distributional implications, and affect the daily routine of people. But as Lefebvre, de Certeau and others have emphasized, everyday life is more than just the ordinary, daily routine. It is also about those practices that do not conform to the common organizational logic of modern society. It is about difference and contradictions, the extraordinary, the hidden potentialities and “unfulfilled possibilities”. These practices include a critique of the real by the imaginary and what is possible, and vice

versa⁴⁶. As Dorothy E. Smith argued, ignoring “everyday life and the private sphere as trivial and inconsequential” leads to the exclusion of “non-expert narratives”; it is necessary to focus on the local and particular settings and how the particular relates to the broader society through a web of relations⁴⁷.

Everyday life for the poor and working class is difficult, more so in an economy that treats people as disposable. We describe the excluded and vulnerable people who make up the have-nots in the neoliberal city who are perceived as passing through in contrast to inhabiting and possessing their neighborhoods⁴⁸. They are the people who are most hurt when public facilities, be it transportation, parks and recreational facilities, libraries, health clinics, farmers’ markets, etc. are not accessible and not planned for their neighborhoods⁴⁹.

This may be most visible among the homeless in the US, who live on the street and whose daily lives are in full view⁵⁰. They “erect” makeshift shelters in public areas and form homeless communities. When the land becomes riper for development, they are pushed out. A greater police presence is evident and minor infractions lead to tickets that in turn lead to time in jail. The homeless lose control over where they can spend time. Homeless shelters typically require people to leave the shelter at an early hour. In single room occupancies (SROs), people are required to move after twenty-eight days, a means of disenfranchising them because they have no leases and no recourse to minimal rights of thirty-day notices to vacate premises. The result is that the homeless are forced to wait in lines to acquire the next evening’s bed and gain access to food, a pattern that they have to follow day after day. And, to avoid the ticketing, they have to keep moving⁵¹.

Everyday life for people living in gentrifying areas is equally hazardous. In developed and developing nations, the increase of evictions in cities emphasizes the rising investment and competition for land where the poor live⁵². Even if not at the same scale as in the Global South, in the US people are threatened by evictions in private properties and/or demolition of public housing. In public housing alone, 120,000 units are vacant across the country⁵³. The financial meltdown following the housing bubble has led to rising foreclosure evictions. In California, in 2008, foreclosures were about 47,000, a three-fold increase from the year before⁵⁴.

Working poor people who live in apartments suffer other indignities as well as having to pay exorbitant rents. Landlords who don’t pay water and utility bills leave tenants stranded without access to hot water, heat, and electricity. In markets with high median rental costs, survival may depend on living in overcrowded conditions (overcrowding has become so prevalent in the United States that tuberculosis counts are re-occurring). Children are hampered in completing school homework and no one in the apartment has privacy. An unobtrusive

measure of this is found in public libraries at the end of a school day in many large cities in the United States. The influx of youth at local libraries once schools let students leave for the day is understandable. Space and computers are available and librarians monitor the socializing and noise levels. The prevailing budget crisis in municipalities across the US have led to libraries reducing hours or being closed, shutting down this opportunity.

There are other reasons why the lack of access to public space needs to be understood. Public spaces have become sites of violence, especially for people who do not fit the norm – people of color, new immigrants, people who are part of the lesbian, gay, and transgender communities. Even when city councils set aside streets for gay pride marches, hostilities can occur at the margins and from a distance when somebody shouts profanities and/or pushes through crowds to clash physically.

In the majority of these scenarios, urban designers, architects, and planners typically proceed without input prior to a conceptual design from those who are most vulnerable. Precisely because certain types of people are unwanted, planners overlook or ignore the unintended consequences of developments. One result is that set-aside public spaces in front of public buildings may be more frightening than open to all citizens, as the plaza is in front of Boston, Massachusetts' City Hall. Sprinklers may be turned on to discourage the homeless from seeking respite as in the City of Los Angeles. In some neighborhoods of New York City, youth avoid parks since they are hassled either by gang members or by the police who treat all teenagers of color as gang members.

Low-income women who work in home health care may take as many as three or four buses to get to their workplaces because of poor public transportation systems in US cities. Men rise early to find day laborer jobs, and may be harassed by the police if they stray to street corners instead of staying within specific sites that nonprofit service agencies run. All of this adds up to people who live daily life with little security over food and mobility. By ignoring the daily experiences, planners may find it persuasive to recommend public moneys be invested in light rail instead of buses that reach more of the poor, or define their jobs narrowly, turning away from helping communities that have more liquor stores and check cashing places than bank branches.

Overall, when planners plan, other people's ongoing lives are defined as outside of planning unless required by law, ordinances, court judgments, etc. This is insufficient. For example, relocation money is now a federal requirement in highway planning or demolition of public housing, but relocation plans may be no more than a token for the bus and a list of a certain amount of properties that have not been pre-checked to see if they will meet subsidy require-

ments. Rational and efficiency planning does not leave room for planners to foretell or address those problems. Whether it is reducing the number of units of public housing, creating neighborhoods for new communities, or replacing small mom and pop commercial uses with high rise office space, when land values reach a certain level, planners will defer to the needs of developers. In some scenarios, developers may have to provide housing for low-income people or dedicate open space for parks, but it is more likely when those displaced or dispossessed organize. Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs) have been the latest tool that may lead to more than just physical improvements, but without community monitoring, a long-term vision, or comprehensive plan of their own, a CBA is a weak defense against the precarious needs of everyday life⁵⁵.

Planning through the lens of everyday life: participatory grassroots initiatives

Outside the formal planning sphere, marginalized groups have always found ways to meet their everyday priorities. The most visible practices are those related to how individuals and groups appropriate their physical environment – and especially open urban public spaces – often in unexpected ways. These diverse practices are now well documented mostly by urban design and/or related practitioners who refer to them as “everyday urbanism”⁵⁶, “loose space”⁵⁷, and “guerrilla urbanism”⁵⁸. The purpose of these studies is often to critique the over design and strict control of public open spaces, or at best, to propose a more participatory and open-ended design process⁵⁹.

Our interest is in how people organize around their everyday issues in ways that go beyond their interactions with the physical environment. We consider a few successful examples of community initiatives that all emerged in response to an immediate everyday need or concern, expanding into other areas as new needs came up. They offer alternative approaches to expert-designed plans or programs (or their lack thereof), and being based on people's own experiential knowledge, could accommodate change and multidimensionality of everyday needs. The groups built up their capacity and political skills, working with support from professional allies and by joining local and, sometimes, international networks of groups with similar visions and broader coalitions, and could have a greater voice to influence local or national level policy and institutions.

Depending on the context, issue and political conditions, people use different strategies and they combine them in creative and complex ways over time⁶⁰. Collective actions range from self-help initiatives, to social movement approaches where groups organize to make

demands from the state through demonstrations, legal battles, direct confrontations, etc., to negotiating and working with the state in the development and implementation of initiatives⁶¹.

The potential of local self-help initiatives – aside from squatter housing of the poor in major cities in the Global South – is often not apparent to outsiders as their impact is not easily quantifiable⁶². There are numerous examples of women’s collective self-help efforts to respond to needs at home and in the community that often blur conventional distinctions between the two⁶³. For example, in Kenya, when medical facilities, overwhelmed with the HIV/AIDS epidemic, were unable to meet the need, women’s self-help groups started learning how to safely take care of their sick neighbors and relatives in the community. Providing care and psychological support to patients at home, led to livelihood initiatives to support widows and orphans and to efforts to protect women’s inheritance and land tenure rights. Organized around GROOTS Kenya, a loose network of self-help groups from twelve different regions, they formed the national Home-Based Care Alliance (HBCA) and came together with care givers from Rwanda, Cameroon, Nigeria and Uganda to expand their peer learning, support and advocacy efforts to the regional level. The Czech Mother Centers Network (CMCN), a member of the Mother Centers International Network for Empowerment (MINE), is another example from a very different context⁶⁴. Starting out as a self-help initiative of a group of about twenty mothers in Prague, who got together to take care of their children together outside their homes, it evolved into a national movement advocating women and child friendly cities in less than ten years (Box 1).

Collaborations between people’s organizations and the state are often considered as a way to improve the delivery of services rather than a strategy “to consolidate their local organizational base and augment their capacity to negotiate successfully with the state”⁶⁵. However, grassroots organizations have been able to both meet some of their everyday needs and politically consolidate their achievements through this approach. Mitlin describes examples of how the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC) in India, the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia (a grassroots organization of women’s savings groups), and the South African Homeless People’s Federation chose the partnership route in order to strengthen their political position as well as address their more immediate development needs⁶⁶. There are similar examples from the United States. *Nos Quedamos/We Stay* was the rallying cry and the name of a community organization that was formed to resist displacement through an urban renewal project in New York City. The group was successful in negotiating with the city to become an active part in the preparation of an alternative plan for the development of their community, preventing displacement, and moni-

toring the development of hundreds of mixed income housing units built in the neighborhood since then. It has also become an active member of citywide networks, such as the NYC Environmental Justice Alliance and the Community-Based Planning Task Force.

A successful example of the social movements approach is the environmental justice movement in the US that grew out of the resistance of poor communities of color to dumping of hazardous facilities in their neighborhoods. Rooted in the Civil Rights Movement, it has been successful in influencing environmental policy and discourse by emphasizing the social dimension of sustainability. In New York City, the NYC Environmental Justice Alliance, an umbrella organization for groups based in low-income communities, which was established in 1991, was among the founders of the Community Based Planning Task Force in 2000⁶⁷. Yeampierre explains this collaboration as follows: “Our environmental justice successes have turned into gentrification opportunities in our communities [...]. So [...] the next struggle for the environmental justice movement [is] to make sure that all of these environmental amenities that we have been fighting for don’t end up displacing our people”⁶⁸.

In addition to grassroots initiated actions, there are participatory democratic institutional reforms by progressive administrations in response to specific everyday problems of communities. While there is a tendency to view such participatory democratic social policies and institutional reforms as designed and implemented solely by progressive administrations or professionals, “urban reform requires a precise, and often elusive, combination of renewed social mobilization, legal reform and institutional change”⁶⁹. “Success of participatory institutions depends on a dual process of commitment building. Unless both state actors (ranging from politicians to bureaucrats) and ordinary people are motivated to support, take part in, and respect [such] experiments, those policies are unlikely to become either empowered or participatory”⁷⁰. In addition, Fung and Wright⁷¹ point to an essential condition for sustainability of empowered participatory governance reforms that they call “*countervailing power* – a variety of mechanisms that reduce, and perhaps even neutralize, the power-advantages of ordinarily powerful actors”⁷². These range from local adversarial organizations, political parties or leaders, and larger social movement organizations⁷³.

In the late 1990s, there were concerted efforts in a few US cities to support participatory community planning. These include the Neighborhoods Building Neighbors Program in Rochester, NY, that gave neighborhoods power to plan and prioritize their budget needs, and the Neighborhood Planning Office in Seattle that resourced and supported communities to prepare their neighborhood plans and ensured their implementation⁷⁴. Yet such programs are vulnerable to shifts in elected officials. In other cities, such as Davenport, Iowa and Lawrence,

Box 1

The first Mother Center in the Czech Republic was started in a room in the YMCA in 1992 in Prague, after a small group participated in an exchange visit in Germany and learned about the basic organizing principles of the German Mother Center's self-help movement. After the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989 and the transition to a market economy, universal benefits to families with children were cut, and the strict restrictions under the new system socially isolated the mothers and marginalized women. The Mother Centers spread quickly within this context mainly through word of mouth and eventually caught media attention. Each center was unique in the way it obtained space and organized its activities, and starting a center was an empowering learning experience for most women. As their confidence increased, "mothers began to draw attention to the need for community improvements, such as public parks and playgrounds and cultural centers. Several Mother Center leaders became active in municipal planning processes, [lobbying] the government to create child-friendly public facilities, policies and working conditions" (Suranjana GUPTA, "Mothers as Movers and Shakers: The Network of Mother Centres in the Czech Republic" in Srilatha BATLIWALA (ed), *Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements*, AWID-BFEMO Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID), New Delhi,

Brijbasi Art Press, 2008, p. 7). It was the challenges that pushed the network to the next level, and in 2001, the groups came together to formally establish the Czech Mother Centers Network (CMCN). Peer exchanges and support from other like-minded international grassroots women's coalitions like the Huairou Commission and GROOTS International helped strengthen the network and increase its visibility. In 2004, the CMCN launched an effective campaign on "Family Friendly Society" to advance its agenda. The campaign drew attention to the ways in which the government and the private sector can support families through flexible jobs, city planning around the safety of women and children, and child-friendly public facilities and services (Ayse YONDER and Marnie TAMAKI, *"Our Spaces": Grassroots women Formalize Their Leadership and Access to Essential Services*, New York, Huairou Commission Publication, 2010, p. 75). CMCN now represents 319 Mother Centers throughout the country and works in an advisory role for the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs as well as the European Union on family affairs (Suranjana GUPTA, "Mothers as Movers and Shakers: The Network of Mother Centres in the Czech Republic", *op. cit.*; Ayse YONDER and Marnie TAMAKI, *"Our Spaces": Grassroots women Formalize Their Leadership and Access to Essential Services*, *op. cit.*)

Box 2

Melrose Commons, a poor community of about 6,000 residents of Puerto Rican descent in the South Bronx, had survived years of disinvestment in the 1970s and 1980s without any city services. In 1992, when a resident accidentally found out about the city's urban renewal plan for the area that would displace hundreds of residents and businesses through eminent domain, the community was outraged. As Yolanda Garcia, co-founder and president of Nos Quedamos, a mother and a long-term resident of the area, put it: "It was clear to us that our community would be yanked by its roots and cast aside. City agencies had once again determined our fate without even engaging in conversation with the very people who were to be directly affected. The need to clarify that the community was not opposed to prosperity, that indeed we welcomed development was our first issue. [...] The idea that prosperity meant our community residents had to be sacrificed was inconceivable." (Yolanda GARCIA, "How a Committee Became Equal Partners with the City of New York", *Journal of Community Advocacy and Activism*, June 1998, vol.3, p. 35. Also available at <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/melrose.htm>).

With initial support from the Bronx Center Project, the Nos Quedamos Committee was formed. In response to

the community's demands, the borough president convinced the city agencies to allow a six-month extension for the community to come up with an alternative plan. This was a long process but Nos Quedamos kept the community engaged and informed, going from door to door and creating a welcoming environment (with food and children's participation) at weekly meetings for people to speak their minds. It was important for Nos Quedamos to clearly articulate its goals and principles in working with the city agencies. These ranged from ensuring the continued participation of the community and no involuntary displacement, affordability of proposed developments, opportunities for existing businesses to expand, provision of missing services for senior citizens and youth, health care, libraries, in addition to environmentally sensitive and sustainable physical development (Garcia, who had lost her son to asthma, was particularly interested in public health issues.) Community members also worked on specific physical design issues with the planning team and progressive professionals from around the city who volunteered to be part of this unique experience. Even though the plan faced opposition that targeted its high density and urban design controls, as a result of city-wide pressure, the City Council eventually approved the plan in June, 1994.

Massachusetts, citizen-led budgeting initiatives were started to "measure the quality of existing services" and discuss "financial challenges facing the city" and change the way decisions are made about local resource allocation⁷⁵. More recently, the Alderman for the 49th Ward of Chicago started a participatory budget process for the community residents to decide on how to spend his discretionary capital budget⁷⁶.

The participatory budgeting experience in Porto Alegre is the earliest and best known example. The Workers Party (PT) administration worked in close collaboration with communities to establish

a democratic decision making process around the allocation of infrastructure projects. Abers points to a number of factors that helped the success of this experiment; it "addressed the needs poor prioritized even before the policy was initiated"; it started out small without requiring additional resources on the part of the government and had demonstrable outcomes at the community level; and the PT administration provided organizers to work with marginalized communities⁷⁷. Above all, it was a learning and capacity building process for all participants. "Through the participatory process itself, people began to perceive the needs of others, develop some solidarity, and conceptualize their own interests more broadly"⁷⁸.

In what ways do these examples open up possibilities for planning? Why is now a propitious moment that can reorient planning's approach for those who want to use the discipline for social change? Each of these examples reflects a scaling up from the bottom that shifts the power relationship in ways that are not static. They demonstrate, not only the creativity of local grassroots initiatives in developing alternatives to bureaucratic programs and the exclusionary restructuring of their communities and cities, but also the importance of linking up horizontally and vertically to create what Fung and Wright call "countervailing power", that is a basic condition to sustain and upscale such efforts⁷⁹. Links are made through transnational coalitions, federations, and alliances, all of them aided by new technologies and by forums that are both inside and outside of established international conferences, such as the World Urban Forum. This holds the potential for achieving a social movement that challenges the dominant investment patterns and governance, as well as conventional spatial practice and education.

Explaining Right to the City

Right to the city is emerging as a rallying cry among community activists and scholars from different disciplines in the United States including geography, political science, and urban planning. Although the concept was first coined by the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, it was picked up as an organizing slogan in 1968 France when students and workers collaborated against repressive policies of the government. Its impact is best associated with the decades-long efforts by Brazilian activists, scholars, and practitioners to amend their constitution. Right to the City has significant implications for challenging the planning field both as a legal framework that requires the recognition of the "social function of property and the city" and as an organizing framework⁸⁰.

Right to the City is valuable because it goes beyond a rallying cry and provides an umbrella for different community organizations that can develop deeper relationships and plan joint campaigns. Using a Right to the City framework, the International Alliance of Inhabitants launched a Zero Evictions Campaign in 2004⁸¹ that includes "an international alert system with local 'antennae' for violations of housing rights, appeals for international solidarity, proposals for exploratory missions and conciliations by the UN-AGFE" (no date). In the United States, the Right to the City Alliance, established in January 2007, now has a membership of over 40 organizations from nine cities and a voluntary executive board composed of representatives from these cities who convene yearly for business meetings. Three standing

committees include Civic Engagement, Environmental Justice, and Housing. The HUD working committee published a report on public housing that evolved as a participatory research document and its findings are being taken further by national members, i.e. meetings with lobbying groups, legislators, etc. in Washington, DC. At a regional level, Right to the City in Los Angeles initially met and convened joint meetings with their members for the past three years. The joint multiethnic group from three parts of the city decided to plan a campaign around the substandard conditions in their apartments. Tenants interviewed tenants and with allies analyzed the results of nearly 500 surveys from their perspective. A report card was developed that flunked the city on five criteria, including structural and infestation conditions, and gave them a D+ in two other areas. They held a press conference asking for the city to follow the practice of community inspections in a neighboring city. At the time of writing, the city has reached out to speak with the group. Significantly, the individual campaign has support from other groups who are also fighting for a right to the city around single room occupancies, transportation, sexual identity, etc. In another example, New York City's Fabulous Independent Radicals for Community Empowerment (FIERCE) has organized against the privatization of NYC's waterfront and campaigned for a youth-led community center on Pier 40 in the West Village⁸². The larger group used the idea of housing as a human right to present to the City demands for a rent freeze, halting the privatization of three public housing developments, and prosecuting landlords who illegally evict tenants. The emerging strategy is to move towards a rights analysis that does not fight issue by issue, one group or coalition at a time.

It is significant that the Right to the City uses the language of human rights, but is it enough? How we define the goals becomes a critical factor that influences the type of struggles taken and affects the strategies adopted. As Susan S. Fainstein writes in relation to the concept of the just city: "The very act of naming has power. If we constantly reiterate the call for a just city [...] we change popular discourse and enlarge the boundaries of action. Changing the dialogue, so that demands for equity are no longer marginalized, would constitute a first step toward reversing the current tendency that excludes social justice from the aims of urban policy"⁸³.

Similarly, David Harvey writes: "We live in an era when ideals of human rights have moved centre stage both politically and ethically. A great deal of energy is expended in promoting their significance for the construction of a better world. But for the most part the concepts circulating do not fundamentally challenge hegemonic liberal and neoliberal market logics, or the dominant modes of legality and state action. We live, after all, in a world in

which the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights. I here want to explore another type of human right, that of the right to the city”⁸⁴.

Harvey’s article is far from naïve about the struggles ahead and identifies the already existing fragmentation of the city that escalates into more separate parts and expropriates more public space.

Still, as Angotti discusses in relation to New York City, “broader movements for social change in the city – including movements for progressive social change in the city – including movements for environmental justice, affordable and low-income housing, sustainable development, accessible and quality health care and child care, multicultural education, living wages, gender equality, and transportation justice [...] tend to be fragmented and oriented around single policy agenda issues”⁸⁵. Castells⁸⁶ argues that it is only when the demands for issues of collective consumption, cultural identity and political self-management combine in a social movement’s practice does it bring about social change. Inevitably were the Right to the City to go far beyond its current efforts to expose the basic flaws in housing, transportation, health, education, immigration, etc., and to move towards coalition with other groups, organizing will have to go to another level both geographically and intellectually. Planners need to figure out where they fit as this evolution occurs as contributors toward developing alternative plans, educators about the jargon used by financial and real estate interests, analysts who refine the meanings of one budget decision over another, and as lending their voices to the coalitions.

Conclusion

This paper tried to go beyond the critique of rational planning and ask whether a breakthrough is possible in connecting practice to theory that stems from outside planning. Holston⁸⁷ might call this developing ethnographic skills to recognize issues from the bottom up, or Mayol⁸⁸ socioethnographic analysis. Sandercock⁸⁹ argues that planners need to look outside to people who can plan on their own behalf. While necessary, these are insufficient for acknowledging leadership outside of planning and in relation to building a social movement.

First, planners need to ask a different set of questions. Questions that are not limited to the measurement of the physical environment but that “recogniz[e] space as something social”, as do the residents of neighborhoods they work in⁹⁰. Second, as Elizabeth Yeampierre, an environmental justice activist, points out echoing Marie Kennedy, planners must also learn a certain amount of humility.

“The fact that we speak for ourselves continues to be the biggest challenge for those who have social justice sensitivities and want to work in our communities – and often speak for us... It requires at times taking a back seat to people who don’t look like you or who lack formal training, but who do have a community vision”⁹¹. This means learning to listen, as Holston indicates, developing ethnographic skills, as well as spending time with the community residents to develop trust and sympathetic knowledge of issues⁹². Third, it requires developing skills to analyze power relations and develop alternative or parallel planning documents and budgets. Moreover, planners need to learn to work with organizers and nonprofit organizations, who are liaisons with people in neighborhoods. For too long, planners debated their disconnect with architects as to timetables, language, and presentation. Without severing those relationships with architects, the timetables, language, and presentation of organizers have to become far more visible to planners. Deliberating around conflicting political priorities and practical interests both within communities and among groups is not a simple task, especially at a time when dominant interest groups have become rather skillful in dividing communities and fragmenting social movements along racial, ethnic, cultural, and class lines⁹³. Progressive planners and administrators need the power that comes from a strong constituency and outside allies to implement participatory plans, policies, and institutions. As Ron Shiffman indicates: “We have to learn our skills. When we work with people we have to understand the nuances of how to really produce housing and community centers, and how to develop alternative plans. We also have to develop the vertical and the horizontal networks that tie us to other groups around the city so we can create coalitions. [...] The only way we can be effective as planners is to become part of the broader social change movements going back to the labor, women’s, civil rights and anti-war movements”⁹⁴.

The idea of “right to the city” offers an opening for creating broader coalitions for social justice and participatory planning. These can include existing movements, and examples of what that means are beginning to accumulate. The challenge, as with any rights approach, is how to accomplish this on the ground. This work has to be accomplished at both the local, but also at the larger level, and planners may well be the people to help lay out alternative global patterns of planning. There are already attempts to articulate the rights concept into practice, including the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in Cities (2000), now ratified by over 400 cities from 21 countries in Europe; the Brazil City Statute⁹⁵; the World Charter for the Right to the City (2004), developed by various non-governmental organizations and civil society networks and discussed at the World Urban Forum in Barcelona in 2004; the Montreal Charter of Rights (2005); the Mexico

City Charter for the Right to the City (2010), and national and regional networks are developing. As Caruso⁹⁶ discusses in relation to the World Social Forum, it is not a simple task for activist groups with different political priorities and strategies to come to an agreement around a unified global agenda. This is also true at the local level, both in terms of agenda setting and the implementation of institutionalized rights on the ground. Still, it is useful as a broad right to strive towards⁹⁷ and a framework for bringing together activist and community based groups who work on everyday life issues to network, debate and seek ways to implement these rights in their own context. Therefore, these charters, how they came into existence, as well as the pitfalls and lessons to be learned, could be incorporated into planning *curricula* to train a new generation of planners.

Planners have always had the freedom to work outside the profession. To a large extent, the work on national planning during the 1930s was a way to counter artificial disciplinary borders and expand into economic and social issues that helped initiate more of a welfare system than before. This was countenanced because of the Great Depression. We are now in a Great Recession and the convergence with calls to, practice of, and alliance with Right to the City creates this opportunity for the present generation.

1. Saskia SASSEN, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, New York, The New Press, 1998; James HOLSTON (ed), *Cities and Citizenship*, Durham/London, Duke University Press, 1999; David HARVEY "The Right to the City", *New Left Review*, September/October 2008, vol. 53, p. 23-40, 2010, <http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=2740>.
2. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, transl. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996.
3. Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "New Directions in Planning Theory", *Urban Affairs Review*, March 2000, vol. 41, 1, p. 451.
4. John FORESTER and Norman KRUMHOLTZ, *Making Equity Planning Work*, Philadelphia, PA, Temple University Press, 1990; Patsy HEALY, *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Policies in Fragmented Societies*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 1997; Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "Cities and Diversity: Should We Want It? Can We Plan for It?",

- Urban Affairs Review*, September 2005, vol. 35, 4, p. 3-19; Peter MARCUSE, *Radical Urbanism, The Right to the City, Concluding Panel*, 16 December 2008, YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=DkKXt6ITTD4.
5. Michel DE CERTEAU, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980), transl. Steven Rendall, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1984.
6. The analysis applies to ideas found in current writings that posit a rejection of mainstream planning. It offers a theoretical framework, but stops short of applying the same analyses to on-the-ground work; it fails to explore ways that planners can be allies to social movements. Due to time and space we cannot go further into this here.
7. Camilla STIVERS, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2000, p. 90.

8. Mary J. Degan used the term "critical pragmatism" "to signify Addams's 'radical extension of the tenets of pragmatism developed by the Chicago School of Pragmatism'" (Mary J. DEGAN cited in Mary B. MAHOWALD, "What Classical American Philosophers Missed: Jane Addams, Critical Pragmatism, and Cultural Feminism", *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, 1997, vol. 31, p. 47).
9. Camilla STIVERS, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
11. *Id.*
12. It is not remiss to speculate that similar to the ways in which philosophy omitted Addams' ideas as not intellectual enough, planning conferences paid no attention to actions that were not considered technical enough.
13. Stuart METZ and Rebecca RETZLAFF, "A Familiar Ring: A Retrospective on the First National Conference on City Planning" in *Planning and Environmental Law*, 2009, vol. 61, 4, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
15. *Id.*
16. For more on the split, see Eugenie L. BIRCH and Christopher SILVER, "One Hundred Years of City Planning's Enduring and Evolving Connection", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Spring 2009, vol. 5, 2, p. 113-122.
17. Jason COBURN, *Street Science: Community Knowledge and Environmental Health Justice*, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 2005; Chris S. KOCHITZKY, Howard FRUMKIN, Rockie RODRIGUEZ, Andrew L. DANNENBERG, G. Jamie RAYMAN, Kenneth ROSE, Richard GILLIG, and Theresa KANTER, "Urban Planning and Public Health at CDC", 55/SUP02, December 22, 2006, p. 34-38.
18. Harvey S. Perloff, Louis Wirth, Edward Banfield, Martin Meyerson were influential members of the faculty. Bruce Stiftel calls Banfield's rational planning model "a guide in the profession and beyond as an approach to

- problem solving in the public sphere" (Bruce STIFTEL, "Planning Theory" in Roshi PELASEYED (ed), *The National AICP Examination Preparation Course Guidebook 2000*, Washington, D.C., American Institute of Certified Planners, 2000, p. 5.)
19. Harvey S. PERLOFF, "Stages in a Career in Planning: An Autobiographical Fragment" in LELAND S. BURNS and John FRIEDMANN (eds), *The Art of Planning: Selected Essays of Harvey S. Perloff*, Philadelphia, Plenum Press, 1985, p. 341.
20. Harvey S. PERLOFF, "Stages in a Career in Planning: An Autobiographical Fragment", *loc. cit.*, p. 341.
21. Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "Cities and Diversity: Should We Want It? Can We Plan for It?", *loc. cit.*, p.2.
22. Harvey S. PERLOFF, "The Evolution of Planning Education" in Leland S. BURNS and John FRIEDMANN (eds), *The Art of Planning: Selected Essays of Harvey S. Perloff*, Philadelphia, Plenum Press, 1985, p. 309. Other voices were raised about the potential of the Housing Act of 1959 and the community renewal program. See Mel SCOTT, *American City Planning Since 1890*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969.
23. Robert HALPERN, *Rebuilding the Inner City: A History of Neighborhood Initiatives to Address Poverty in the United States*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1995.
24. This meant questioning the role of planning in relation to broader movements. One example is in relation to the war in Vietnam. In New York City, a small group of planners, called the Urban Underground, leafleted a planning conference with a document called "Letting the Cat Out of the Planning Bag" to identify the underlying rationales for jobs, such as planning in Vietnam without questioning the rationale for the war. The Architects' Resistance (TAR) in New York City demonstrated outside firms that tacitly endorsed apartheid in South Africa through contracts for designing buildings with segregated bathrooms.
25. Robert GOODMAN, *After the Planners*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1972.
26. Paul DAVIDOFF, "Advocacy and Pluralism in

Planning", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1965, vol. 31, p. 331-338.

27. Sherry ARNSTEIN, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, July 1969, vol. 35, 4, p. 216-224.

28. Walter THABIT, "An Alternate Plan for Cooper Square", a report prepared for the Cooper Square Community Development Committee and Businessmen's Association, New York, 1961.

29. Herbert GANS, *Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*, New York, The Free Press, 1962.

30. Harvey S. PERLOFF, "The Evolution of Planning Education", *loc. cit.*, p. 317.

31. Jennifer FROST, *An Interracial Movement of the Poor: Community Organizing and the New Left in the 1960s*, New York, New York University Press, 2001.

32. Jacqueline Leavitt, a resident planner with the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), started projects around fighting for a community center to be funded with anti-poverty dollars and testifying against urban renewal. Walter Thabit, along with Robert Heifetz, Herbert J. Gans, Stanley Aronowitz, and Hamish Sinclair were part of the National Committee for Full Employment (NCFE) that donated money to the NCUP project over two years. Thabit and Heifetz, who wrote research papers on economic restructuring that anticipated deindustrialization, did not live in the community and were not present enough to persuade and educate others about an action strategy that linked to the everyday life of high unemployment and the need for jobs.

33. Jennifer FROST, *An Interracial Movement of the Poor: Community Organizing and the New Left in the 1960s*, *op. cit.*, p. 27-47.

34. Bruce STIFTEL, "Planning Theory", *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

35. Norman KRUMHOLZ and Pierre CLAVEL, *Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994, p. 6.

36. Marie KENNEDY, "Transformative Community

Planning", *Progressive Planning Magazine*, Spring 2007, p. 24-27. Also available at: http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2007_spring/kennedy.html.

37. Sherry ARNSTEIN, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", *loc. cit.*

38. Although debates occurred from time to time as to the political stance of Planners Network, it is fair to say that the organization bridges people's views that include socialist, radical, left of center/liberal.

39. Ron SHIFFMAN, "Comments: Advocacy and Community Planning: Past, Present and Future", *Progressive Planning Magazine*, Spring 2007, p. 31-32. Also available at: http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2007_spring/shiffman.html

40. John FRIEDMANN, *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1987. Friedmann argued that a crisis in planning referred to the idea of societal guidance by the state. He saw transformative planning as "a radical tradition because it advocates structural change rather than reform, though as a planning tradition, the means to achieve structural change are non-violent" (John FRIEDMANN, "Preface", in the 2007 Farsi-language edition *Planning in the Public Domain*, <http://www.planung-neudenken.de/content/view/41/41>). Marie Kennedy, an activist planner, uses "transformative" in relation to community development to refer to "increasing a community's capacity for taking control of its own development" and "wielding [...] planning tools in a way that frames real alternatives; elaborates the trade-offs in making one or another choice; and puts real control in the hands of the most affected people" (Marie KENNEDY, "Transformative Community Planning: Empowerment Through Community Development", Working Paper prepared for the 1996 Planners Network Conference, "Renewing Hope, Restoring Vision: Progressive Planning in Our Communities." available at: <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/combased.htm>).

41. Victoria BEARD and Victoria BASOLO, "Commen-

tary: Moving Beyond Crisis, Crossroads and the Abyss in the Disciplinary Formation of Planning" in *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 29, 3, Summer 2009, p. 233-242.

42. Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "New Directions in Planning Theory", *loc. cit.*

43. Victoria BEARD and Victoria BASOLO, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

44. James HOLSTON, "Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship" in Leonie SANDERCOCK (ed), *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 52.

45. Robert GOODMAN, *After the Planners*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1972 quoted in Norman KRUMHOLZ and Pierre CLAVEL, *Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories*, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

46. Michael E. GARDINER, *Critiques of Everyday Life*, New York/London, Routledge, 2000, p. 18-19.

47. Dorothy E. SMITH, *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1990, p. 2-3, quoted in Michael E. GARDINER, *Critiques of Everyday Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 183-184.

48. The neighborhood is where we can best understand the meaning of everyday life; it is the "setting and staging of everyday life" and where Mayol distinguishes between the tasks of spatial practitioners, measuring "surface area, topography, the flux of movements, etc." and the "socioethnographic analysis of everyday life" (Pierre MAYOL, "The neighborhood" in Michel DE CERTEAU, Luce GIARD and Pierre MAYOL (eds), *The Practice of Everyday Life. Volume 2: Living and Cooking*, transl. Timothy J. Tomasik, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1998, p. 7). We are proposing that planning be identified as action plans that follow from a socio-ethnographic analysis.

49. Yves Jouffe warns that the right to the city concept could be reduced simply to an issue of access to services and places, which does not conflict with the goals of neoliberal

planning (Yves JOUFFE, "Rights in Cities or the Right to the City" in Ana SUGRANYES and Charlotte MATHIVET (eds), *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, Santiago, Chile, Habitat International Coalition (HIC), 2010, p. 43-56). He draws attention to the difference between access and proximity to services, the issue of mobility, and the importance of participation in the production and diversity in the use of urban spaces.

50. The literature on the loss of urban public spaces as a result of increased privatization and surveillance of urban public spaces also focuses on its impacts on democratic discourse and certain types of political activity, as well as some of these phenomena. See for instance: Margaret KOHN, *Brave New Neighborhoods: The Privatization of Public Space*, New York/London, Routledge, 2004; Don MITCHELL, *The right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York, Guilford Press, 2003.

51. The lack of permanent supported housing does not allow a "normal" workday. Inadequate shelter, lack of showers, and access to clean clothes means that a homeless person is unable to present a good appearance to find employment and protect himself/herself from disease. In other parts of the world, like India, Thailand, without an address, people are not entitled to official papers, included in the official census and/or get birth certificates for their children.

52. The International Alliance of Inhabitants, Zero Evictions Campaign provides striking figures on the massive evictions in major cities throughout the world. In Nairobi, Kenya "300,000 people were threatened with forced eviction due to infrastructure investments (motorways, railways, electricity lines)". In Zimbabwe, Operation Murambatsvina evicted 700,000 people in 2005, although the number is estimated to be much higher and "300 children [were] forced to leave school". Privatization of public housing in Lagos, Nigeria threatened over 20,000 tenants of public housing projects. Another 4 out of 7 million were threatened with eviction in order

that President Obasanjo could implement a master plan for Abuja, the capital, in 2005. Violent evictions occur in South America, the occupied territory of Palestine, Cebu City and Manila, Philippines, Beijing, China and even in model planning cities such as Curitiba, Brazil and the home of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Croatia has been home to violent evictions mainly against the poor and elderly citizens, following the decree of the Constitutional Court, which abolished the obligation to supply adequate alternative housing. Campaigns against the Roma in Europe and independent communities with pre-celtic roots in Britain have been called a form of "ethnic cleansing". Massive evictions in rich countries like Italy occur when municipalities "have requisitioned un-rented apartments", although in January 2007, "a partial moratorium on evictions was obtained" (<http://www.habitants.org/>). In Istanbul, Turkey, as part of the city's urban transformation policies, the majority of residents of a 2000-year-old Roma settlement, Sulukule, were relocated to high-rise buildings outside the city center away from their sources of livelihood despite local resistance and international efforts to prevent it.

53. Anita SINHA, Vincent VILLANO, Saba WAHEED, Hashim BENFORD, Tony ROMANO, Jaron BROWN, Alexa KASDAN, and David DODGE, *We Call These Projects Home: Solving the Housing Crisis from the Ground Up, A Right to the City Alliance Report on Public Housing*, May 2010, available at http://www.urbanjustice.org/pdf/publications/We_Call_These_Projects_Home.pdf.

54. James TEMPLE, "Foreclosures Quadruple in State, Bay Area", *The Chronicle*, 23 April 2008.

55. Jacqueline LEAVITT, "Linking Housing to Community Development with Community Benefits Agreements: The Case of the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice" in Paul ONG and Anastasia LOUKAITOU-SIDERIS (eds), *Jobs and Economic Development in Minority Communities*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2006, p. 257-276.

56. John Leighton CHASE, Margaret CRAWFORD and

John KALINSKY (eds), *Everyday Urbanism*, New York, The Monacelli Press, 1999.

57. Karen A. FRANCK and Quentin STEVENS, *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, London/New York, Routledge, 2007.

58. Jeffrey HOU (ed), *Insurgent Public Space 2010*, London/New York, Routledge, 2010.

59. Crawford and Kalisky admit that their purpose is not to challenge the contemporary urban design practice. "Although ideas by Lefebvre, de Certeau and Bachtin initially enabled us to engage with everyday life, once that engagement begins, responding to the demands of specific urban situations ensures that the project immediately takes on a life of its own[...]. Radically empirical rather than normative and generalizable, Everyday Urbanism [...] is not intended to replace other urban design practices but to work along with, on top of, or after them" (John Leighton CHASE, Margaret CRAWFORD and John KALINSKY, *Everyday Urbanism*, op. cit., p. 14).

60. Yves CABANNES, Silvia GUIMAERES YAFAI and Cassidy JOHNSON, *How People Face Evictions*, London, Development Planning Unit/University College London, 2010, p. 11; Diane MITLIN, "With and beyond the state – co-production as a route to political influence, power and transformation for grassroots organizations", *Environment and Urbanization*, October 2008, vol. 20, 2, p. 342.

61. IIED, *Citizen driven action on urban poverty reduction*, in "Environment and Urbanization Brief Series 17", October 2008, vol. 20, 2, p. 2.

62. In most major cities of the Global South, up to 60 percent of the urban population lives in informal settlements. John Turner's work on squatter housing in the mid-1970s drew attention to the relationship of shelter to the residents' everyday lives, as well as the reluctance and inability of the state to meet their needs (John TURNER, *Housing by People*, New York, Pantheon, 1976; John TURNER and Richard FICHTER, *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, New York, Macmillan, 1978).

63. Elizabeth Yeampierre remarked in her acceptance speech of the Yolanda Garcia award in 2009, "when women organize, it is hard to tell where family ends and community begins" (<http://mas.org/mas-talks-community-activism-environmental-justice-with-elizabeth-yeampierre/>).

64. The Mother Centers concept was developed by Monica Jaeckel, a feminist researcher and activist from the German Youth Institute (DJJ). The handbook she wrote to describe the experience of three pilot cases led to the creation of hundreds of Mother Centers in Germany and around the world, which formed the Mother Centers International Network for Empowerment (MINE) (*Mothers in the Center-Mother Centers*, 2002, <http://www.mine.cc/files/ScreenMCBook.pdf>). Mother Centers, aside from responding to everyday needs of mothers, engage in advocacy to create women and child-friendly cities and communities.

65. Diane MITLIN, "With and beyond the state – co-production as a route to political influence, power and transformation for grassroots organizations", loc. cit., p. 340.

66. *Id.*

67. The Community-Based Planning Task Force is as a coalition of grassroots organizations, citywide civic groups, community boards, elected officials, professional planners, and academics, to create a more meaningful role for communities in New York City's planning and decision-making processes. <http://communitybasedplanning.wordpress.com/task-force/>.

68. Elizabeth YEAMPIERRE, "Comments: Advocacy and Community Planning: Past, Present and Future", *Progressive Planning Magazine*, Spring 2007, p. 30-31. Also available at: http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2007_spring/yeampierre.html

69. Edesio FERNANDES, "Implementing the urban reform agenda in Brazil", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 19, 1, 2007, p. 178.

70. Rebecca N. ABERS, "Reflections on what Makes Empowered Participatory Governance Happen" in Archon

FUNG and Eric Olin WRIGHT (eds), *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, London/New York, Verso, 2003, p. 201.

71. Archon FUNG and Eric Olin WRIGHT, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, op. cit.

72. The case studies include the participatory budgeting experience in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Gram Panchayat reforms in India, local school councils and community policing initiatives in Chicago and the habitat conservation planning under the US Endangered Species Act.

73. Archon FUNG and Eric Olin WRIGHT, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, op. cit., p. 284.

74. Tom ANGOTTI, *New York for Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate*, Boston, MA, MIT Press, 2008, p. 242.

75. Alma B. COUVERTHIE and Marianna LEAVY-SPEROUNIS, "Budgeting for Democracy", *Shelterforce*, Summer 2006, p. 11.

76. See: <http://www.ward49.com/participatory-budgeting/> and <http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/>.

77. Rebecca N. ABERS, "Reflections on what Makes Empowered Participatory Governance Happen", loc. cit., p. 204.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

79. Archon FUNG and Eric Olin WRIGHT, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, op. cit.

80. Edesio FERNANDES, "Implementing the Urban Reform Agenda in Brazil", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 19, 1, p. 177-189; Mark PURCELL, *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, New York, Routledge, 2008; Jacqueline LEAVITT, Tony SAMARA and Marnie BRADY, "The Right to the City: Social Movement and Theory", September-October 2009, *Poverty and Race*, vol. 18, 5, p.3-4.

81. INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF INHABITANTS, *Zero Evictions Campaigns*, <http://www.habitants.org>.

82. Jacqueline LEAVITT, Tony SAMARA and Marnie

BRADY, "The Right to the City: Social Movement and Theory", *loc. cit.*

83. Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "Planning and the Just City" at the Conference on Searching for the Just City, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University, April 29, 2006, p. 26.

84. David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

85. Tom ANGOTTI, *New York for Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate*, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

86. Manuel CASTELLS, *The City and the Grassroots*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983.

87. James HOLSTON, « Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship », *loc. cit.*

88. Pierre MAYOL, "The neighborhood", *loc. cit.*

89. Leonie SANDERCOCK, *Towards Cosmopolis*, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1998.

90. Pierre MAYOL, "The neighborhood", *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

91. Elizabeth YEAMPIERRE, "Comments: Advocacy and Community Planning: Past, Present and Future", *loc. cit.*

92. Sandercock identifies five areas of literacy that planners should have – i.e., technical, analytical, multicultural, ecological and design literacy (Leonie SANDERCOCK, *Towards Cosmopolis*, *op. cit.*, p. 225-

230). We think it is critical that planners also learn early on, while in school, to work with community based groups through their studio classes that help them synthesize these skills and theory with practice.

93. For instance, see Angotti's detailed account of the Atlantic Yards Project in Brooklyn, New York (Tom ANGOTTI, *New York for Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate*, *op. cit.*).

94. Ron SHIFFMAN, "Comments: Advocacy and Community Planning: Past, Present and Future", *loc. cit.*

95. Celso SANTOS CARVALHO, Anaclaudia ROSSBACH (Organizers), *The City Statute of Brazil: A Commentary*, Sao Paulo, Ministry of Cities, Cities Alliance, 2010.

96. Guiseppe CARUSO, "A New Alliance for the City? Opportunities and Challenges of a (Globalizing) Right to the City Movement" in Ana SUGRANYES and Charlotte MATHIVET (eds), *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, Santiago, Chile, Habitat International Coalition (HIC), 2010, p. 99-112.

97. Peter MARCUSE, "Rights in Cities or the Right to the City", in Ana SUGRANYES and Charlotte MATHIVET (eds), *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, *op. cit.*, p. 87-98.

La participation des habitants dans les projets urbains

Fabien Bressan (*Robins des Villes*)

Introduction

Penser le droit à la ville nécessite de réfléchir à l'implication des habitants dans sa transformation. Or, la participation des habitants suppose de prendre du temps afin de trouver les moyens efficaces pour faire intervenir ces nouveaux acteurs. Pour certains, défendant une vision capitaliste de la ville s'appuyant sur des besoins de rentabilité et donc demandant que l'aménagement urbain soit le plus rapide possible, cette ouverture aux citoyens n'est qu'une perte de temps¹. Ainsi, on trouverait un élément explicatif du faible nombre de démarches de concertation jusqu'alors tentées dans les villes françaises.

Pourtant, les principes du développement durable placent la participation citoyenne comme un élément transversal dans l'ensemble des politiques publiques². Construire la ville durable s'accompagnerait donc obligatoirement de dispositifs impliquant les gens qui la vivent et la pratiquent.

Par ailleurs, il existe une réelle demande citoyenne d'ouverture des cercles de décision, qui se traduit la plupart du temps par une phase conflictuelle d'opposition à un projet d'aménagement urbain. Face à tout cela, les maîtrises d'ouvrage se sentent poussées à s'ouvrir au partage de la décision. Dans les premiers exemples de projets partagés, les maîtrises d'œuvre ont constaté l'amélioration technique des projets grâce aux apports des habitants/usagers/citoyens et reconnaissent que ceux-ci répondent mieux aux besoins et attentes de l'ensemble des acteurs³. On voit donc apparaître la notion de « maîtrise d'usage », véritable expertise du quotidien, de plus en plus associée aux transformations de la Cité.

Pour autant, et malgré la reconnaissance et la communication organisée autour de ces beaux principes, qu'en est-il vraiment sur le terrain ? Quels sont les enjeux et les objectifs de la participation habitante ? Sur quoi fait-on participer (des objets, des espaces, des politiques, etc.) et à quel(s) moment(s) ? Quels sont les méthodes et les outils employés, et avec quels moyens ? Qui est invité à donner son avis et par qui ?

Cet article présente pourquoi et comment l'association Robins des Villes, en remettant en cause la manière traditionnelle de faire la ville, tente de répondre à ces nouveaux enjeux.

Après une première partie de présentation générale de l'association et de l'histoire de la constitution d'un « pôle concertation », la deuxième partie sera consacrée à la description de la méthodologie et des outils qui guident nos actions sur le terrain. Une étude de cas permettra d'illustrer concrètement ce propos, avant de tenter d'extraire des pistes de réflexion et de débat afin de contribuer à l'évolution de cette thématique.

Pourquoi un pôle concertation ?⁴

Présentation de l'association Robins des Villes. Genèse : la création

Fin 1995, les écoles françaises d'architecture reviennent sous la tutelle du Ministère de la Culture, après dix-huit années passées à l'Équipement. Ce changement initie un ensemble de réformes entraînant une forte contestation de la part des étudiants. Ce mouvement est fédéré par une association : l'Union Nationale des Étudiants en Architecture. Lors des rendez-vous de l'UNEA et des séances plénières nationales se forme un groupe régional dont l'objectif est de promouvoir un projet commun à plusieurs Écoles (Lyon, Saint-Étienne, Grenoble et Clermont-Ferrand) : les Rencontres du Cadre de Ville. L'idée majeure est d'informer, de sensibiliser et de faire participer le grand public aux questions d'aménagement, d'architecture et d'urbanisme. Ces premières Rencontres du Cadre de Ville, intitulées « Éloge à ces villes qui nous comblent », se dérouleront en novembre 1996 à Vaulx-en-Velin.

Parallèlement, des ateliers « enfants » de sensibilisation à l'architecture étaient menés dans les écoles de Lyon et de Saint-Étienne, par les associations ALEA et « Enfance et Ville ».

De cette manifestation et de la volonté de perpétuer ces ateliers hors des écoles d'architecture, naîtra l'association « Robins des Villes » en 1997.

La professionnalisation et la reconnaissance

L'organisation des deuxièmes Rencontres du Cadre de Ville (« Comment aller vers des villes conviviales ? ») en octobre 1999 est l'occasion de créer les deux premiers emplois.

L'activité augmente autour des ateliers pédagogiques et des interventions sur l'espace public (balades urbaines, ateliers de lecture du paysage, etc.). D'autres champs sont explorés : première expérience sur le thème de la participation des habitants, à Saint-Étienne (voir partie II), recherche / action (« Les friches lyonnaises de 1970 à nos jours », « participation des habitants au processus d'aménagement en Rhône-Alpes »), formation (« de l'ac-

compagnement à la participation des habitants ») et création d'outils pédagogiques d'éducation à la ville (« Skitastation »).

Depuis, l'ensemble de ces activités et thématiques constitue le socle de nos projets. Aujourd'hui, la structure se décompose en cinq axes principaux :

– La sensibilisation au Cadre de Ville : mieux connaître et découvrir le cadre de vie urbain. Cela se décline dans des interventions sur l'espace public telles que ateliers de découverte urbaine, balades urbaines, ateliers de lecture de paysage, évènementiels festifs, interventions artistiques, etc.

– L'éducation à l'environnement urbain : donner des clés de lecture aux enfants pour comprendre l'environnement qui les entoure. Création d'activités et d'outils pédagogiques autour de la ville et toutes ses composantes : urbanisme, architecture, patrimoine, géographie, paysage, etc.

– La participation des habitants dans le cadre de projets urbains : favoriser le dialogue entre tous les acteurs du territoire : ceux qui le pensent, ceux qui le dessinent et ceux qui le vivent.

– La formation : organisation de deux formations professionnelles (concertation/participation et éducation à l'environnement urbain) et formation continue par l'accueil d'étudiants stagiaires en fin de cursus.

– La recherche-action et les études : publications d'ouvrages et de rapports sur des thématiques exploratoires (friches et délaissés urbains, balades accessibles, dispositifs de concertation dans les écoquartiers, etc.)

La constitution du pôle concertation. D'une position militante ...

En mai 2000, l'association se mobilise suite à la sollicitation d'habitants de la « Muraille de Chine », une grande barre de logement social à Saint-Étienne. Cet immeuble est voué à la démolition, mais une partie des locataires ne veut pas être relogée et fait appel à Robins des Villes afin de proposer un projet de concertation à la municipalité. Face au refus de cette dernière, Robins des Villes coproduit avec les acteurs locaux une exposition « De la parole habitante » sur la question des mémoires (sociales, ouvrières, patrimoniales, architecturales, etc.), les accompagnant ainsi dans un travail de deuil de leur logement. Cela éveille nombre de questions au sein de l'équipe : comment un projet de cette ampleur, aussi lourd d'enjeux et de conséquences, peut-il être asséné à des habitants sans qu'ils aient leur mot à dire ? Quelle est donc la réelle place de ceux qui vivent les territoires par rapport à

ceux qui le font et le décident⁵ ? Ce questionnement profond est à l'origine du lancement de l'activité Robins sur le thème de la participation. Le positionnement militant est clair et plusieurs projets d'accompagnement de groupes d'habitants se font (« Terrain des Sœurs » à Villeurbanne, collectif GTI habitants de la Duchère, etc.). La plupart de ces projets sont bloqués entre des collectivités qui ont décidé du devenir d'un territoire en « vase clos » et des collectifs d'habitants en position de conflit ouvert. Ainsi, Robins des Villes aide les habitants à réaliser des contre-projets, à déposer des recours administratifs ou à organiser des actions collectives de contestation. Néanmoins, malgré quelques succès immédiats, l'effet à plus long terme est peu positif. D'abord pour les habitants, qui ont tendance à s'essouffler devant le poids et les moyens juridiques des collectivités ou des promoteurs. Bien souvent, les projets se font quand même, inefficaces à répondre aux besoins réels des usagers. Ensuite, pour Robins des Villes, qui souffre, dans ses autres activités, de cette position militante qui ne plaît pas aux décideurs locaux.

... à une position engagée

Ce constat « d'inefficacité » nous a poussés à changer de stratégie. En parallèle, de plus en plus de collectivités et de concepteurs s'ouvrent au principe de concertation des habitants, soit par choix politique, soit par obligation juridique (loi SRU de 2000). Robins des Villes choisit donc de repenser ses modes d'action et élabore une méthodologie ambitieuse et innovante, riche de ses précédentes expériences. L'objectif est toujours de porter la parole des habitants, mais avec un positionnement plus engagé que militant, se plaçant en complémentarité plutôt qu'en opposition aux dispositifs institutionnels, avec l'idée de faire évoluer les mentalités et les pratiques « de l'intérieur ».

Cette évolution se retrouve dans le mode d'intervention. Ainsi, en 2003 et 2004, Robins des Villes remporte deux appels d'offre pour l'animation de la concertation autour de deux projets de renouvellement urbain : le quartier Champleuri à Bourgoin-Jallieu et le quartier Jouhaux à Grenoble. C'est aussi l'occasion d'expérimenter sur le terrain la méthodologie créée à cette époque. Même si ces deux missions donnent des résultats mitigés, le dispositif de concertation en lui-même est satisfaisant. Les habitants ont une réelle place dans le projet urbain, et influent sur son évolution. La méthodologie et les outils de Robins des Villes sont reconnus et permettent à l'association de définir clairement les postulats qui légitiment la pérennisation d'un pôle concertation.

Les postulats actuels

Le fonctionnement du pôle repose donc sur un ensemble d'idées qui constitue la base de la méthodologie de concertation et des outils de sa mise en œuvre. Au cœur des réflexions quotidiennes, elles sont également sans cesse remises en cause et débattues, permettant l'évolution constante de nos modes d'action.

En concertation pour améliorer la pertinence des projets

Le premier postulat n'est pas propre à Robins des Villes. Admettre que la concertation améliore la pertinence des projets urbains devient un discours courant des acteurs de l'aménagement urbain. En effet, prendre en compte l'avis des habitants et usagers d'un territoire enrichit les propositions d'aménagement, qui répondent mieux aux attentes locales. Plus cela est fait en amont, plus ce sera efficace, les projets étant ainsi mieux acceptés et mieux appropriés une fois réalisés.

En valorisant les apports des « experts de l'usage »

De la même manière, le deuxième postulat est de plus en plus souvent admis par les concepteurs et les décideurs : les habitants sont des experts de leur territoire. En effet, ce sont eux qui le pratiquent, le vivent et l'animent. Cette expertise semble essentielle à l'aménageur. On assiste ainsi à l'émergence du concept de « maîtrise d'usage » au côté des traditionnelles maîtrise d'ouvrage et maîtrise d'œuvre.

Néanmoins, reconnaître cette expertise nécessite de trouver les moyens de la formuler et de l'insérer au sein du dispositif de projet.

À une échelle fine d'intervention : les micro-espaces

Le troisième postulat porte sur la question de l'échelle d'intervention. Face au constat qu'il est encore difficile de proposer des dispositifs de concertation réelle sur les projets de grande ampleur (tracé d'une grande infrastructure de transport, par exemple), Robins des Villes place son intervention au niveau du micro-espace : place publique, pied d'immeuble, entrée de bâtiment, etc. Ce choix de l'échelle du quotidien a deux avantages : d'une part, les habitants et usagers s'y projettent avec plus de facilité et, d'autre part, c'est celle sur laquelle la

maîtrise d'ouvrage peut rapidement effectuer des aménagements. Ainsi, ce niveau d'intervention facilite des réalisations concrètes qui illustrent le potentiel de réussite de la démarche participative. Ces réalisations pourront servir de levier à une mobilisation habitante mieux intégrée dans des projets d'échelle de plus en plus importante.

Au niveau de la coproduction

Robins des Villes a choisi de se placer au plus haut niveau de la participation, à savoir la coproduction.

Le pouvoir y est véritablement partagé, depuis le montage du projet jusqu'à sa cogestion⁶. L'objectif est de constituer un partenariat équitable entre maître d'ouvrage, maître d'œuvre et « maître d'usage ». La coproduction du projet doit intégrer les autres niveaux de participation en amont (information, sensibilisation, consultation, concertation).

La coproduction implique une mobilisation forte de tous les partenaires, la mise en place d'outils d'accompagnement et de relais, la création d'un échéancier de travail et des étapes de validation. Cette forme de participation intervient alors dans toutes les phases du projet. Elle peut ainsi être poussée jusqu'à la cogestion où les acteurs participent à la gestion technique, financière... au-delà de la phase de mise en œuvre. Néanmoins, une telle démarche engendre une complexification du processus de projet et peut déboucher sur des blocages prolongeant sa durée. La coproduction semble être celle qui se rapproche le plus d'une véritable démocratie participative. L'idée est bien de placer les habitants et usagers au même niveau que les aménageurs et décideurs, afin que l'ensemble des acteurs participe à l'aménagement urbain suivant ses compétences. Et même si les élus, c'est-à-dire les représentants d'une démocratie représentative, conservent dans la plupart des projets les pouvoirs de décision, d'arbitrage et de gestion, de plus en plus de collectivités territoriales prennent le parti d'associer le public au processus décisionnel et, par là même, de modifier les rapports entre démocratie participative et démocratie représentative, où habitants et usagers passent du rôle de spectateur au rôle d'acteur produisant des propositions.

Avec les « sans-voix »

Il existe de nombreuses expériences de participation, mais un problème se pose dans bon nombre de démarches institutionnelles engagées : comment toucher les « sans-voix », c'est-à-dire les nombreux citoyens qui ne participent pas (soit par manque d'information, soit par

désintérêt pour les instances et outils participatifs existants, soit par manque d'habitude) ? Ainsi, comment intéresser et faire s'exprimer les publics jeunes (enfants, adolescents et jeunes adultes), les personnes d'origine étrangère ou encore les familles ? Robins des Villes a choisi de se tourner vers ces « exclus » des dispositifs classiques de la participation (réunions publiques, instances de démocratie participative comme les conseils ou comités de quartier, etc.) et de tenter de les insérer dans ses dispositifs au même titre que les autres publics participants.

Être un « facilitateur »

Robins des Villes pense qu'il manque un chaînon pour relier les différentes sphères des acteurs qui participent à l'aménagement du territoire. En effet, la participation est un principe complexe, qui nécessite des compétences particulières, un véritable métier en soi. L'association se positionne donc comme quatrième acteur, jouant le rôle de « facilitateur », à l'intersection du triptyque d'acteurs habitants, élus, professionnels.

Cette position impose une forme de neutralité tant dans le jeu d'acteurs – notre rôle consiste à porter au mieux la parole des habitants et des usagers auprès des décideurs –, que dans la réflexion sur le projet.

La méthodologie d'action

Robins des Villes a créé et expérimenté une méthodologie de concertation qui répond à l'ensemble des postulats décrits plus haut. Néanmoins, bien que fixée dans les textes, elle se veut adaptable à chaque contexte géographique et aux réalités des territoires. De même, un souci d'évaluation et de réinterrogation des pratiques permet une évolution constante de ces principes de travail.

Cette méthodologie se décompose en trois grandes phases : le diagnostic, la sensibilisation et les propositions opérationnelles. Elle se veut pédagogique de manière à ce que les participants comprennent comment fonctionne un projet urbain.

Le diagnostic partagé des usages

La première phase consiste à construire un diagnostic partagé des espaces extérieurs (publics et/ou collectifs), par la vision qu'en ont ceux qui les vivent et les pratiquent, à savoir les habitants, les usagers et / ou les citoyens. L'objectif est double : enrichir l'analyse du territoire

des professionnels par une approche sensible et identifier les secteurs à enjeux du quotidien. Deux étapes s'enchaînent, les rencontres et déambulations suivies de la mise en dialogue.

La première étape de « Rencontres et déambulations », est une phase de lecture et de compréhension du territoire. Pour ceci, plusieurs outils sont proposés :

- Une lecture complète des documents produits sur le territoire : projets antérieurs, diagnostics, historiques, productions artistiques, ...

- Une reconnaissance du site et de ses usages sur plusieurs périodes (jour/nuit, saisons différentes, jours de semaine et de week-end) opérée par plusieurs profils professionnels, cette pluridisciplinarité assurant un riche croisement de regards.

- Une rencontre des acteurs (institutionnels, techniciens, associations, structures socioculturelles, habitants) sous forme d'entretiens formels, d'interventions auprès de groupes constitués (réunions, événements sur l'espace public, etc.) ou de discussions informelles avec des personnes rencontrées sur l'espace public.

Cette étape débouche sur une analyse sensible du territoire sous forme de cartographies sommaires des lieux de concertation, des usages, des perceptions, etc., appelée « pré-diagnostic ».

La deuxième étape consiste à mettre le pré-diagnostic en débat, c'est-à-dire de le confronter aux groupes mobilisés pendant les rencontres-déambulations. Des ateliers sont organisés afin de faciliter l'échange et le dialogue avec les participants. De l'atelier « classique » de diagnostic (où, après une balade guidée par les participants qui permet d'enrichir le diagnostic, la



Fig. 1. Atelier de lecture de paysage (Vaulx-en-Velin).



Fig. 2. Marché (St Georges d'Orques).

cartographie des usages est présentée et modifiée, enrichie, confirmée... par les participants) à des formes d'animation décalées qui permettent l'expression de tous types de publics (ateliers photos, de *slam*, de graff, utopiques, de contes, ...), le choix du type d'atelier se fait en fonction du public qui participe, de ses pratiques habituelles et des partenariats possibles avec les structures locales. En effet, la réussite de ce type de démarche est conditionnée par la confiance que chaque acteur a envers l'autre et par la capacité de rassembler le maximum de compétences autour d'un projet. Il serait donc improductif de vouloir prendre la position d'« expert » de la participation et de ne pas reconnaître et valoriser les structures existantes et leurs pratiques (dont celles de participation habitantes), ce qui est malheureusement souvent oublié par les dispositifs « *top down* ». Autre point clé : chaque atelier se fait en groupe « d'intérêt », c'est-à-dire avec un public partageant un ensemble d'intérêts communs. En effet, l'objectif étant de recueillir un maximum d'avis, il faut donc trouver le moyen de favoriser l'expression de toutes les opinions, même contradictoires. Or, confronter les différents publics dès le début d'une démarche a comme effet la « prise de pouvoir » de certains acteurs et la disparition d'autres. Par exemple, dans une réunion, les professionnels d'un sujet, plus connaisseurs et habitués à prendre la parole, seront plus actifs que les « profanes », dont certains ne se sentiront plus légitimes pour s'exprimer. L'autre avantage de la « séparation » des groupes est qu'ainsi, chacun va plus loin dans ses opinions, notamment les plus conflictuelles, ce qui est beaucoup plus difficile à obtenir lorsque la confrontation est immédiate. On peut ainsi identifier tous les blocages ou conflits antérieurs, souvent non réglés, et qui peuvent constituer un frein à la participation. *A contrario*, apporter des réponses à ces anciens problèmes permet l'instauration d'un climat de confiance et facilite la mobilisation.

Ces deux étapes débouchent donc sur la production d'un diagnostic partagé des usages, présenté à la maîtrise d'ouvrage sous la forme d'une cartographie commentée. L'outil cartographique a pour avantage de permettre le dialogue entre les différents acteurs. En effet, les professionnels appréhendent une parole habitante subjective grâce à un outil qu'ils utilisent au quotidien. Pour les habitants, dont la grande majorité comprend un plan ou une carte avec un minimum d'explications, c'est une valorisation de leur expertise : ils ont l'impression d'être au même niveau que les autres.

La phase de sensibilisation : les ateliers thématiques

Le diagnostic partagé des usages va permettre de dégager des grandes thématiques sur lesquelles un travail plus poussé va être engagé. Très souvent, le choix se porte sur celles

qui ont le potentiel conflictuel le plus élevé, qui relèvent du plus grand intérêt ou celles qui sont le moins maîtrisées par le grand public. Par exemple, sur un quartier X soumis à un projet de renouvellement urbain, trois ateliers seront organisés sur le stationnement, les espaces publics et le développement durable alors que le ruissellement pluvial ou le mobilier urbain ne rencontreront que peu de succès. À ce stade de la démarche, il semble important de regrouper l'ensemble des participants en un seul et même groupe afin que chacun puisse entendre la diversité des avis et ainsi commencer à se mettre à la place des autres. La forme est diverse : présentation en salle, visite de sites, expositions, alternant travaux en petits groupes et séances plénières.

Ces ateliers ont trois objectifs :

- Donner des clés de compréhension de la thématique aux participants, par l'apport de connaissances théoriques, d'interventions de spécialistes extérieurs, de visites de site.
- Permettre un premier niveau général d'expression de propositions. Cette étape est d'autant plus importante et intéressante en amont du projet, par exemple pendant la définition de la programmation. Elle permet également un premier débat, puisque ces ateliers sont « ouverts », et donc que les différents acteurs s'y rencontrent et confrontent leurs opinions parfois divergentes.
- Proposer au concepteur de prendre le temps d'écouter les arguments des usagers.



Fig. 3. Atelier de coproduction (Bourgoin-Jallieu).



Fig. 4. Atelier de coproduction (Privas).

La phase opérationnelle : les ateliers de coproduction

Enfin, la troisième phase est plus opérationnelle. Il ne s'agit plus de récolter des avis sur des thématiques mais bien de passer à des propositions d'aménagement d'un micro-espace. Le choix du lieu se fait par la maîtrise d'ouvrage, qui en est le propriétaire et qui financera les réalisations. Ce choix s'effectue en fonction d'une identification de tous les espaces à enjeux (issue des résultats des deux premières étapes) mais également des potentialités du projet urbain général. Ainsi, on ne partira pas sur un espace public dont le devenir est d'être remplacé par un bâtiment. Là encore, les groupes sont « mélangés » pour confronter les opinions et forcer l'argumentation. Par contre, les ateliers sont successifs et évoluent chronologiquement. Par exemple, sur un square, on va choisir de faire trois ateliers :

– Le premier permettra de se rendre sur place, afin que chacun en partage une même vision. Puis on donnera l'ensemble des informations sur le projet urbain et ses avancées (temporalités, acteurs, budgets, etc.), sur les règles des ateliers (durée, écoute, rôle de chacun, etc.), sur les limites fixées (marges de manœuvre, résultat attendu, etc.) et sur l'objet même de l'atelier (lois, normes, enjeux, etc.). Enfin, ce premier atelier se terminera par un temps d'expression libre sur toutes les propositions d'aménagements possibles.

– Le deuxième atelier partira de ces propositions. Mises par écrit par Robins des Villes entre les deux ateliers, il s'agira de les traduire spatialement. On va donc utiliser les outils de représentation dont se servent les professionnels : plans et / ou maquettes. Chaque proposition va être positionnée, argumentée, débattue, afin d'aboutir à une proposition d'aménagement commune. Néanmoins, le but n'est pas d'arriver à tout prix au consensus. Si une proposition unique n'émerge pas, il pourra être proposé plusieurs scénarii, la seule règle étant que les participants acceptent alors que la maîtrise d'ouvrage fasse un choix et que celui-ci devra être respecté.

– Le troisième atelier consistera à finaliser et valider le ou les documents. Par exemple, des photos de références seront jointes au plan. C'est également un dernier temps de débat entre les participants, qui peut se finir par un moment convivial et l'annonce du calendrier de validation.

Le résultat fourni se présente sous la forme de documents écrits descriptifs, illustrés de visuels réalisés avec les participants (plans, maquettes, photos, etc.), qui contribueront à l'établissement du cahier des charges technique d'aménagement. Ce dernier document est ensuite validé politiquement et techniquement par la maîtrise d'ouvrage avant d'être présenté sous sa forme finale (explication des choix retenus ou non, chiffrage exact, échéancier de réalisation, etc.) aux habitants pour une dernière validation.

Restitution et valorisation

Un dernier élément de méthodologie semble fondamental, c'est la question de la restitution. La plupart des démarches de concertation, d'études ou d'enquêtes, souffrent d'un problème récurrent : l'absence de retours aux participants qui ne voient que rarement le résultat de leur implication. C'est une des causes de la méfiance des citoyens envers les démarches participatives, qui « ne servent à rien ». Ainsi, Robins des Villes s'oblige à présenter les résultats à ses commanditaires mais aussi et surtout aux habitants et usagers, et ce, à chaque phase importante de la démarche.

Pour toucher le maximum de personnes, même celles qui n'ont pas participé, nous varions les outils : réunions publiques « classiques », évènements ou actions sur l'espace public⁷. Toute une palette d'outils ludiques (balades, café-discussion, animations pour enfants, expositions) ou artistiques (graff, danse, théâtre, etc.) concourent à l'objectif majeur de ces moments : la convivialité.



Fig. 5. Évènementiel (Lyon).



Fig. 6. Évènementiel (Feyzin).

Étude de cas : la Fondation Richard⁸

Contexte⁹

La Fondation Richard accueille des personnes en situation de handicap physique. Créée le 22 novembre 1854 à l'initiative de Gabriel-François Richard à Lyon, ses 150 salariés interviennent autour des jeunes du Centre d'Éducation Motrice (CÉM), soit en soutien à l'éducation des handicapés moteurs soit en apprentissage de techniques appropriées (psychologie, kinésithérapie, ergothérapie, orthophonie, orthoptie, psychomotricité, soin). En 2001, la Fondation Richard décide de construire un bâtiment de plus de quatre mille mètres carrés capable d'accueillir cinquante-deux résidents adultes en foyer ou en accueil de jour. En 2006, elle entame la rénovation complète de l'ensemble de ses locaux. La Fondation fait alors appel à l'association Robins des Villes, l'objectif principal étant de mettre les résidents et le personnel en mesure de faire des propositions pour l'aménagement des espaces extérieurs.

Méthodologie

Dans le cadre du projet, la première action a été de déterminer précisément la méthodologie et les moyens mis en œuvre en partenariat avec la maîtrise d'ouvrage (le donneur d'ordre, la Fondation Richard) et la maîtrise d'œuvre du projet (l'exécutant technique, le cabinet d'architecture AEC).

Ainsi, plusieurs choix ont été faits avant même d'entamer le travail de concertation sur le terrain :

- Parmi les 4 degrés définis traditionnellement en France – information, consultation, concertation et coproduction – c'est le dernier qui a été retenu. La Fondation Richard a donc accepté un réel partage du pouvoir avec les usagers, qui sont alors devenus la « maîtrise d'usage », tout en gardant le pouvoir d'arbitrage en dernière instance.

- L'objet de la participation a été choisi. Parmi l'ensemble des espaces extérieurs, il a été décidé de ne pas faire de concertation sur des espaces où les marges de manœuvre étaient faibles : parking, aire de chargement des véhicules de transport et de livraison, tous les trottoirs et bordures de petite taille. La coproduction s'est donc concentrée sur cinq objets majeurs : l'espace de proximité de la résidence pour adultes, le stade de sport, l'espace de représentation de l'accueil, la cour du CÉM et le parc paysager de la Fondation.

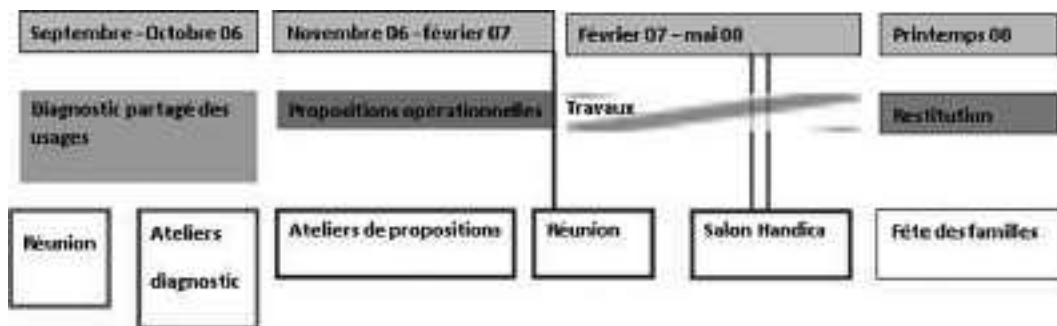
– Le troisième choix s’est porté sur le public. Qui doit participer ? Les résidents enfants et adultes semblaient un choix évident, mais il a semblé intéressant d’associer également les professionnels, eux aussi usagers des espaces extérieurs de la Fondation.

– Quant à la méthode, les participants seraient associés à l’élaboration du diagnostic puis des propositions opérationnelles. Ce dispositif a permis d’identifier les besoins et attentes de chacun sur les espaces collectifs, puis de co-élaborer les propositions d’aménagement. Pour ce faire, plusieurs outils ont été mobilisés : des présentations *PowerPoint*, des plans, des balades, des photos, etc.

– Enfin, il a été décidé de commencer la concertation le plus en amont possible, pendant les travaux effectués sur les bâtiments, afin que l’aménagement des espaces extérieurs soit engagé dès la livraison des nouveaux locaux.

Déroulement de la mission

Engager une démarche de participation efficace demande du temps. Mais il faut également se soucier du calendrier des aménagements connexes en cours de réalisation et des temporalités de chaque acteur. C’est pourquoi un planning précis a été proposé aux participants au cours d’une réunion de lancement, à laquelle l’ensemble des résidents et du personnel de la Fondation était convié. Cette première rencontre a permis à la Fondation Richard d’annoncer sa volonté de mettre en place un dispositif de concertation piloté par un prestataire extérieur. Ainsi, Robins des Villes s’est présenté de manière officielle et a annoncé les prochaines étapes de travail.



Les ateliers diagnostic

Pour l’identification des besoins et des usages passés, actuels et futurs des espaces extérieurs, trois groupes ont été formés : un atelier avec les résidents jeunes, un atelier avec les résidents adultes et un atelier avec les professionnels. Les participants ayant des intérêts sensiblement identiques sont réunis afin qu’aucun acteur ne prenne l’ascendant et que chacun puisse donner son opinion (exemple : un médecin ou un éducateur peut avoir un rapport de domination avec un enfant dans le cadre de leur relation habituelle, ce qui peut se reproduire dans un atelier commun). Autre avantage, le groupe fermé favorise l’expression des intérêts qui lui sont propres (résidents ou professionnels, enfants ou adultes) et donc l’émergence et l’anticipation des futurs conflits d’usage.

Le déroulement est cependant identique dans chaque atelier. Une présentation du projet d’aménagement des bâtiments (lecture de plan, informations sur les acteurs, temporalités, etc.), suivie d’une balade dans les espaces extérieurs, plus ludique et informelle que la séance en salle. Elle facilite l’expression et le partage d’une vision commune du territoire traversé. Ce sont les participants qui choisissent le parcours et les arrêts, qu’ils commentent. Le rôle de l’animateur est donc de recueillir les éléments exprimés, puis d’analyser les parcours et débats pour enrichir le diagnostic.



Fig. 7. Atelier diagnostic.



Fig. 8. Balade diagnostic.

L'atelier est conclu par un temps d'expression libre au retour dans la salle, qui aborde déjà les premières propositions d'aménagement.

Le résultat se présente sous forme de tableaux pour chacun des quatre espaces identifiés et d'une synthèse, qui reprend des éléments de perception actuelle et d'usages souhaités (voir exemple ci-dessous pour l'espace d'accueil).

Diagnostic		Désirs- Propositions	Public
Positif	Négatif		
		Plantes et statues décoratives : favoriser le côté artistique et attractif de l'accueil. Faire réaliser les objets par les enfants Penser au sol pour accéder aux différents bâtiments Séparer les différents usages de circulation	At. Rés.J
La tour est un symbole	Pente très raide, dangereuse. Architecture métallique	Bancs Fleurs Descente en lacets Espace vert qui empêche le passage des fauteuils Espace planté, en terrasse pour casser la pente Fresque (réalisée par résidents) sur un mur qui rappelle la tour, ou matériaux minéraux	At. Rés.A
		Idée de terrassement, joliment fleuri Cacher les locaux de la psychomotricité Éviter des plantations trop hautes qui favoriseraient le sentiment d'écrasement	At. Pro.

Le document final est remis à la maîtrise d'ouvrage. Il rassemble l'ensemble des tableaux qualitatifs et quantitatifs (combien de participants, intérêt pour la démarche, etc.), ainsi qu'un recueil des principales questions qui sont ressorties des ateliers, et des conclusions établies par Robins des Villes.

Ainsi, les participants ont choisi de réduire le nombre d'espaces à travailler et ont demandé l'intervention du paysagiste de la Fondation Richard et de l'architecte du projet pour apporter une aide technique pour la phase de coproduction. Par ailleurs, un conflit important a émergé concernant l'éventualité de réserver l'usage du parc aux enfants. La maîtrise d'ouvrage a alors joué son rôle d'arbitre en affirmant sa volonté d'ouvrir le parc à tous.

Les ateliers de coproduction

À partir du diagnostic partagé des usages, l'objectif de cette seconde phase était de donner la capacité aux participants de faire des propositions pour une réelle co-élaboration de trois espaces : la cour d'école, l'espace extérieur de la Richardière (bâtiment d'accueil des résidents adultes) et le futur parc.

La méthodologie choisie évolue par rapport aux ateliers « diagnostic ». Toujours au nombre de trois, les ateliers de coproduction sont évolutifs et réunissent l'ensemble des participants. En effet, le croisement des groupes « fermés » de la première phase permet ici d'enrichir le débat en le confrontant aux divergences potentielles. Par ailleurs, le dispositif mis en place fait varier les outils : des présentations générales, des tables dédiées à chaque espace pour travailler en sous-groupe (un animateur reste disponible à chaque table), des restitutions collectives et des appuis techniques selon les besoins. Les ateliers sont espacés d'une quinzaine de jours maximum afin de limiter la perte d'informations.

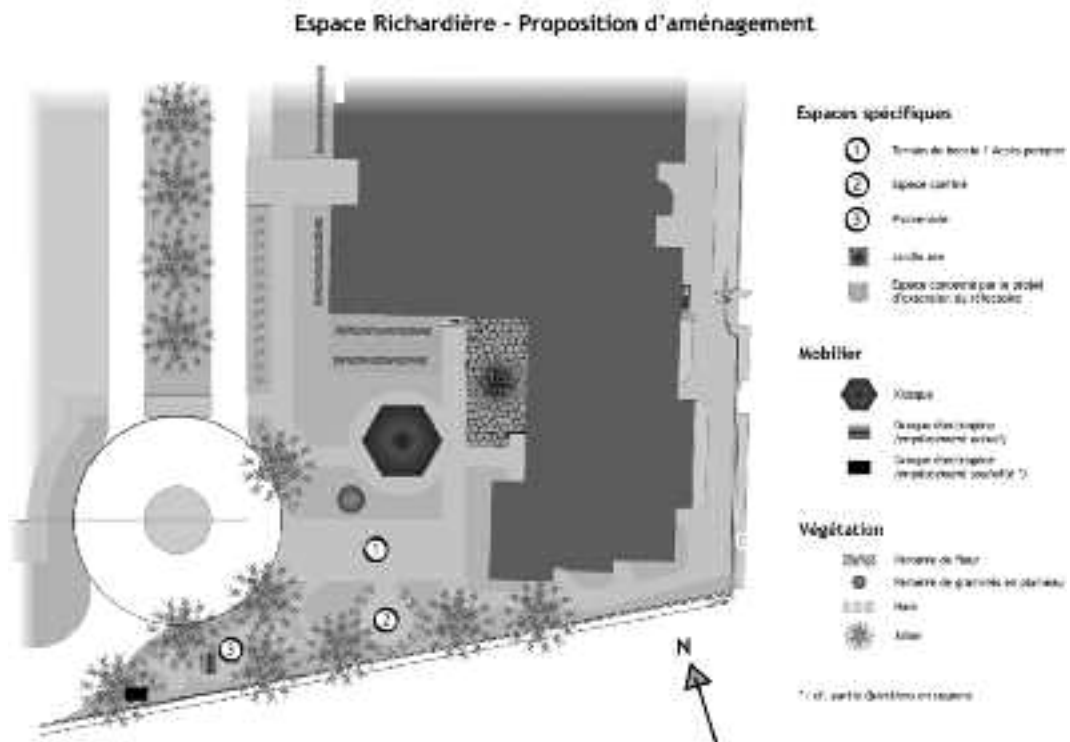
Le premier atelier se découpe en plusieurs temps : une restitution des conclusions du diagnostic des usages, un cadrage sur les règles de la concertation et la réponse aux questions soulevées dans la première phase effectuée par la maîtrise d'ouvrage (marges de manœuvre, calendrier, choix de chacun de travailler sur un ou plusieurs espaces, enveloppes financières, etc.), la répartition en différentes tables et le démarrage du travail de coproduction proprement dit : les participants doivent reprendre chaque élément du diagnostic, le discuter, le valider, le modifier et le traduire en proposition d'aménagement. Un système de rotation s'opère toutes les vingt minutes, permettant à chacun de changer de table ou de rester pour approfondir la réflexion. Pour chaque espace, l'animateur recueille donc l'ensemble des propositions, qui sont classées par thématiques (végétation, sol, accès, ambiance générale, mobilier, etc.).

Le deuxième atelier part des propositions du premier. Sur un plan vierge recouvert d'un calque, les participants dessinent et placent géographiquement l'ensemble des propositions, qui peuvent ainsi également se modifier et s'adapter au fur et à mesure. L'architecte, le paysagiste et les animateurs de Robins des Villes offrent un appui technique afin de conseiller sur les choix d'implantation, les coûts de certains aménagements, ou les impacts éventuels (exemple : le choix de certaines espèces végétales incompatibles entre elles), tout en gardant une position de neutralité devant les choix des participants.

Le troisième atelier est l'occasion de présenter les plans finaux retravaillés sous format informatique par Robins des Villes entre les deux ateliers, puis les participants s'appliquent

à choisir des photos illustratrices des propositions dans un catalogue. Ces photos ne sont pas contractuelles, mais donnent une idée visuelle à chacun des ambiances attendues.

Le résultat se présente donc sous la forme d'un cahier des charges, qui rassemble l'ensemble des plans (voir exemple ci-dessous) et photos de référence, accompagnés d'un texte explicatif. Ce document est remis à la maîtrise d'ouvrage pour une validation politique, puis à la maîtrise d'œuvre qui est chargée de reprendre ces propositions pour les traduire en documents officiels : plans de détails, réseaux, chiffrage exact.



Les participants

L'ensemble de la démarche a été un succès en termes de qualité et de quantité des participants. De plus, l'ensemble des publics a été représenté. Ainsi, ce sont plus de quarante personnes qui ont participé à au moins un atelier et une réunion (dont vingt et une à toutes les animations), avec de nouveaux participants à chaque fois, sceptiques ou peu intéressés au départ mais touchés grâce au bouche-à-oreille. Par ailleurs, certaines personnes représentaient des groupes qui se sont réunis en dehors des temps de concertation, notamment pour des publics qui ne peuvent se déplacer ou dont les horaires de travail ne correspondaient pas à ceux des ateliers. Le nombre total représente donc trente à quarante pour cent de l'ensemble des usagers de la Fondation Richard.

La richesse des débats et des propositions, ainsi que le suivi régulier et soutenu sont la preuve de la motivation et de l'intérêt pour la démarche. De plus, malgré la liberté de parole, chaque participant a mesuré l'importance d'écouter et de prendre en compte l'avis de tous, quelque soit la forme et le moyen d'expression. De même, la maîtrise d'ouvrage et la maîtrise d'œuvre ont également pris conscience de l'efficacité et de l'intérêt du travail de concertation pour la pertinence du projet final, comme le prouve leur implication dans les ateliers, non envisagée au démarrage du dispositif.

La restitution

Robins des Villes a proposé plusieurs temps de valorisation et de présentation des résultats, en variant les formes afin que chacun puisse s'informer selon ses envies.

Le diagnostic des usages a donc été présenté au début de la phase de coproduction. Le cahier des charges a fait l'objet d'une présentation sous forme de réunion publique à la fin de la démarche. Enfin, une présentation animée a été présentée pendant les trois jours du salon Handica 2007 sur le stand de la Fondation Richard.

La valorisation

Une exposition évolutive a été élaborée à la fin de la démarche. Montée sur panneaux transportables, les parties photographiques concernant l'évolution des travaux sont modifiables. Ainsi, plusieurs « campagnes » photographiques ont eu et auront lieu pour suivre l'avancée des chantiers jusqu'à leur achèvement.

Cette exposition a été présentée plusieurs fois : pour la fête de printemps des professionnels et leur famille et, pendant l'année scolaire, aux différentes classes ainsi que dans le centre de formation. Elle a également été affichée pendant la fête des Familles au cours du mois de juin et pour l'inauguration après livraison des travaux.

Enfin, une présentation de l'exposition auprès des acteurs du développement durable et du grand public est prévue dans le cadre d'une valorisation du travail des associations membres de la Maison Rhodanienne de l'Environnement.

Conclusion

Cette démarche innovante en termes de concertation a un bilan très positif dans son ensemble. D'abord quantitativement, puisque les différents ateliers ont été suivis par un nombre de personnes important (plus d'une quarantaine) au vu de la population totale de l'institution (environ deux cents résidents et professionnels). Par ailleurs, ce nombre est très largement complété par les personnes qui ne désiraient qu'une information qu'elles ont pu trouver pendant les différents temps de présentation. Ainsi, chacun a pu choisir son mode et son niveau d'implication dans la démarche de participation.

Autre point positif : la qualité des échanges. Cet aspect est évidemment plus difficile à évaluer, néanmoins, quelques indicateurs permettent de tirer ces conclusions :

- le suivi très régulier des ateliers, avec des groupes qui ont même travaillé en dehors de ces temps particuliers (visites de jardin, consultation de personnes non disponibles pour les horaires des ateliers, etc.) ;
- de nouveaux participants à chaque étape, venus par le « bouche à oreille » ;
- des retours sympathiques, voire enthousiastes par différentes voies : entretiens (une douzaine réalisés à la fin de la démarche ou pendant le mois de juin 2008), e-mails ou courrier de soutiens, diffusion de la démarche par la Fondation Richard lors d'événements connexes (salon Handica 2007) ;
- la qualité technique exceptionnelle des propositions, à tel point que la reprise des plans par l'architecte est parfois surprenante (quatre-vingt à quatre-vingt-dix pourcents des propositions sont inchangées car l'architecte les a trouvées très satisfaisantes).

Néanmoins, comme toute démarche de concertation, cette expérience soulève des questions et des points à améliorer : difficulté à accepter les temporalités longues pour les participants (par exemple, les résidents, bien que conscients des cycles longs de croissance végétale, ont du mal à pratiquer le parc jugé pour l'instant trop minéral), gestion des conflits d'usages

pendant les ateliers, impossibilité de trouver le financement d'une évaluation qui permettrait de juger de la pertinence des projets et de la démarche plusieurs années après leur réalisation.

Il n'en reste pas moins que cette démarche de démocratie participative novatrice a prouvé que le handicap physique n'empêche en rien de communiquer et de transmettre joie de vivre et plaisir de se rencontrer.

Conclusion générale : points positifs et limites des démarches participatives

Plusieurs pistes de réflexions et de questionnements se dégagent des actions de Robins des Villes

En termes d'apports positifs, il apparaît évident, comme la plupart des acteurs de l'aménagement s'accordent à le reconnaître, que les dispositifs de concertation doivent être intégrés aux projets urbains¹⁰. D'abord, parce qu'ils répondent mieux aux attentes directes des futurs usagers de l'espace¹¹. Mais surtout, parce qu'associer les citoyens à la transformation de leur cadre de vie facilite l'appropriation des espaces de vie, donc leur animation, leur respect, leur gestion, une fois qu'ils ont été livrés. Un autre avantage de la participation réside dans la pédagogie. En effet, au travers des ateliers, l'association apporte aux habitants et usagers tout un ensemble de clés de lecture et de compréhension de leur environnement et de ses transformations. Ainsi, par son intervention, Robins des Villes « forme » des enfants et des adultes aux notions de la ville et de son aménagement et leur offre les outils pour en devenir les acteurs.

Par ailleurs, ce type de démarche favorise le retour de la confiance envers l'action publique : la défiance des citoyens envers les élus est un problème récurrent. La bonne conduite d'un dispositif de concertation permet un climat de confiance, à condition qu'il soit porté politiquement. En effet, lorsque l'ensemble des acteurs a la possibilité de s'exprimer de manière claire et transparente, et que cette parole est écoutée et entendue, il semble beaucoup plus facile aux élus de porter des décisions qu'ils savent partagées.

La pratique de la participation implique un changement radical des habitudes et méthodes de travail des aménageurs, des services de collectivité et des élus. Pour le politique, il s'agit d'accepter de partager le pouvoir. Pour les techniciens, d'accepter d'intégrer à leur expertise professionnelle les connaissances « profanes ». Ce décloisonnement des pratiques participe de l'ensemble des autres points décrits ci-dessus.

Ensuite, les actions de participation habitante renforcent le lien social. L'expérience montre que la conduite de processus de participation dans le domaine de l'urbanisme peut faire « boule de neige ». Ainsi, dans nombre de territoires, la rencontre entre différents types d'acteurs lors d'aménagements du cadre de vie entraîne la construction de partenariats ou d'actions dans beaucoup d'autres domaines : festif, culturel, éducation, emploi, etc.

Enfin, la capitalisation des démarches participatives est un moyen de mise en valeur : capitaliser et montrer les résultats permet de reconnaître la valeur du temps et de l'énergie des participants. C'est d'autant plus important quand on travaille avec des populations en situation de précarité.

A contrario, il est nécessaire d'identifier les limites et dérives possibles des processus participatifs, afin de les prévenir le plus tôt possible, en amont de la mise en œuvre de telles actions.

Le plus gros défaut d'une démarche participative survient lorsqu'elle reste inachevée, c'est-à-dire lorsque les participants se rendent compte qu'elle n'a aucune influence sur l'action publique¹². Quelle qu'en soit la raison (« concertation-alibi », manque de moyens, non réalisation des projets, etc.), la non-concrétisation d'une concertation entraîne d'énormes frustrations chez les participants¹³. Cet écueil est d'autant plus marqué quand il se produit avec des habitants formés, qui sauront alors exactement vers quel acteur se retourner pour engager des procédures allant du simple refus de participer à une autre démarche au blocage, voire à une situation de conflit.

Le phénomène des habitants « professionnels » peut être une autre difficulté¹⁴. Trop connaisseurs des réseaux et acteurs institutionnels, ils se retrouvent dans une position de force, notamment par rapport aux autres citoyens, car ils sont souvent détenteurs d'informations plus rapidement et parfois semblent « grisés » par ce pouvoir, réel ou non. Ils s'appuient souvent sur une structure constituée (association, comité ou conseil de quartier), qui parfois ne défend plus la notion d'intérêt général, mais seulement des intérêts privés. Ainsi, certaines de ces instances participatives sont devenues de véritables *lobbies*, censées représenter les citoyens, mais qui ne jouent absolument plus ce rôle. Ces derniers sont par ailleurs souvent « récupérés » et instrumentalisés par d'autres acteurs (élus, techniciens) qui s'en servent alors pour justifier des projets prétendument réalisés en concertation avec la population.

Autre écueil, celui de l'habitant « sacro-saint », car la figure de l'Habitant unique n'existe pas. Sans rentrer dans le débat des terminologies (l'habitant, l'usager, le citoyen, etc.), il ne faut pas oublier que les participants représentent une pluralité de personnes, avec des avis divergents, dont la prise en compte ne doit pas dépasser celle des autres acteurs, mais bien se retrouver au même niveau.

Le manque d'évaluation est également une limite majeure. Les dispositifs de concertation en France sont toujours mesurés quantitativement (beaucoup d'élus justifient la réussite d'une concertation uniquement en affichant un nombre élevé de participants, « représentatif » de la population) mais il reste d'énormes progrès à faire pour l'évaluation qualitative. Un des moyens serait de pouvoir faire des missions de suivi, qui aillent jusqu'à la livraison des aménagements, puis leur gestion et utilisation. On pourrait même imaginer des dispositifs de co-évaluation, dont les habitants seraient partie prenante.

Enfin, le système français de production de la ville ne laisse aucune place à l'initiative citoyenne. Et il en est de même pour les démarches de concertation, qui sont menées du haut vers le bas (ce que Joseph Salamon appelle le « débat public d'élevage¹⁵ »), alors que les démarches du bas vers le haut, (le « débat public sauvage¹⁶ ») sont très peu reconnues et légitimées. Or, l'initiative citoyenne existe, elle est source d'innovation, de créativité et d'espoir, peut être le symbole d'un véritable droit à la ville pour tous.

1. Hélène HATZFELD, « Faire de la politique autrement. Les expériences inachevées des années 1970 », in *Adels*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006.
2. CERTU, « La Concertation, cœur du développement durable » in *Bonnes pratiques à l'usage des collectivités territoriales*, Le Certu, février 2006.
3. GRAND LYON, *La Concertation dans la conduite de projet*, Guide méthodologique, 2006.
4. Hervé SAILLET, *Le Rôle des associations dans l'aménagement urbain*, Mémoire DESS, IAUG, 2006.
5. Jean-Claude VAN CAUWENBERGHE, *Rendre la ville aux citoyens*, Bruxelles, Labor, 1980.
6. Sherry ARNSTEIN, " A Leader of Citizen Participation", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1969, vol. 35, p. 216-221.
7. « Artistes, militants, habitants... Les nouveaux débatteurs de rue », *Revue Territoires*, septembre 2006, n° 470.
8. Robins des Villes, VAD, « La Concertation dans les projets d'aménagement », centre de ressources Enviroboîte, juin 2007, <http://www.envirobat-med.net>.
9. FONDATION RICHARD, « Quand les Lyonnais ont du cœur », plaquette présentation, BD Consultant, 2000.
10. Alain BOURDIN, *La Question locale*, Paris, PUF, 2000.
11. Patrick NORYNBERG, *Faire la ville autrement. La Démocratie et la Parole des habitants*, Barret-sur-Méouge, Yves Michel, 2001.
12. Michel FALISE, *La Démocratie participative. Promesses et ambiguïtés*, L'Aube, 2003
13. Olivier MONGIN, « Forces et faiblesses de la participation. La Petite Démocratie et la Grande Démocratie. De la concertation au pouvoir effectif des citoyens », *Esprit*, juillet 2006, n° 326.
14. Fabien BRESSAN, *La Participation dans les projets d'aménagement urbains*, Mémoire DESS, IAUG, 2004.
15. Joseph SALAMON, *Pédagogie de la ville : les mots des acteurs dans le projet urbain*, Le CERTU, 2008.
16. *Id.*

Vers des *Community Land Trusts* : essai à partir d'une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain

Loïc Géronnez

La synthèse appartient au politique [...] S'agirait-il de laisser aux mains des hommes de l'État la décision ? Certes non. Pas plus qu'aux experts et aux spécialistes. [...] La capacité de synthèse appartient à des forces politiques qui sont en réalité des forces sociales. Elles prennent ou ne prennent pas la parole. À elles d'indiquer leurs besoins sociaux, d'infléchir les institutions existantes, d'ouvrir l'horizon et d'indiquer un avenir qui sera leur œuvre.

Henri Lefebvre, *Le Droit à la Ville*, p. 127

Préambule méthodologique : La notion, outil de pensée créé dans et pour une pratique associative orientée vers une finalité politique

Le type de rapport au savoir varie selon les institutions dont il émerge. Cet article est écrit à partir de la pratique d'une association qui entretient une relation instrumentale à la connaissance, à la réflexion, à la théorie. L'affinement d'outils de pensée ne s'y élabore pas suivant une rigueur conceptuelle qui existerait pour elle-même, suivant une fidélité historique à la théorie, suivant une cohérence de concepts visant à faire système ou à s'imposer dans un courant ou dans un champ. Nous nous appuyons plutôt sur la construction de *notions*, d'outils de pensée glanés au cours d'une pratique mise en cohérence et de lectures aléatoires visant à l'éclairer et à l'orienter.

La cohérence devient alors l'articulation d'un discours utile à un moment donné pour organiser son action dans le monde, une construction à partir de et pour cette pratique, orientée explicitement vers une finalité sociale. Finalement, ces notions, faisant cohérence à partir d'un contexte d'action, doivent permettre la décision dans la mise en œuvre de processus complexes orientés par cette finalité sociale, elle-même en mouvement et en reformulation permanente. Les termes plus conceptuels que nous utiliserons auront donc strictement ce statut de notion.

De même que l'on parlera de notion, nous ne sommes pas dans un modèle d'hypothèse théorique et de déduction. Mais bien dans une logique de « transduction » comme la posait

Lefebvre¹. Il s'agit de formuler des expérimentations et des limites éprouvées pour en tirer les éléments d'une proposition politique intuitive. À partir d'un tel positionnement, il s'agit moins de développer un discours linéaire que de donner à voir des tensions émergeant des pratiques de terrain et dont le dénouement ne peut s'envisager que dans un ancrage d'essais et d'erreurs. Si la démarche ne consiste pas à épuiser un champ théorique pour déterminer la part de risque à pointer une assertion comme opérante, il faut bien passer par le « faire » et laisser la recomposition des tensions qui en ressortent nous enseigner comment réorienter le discours et la pratique.

Deux tensions structurantes d'une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain

Deux tensions nous semblent particulièrement significatives lorsque l'on se donne pour objectif de construire la ville en suivant l'horizon de la démocratie participative. Elles sont bien entendu non exhaustives. Cependant, elles contiennent suffisamment d'éléments pour pouvoir se dégager de certaines contradictions de la pratique.

Tout changer de l'extérieur ou évoluer de l'intérieur

Une première tension réside dans les rôles construits et rejoués depuis longtemps entre les réformistes et les révolutionnaires. Bien qu'ils renvoient à une terminologie un peu éculée, il s'agit bien de deux postures encore actives. L'une postule que l'attitude la plus productive, du point de vue de la justice sociale, consiste à critiquer l'institution dans un rapport d'extériorité pure, l'autre pose qu'il n'existe pas un avant et un après, mais bien des institutions en mouvement qui doivent avancer par évolutions successives vers une amélioration de la justice sociale².

Dans tout processus se joue un rapport de force dans lequel les détenteurs de capitaux, principalement économiques et fonciers, mais aussi culturels, jouent leurs atouts pour faire valoir leurs intérêts. Le jeu suppose des règles dont ces mêmes détenteurs de capitaux sont la source³. Dans ce contexte, une stratégie consiste à considérer que « faire participer les acteurs au projet » entraîne nécessairement de « justifier un projet sans le remettre en question ». Cette posture pose l'impossibilité de mettre le projet urbain en débat sans implicitement en organiser la caution. Dès lors, l'entrée en tant qu'opérateur dans le processus de concertation constituerait un gage de qualité à l'usage des pouvoirs publics qui amène-

rait toute réaction, après coup, à être frappée du sceau du parjure : « Nous vous avons impliqués et vous n'êtes pas encore d'accord ? Maintenant, cela suffit, il faut bien avancer. » Partant, toute implication dans un processus de participation entraînerait l'aval involontaire d'un projet qui verra de toute façon le jour, indépendamment de l'espace dans lequel il est discuté et par suite, au nom de cet espace. Le projet sortant s'orienterait alors en fonction d'intérêts généralement économiques qui sont, en tout ou en partie, contradictoires avec les intérêts des parties prenantes de la concertation. Cette lecture critique conduit à questionner durement les tentatives de mise en débat des projets d'aménagement urbain et à penser les mécanismes d'influences citoyennes exclusivement au travers de l'établissement d'un rapport de force plus traditionnel d'opposition entre acteurs collectifs et pouvoirs publics, lesquels sont conçus comme les otages de lobbies privés.

La stratégie d'action issue d'une telle lecture aboutit à une prise en charge de missions de formation de fond, seules à même de faire émerger des consciences mobilisées qui marcheraient pour transformer la société à partir d'une posture aux moindres compromissions. Si cette optique a sa force, elle trace néanmoins une limite à partir de laquelle il nous semble essentiel de repenser l'action publique. Il s'agit de repenser les institutions – communes, CPAS, régions, administrations, universités, corps de lois et de règlements, ... – non comme des acteurs opposés, mais comme les instruments existants et inévitables de l'organisation du vivre ensemble. Par conséquent, c'est avec ces institutions et en leur sein que doit pouvoir s'exprimer un dessein politique qui devienne aussi un dessin de la ville, pour reprendre les mots de Paul Blancart⁴.

La démocratie participative consiste par conséquent à faire « descendre » ces institutions pour les construire à partir d'espaces publics de débat d'où puisse sortir une décision modelée en permanence avec l'ensemble des acteurs qui en vivront les conséquences. En cela, on pourrait dire qu'il s'agit de poser les jalons d'une société heureuse. Si vivre sans institution est impossible, modulons l'institution pour qu'elle devienne essentiellement inclusive. Par conséquent, il s'agit de construire des espaces institutionnels porteurs de décision qui n'enfermeraient plus les intervenants dans des rôles caricaturaux : des associations détentrices d'une justice mais irrémédiablement cantonnées à la frustration, des opérateurs des marchés exclusivement vénaux et des pouvoirs publics qui abdiqueraient d'emblée à défendre l'intérêt général.

L'approche stratégique découlant de cette conception postule que d'autres espaces sont nécessaires pour que les habitants puissent s'approprier le débat et influencer le projet de ville, sans pour autant devoir attendre la construction d'un rapport de force. Il s'agit alors

d'adopter une stratégie selon laquelle la transformation sociale ne se passe pas exclusivement dans l'extériorité et l'opposition aux pouvoirs économiques et aux pouvoirs publics. Dans cette perspective stratégique cependant, d'autres questions s'ouvrent en vue d'une pratique inéluctablement pétrie de contradictions.

Est-il possible de mettre en œuvre des dispositifs de participation tout en gardant une capacité critique et en défendant un projet de ville qui excède celui donné à débattre ? Peut-on penser des pouvoirs publics qui soient le lieu du débat et pas le lieu de la reproduction de rapports de force ? Des pouvoirs publics qui soient le reflet et le lieu d'émergence d'accords collectifs et non de l'application de règles et de reconduction de privilèges ? L'accession à la parole dans des lieux de débats publics implique-t-elle une redistribution des ressources ou cautionne-t-elle un droit à l'écoute dont la contrepartie serait le *statu quo* pour les positions socio-économiques des uns et des autres ? En d'autres termes encore : comment ne pas cautionner en mettant en débat ? Comment retraduire les enjeux du débat au sein des espaces de participation, sans se faire exclure des pouvoirs publics, mais en n'attendant pas nécessairement des citoyens qu'ils soient porteurs de tous les questionnements critiques que le débat doit affronter ?

Voilà les questions qui émergent d'une pratique ancrée dans les institutions et qui prétend les faire évoluer vers davantage de justice. Pour reprendre les termes de René Schoonbroodt, « Si la ville est la projection au sol de rapports sociaux, l'introduction de la société civile dans le processus de décision doit nécessairement changer la production du bâti et la gestion de l'espace de la ville⁵. »

Rénover et exclure ou ne rien faire et laisser une ville sans qualité aux ménages à bas revenus

Sur le plan économique, cette tension se module de la façon suivante. L'investissement public dans les quartiers moins favorisés valorise le patrimoine bâti. Pour peu que les populations ne soient pas propriétaires de leur bien, elles se retrouvent, à moyen terme, exclues par la valorisation du patrimoine causée par l'investissement public. Aussitôt l'espace se trouve remis à neuf, aussitôt il devient de fait inaccessible (ou seulement accessible à d'autres). Pour autant, peut-on se permettre de ne plus investir dans les quartiers dont les populations sont les plus fragiles ? Précisément les quartiers où il faudrait le plus investir ? Dilemme de la rénovation urbaine s'il en est, cette mécanique que les postures critiques opposent à toute démarche de coproduction doit pouvoir évoluer si l'on refuse de laisser un espace sans

qualité aux populations les moins dotées. Bien qu'ils n'épuisent pas, par eux-mêmes, la totalité du dilemme, les *Community Land Trusts* constituent une des possibilités intéressantes pour palier ces difficultés et tenir ensemble aménagement urbain et accessibilité de ces lieux en voie de valorisation pour les ménages à bas revenus.

Les *Community Land Trusts*, une piste pour une démocratie participative à l'échelle des quartiers

Comme évoqué ci avant, dans les vastes opérations de rénovation, la simple annonce de travaux publics dans un périmètre donné a généralement pour conséquence de faire monter les prix des biens. C'est évident pour les prix de vente. Les loyers pratiqués suivent la tendance avec un léger décalage. Par anticipation, en effet, les propriétaires locaux adaptent leurs tarifs. Résultat : les autorités sont parfois incapables d'acquiescer les terrains sur lesquels elles ont pourtant programmé leurs constructions. À nouveau, il convient de casser ces logiques spéculatives afin de maintenir des logements à des fins prioritairement sociales sur des terrains et dans des quartiers en voie de forte valorisation foncière.

Comment investir dans les quartiers sans participer aux mécanismes de gentrification ? Comment améliorer le cadre de vie des populations précarisées sans que cette même amélioration ne les exclue ? Peut-on penser une ville – et les institutions publiques en sont les opérateurs – dans laquelle les investissements se destinent à des populations dont le revenu est faible ? Bref, est-il politiquement possible d'influencer le cadre de vie de populations à faibles revenus dans un système de marché ?

Les *Community Land Trusts*⁶ (CLT) présentent nombre de réponses à ces tensions auxquelles le développement urbain achoppe depuis de nombreuses années. Le principe est simple : ce sont des organisations qui proposent des logements abordables à l'intention de personnes disposant de bas revenus, ainsi que des espaces collectifs et à destination économique. Dans le cadre de ce système, la propriété foncière est séparée de la propriété du logement. Le modèle a été créé aux États-Unis à la fin des années 1970. Il ravive l'intérêt depuis que des milliers de personnes ont perdu leur logement au cours de la crise des *subprimes*. Burlington, ville de naissance du premier CLT urbain aux États-Unis, a reçu le prix international *World Habitat Award* pour la résistance de son marché immobilier, incluant une large offre de logements en CLT, face à cet effondrement du système de prêts bancaires à haut risque.

Ce système permet de fournir une marge de bénéfices discutée avec les habitants, les pouvoirs publics et les *trusties*. Au niveau de la propriété, les terres appartiennent au trust

et sont soumises à la décision des *trusties*, des habitants et des pouvoirs publics, puisque ces derniers entrent avec une partie du capital pour acquérir les terrains.

L'enjeu d'un tel dispositif consiste à créer des mécanismes qui permettent aux pouvoirs publics de maintenir leur prérogative sur le foncier tout en rendant possible le dynamisme de la propriété et en dynamisant la participation citoyenne. Deuxième enjeu de taille, permettre l'accès à un habitat stable, en dehors des logiques du marché locatif ou acquisitif. Le logement n'est plus une marchandise et la rente foncière se trouve socialisée. Enfin, ce mécanisme peut, à terme et s'il prend suffisamment d'envergure, amenuiser la brutalité du marché privé. La ville où les CLT sont les plus forts aux États Unis (Burlington avec 2000 ménages en deçà du revenu médian logés dans le CLT) est celle dont le marché locatif a le mieux résisté à la crise de 2008, étant donné que les prêts à haut risque y ont été les moins vendus.

Fonctionnement détaillé du modèle

Le CLT est une organisation non marchande contrôlée par la collectivité qui possède, développe et gère des propriétés au profit de la collectivité locale et avec son concours. Il s'agit d'acquérir des terrains et des biens immobiliers et de les garder durablement en propriété d'une organisation⁷ au profit de la collectivité⁸. L'objectif final est de produire et de gérer des logements abordables pour les catégories de revenus les plus bas. D'autres fonctions (activités économiques et services) sont également prévues sur les terrains des CLT, avec la règle qu'elles profitent à la collectivité.

- La spécificité du modèle est fondée sur quelques éléments de base:
- la séparation entre la propriété foncière et la propriété de l'immeuble ;
- la création de logements accessibles à perpétuité ;
- une gestion démocratique par la collectivité ;
- l'insertion territoriale ;
- l'accompagnement ;
- la mixité fonctionnelle du bâti et la mixité sociale par les différences de liens contractuels entre habitants et habitat.

Ces éléments de base sont partagés par la plupart des CLT. Nous les développons ci-après. Aucune recette n'existe et les CLT ne sont jamais identiques l'un à l'autre. Des options différentes sont prises selon le fonctionnement des CLT en zone urbaine ou rurale, selon leur taille (grande ou petite) et leur nature (publique ou privée). Chaque CLT cherche la meilleure façon de résoudre les problèmes locaux tout en valorisant les opportunités et les ressources locales.

La séparation du foncier et du bâti et l'acquisition mixte

La première tâche d'un CLT consiste à acquérir des terrains et des bâtiments grâce à des dons privés ou à l'aide de subventions des pouvoirs publics, en argent ou en biens immobiliers afin de constituer un patrimoine foncier en propriété collective. Le *trust* demeurera toujours le propriétaire foncier, mais cède le droit d'usage de ce foncier à des acquéreurs des immeubles qui y sont construits ou à des acquéreurs qui construiront leur logement sur le terrain « loué ». Divers mécanismes, dont l'emphytéose et le droit de superficie, constituent des modalités possibles de cette séparation en droit belge, nous y reviendrons. Ces acquisitions permettent de soustraire les terrains du système spéculatif et de les mettre à la disposition de la collectivité au travers du CLT.

Le principe de l'acquisition mixte

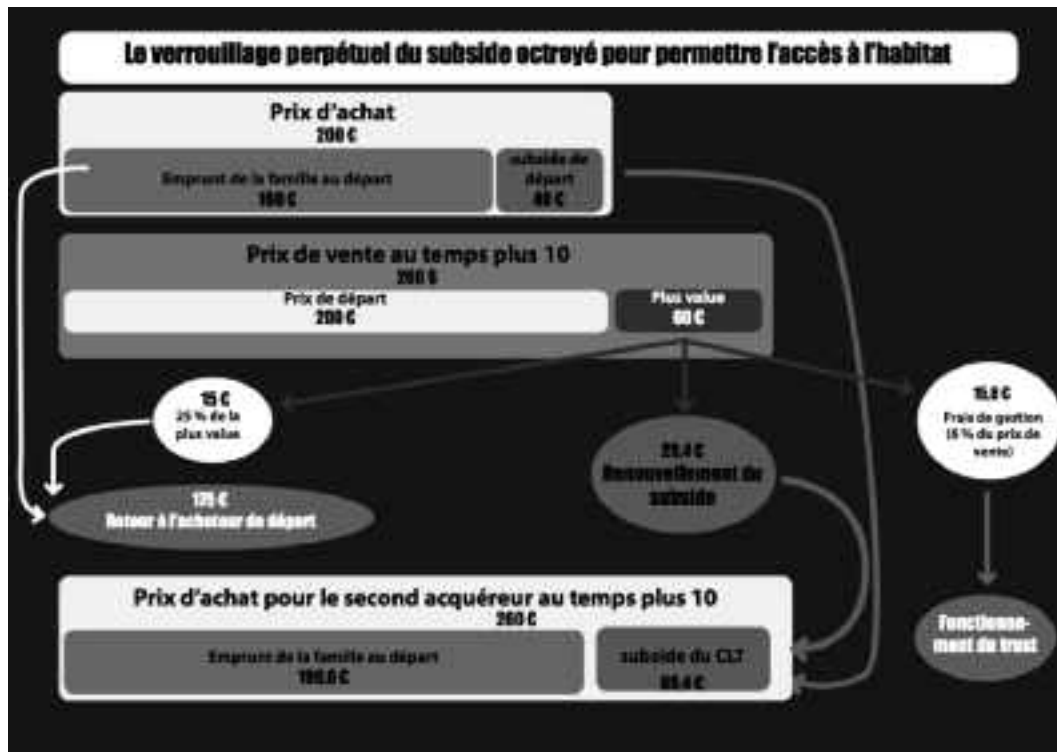
Le droit d'usage octroyé à l'individu est un droit perpétuel accordé sur le foncier moyennant un loyer symbolique. Soustrayant le coût du foncier de l'ensemble des coûts liés à l'acquisition, cette opération permet de rendre accessible des biens à des personnes à bas revenu. Cependant, l'habitant ne possède pas le sol, mais bien le bâtiment qui s'y trouve. Nous appellerons l'acquisition d'un bien sur un foncier appartenant au *trust*, une acquisition mixte⁹.

Les droits que les acheteurs acquièrent sont presque les mêmes que ceux de tout autre propriétaire immobilier (droit d'utiliser la chose aussi longtemps qu'il le souhaite, droit de disposer de la chose, comme, par exemple, de la transformer, la vendre). Il se voit contraint cependant de respecter deux conditions :

- Il doit occuper lui-même le bien.
- Lorsqu'il vend sa propriété, le vendeur se voit mettre des conditions sur la part de la valeur prise par son bien qui lui reviendra. Il ne reçoit dans les faits que de 20 à 30 % de la plus-value immobilière prise par son bien (voir détails ci-dessous).

Une accessibilité grandissante et un verrouillage perpétuel du subside

Lors de la mise en vente par le *trust* d'un bien en acquisition mixte sur le marché, le CLT fixe le prix de vente de telle sorte que le plus bas revenu possible puisse l'atteindre, sous contrainte de viabilité de l'opération. Le prix du foncier est retranché du prix de vente, de telle sorte



qu'il permet à des revenus inclus dans une certaine tranche de le financer à l'aide d'emprunts sans que le remboursement n'excède une certaine quantité du revenu.

Lors de la revente, le trust dispose d'un droit de préemption qu'il applique systématiquement. Il rachète donc le bien au prix du marché, rembourse le vendeur de la somme que ce dernier a investie et d'une partie de la valeur prise par son bien. Il garde une partie de cette plus value (de 5 à 10%) pour assurer ses coûts de fonctionnement.

Il remet alors le bien en vente sur le marché, en retranchant le coût du foncier initial, mais aussi le reste de la plus-value gagnée par le bien et restituée au trust par l'acquéreur précédent. De cette façon, une famille de même condition socio-économique ou de condition socio-économique plus faible peut racheter le même bien au moment de la revente.

Les logements fournis par les CLT restent donc abordables de manière pérenne parce que le bénéfice qu'ils ont généré revient à la collectivité pour être repassé à une famille de même condition économique x année plus tard.

Reprenons l'exemple particulièrement éclairant de Diane Diacon afin de comprendre la formule de revente et le verrouillage pérenne du subsidé.

« Disons que la propriété s'achète à 200 \$ desquels 160 \$ proviennent de l'emprunt – logement de l'acquéreur et 40\$ de la subvention du CLT. Après quelques années, le propriétaire choisit de revendre et sa propriété est évaluée à 260\$. Le vendeur garde 15\$ (soit 25% de la plus-value de 60 \$) plus la valorisation de son emprunt qui lui donne par exemple 10 \$. Cela lui fait 25 \$ pour l'acquisition d'une autre propriété. Le CLT rachète la maison pour 175 \$ et garde 6 % (du prix de vente total) pour ses frais de gestion, soit 15,6 \$. Le surplus, 29,4\$ est ajouté à la subvention de départ fourni par la FCT, donnant un total de 69,4 \$. Le FCT revend alors la maison au nouvel acquéreur pour 260 \$, dont 190,6 \$ est l'emprunt qu'il devra réaliser et 69,4 \$ est la subvention qu'elle lui octroie.

La subvention initiale est toujours nécessaire pour assurer l'accessibilité du logement. Cependant, comme on le voit par l'exemple, il est renouvelé au travers de la vente. Une accessibilité permanente sert aussi les intérêts publics en permettant le recyclage de tous les investissements publics qui créent l'accessibilité de départ. Cette perpétuelle accessibilité permet à la FCT de servir des générations de propriétaires sans subvention additionnelle du gouvernement, comme le montre l'exemple dans lequel le niveau de subvention est passé de 40\$ à 70 \$¹⁰. »

Dans le cas du *Champlain Housing Trust* à Burlington (que nous présenterons plus en détail ci-dessous), on constate que les pourcentages de revenus médians auxquels sont accessibles les biens diminuent en moyenne de 0,51 % sur les 205 opérations de reventes opérées depuis la naissance du trust (précisément de 3,70 sur les maisons, alors que les appartements en condominiums restent globalement accessibles aux mêmes revenus)¹¹.

Une gestion démocratique par la collectivité

Un CLT est une organisation de membres, composée de tous les utilisateurs des terrains et des infrastructures du trust, des personnes qui y ont un intérêt quelconque et de représentants de l'intérêt général. Qu'entendons-nous par-là ?

Toutes les personnes qui ont un lien contractuel d'utilisation du sol ou des immeubles sont automatiquement membres du CLT. Il peut s'agir de personnes qui louent des logements à loyers très modérés, de personnes qui ont acquis un bien sur le modèle d'une acquisition mixte (propriété du bâti, mais non du sol), ou de personnes qui louent des terrains/bâtiements pour des activités d'économie sociale à destination de la localité.

Toute personne physique ou morale qui a un intérêt quelconque dans le *trust* peut également devenir membre. Il s'agit d'abord des utilisateurs du quartier. Ceux qui fréquentent les infrastructures collectives, les espaces publics, et les commerces de proximité du *trust*, peuvent s'affilier pour soutenir sa démarche. De même, s'ils souhaitent soutenir la création de logements accessibles pour leurs enfants ou des personnes de mêmes conditions socio-économiques, ils peuvent participer à la constitution du capital du *trust*. Le CLT mobilise activement ce levier du quartier par l'organisation de larges campagnes de recherche de fonds. Généralement, ceux-ci payent une cotisation modeste, mais là n'est pas le but principal du mécanisme. Les fonds des CLT sont principalement constitués des subventions de départ amenées par les pouvoirs publics et les donateurs privés. Cependant, il faut que toute la collectivité participe autant que possible au *trust*. Un grand nombre de membres signifie un soutien important de la part de la collectivité qui veillera à ce que le CLT mène une politique orientée vers l'intérêt de la collectivité dans sa globalité et non pas seulement en faveur de ses propres habitants. Comme le rappelle Diane Diacon, il faut « reconnaître que l'un des principaux bénéfices d'une approche type CLT réside dans sa capacité à engager la communauté locale, non seulement dans le processus de décision lié au design et à la planification, mais aussi dans la propriété de fait du patrimoine¹² ».

On intègre également dans ces personnes ayant un intérêt quelconque dans le *trust*, tous les investisseurs de plus grande envergure, tels que les donateurs privés ou les investisseurs. S'y retrouvent encore les associations de soutien et les personnes ressources qui, par le biais de leur affiliation, entrent également dans le mécanisme de décision et d'orientation du *trust*.

Enfin, les pouvoirs publics (représentants de l'exécutif, du législatif ou des administrations) sont introduits dans les organes de décision des CLT en ce qu'ils représentent l'intérêt général et permettent une ouverture sur des leviers de financement public conséquents et nécessaires à la croissance du *trust*.

Les deux parties (utilisateurs directs et personnes ayant un intérêt dans le *trust*) définissent indépendamment l'une de l'autre leurs membres qui composeront l'organe de décision. Selon les cas, ces deux collègues désignent ensuite les représentants de l'intérêt général qui participeront à l'organe de décision ou alors, la nomination de ces derniers est établie par les statuts. L'idée qui se dégage d'une telle composition consiste à donner un tiers du pouvoir de décision à chacune de ces composantes.

À titre d'exemple, dans le *Champlain Housing Trust*, ce conseil est composé pour un tiers d'habitants et utilisateurs, pour un tiers d'autres membres et pour un tiers de représentants des pouvoirs publics désignés par les deux autres collègues. Chacune de ces parties est repré-

sentée par cinq personnes au sein de l'organe décisionnel. Parmi les cinq utilisateurs directs, il est établi qu'au moins une personne sera dans le logement locatif, au moins une personne sera dans l'acquisitif mixte et au moins une personne viendra d'une formule de coopérative d'habitat développée sur les terrains¹³.

Community Land Trusts et tensions de l'investissement urbain

À présent, il nous reste à évaluer dans quelle mesure les CLT présentent des éléments de réponse, sinon de solution, aux tensions identifiées précédemment. Ces éléments doivent être envisagés eu égard aux pertes des plus-values observées dans les mesures d'aides à l'acquisitif et aux envolées des prix du foncier, en regard des effets d'exclusion spatiale générés peu ou prou par les politiques de quartier. Il faut enfin revenir sur leurs apports concernant les capacités du logement social à affronter le défi de l'appropriation et des effets de stigmatisation.

Des réponses originales aux effets d'opportunité et à la perte des plus-values foncières pour les pouvoirs publics

De manière générale, il faut éviter que l'évolution des prix des biens sur un territoire déterminé n'exclue des catégories de la population. De la même manière, il ne faudrait pas que l'intervention publique ou l'intervention d'un *trust* n'incite un propriétaire à vendre pour réaliser une plus-value démesurée. En disposant d'une maîtrise sur le foncier, le *trust* introduit des ferments de régulation dans le secteur. Lorsque l'appréciation des valeurs a pour effet de relever les montants nécessaires pour qu'un ménage donné puisse accéder au logement, les formules de revente au sein du *trust* permettent, elles, de maintenir ces montants accessibles à des ménages de mêmes conditions économiques que ceux qui se trouvaient dans le logement avant la hausse. Ce rôle est assuré par le verrouillage de la subvention dans la propriété collective, par la ponction de la plus-value réalisée à la revente du bien et sa transmission à l'acquéreur suivant. Comme il ne s'agit pas de valeurs fixes (par exemple, le remboursement actualisé d'une subvention), mais bien de valeurs qui intègrent l'évolution des prix sur le marché (les plus-values réalisées pour un bien donné), les *trusts* sont en mesure de maintenir le bien accessible. La formule de revente permet de transmettre à l'acquéreur suivant la subvention de départ augmentée de la plus-value, et par conséquent, de maintenir ces biens accessibles à des populations de mêmes conditions économiques que celles qui résidaient dans le quartier avant l'intervention publique.

Une précision requiert encore d'être faite. Le marché immobilier n'est pas éternellement ascendant (il n'y a qu'à considérer un instant le récent exemple américain). À cet égard, la régulation évoquée plus haut a ceci de particulièrement intéressant qu'elle est susceptible de fonctionner *dans les deux sens*. En cas de dépréciation très forte des actifs, l'acquéreur qui revend ses parts a la garantie de retrouver la plus grande partie de son investissement de départ¹⁴. Les risques sont répartis entre le ménage et la collectivité (le *trust*) par la répartition de la plus-value ou de la moins-value.

Maintien de la qualité du bâti et appropriation de l'espace

Pour reprendre la pensée de Lefèvre, la propriété mixte, telle que celle pratiquée au sein des CLT, permet aux habitants une véritable appropriation de leur logement et de l'espace urbain dans lequel il s'enracine.

Qu'il soit dans le parc privé ou, plus encore, dans le secteur social du logement, le locataire est actuellement dépossédé, dans une large mesure, de sa faculté à mobiliser ses aptitudes techniques en vue d'améliorer son lieu de vie. Dans le cadre d'un CLT, le logement est en son entière propriété et il peut s'impliquer dans son évolution, sa rénovation, etc. Par ailleurs, comme membre du CLT, il possède – au moins en partie – le foncier sur lequel s'érige sa maison.

L'accompagnement fourni par le *trust* veillera aussi à ce que, d'une part, l'occupant ne détériore pas son logement et, d'autre part, à ce que ses améliorations n'élèvent pas le prix du bien de telle sorte qu'il ne soit plus accessible à des familles à bas revenus même avec la transmission de la plus-value.

Poussant plus loin la logique de l'appropriation de l'espace, les expériences d'auto-construction peuvent enrichir encore ce mécanisme. Par cette possibilité de s'approprier et d'améliorer son logement, le futur acquéreur développe ses propres compétences. Dans une démarche de capacitation bien comprise, il renforcera son autonomie et, du coup, il y a fort à parier qu'il s'émancipera aussi sur le plan professionnel. La participation active des habitants leur révèle à eux-mêmes une somme de savoir-faire trop longtemps ensevelis. Ainsi, les expériences d'auto-construction (pratiquées en Angleterre ou en Uruguay notamment¹⁵) montrent à suffisance que, sitôt le projet achevé, les participants ne tardent pas à (re)trouver de l'emploi, et pas uniquement dans le secteur de la construction. Au-delà de la maîtrise des outils techniques, c'est une certaine estime de soi qui est ainsi restaurée. « Construire et habiter ne se distinguent plus véritablement, non plus que se loger et apprendre un métier », ponctue François Perdrizet¹⁶, avec des accents très heideggériens¹⁷.

Par ailleurs, c'est *ensemble* que les usagers d'un CLT recouvrent leur autonomie ; dans un paradoxe qui n'est qu'apparent, l'appartenance à une structure collective a rendu aux participants une partie de leur indépendance *ut singuli*. Le « capital social » ainsi acquis, autrement dit, est partagé. Certains niveaux de revenu n'en permettent d'ailleurs l'acquisition qu'en groupe.

De plus, cette dimension collective a pour effet de transformer la relation occupant-propriétaire (privé ou public). L'acquéreur d'un logement dans le cadre des CLT se l'approprie à un double niveau. Premièrement, les briques lui appartiennent et il jouit de la plupart des avantages de la propriété. Il a tout le loisir de transformer son bien et y a un intérêt : le bien se valorisant, c'est son capital qui se valorise dans la mesure où il récupère une partie de la plus-value. Les seules conditions restrictives à ce droit de propriété consistent à conditionner la revente et à l'obliger à occuper personnellement le logement. Deuxièmement, il est propriétaire du sol et partage le pouvoir de décision sur l'affectation de ses fruits et sur son usage. La relation institution-individu s'en trouve modifiée. Cette participation à la propriété du sol et, par conséquent, à la décision, l'este d'un poids non négligeable les revendications d'habitants eux-mêmes jugés crédibles pour leur statut de copropriétaire.

Des dispositifs institutionnels pour une mixité sociale de fait

Dans le cadre des CLT, la mixité du bâti tout comme celle des publics est au cœur même du fonctionnement. Elle repose sur des dispositifs concrets qui permettent de lui donner une assise : les liens différenciés qui unissent les habitants avec leur habitat.

Les CLT offrent un réel outil pour rendre possible une mixité économique, dimension nécessaire de la cohésion sociale. Nombre d'initiatives publiques posent la mixité sociale comme un idéal urbain. Par une telle mixité, le discours politique projette comme s'il était durable l'état de grâce transitoire créé entre l'arrivée de personnes au capital culturel élevé dans des espaces tels que ceux des quartiers populaires ou industriels – espaces en transition, encore relativement souples et bon marché – et le départ des populations habitants ces lieux au préalable¹⁸. Un tel idéal tient sa légitimité de l'idée selon laquelle une contiguïté spatiale entraînerait par soi un transfert de ressources et une création d'opportunités pour les personnes plus fragilisées de ces mêmes espaces.

Cet état de grâce ne semble pourtant durer que la courte période durant laquelle les acteurs du marché immobilier n'ont pas saisi la valeur de cette qualité de vie¹⁹. L'intérêt des CLT réside alors dans leur capacité à maintenir *de facto* et de façon pérenne différentes caté-

gories socio-économiques sur un même territoire, voire dans la même opération immobilière. Cette concrétisation devient possible grâce à la diversité des liens contractuels qui unissent l'habitant à son logement. En d'autres termes, la mixité de citoyens se base sur deux éléments principaux : l'accès aux espaces valorisés par le retrait du prix de la terre de l'achat de la maison, d'une part, la diversité de liens juridiques entre l'habitant et l'habitat, d'autre part.

Dans les mêmes espaces se retrouveront des ménages sous contrat de location, des ménages ayant acquis leur bien sous le modèle de la propriété dissociée – soit en acquisitif mixte –, des ménages en pleine propriété de leur bien²⁰ et des coopératives d'habitants. Ces types de rapport à la propriété, par le coût différent qu'ils représentent pour le budget des ménages, entraînent une coexistence de familles aux capacités de paiement différenciées et donc de conditions socio-économiques diverses. Il y a fort à parier enfin que la relation d'appropriation individuelle et collective du logement, rendue possible par les *trusts*, favorise également une appropriation positive de son cadre de vie.

Nouvelle gouvernance

L'intégration du bâtiment dans son environnement immédiat et son acceptation corrélative par la population se trouvent grandement facilitées par les mécanismes de gouvernance innovants apportés par ces modèles d'habitat. Comme le montre l'expérience des CLT aux États-Unis, c'est souvent un véritable morceau de ville qui s'implante (avec commerces et équipements collectifs), en lieu et place du traditionnel bloc monofonctionnel de logements²¹. Il remplit donc une fonction d'attraction et d'infrastructure pour les quartiers, tout en rendant possible le maintien ou le développement d'un commerce de proximité ancré localement.

Les riverains des terrains du *trust* sont invités, comme on l'a vu, à devenir membre du *trust* en y investissant une somme plus ou moins importante selon les envies. De cette manière, ils acquièrent un droit de vote en assemblée et la possibilité d'intégrer l'organe décisionnel. De même peuvent-ils soutenir tel ou tel projet à mener au sein des infrastructures du *trust*, comme, par exemple, la création d'une crèche ou d'autres infrastructures d'utilité publique, comme des espaces de récréation ou de production localisée. Ce désenclavement des logements, allié à l'appropriation positive des habitants, présente les meilleures chances de contrecarrer les effets de levée de bouclier observés lors de différentes propositions récentes de nouvelle implantation de logements sociaux dans un quartier.

Une politique du logement au-delà de l'assistance et du marché

Des discussions idéologiques sur la politique du logement mènent souvent à un débat peu fécond opposant l'encouragement de l'acquisition de propriété à la construction de logements sociaux, des logiques de marché et des logiques redistributives. Les CLT combinent les avantages d'une politique de logement basée sur la construction de logements locatifs sociaux et d'une politique qui encourage l'accès à la propriété, sans les exclure pour autant.

Le premier point de vue s'inscrit davantage dans une lecture libérale de l'État, lui laissant la portion congrue dans l'intervention sur le marché et postulant que son amaigrissement est la meilleure manière d'opérer une affectation optimale des ressources. Le second convoque davantage la logique de l'État Providence, laquelle postule que l'intervention de l'État est la seule garantie d'une équité d'accès aux droits fondamentaux.

Les arguments les plus forts des défenseurs de la construction de logements sociaux consistent à avancer que les moyens publics doivent demeurer dans le giron de l'État. Il est le seul garant du bien commun et, comme tel, constitue l'acteur par excellence qui n'agira pas en tant qu'opportuniste. Par ailleurs, la construction de logements sociaux sous-entend une maîtrise du foncier et du parc locatif qu'il apparaît dangereux de laisser aux seules forces du marché. Selon les détracteurs de cette approche, les logements sociaux stigmatisent les gens qui y résident et les rendent dépendants d'un appareil d'État inefficace en termes de qualité et d'entretien de logements, autant qu'en termes d'autonomisation financière des ménages. Ils prônent alors un accès à la propriété, le posant comme la garantie d'une responsabilisation des personnes, eu égard à leur logement et à leur quartier, ce moyen permettant encore de se constituer un capital propre.

Le CLT se trouve à la lisière de ces deux répertoires. Les gens peuvent accéder à la propriété : ils sont incités financièrement à prendre soin de leur bien ; ils peuvent se l'approprier et le transformer comme tout autre propriétaire et l'on peut supposer que cette appropriation déconstruit le stigmate qui pèse sur les locataires du parc social.

Par ailleurs, la communauté ne perd pas ses moyens. La collectivité reste non seulement propriétaire du terrain, mais peut également continuer à déterminer les règles sociales du jeu. Les CLT parviennent alors à encourager l'accès à la propriété, tout en constituant, dans un même mouvement un instrument de fronde contre la spéculation. C'est alors l'équilibre créé par la confrontation des intérêts potentiellement divergents des usagers, des parties prenantes et des pouvoirs publics, inscrite au cœur même du mécanisme de gouvernance, qui constitue le meilleur garant de l'intérêt général au sein d'un CLT. Ni un équilibre hypo-

thétique du marché, ni la bonne gestion d'un État bienveillant ne président à ce maintien du bien commun, mais bien les éléments dynamisants et contraignants de ces deux logiques.

De même, les rapports avec l'administration sont soumis à recomposition. Cantonnée traditionnellement dans une fonction d'autorité à caractère quasi régalien, la puissance publique glisse progressivement vers un rôle d'*accompagnatrice* de projets. Elle n'est plus seulement l'instance qui, en amont, accepte ou non la délivrance d'un permis de construire et, en aval, contrôle la bonne exécution des travaux ; elle se voit investie d'une mission nouvelle, davantage créatrice et positive, consistant à suivre pas à pas un programme audacieux de construction/rénovation ; par ses conseils avisés, elle en facilite (autant que faire se peut) la bonne fin. Le censeur, en définitive, doit se faire adjuvant²².

Dans le cadre des CLT, la formule de propriété mixte offre aux acquéreurs une stabilité résidentielle à un prix abordable autant qu'une occasion de prendre des responsabilités dans la communauté grâce à leur affiliation au *trust*. Pour la collectivité, l'avantage réside dans le maintien, au sein des quartiers caractérisés par un degré élevé de changement de locataires, d'habitants qui peuvent apporter une certaine stabilité. Dans ces quartiers en transition, au sein desquels s'observent de manière patente des phénomènes assimilables à la gentrification, les CLT permettent le maintien durable de logements abordables pour les habitants originaires du quartier. La plus-value foncière générée par l'embourgeoisement de certains quartiers devient alors un facteur de mixité, plus que d'exclusion. Comme on l'a vu, plus la plus-value augmente, plus le bien est accessible à un ménage dont le revenu est faible.

Jouant tantôt des forces du marché, tantôt de la capacité de l'État à garantir l'accès aux droits au logement, à la croisée d'une institution toute puissante et d'une logique qui maintient l'intérêt général par le croisement d'intérêts potentiellement divergents, des modèles tels que les CLT affrontent « *l'assistancialisme* » du tout à l'État sans tomber dans l'illusion d'un marché autorégulateur. Ils considèrent l'importance d'une appropriation individuelle de l'habitat. Ils ne souscrivent pas à un modèle excluant les populations les moins bien dotées d'un foncier valorisé et ne leur donnant accès qu'à des lieux de moindre qualité. Politiques redistributives, logiques réciprocitaires et dynamisme du marché, bien plus que de s'opposer, s'intègrent de manières différenciées à chaque niveau des CLT, tant dans le montage financier, que dans le principe de gouvernance, pour en faire une vraie voie d'innovation en matière de ville, de logement et de politique sociale.

Parce qu'une conclusion n'existe pas, un outil de monitoring est nécessaire

Pour revenir sur le préambule méthodologique, nous n'avons bien entendu pas de conclusions à proposer. Elle arrêterait artificiellement un mouvement, quand c'est précisément le fait de ne pouvoir l'arrêter qui met les opérateurs urbains dans l'obligation d'agir en frôlant parfois la contradiction. En revanche, il est clair que nous avons réalisé un parcours complexe, identifiant des mises en tension entre une participation qui cautionne et un espace de débat critique, d'une part, investissement dans l'aménagement urbain et expulsion douce, d'autre part. Ces deux tensions, bien qu'inépuisables, ont permis de développer des arrangements institutionnels qui permettent de les faire évoluer de la façon la plus juste possible. Les CLT sont des pistes qui flouent les limites de l'institution et des citoyens, qui ouvrent la possibilité d'une sorte de sphère publique non gouvernementale. Ils constituent des lieux de décisions sur l'évolution des institutions et des quartiers qui ne reposent pas sur la logique de la représentation démocratique, sur l'expertise exclusivement technique ou sur le poids économique, mais qui permettent pourtant la définition d'un bien commun, d'un intérêt général équitable²³.

Sur ce chemin, plus qu'une conclusion, c'est peut-être d'un outil de monitoring dont nous avons besoin. Dans tout type d'intervention, qu'elle porte sur la ville bâtie ou sur les institutions qui la rendent possible, il faut vérifier que l'on progresse sur trois fronts : l'autonomie des acteurs, l'influence des dispositifs de débat sur le projet de ville et l'idéal de ville porté par les opérateurs des projets.

Autrement dit, chacun des dispositifs mis en place doit pouvoir être évalué *en ce qu'il a permis aux habitants de grandir en autonomie* : acquisition du sens de ce qui est possible et impossible, capacité à prendre de la place dans le débat pour y faire valoir leur point de vue au-delà des rôles de réaction auxquels on les cantonne, aptitude à interférer sur le cadre et l'ordre du jour, ... Dans cette perspective, les éléments de formation des habitants sont et restent un élément essentiel à une participation efficace.

Chacun des dispositifs doit être porteur de la décision finale, en d'autres termes, tendre et, dans l'idéal, devenir un espace de délibération. Si le dispositif n'a aucune influence sur la décision, il ne répond pas aux missions qu'on attend de lui dans la perspective d'une ville coproduite et présente peu d'intérêt en termes de droit à la ville, en termes de droit de participation à l'œuvre comme le soutenait Lefebvre.

Chacun de ces dispositifs reflète la vision de la ville et de la société idéales, portée – parfois implicitement – par les opérateurs de la participation. Nous sommes tous en prise

avec une ville existante et une neutralité absolue dans le débat est impossible. Prétendre ce détachement absolu tend à occulter des présupposés qui orientent l'action et la décision au sein des institutions participatives. Ainsi, si les résultats ressortant de la décision collective, insufflés par des habitants autonomes et dans le cadre d'un dispositif influant effectivement sur les décisions, s'opposent à l'idéal de ville des associations qui mettent en œuvre la participation, le risque est grand de voir ces dernières disqualifier les résultats de cette participation. Cette disqualification s'opère, qui plus est, dans les termes mêmes de l'institution qu'elle entend faire évoluer : « Il n'y avait pas assez de monde. Ce n'est pas représentatif. », « Ils ne comprennent pas tous les tenants et aboutissants du développement urbain... » Autant d'arguments avancés par les institutions existantes pour rejeter des espaces délibératifs de participation et que l'on retrouvera tout à coup dans la bouche des associations qui portent la participation si les résultats qui en ressortent s'opposent à leur idéal de ville. Par conséquent, pour toute évaluation des dispositifs de participation menée au départ d'une association, il est nécessaire d'assumer son idéal de ville, afin de le poser comme élément du débat et de l'évaluation.

Une des pistes qui nous semble encore contenir en germe un grand potentiel dans sa capacité à tenir de concert une progression sur les trois plans – autonomie des acteurs, influence sur la décision et idéal de ville porté par l'association – réside dans une dynamique que l'on a peu approchée encore, celle des budgets participatif²⁴. Dans cette perspective, et bien qu'aucune expérience réellement significative n'ait été mise en place aujourd'hui en Belgique, les expériences de budget participatif représentent un horizon, un cadre qui nous semblerait permettre tant un débat de fond sur l'évolution de la ville – où investir ? Combien et en fonction de quels critères ? – qu'un débat accessible à tous – qui n'aurait pas le droit ou la possibilité de répondre aux questions citées ci-dessus ? – inscrits dans un véritable outil de pédagogie : chacun des pôles de la décision sur la ville – représentants politiques, techniciens et citoyens – y ont un rôle à jouer et à apprendre. Toutes ces expériences se développent évidemment dans le moyen terme et c'est l'évolution dans le temps de ces mécanismes qui en définira la pertinence.

1. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Le Droit à la ville*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1968, p.112.
2. Les Ateliers de Travail Urbain (ATU) constituent une modalité pour mettre en débat l'évolution de la ville et des quartiers, qui essaie pour partie de tenir ensemble les forces de ces deux postures. Il s'agit de construire un espace de discussion qui sera la source de l'évolution des quartiers, mais qui permette d'entrer dans le débat sans cautionner bêtement ce qui est posé par l'institution qui l'ouvre (la commune).
3. Daniel GAXIE, *Le Cens caché. Inégalité culturelle et ségrégation politique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1978, p. 78.
4. Paul BLANQUART, « La Ville est le dessin d'un dessein », *Territoires*, juin 2008, n° 489, p. 23.
5. René SCHOONBROODT, *Vouloir et dire la ville, quarante années de participation citoyenne à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 2004, p. 215.
6. Pour plus de détails sur ces modèles, cf. Nicolas BERNARD, Geert DEPAUW, Loïc GERONNEZ, « Coopératives de logements et Community Land Trusts : des solutions pour réconcilier propriété, collectif et maîtrise du foncier », *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, 2010, n° 2073, p. 5-52.
7. Diane DIACON, Richard CLARKE, Silvia GUIMARAES, *Redefining the Commons. Locking in Value through the Community Land Trusts*, Cambridge, USA, Building and Social Housing Fundation, 2005, p. 9.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Traduction adoptée pour le terme anglais *shared equity*.
10. Diane DIACON, Richard CLARKE, Silvia GUIMARAES, *Redefining the Commons. Locking in Value through the Community Land Trusts*, op. cit., p. 22.
11. John Emmeus DAVIS, Alice STOKES, *Lands in Trust, Homes that Last. A Performance Evaluation of the Champlain Housing Trust*, p. 24-25, consulté sur http://www.community-wealth.org/_pdfs/news/recent-articles/11-09/report-davis-stokes.pdf.
12. Diane DIACON, Richard CLARKE, Silvia GUIMARAES, *Redefining the Commons. Locking in Value through the Community Land Trusts*, op. cit., p.44.
13. Statuts du *Champlain Housing Trust* tels que redéfinis en 2009, article 3 "Board of Directors", Section 2 "Composition of the Board".
14. John Emmeus DAVIS, Rick JACOBUS, *The City-CLT Partnership. Municipal Support for Community Landtrust*, Policy Focus Report, Cambridge, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2008, p. 7-8.
15. John GILLESPIE, « L'autoconstruction en Angleterre, une troisième voie communautaire pour l'habitat populaire » in Yann MAURY (s.l.d.), *Les Coopératives d'habitants. Méthodes, pratiques et formes d'un autre habitat populaire*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2009, p. 253. Voir également Samuel JABLON, « Uruguay. La Voie des coopératives du logements », *Territoire*, février 2009, n°505, Paris.
16. Francois PERDRIZET, « Préface », in Yann MAURY (s.l.d.), *Les Coopératives d'habitants*, op. cit., p. 9.
17. Martin HEIDEGGER, « Bâtir, habiter, penser » in *Essais et conférences*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995.
18. Mathieu VAN CRIEKINGEN, « La Gentrification comme projet politique global », *Villes et politiques sociales*, 2008, n° 38-39, p. 74.
19. David HARVEY, *Géographie de la domination*, Paris, Les Prairies ordinaires, 2008, p. 86-87.
20. Ce type de montage est particulièrement présent lors d'acquisitions de patrimoine en vertu des réglementations de « zoning inclusif ».
21. Geert DE PAUW, « Les Community Land Trusts : un modèle qui rend la propriété à nouveau accessible ? » in RBDH, *Le Logement coopératif : une nouvelle vie*, actes du colloque du 23 octobre 2009, Article 23, Bruxelles, octobre-décembre 2009, n° 37, p. 16-21
22. Yann MAURY, « Les Coopératives d'habitants, des outils pour l'abondance », in Yann MAURY (s.l.d.), *Les Coopératives d'habitants. Méthodes, pratiques et formes d'un autre habitat populaire*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2009, p. 31.
23. Frédéric WANDEY NGIZUA, *Vers une nouvelle approche de l'action collective. Elinor Ostrom sur la gestion des « Common-Pool Resources »*, Carnet du centre

de philosophie du droit, Université catholique de Louvain, 1999.

24. Pour une description détaillée du modèle dont nous nous inspirons, voir les parties sur les budgets participa-

tifs de Séville et de Porto Alegre dans Yves SAINTOMER, Carsten HERBERG, Anja RÖCKE, *Les Budgets participatifs en Europe, des services publics au service du public*, Paris, La Découverte, « Recherche », 2008.

Right to the city Policy platform and condo conversion campaign: grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City

David Dodge

Introduction

The Right to the City (RTTC) is a national alliance of base-building, community organizations from eight cities across the United States as well as researchers, academics, lawyers, and other allies. The alliance formed in January 2007 around the notion of a Right to the City for all to build a united response to gentrification and drastic changes imposed on our cities, and to offer a vision for a City that meets the needs of working class people. It connects the fights against gentrification and displacement to other local and international struggles for human rights, land, and democracy. The goal is to build a national urban movement for housing, education, health, racial justice, and democracy under a common framework to increase the strength of the community organizations and to grow their collective power.

In 2006, several grassroots, base-building, and resource organizations in New York City came together to form the New York City Anti-Gentrification Network. All of these groups are grassroots, community-led organizations working to prevent the displacement of low-income people of color from their communities. With the goal of building political consciousness and, ultimately, the power to influence economic development policies, these organizations identified the need to bring together diverse, multi-generational communities to develop a unified analysis of the root causes and impacts of gentrification. In September 2007, these organizations officially became part of the national Right to the City alliance and took on the name Right to the City-New York City (RTTC-NYC). The RTTC-NYC Member groups include the Steering Committee Organizations¹, the General Member Organizations² and the Resource Groups and Allies³.

The Right to the City-New York City (RTTC-NYC) Policy Platform is the result of an in-depth, year-long process to unite the policy concerns and principles most important to its base-building organizations and their membership. Through this process, RTTC-NYC organizations have developed a common understanding and shared analysis of many of the problems facing low-income New Yorkers; in doing so, this platform serves as the guiding document

for the work of the Alliance. Additionally, this platform attempts to ground the visioning and framework that unites the member organization by proposing 33 concrete policy recommendations to combat the effects of gentrification and displacement in our urban communities. From these recommendations, the Alliance prioritized a campaign to convert vacant luxury condominiums into low-income housing.

The first part to this paper will examine the grassroots vision developed by members of RTTC-NYC to make New York City a more livable, sustainable and democratic city for all New Yorkers. The second part of this paper will examine the Condo Conversion Campaign, RTTC-NYC's first campaign effort to turn this vision into a reality within New York City.

RTTC-NYC policy platform: grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City

In early 2007, New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg released "PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater, New York, a set of principles to guide long-term planning and economic development for the City". While this plan set goals to address many important policy concerns affecting New York City, including housing, open space, transportation congestion, and air quality, RTTC-NYC member organizations felt this plan did not adequately address many of the issues most pressing to low-income communities. In addition, PlaNYC did not include any significant role for communities to play in implementing these economic development plans.

To address the gaps in PlaNYC and to create a set of economic development principles rooted in community needs, RTTC-NYC embarked on a process to develop a citywide, grassroots policy platform. This platform unifies the demands of the RTTC-NYC member groups related to community development, gentrification and displacement, and provides a framework within which the alliance conducts its organizing work. The goal of the platform is to help build the power of low-income people of color in urban areas and to create urban policy that is central to the needs of low-income people. It is the result of an in-depth, collaborative, and participatory process, which included all the RTTC-NYC member-based organizations. The resulting platform articulates the principles and documents the policy concerns most important to our low-income membership. This document was ratified by the membership of the RTTC-NYC on May 8, 2009.

The RTTC-NYC Policy Platform includes grassroots recommendations for improving urban communities in six key areas: Federal Stimulus Funds; Community Decision-Making Power; Low-Income Housing; Environmental Justice and Public Health; Jobs and Workforce

Development and Public Space. Each of the below sections lays out an analysis of the current political context in New York City, a set of principles based on a grassroots vision for the future of New York City, and a series of policies that New York City should implement to carry out the RTTC-NYC vision for the future of New York City's urban communities.

The right to federal stimulus funds

As American cities continue to suffer from the collapse of the financial and housing markets, the federal government has responded in part by passing the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA). This law, signed by President Obama, seeks to give money to all 50 States to help address the economic crisis. This funding, commonly known as the "Stimulus Package", totals \$787 Billion and marks one of the largest capital infusions by the federal government into US cities since the New Deal.

New York City will receive approximately \$4-4.5 billion in expense funding and \$500 million in direct funding for capital projects over the next several years⁴. Capital projects – construction projects that will make improvements to the City's infrastructure – must be "shovel-ready", meaning they must have already received all of the relevant permits and environmental reviews required to commence construction. NYC reports that it will prioritize "fix it first" projects that repair or maintain existing infrastructure and will focus on projects that are located in areas of the City that have already been targeted for economic development efforts. The Mayor's office, which has almost complete control over how money in New York City is spent, has indicated that the allocation of funds will fall into the following categories or "buckets": Infrastructure; Health and Social Services; Budget Relief; Education; Economic and Workforce Development; Neighborhood Stabilization; Energy Efficiency; Public Safety and Criminal Justice – each overseen by a Deputy Mayor. New York City will receive approximately \$50 million dollars in funds from the Community Development Block Grant. The Mayor will have complete discretion over how this money is spent. Additionally, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) will receive \$423 million dollars for capital improvements, which in turn could create potential jobs for public housing residents⁵.

The stimulus funding provides a unique opportunity for New York City to invest federal dollars into development projects that will benefit all New Yorkers, including low-income people of color. As ARRA funds are distributed in New York City, the RTTC-NYC aims to ensure that low-income communities of color play a central role in determining the allocation of the funds. These communities must have priority access to jobs created as a result of ARRA funding and should also be intimately involved in monitoring the allocation process.

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to federal stimulus funds

Principles:

– *Transparency and accountability:* The spending of funds must be determined and monitored through a transparent process with adequate community involvement and oversight. All allocation and spending of funds should be thoroughly documented and accounted for.

– *Equity:* Stimulus funds must be allocated to the communities in NYC that are the most in need, particularly areas with the highest poverty rate and/or unemployment rate. Low-income people most in need of employment and job training should have priority access to hiring for jobs created through stimulus-funded projects.

– *Innovation:* Stimulus funding should not be used to rebuild the same unjust economy that existed before the current economic crisis. Instead, stimulus funds should be allocated to innovative projects and channeled through new mechanisms that will transform our economy and our communities into a more sustainable and equitable form.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

The Mayor must ensure that a minimum of 30% of all new hires for each stimulus-funded construction project are low-income prior to their hire. Additionally, at least 30% of the people hired through these construction projects must be local residents. The mayor must also provide all people hired as a result of this requirement with adequate job training.

The Mayor must ensure that funds allocated through the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) are allocated to projects and programs that have the greatest impact in communities with the highest levels of poverty. The Mayor must establish a committee composed of representatives of CDBG-eligible communities to determine allocation and to monitor spending of CDBG funds.

NYC must fund ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the Federal Stimulus projects to track the overall impact of stimulus-funded projects and programs on low-income communities. This must include numbers, types, and wages/benefits of jobs created, units of affordable housing built or maintained, and environmental impact.

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to community decision-making power

Principles:

– *Community:* A community includes all residents, families, businesses, and people who congregate socially within a given community, as well as all people who currently live, work, and/or socialize, or who have been displaced from living, working, and/or socializing, in a given neighborhood. Participation in decision-making processes should help strengthen communities.

– *Democracy:* All City residents must have the right to participate in and have power over the decision-making processes that impact their lives and communities at all levels of the policy-making process, especially in relation to determining needs and setting priorities. The allocation of resources within a community should be based on the needs and priorities of that community.

– *Accountability:* Government has a responsibility to create new mechanisms and offices to promote transparency and accountability in decision-making processes.

– *Equity:* Those who are most impacted and most vulnerable in a community must have the most power over decision-making processes which affect their lives and communities. The allocation of resources within a community must be based on the needs and priorities of that community.

– *Inclusion:* All residents belonging to a given community have the right to decide how land and resources are used within that community, and what sort of development is allowed to take place.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

Expand voting rights for all local elections to all NYC residents aged 16 and over, regardless of immigration status.

Lift all felony restrictions on voting to allow prisoners, convicted felons, and parolees to vote in local elections; this is currently provided for probationers at the state level.

The Mayor and the City Council must amend the City Charter to create elections for Community Board Members. The City Charter must be further amended to make all Community Board decisions binding.

The right to community decision-making power

In New York City, most of the policy decisions that affect the lives of low-income people of color are made behind closed doors among the City's political and business elite. Community participation is rarely solicited in the decision-making process. When it is, elected officials often act in a manner opposed to the will of the people. One clear and current example is the extension of term limits for elected officials in New York City. Despite two public referendums that overwhelmingly indicated public support for the City's elected officials to serve no more than two terms, Mayor Bloomberg and a majority of the City Council decided to extend term limits to three terms.

Each year, City officials undertake a budgeting process to decide how public money will be spent, which occurs largely behind closed doors, without the input of the people most

affected by budgeting decisions. In recent years, this process has resulted in drastic cuts to critical services for low income communities of color in favor of public financing of projects benefiting higher income New Yorkers. For instance, elected officials prioritized \$1.37 billion in financing for the new Yankee stadium even while New York City Housing Authority is running a \$171 million deficit and services for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) youth are being cut⁶.

In the aftermath of an historic presidential election, which saw record levels of voter turnout and civic participation, it is especially important to examine the current level of community involvement in the decision-making process and to consider opportunities to increase participation in a substantive way. As huge sums of money come to New York City via the Federal Stimulus package, it is critical that systems and structures are in place to ensure that our communities take part in deciding how this and other money is spent and prioritized.

The right to quality low-income housing

In New York City, the current housing crisis has disproportionately displaced and affected low-income people of color, both homeowners and renters. For the past couple of decades, the City has been losing subsidized rental apartments at an alarming rate. Since 1990, the City has lost 29,831 units of state-subsidized Mitchell-Lama housing and 6,077 project-based apartments in the federal Section 8⁷ program. Likewise, rent regulated apartments are disappearing in the City at an increasing rate due to changes to the rent laws. Due to funding cuts at all levels of government, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) is forced to operate with a deficit of \$137.1 million, severely limiting the Authority's ability to operate and maintain its housing stock. The loss of affordable housing programs causes low-income people of color to be displaced from neighborhoods where they have lived for generations.

The City's response to increased need for permanent and deeply affordable housing has not created housing that is truly affordable to low income people. Mayor Bloomberg's *New Housing Marketplace Plan*, launched in 2004, aims to create and preserve 168,000 units of affordable housing by the end of 2012. However, the plan's definition of affordable is based on Area Median Income (AMI), which does not reflect the true levels of poverty in our City. The AMI in NYC is \$79,400 for a family of four and includes wealthier suburbs such as Westchester County in its calculation. By comparison, the Bronx, a low-income community in great need of affordable housing, has a median income of \$34,156. Because of its reliance on AMI, NYC builds housing that is not truly affordable for many low-income people. Furthermore, the City continues to ignore potential long-term housing solutions. A count of vacant properties conducted in Manhattan in 2006⁸ found the existence of 2,200 vacant lots, which could be used to create 24,000 apartments. This would provide homes for most homeless people in NYC⁹.

The right to environmental justice and public health

Low-income communities of color make up the majority of those who are living in neighborhoods that include hazardous waste and polluting facilities and thus bear a disproportional amount of the burden of waste and pollution created in urban areas¹⁰. Facilities such as the New York Organic Fertilizer Company, a sewage plant located in the South Bronx, and the Astoria Generating Company, a power plant in Sunset Park, pose health risks for the people who live there. Research has shown that racial inequality and weak environmental standards often go hand in hand¹¹.

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to quality low-income housing

Principles:

– *Housing is a human right*: Housing is much more than just a roof over one's head and should not be reduced to something only to be bought and sold.

– *Affordability*: We define the term "affordable" to mean that people pay no more than 25% of their income on rent; people must be able to pay for the cost of their housing without it interfering with the attainment of an adequate standard of living.

– *Freedom from harassment and displacement*: All housing provided to communities must be high quality. All people should have adequate space which is free of any threats to their health, such as vermin, inclement weather, extreme temperatures, or any other hazard.

– *Safe location*: Developers have a responsibility to ensure that current and future housing is built and operated in a manner that is conscious of environmental and public health concerns.

– *No discrimination*: All people – regardless of their race, color, ethnicity, gender, abilities, religion, nationality, place of origin, citizenship status, sexual orientation, economic status, or HIV status – have a right to access housing and should not experience discrimination when applying for housing.

– *Community-based development*: All NYC housing

policy must be based upon the idea that land belongs to the people who live in a community. We believe in the investment of alternative community-based housing forms, such as community land trusts, housing cooperatives, and mutual housing associations.

– *Defending one's home*: All people facing eviction in NYC Housing Court must have a right to counsel, and a right to an interpreter, as needed.

– *Fill vacancies*: No property, whether publicly or privately owned, should remain empty in communities with clear housing needs. All empty units must be filled by people from that community.

– *Maintain and create new housing*: NYC government must maintain all current affordable housing programs and must prioritize the creation of new affordable housing.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

The City must purchase vacant luxury condominiums and properties that are in or at risk of foreclosure and must develop these properties into affordable housing.

Mayor Bloomberg and the City Council must fully fund the City-built NYCHA developments, and NYCHA must fill all vacancies immediately. The City must stop payment by the Authority to the New York City Police Department and Sanitation Department.

Mayor Bloomberg and the City Council must halt foreclosures and evictions on homes financed through subprime loans.

City agencies that are set up to regulate pollution levels in New York City do little to address the inequitable burden placed on working class communities of color. The mainstream environmentalist movement, both locally and nationally, lacks an environmental justice outlook to their work, and often does not consider the consequence their campaigns might have on low-income communities of color.

Low-income communities also are affected by a multitude of other public health and quality of life concerns due to environmental racism. People living in low-income neighborhoods

endure unclean air and higher asthma levels than people living in high-income areas¹². Compared with more affluent white neighborhoods, low-income communities of color lack quality green and open space as well as access to affordable, nutritious food. These trends contribute to the high rate of obesity in low-income communities of color¹³.

Currently, policy makers are discussing plans and directing resources toward rebuilding our economy through green projects and policies. However, any green economic plan that fails to account for the inequitable distribution of pollution and associated health concerns will also fail to bring about significant improvements in overall environmental conditions. Low-income communities of color must be involved in the planning discussions and resource allocation decisions. We must ensure that NYC's growing green economy will create meaningful jobs and healthier and safer communities. We must invest in ways to produce healthy, affordable, locally grown food by exploring alternative agriculture practices, such as community gardening and community supported agriculture.

The right to jobs and workforce development

The recent collapse of the economy and rising unemployment rates have made it nearly impossible for low-income people of color to work in, live in and enjoy New York City. The City's economy and workforce development policies keep them out of work, underemployed, or working in dangerous and insecure situations.

Unemployment is rising dramatically in the City. Communities of color and youth are affected even more intensely. Likewise, the current unemployment insurance system does not meet the needs of many low-wage workers, many of whom do not qualify for benefits because they worked only part-time or they frequently transitioned from one short-term job to the next. For those who do qualify, the system still proves inadequate. The maximum weekly benefit for unemployed New Yorkers is \$405, which is much lower than neighboring states with equivalent costs of living.

Rising unemployment is accompanied by an increased demand for public sector support at a time when public resources are severely limited. Currently, the welfare grant in New York City provides a family of three with only \$291 in benefits a month, a limit set in 1990. Those receiving public assistance who are unable to find work are often required to participate in the Work Experience Program (WEP), which is not only unpaid, but also fails to provide the education and training opportunities needed to move people into permanent, living-wage jobs.

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to environmental justice and public health

Principles:

– *Sustainable environment:* RTTC-NYC believes in working to reduce hazardous waste to ensure the sustainability of our environment.

– *Equity:* No community should be overburdened by waste.

– *Community decision-making:* Low-income communities and communities impacted by environmental racism have the right to decision-making power over environmental policy in New York City.

– *Healthy neighborhoods:* All people have the right to clean air, affordable healthy food, green, open spaces, sustainable, healthy neighborhoods, and workplaces within their communities.

– *Green economy:* We believe in a green economic initiative that creates a sustainable, equitable, and clean energy economy for a healthier and safer environment that promotes community-based land use planning and economic development which will bring quality jobs

to low-income communities impacted by environmental racism.

– *Fair representation:* Environmental justice communities must be represented on all city commissions and task forces, such as the Food Policy Task Force and other policy recommendations on food.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

Mayor Bloomberg and the City Council should institute local hire and living wage requirements for any developer receiving public subsidies. Further, they should establish a wage and benefit floor that ensures an adequate standard of living for their employees.

Mayor Bloomberg and Commissioner Robert Doar of the Human Resources Administration must end the unpaid Work Experience Program and outlaw unpaid work. The paid transitional jobs program should replace all WEP activities.

Undocumented workers should receive education and services that help them to enforce their legal right to minimum wage, prevailing wage, overtime, and workers' compensation.

As the City attempts to rebuild its economy, we must ensure the inclusion of people with a history of subjugation in the workforce; low-income people, people of color, women, and all immigrants are part of the process. Our cities are being flushed with money through the Federal Stimulus package. However, without representation from the working-class in the process of allocating and monitoring these funds, we run the risk of rebuilding a workforce plagued by the same historic inequalities.

The right to public space

Access to public, open space is a vital component of urban life. These are venues where urban residents share in the cultural and political life of their city. They enable recreation, exercise, and enjoyment of green, healthy environments. However, New York City ranks far below other high density cities in the average number of acres of park space per resident,

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to jobs and workforce development

Principles:

- *Full employment:* Our economy should fully employ all New Yorkers who are interested in and able to work.
- *Living wage and good benefits:* All people should be paid living wages and earn good benefits.
- *Equal pay for equal work:* All people have a right to be paid equally for equal work, and to be paid promptly for any work completed.
- *Job security:* All people are entitled to job security as long as they are willing and able to work.
- *Security of employment:* All people have the right to work in a safe environment free from any hazards that threaten the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the worker.
- *Education and training:* All people – employed or not – have the right to education and training to advance their skills and prepare them adequately for the workforce.
- *Unions:* All people have a right to unionize.

– *Immigrant workers' rights:* All workers' rights, whether established by law or described in this document, should be extended to all immigrant workers, regardless of documentation.

– *Green jobs:* Our emerging economy must work to revitalize working class and low-income communities through quality job creation, career ladder training, and healthy, sustainable economic development.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

The New York City Council and Mayor must prohibit the building of toxic facilities in low-income people of color communities, which are already overburdened by hazardous waste and polluting industries.

The New York City Council and Mayor must offer grants to help small grocers stock and maintain affordable fresh fruits and vegetables, along with low-fat milk and real fruit juices. This should be coupled with policies that ensure healthy school lunches and improve student nutrition through initiatives such as the farm-to-school program.

with only 4.7 acres of park space available per 1000 residents. Several trends indicate an increasing threat to public space in New York City: commercial development of public space by private developers, privatization of management of public spaces, and the criminalization of poor people and people of color in public spaces. As a result, low-income people of color with strong roots in New York City neighborhoods have increasingly been displaced from the public spaces in their communities.

Under Mayor Giuliani and now Bloomberg, private interests have taken over the management, maintenance, and development of many landmark Manhattan parks and public spaces. Private interests have no structural accountability and little incentive to ensure that open, public spaces remain accessible, vital, and safe places where all New Yorkers can gather to relax, share, conduct political life, and build community.

As private interests take on the management of public space, policing of public spaces has increased in intensity and scale. In the 1990s, under Mayor Giuliani, prosecution for so-called "Quality of Life" offenses increased dramatically. During his tenure as mayor, Giuliani

The RTTC-NYC approach to right to public space

Principles:

– *Public space:* RTTC-NYC defines the term "public space" to include any area that is publicly funded and/or frequently used for recreation and/or for living by the public. This includes: parks, public bathrooms, libraries, sidewalks, subways, public housing, community gardens, waterfronts, Penn Station, the Port Authority, etc.

– *Safe communities:* All people have a right to the city without fear of police harassment, which includes behavior such as police brutality, corruption, racial profiling, false arrest, and intimidation of the homeless, low-income people, people of color, LGBTQ people, youth, the disabled, the formerly incarcerated, the undocumented, and users of controlled substances.

– *Right to assemble:* All people have the right to assemble, hold political meetings and protest in public spaces without fear of police arrest or harassment and without the need of a permit.

– *Access to public space:* Low-income people, youth, LGBTQ people and homeless people depend on access to public space for survival, day to day living, and recreation. The use of public space should not be restricted. Public spaces should be accessible 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

– *Public space for survival:* All people have a right to access public space as a means of survival. All people should have access to sanitary bathrooms in public

spaces. In the absence of sanitary public bathrooms, nobody should be criminalized for public urination.

– *Innovation:* RTTC-NYC opposes policing and cleaning-up approach to our neighborhoods. New York City must invest in alternative, innovative approaches to criminal justice that do not result in the policing, criminalization and incarceration of low-income communities of color.

– *Keeping public spaces public:* Public space must be developed with public resources. Private interests must not dictate how public space is used.

– *Community needs:* Public space should be developed based on the community's input and priorities and should promote non-commercial uses.

A selection of RTTC-NYC policy demands:

The New York City Council should ensure that all private entities and public/private partnerships that manage and develop public space in the City be accountable under the law to the public in their management of these spaces.

The New York City Council should make Quality of Life Citations non-arrestable, non-summonsable, and punishable by a fine of no more than \$50.

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg should end "vertical sweeps" in public housing that establish patrolling and checkpoints in and around New York City Housing Authority buildings, where people are stopped and questioned.

declared a "zero tolerance" policy against these low-level crimes. As a consequence, those who most depend on the limited amount of public space in New York City have been increasingly criminalized for utilizing it. For example, the homeless who must use public space to survive have been increasingly harassed for activities such as public urination and sleeping on park benches. LGBTQ youth, who for years have used the Hudson River Park's piers as a place where they can escape the violence they often encounter elsewhere, are now harassed and displaced as the park is developed by private interests.

Increased policing and harassment of public housing residents, the homeless, youth, LGBTQ people and other communities of color leads to the displacement of these communities from the public spaces they once utilized. The criminalization of these communities has further increased the number of the incarcerated, despite evidence that current practices are ineffective at reducing crime and poverty within communities. Furthermore, investment in aggressive policing measures reduces resources available to maintain and develop public spaces in all of the City's neighborhoods.

Right to the city-NYC's condo conversion campaign Implementing the grassroots vision

From a list of 33 policy recommendations included in the *2009 Right to the City-NYC Policy Platform*, which outlines the principles and policy recommendations most important to the low-income membership of the Alliance, RTTC-NYC prioritized a campaign to convert vacant luxury condominiums and stalled construction projects into low-income housing. In prioritizing this campaign, the Alliance hopes to simultaneously increase the amount of affordable housing available to low-income families, and combat the negative impacts Mayor Bloomberg's economic development policies have had on low-income families.

Over the last eight years, New York City has lost over 200,000 units of housing that were affordable to low and moderate-income families. Over this same period of time, under economic development policies favored by Mayor Michael Bloomberg and the City Council, the city has seen a large increase in the number of luxury condominiums developed in low-income communities. This often occurred despite the strong objection of local residents who fear luxury housing will gentrify the neighborhood and displace low-income families. Due to the current recession, moreover, many of these luxury units remain unsold and vacant, while others are stalled in construction or have entered foreclosure. Accordingly, New York City is left with thousands of units of vacant housing at a time when low-income New Yorkers are facing a serious housing shortage.

Participatory research: the condo count

In order to support the Alliance's goal of converting luxury condominiums into low-income housing, RTTC-NYC members recognized the need to conduct thorough research to identify and document information about these buildings throughout low-income communities. Over

a 6 month period, members of RTTC-NYC conducted this research project using a participatory research model. With support from the Community Development Project and the Urban Justice Center, members of RTTC-NYC took part in each aspect of the research process, including the design of research questions, field instruments, canvassing efforts, and review and editing of the report.

Over a 3 month period, 150 RTTC-NYC members and allies canvassed 245 census tracts within 9 targeted community districts. Canvassers were instructed to walk each street within a given census tract to look for residential buildings that were vacant or stalled in construction. Once the field research was complete, members of RTTC-NYC groups and resource allies spent an additional 3 months analyzing all data gathered and conducting secondary research to gather additional information on the condos that were identified.

Upon completion of our research, RTTC-NYC discovered 450 buildings that were completely or mostly vacant, or were undergoing construction in the targeted low-income neighborhoods. RTTC-NYC researchers estimate that roughly 4,000 of the units within these buildings are vacant and would be ready to house low-income families in need of housing immediately.

Condo conversion criteria

In developing policy recommendations to convert vacant condominiums into low-income housing, members of RTTC-NYC engaged in a participatory process to develop a set of criteria to convert vacant, market-rate residential buildings into low-income housing. These criteria are the following:

Permanent affordability: Any program to convert vacant residential buildings must ensure that all units are permanently affordable, meaning that at no time may these units revert back to market rate housing. All units converted must be free from the pressures of the speculative market.

Targeted to extremely low-income and homeless families: Families moving into converted units must pay no more than 25% of their income on rent. Furthermore, at least 50% of units must be set aside for extremely low-income families making less than \$22,000 annually.

Reduce gentrification and halt displacement of low-income families: Any program to convert vacant residential buildings into affordable housing must permanently eradicate the potential for these buildings to gentrify neighborhoods and displace low-income families.

100% of the units within targeted buildings must be converted into low-income housing: All unoccupied units within a targeted building must be converted to low-income housing.

Community involvement: Avenues must be established for communities to be involved in the creation, implementation and oversight of any program created to convert vacant residential buildings into affordable housing.

Condo conversion policy recommendations

In order to facilitate the conversion of vacant condominiums into low-income housing, the city, state or federal government must first acquire these properties. New York City and State government officials both have the power to forcibly acquire distressed and financially troubled properties and facilitate their conversion into low-income housing; the City maintains this power through the tax foreclosure process, and the State through its power of eminent domain. RTTC-NYC has also identified two methods for owning and operating these buildings that meet RTTC-NYC's condo conversion criteria: through government-owned and operated public housing, or community-controlled Community Land Trusts.

Acquiring vacant residential buildings: tax foreclosure and eminent domain

The foreclosure¹⁴ and eminent domain¹⁵ processes have both contributed to the ongoing gentrification and displacement of low-income people. However, city and state officials could utilize these processes to benefit these communities by seizing vacant residential buildings and facilitating their conversion into low-income housing.

The foreclosure process disproportionately affects low-income communities in New York City and across the country. In several low-income color neighborhoods included in RTTC-NYC's condo count, such as Bushwick and Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, the mortgage foreclosure rate more than doubled between 2005 and 2007, whereas the rates in higher-income neighborhoods remained virtually the same. Similarly, tax foreclosure affects low-income communities. For instance, in Bushwick Brooklyn, 14 properties have entered the *in rem* tax foreclosure process within the last three rounds, and 17 properties have done so in Central Harlem. While, in many high-income neighborhoods, such as the Upper East Side, no properties have entered the *in rem* tax foreclosure process in the same period.

While the tax foreclosure process has served as an agent of gentrification and displacement in low-income communities in New York City, the current economic crisis has also created an opportunity for New York City to facilitate the conversion of tax delinquent vacant residential building in low-income communities into affordable housing. Through the Third

Party Transfer Initiative, the City has already set a precedent for the conversion of tax delinquent properties into affordable housing. RTTC-NYC is calling on the City to convert these buildings into public housing or Community Land Trusts to ensure these buildings remain permanently affordable.

In New York State, the Empire State Development Corporation (ESDC), which is the main public authority that finances many state development projects, has the power to obtain land through eminent domain. The ESDC can purchase the land at fair market value, at a price determined by the state supreme court. In 2005, the US Supreme Court broadened the powers of eminent domain by ruling that governments may seize private property for economic development purposes, arguing that such development constitutes a public good by creating jobs and economic growth. Following this ruling, more than 40 states passed laws restricting government's ability to use eminent domain to seize private property. New York State, however, was not among them, and continues to use its power of eminent domain to pave the way for large-scale, luxury development projects, helping further the gentrification of low-income communities. In a recent and controversial example, New York State used its eminent domain powers to seize 22-acres of land in Brooklyn to build an arena for the New York Nets basketball team and 16 high-rise residential towers, the vast majority of which will be luxury, market-rate housing despite the proliferation of failed luxury housing that already currently exists in this area¹⁶.

RTTC-NYC is calling on New York State to stop using eminent domain as an agent of gentrification in low-income communities; instead, the state must use this process for the public benefit of these communities as originally intended. New York State could begin using eminent domain to benefit low-income communities by seizing vacant residential buildings and converting them into low-income housing. RTTC-NYC identified two methods for owning and operating vacant residential buildings that meet the criteria established by our membership: public housing and Community Land Trusts.

Methods for owning and operating low-income housing: public housing and Community Land Trusts

Public housing is a Federal government-run affordable housing program for low-income people, which provides a permanent and affordable housing option for low-income communities in New York City. According to federal law, public housing residents pay no more than 30% of their income on rent, leaving low-income tenants with resources for other needs, such as trans-

portation, food and childcare. However, trends in affordable housing policy in New York, as across the country, are currently favoring private, market-based affordable housing programs. These trends have resulted in severe disinvestment in the public housing system in New York City and the destruction of public housing buildings in cities all across the country. The New York City Housing Authority, which operated the City's vast public housing system, is currently maintaining a deficit of \$137.1 million due to disinvestment at all levels of government¹⁷.

Public housing meets each of the housing requirements outlined by the RTTC-NYC membership. As a government-run program, the public housing system is unaffected by trends in the private real estate market, guaranteeing a reliable and permanent source of affordable housing for low-income families in New York City. Converting failed condominiums and other vacant residential buildings into public housing would simultaneously increase the amount of permanent, affordable housing stock in the City and help ease the rate of gentrification and displacement in low-income neighborhoods caused by luxury development. Furthermore, federal regulations grant public housing residents with specific rights to engage in decision-making around housing policy. No similar rights exist in the private housing system. While more significant decision-making power should be granted to public housing residents, the existing structures for resident participation, however limited, provide a meaningful opportunity for public housing residents to collaborate with local housing authorities in the development of housing policy.

What is a Community Land Trust?

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are nonprofit organizations that buy and manage land for the purpose of providing low to moderate-income housing. Homeowners within a CLT are only permitted to sell their homes back to the land trust or to another low-income family, which guarantees that the units of housing remain permanently affordable. CLTs are typically governed by an elected board of directors made up of residents, public officials and community members, allowing for increased community involvement in decision making within the land trust¹².

Why convert vacant residential buildings into Community Land Trusts?

Community Land Trusts meet all of the requirements outlined by our membership. CLTs are community controlled, and have the power to ensure that housing with the land trust remain permanently affordable for low-income families in New York City. Converting the land on which vacant residential buildings are located into CLTs would increase the amount of perma-

nent, affordable housing options for low-income people. Likewise, converting this land into CLTs would provide low-income communities with a permanent safeguard against gentrification and displacement.

Conclusions

The RTTC-NYC Alliance brings together a vast array of community-led movements and organizations in New York City that are fighting for racial, economic and environmental justice. Together, the alliance is committed to fighting for policy changes and improvements for all New Yorkers impacted by social and economic injustice. The work of the Alliance is guided by the principle that those most directly impacted by poverty and inequality, including low-income people, people of color, the homeless, LGBTQ people, youth, people living with HIV/AIDS, former and active drug users, and immigrant populations, should be at the forefront of the policy-making process to address these issues. The RTTC membership has recognized the need to come together to fight the negative impacts of gentrification and to work together in a multi-generational and multi-racial coalition towards the building of sustainable communities. The diversity represented within the Alliance provides the members of each individual base-building organization a unique opportunity to learn from and grow with people who are different from them.

Through the creation of the Right to the City-NYC Policy Platform, RTTC-NYC members have deepened our understanding of many of the problems facing low-income communities, and have developed concrete policy recommendations that, if enacted, will counter the negative effects gentrification and displacement have had on our low-income communities. The Condo Conversion Campaign represents the Alliance's first campaign effort to address the policy concerns listed within our platform to create a more equitable and democratic city for all New Yorkers.

1. CAAAV/Chinatown Tenants Union; Community Voices Heard (CVH); Fabulous Independent Educated Radicals for Community Empowerment (FIERCE); Families United for Racial and Economic Equality (FUREE); Mothers on the Move (MOM); Picture the Homeless (PTH); Make the Road New York; and New York City AIDS Housing Network (NYCAHN)/VOCAL Users Union.
2. Center for Immigrant Families; Fifth Avenue Committee (FAC); Good Old Lower East Side (GOLES); Jews for Racial and Economic Justice (JFREJ); Public Housing Residents of the Lower East Side (PHROLES); Queers for Economic Justice; Red Hook Initiative (RHI); St. Nicks CDC/UNO; Teachers Unite; and WE ACT.
3. Community Development Project, Urban Justice Center (UJC); Center for Social Inclusion (CSI); NYU Gallatin School; Hunter School for Urban Planning, the Planners Network; and CUNY graduate Center R2C Reading Group.
4. Testimony of Deputy Mayor Edward Skyler before the US Congress, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, 21 April 2009, <http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/wtc/downloads/pdf/testimony/skyler-9182007.pdf>.
5. Microsoft PowerPoint Presentation by Good Jobs New York on "The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in New York", presented at the New York Foundation, 26 May 2009.
6. David M. HALBFINGER, "Yankee Stadium Subsidy Becomes Mayoral Campaign Issue", *New York Times*, 9 January 2009.
7. Tom WATERS, "As City Grows, Affordable Housing Shrinks", *Gotham Gazette*, 21 April 2008, <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/sustainability-watch/20080421/210/2501>.
8. The study was conducted by grassroots group and RTTC-NYC member Picture the Homeless and Manhattan Borough President Scott Stringer.
9. Jarret MURPHY, "Vacant in Manhattan: Agitating for Land Reuse", *City Limits*, 26 November 2007, http://citylimits.org/content/articles/viewarticle.cfm?article_id=3451.
10. "MTA Bus Depots and PA Bus Terminals in

Communities of Color", map prepared by West Harlem Environmental Action, Inc. (WE ACT), <http://www.weact.org/Portals/7/Map%205.pdf>.

11. James K. BOYCE, "Inequality and Environmental Protection", *Political Economy Research Working Paper Series*, 52, 1993.

12. New York State Department of Health, <http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/wtc/downloads/pdf/testimony/skyler-9182007.pdf>.

13. Leslie MIKKELSEN and Sana CHEHIMI, "The Links Between the Neighborhood Food Environment and Childhood Nutrition", *Preventive Institute*, Fall 2007, <http://www.preventioninstitute.org/pdf/FoodEnv11.07.pdf>.

14. When a property is behind on taxes, the City, as a way to recoup tax losses, sells tax liens. Tax liens allow the lien-holder to collect the taxes formerly owed to the City. Only certain properties are eligible to have tax liens sold and the regulations vary by the size of the building. For instance, large residential properties with 4 or more units have to be a year or more delinquent on property-related taxes. Once the tax lien is sold to a third party, the tax foreclosure process can begin. This process usually takes 6 to 18 months, during which the property owner may stop foreclosure at any point by paying all taxes owed. This "Right of Redemption" period ends when the property is finally sold in an auction.

15. Eminent domain is the process by which a government can obtain private property for "public use" by forcibly purchasing the land at fair market value. The power of eminent domain comes from the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which says "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

16. Charles V. BAGLI, "Ruling Lets Atlantic Yards Seize Land", *New York Times*, 24 November 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/25/nyregion/25yards.html>.

17. Institute for Community Economics (ICE), "The Community Land Trust Model", <http://www.iceclt.org/clt/cltmodel.html>.

Resistance and alternative against the new discourse of the right to the city: the case of the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)

Sergio Belda, Jordi Peris, Alexandre Frediani and Alejandra Boni

Introduction

In recent years we have witnessed how the "right to the city" has become an increasingly fascinating slogan. A concept based on Lefebvre's work¹ that put forward a "radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations, both in the city and beyond"² and that since the 1960s has inspired the struggles of radical urban social movements, has recently been broadly accepted by new actors such as academics, UN and international aid agencies, governments and NGOs.

It has acquired authority and big resonance in some arenas at the international level (as in social forums, transnational networks of NGOs, and even in some UN agencies such as UN-Habitat) and in some national and local spaces, particularly in Latin America (such as governments in Brazil and Ecuador). At the same time, it has been slowly institutionalized, as it has inspired, and been incorporated into, public agendas, legislation and policies.

An example of this process is the appearance, since the mid-1990s, of the "world charters" for the right to the city. Amongst the national spaces, the Brazilian process arises with the discussion and endorsement of the *Estatuto da Cidade* (City Statute), which opens a way to institutionalization in the local sphere by means of the *planes diretores de desenvolvimento urbano* (master plans).

Nevertheless, during this process, the original radical content of the concept has changed significantly. A certain new discourse about the right to the city, emerging from these new actors, became dominant in these arenas and spaces, while other alternative discourses about the concept have been silenced. Certain social movements have not participated, nor have their demands been included, in these processes of production of the new discourse; namely, the movements which have maintained a "lefebvrian conception" of the right to the city³.

The present paper aims to understand the contents as well as the processes of production and institutionalization of the new discourse of the right to the city. This starting point allows

us to deepen into the everyday struggle for the right to the city led by a social movement which stands close by the lefebvrian conception, the *Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia* (MSTB, Bahia Homeless Movement) in the city of Salvador da Bahia (Brazil). We intend to explain the way in which the dominant discourse and its institutionalization pose significant constraints and, at the same time, a new potential for resistance and for the production of an alternative and more transformative discourse.

To achieve this aim, we discuss the broad discursive context and the processes and conditions of production, dissemination and use of key texts within the global (World Charter for the Right to the City 2005⁴), national (Brazil's City Statute 2001⁵) and local spaces (focusing on Salvador da Bahia and its Master Plan, 2008). Subsequently, we provide an analysis of the contents of these texts. Then, we study MSTB's social struggle for the right to the city in Salvador, by providing an analysis of the movement's actions and representations in its resistance in a new context where new possibilities for, and limitations to, transformation arise.

We then have the elements to argue to what extent the new discourse and its institutionalization are able to trigger substantial changes in the way we understand and produce the city, as well as in the power relations in the urban context, and to explore whether the new discourse narrows or preserves the possibility of a more radical and transformative alternative.

Critical discourse analysis and the "space of action" for a multiple level and multiple dimension analysis of discourse and social practice

To meet the aims of our work, we draw on a critical discourse analysis framework, particularly on Fairclough's⁶ conceptual and methodological approach. According to the author, "'social practice' is an articulation of diverse social elements dialectically related" in which discourse is also contained⁷. A basic element of his theory is that any instance of discourse is simultaneously a piece of *text* (written or spoken language), an instance of *discursive practice* (producing texts) and an instance of *social practice* (power and structural tensions)⁸.

For Darcy⁹, an analysis from this approach must take into account "discourse practices at macro and micro levels (aspects of the production, distribution and consumption of texts and the conditions under which these occur), texts themselves and the social practice of which the discourse is part (its social and discursive context and impact)".

We must also refer to the shifting relations and changes produced in the social practices at the different scales of social organization (global, regional, local), establishing "the diverse ways in which the discourse is received, appropriated and recontextualised in the different

locales"¹⁰. By "recontextualize", Fairclough means how different social actors incorporate other practices in their own practice, and how they represent them differently, according to how they are positioned within the practice¹¹. According to Marston, "the model illuminates social change from multiple levels of analysis, highlighting tensions between dominant and alternative discourses and highlighting power relations through an analysis of hegemony and resistance"¹².

In order to get into the study of practices of an actor for this analysis of hegemony and resistance, we assume Safier's multidimensional approach of collective action¹³. According to this author, actors perform within a "space of action" where they carry out and represent initiatives oriented towards its exploration and consolidation. This space of action can be understood as the degree of freedom or "room for manoeuvre" of a particular actor to encourage certain changes. It encompasses four dimensions: the "technical/behavioural dimension", related to the technical abilities and behaviour of both the individual and the group; the "institutional/interorganizational dimension", related to internal organizational methods and to the relationships with other actors; the "social mobilization dimension", related to mobilization forms of individuals and groups; and the "strategic response dimension", related to targets and strategic decision-making.

Fairclough's framework allows us to go into a multilevel analysis of the process of production, distribution and consumption of the dominant discourse about the right to the city. Linked with some concepts of Safier's multidimensional approach to collective action, we can also better illuminate MSTB's resistance and alternative discourse.

The context and the process of production and dissemination of key texts

The broad discursive context: the role of social movements in the changing paradigms

Social movements that were inspired by Lefebvre's original conception of the right to the city since the 1960s were characterized by opposition and protest in reaction to the crisis of Fordism. They challenged capitalist relations and cultural norms of the institutions of collective consumption, and claimed for a more democratic society¹⁴.

Since the 1980s, with the beginning of the neoliberal shift and the austerity politics, governments discovered the potential of social movements and community organizations to develop and legitimate their social agendas. Strategies of most movements and organizations shifted from protest to cooperation, participating in social programmes as service suppliers, from a

new managerialistic approach. A large amount of them enter a professionalization and bureaucratizing process, as there is a huge increase in the number and importance of NGOs. However, some minority groups dissociate themselves from these forms of cooperation and institutionalization¹⁵.

During the 1990s, neoliberal hegemony deepened and new discourses emerged, such as those around “democratization”, “governance” and “decentralization”¹⁶. These included some of the old demands of social movements, in the search for more influence in the definition of policies, so their strategy shifted, trying to institutionalize their claims, taking part in new “participatory” spaces and processes for policy-making. The prominence of NGOs and advocacy groups in these spaces and processes became increasingly important. Some of them had embraced the new discourse of rights, and affirmed that they had “politicized” their work, and had abandoned previous service-delivery approaches¹⁷.

In the new century, the globalization process advances, and neoliberal politics are shown to have failed. This fact sharpens social divisions and triggers new protests. However, demands in the most visible and influential arenas were mainly led by NGOs and advocacy groups. They gained considerable capacity, presence and influence in national and international, governmental and non-governmental forums. They often collaborated with the same institutions they criticized (such as the World Bank), they gave priority to negotiation and legal recognition of rights, and their demands were less radical than those of more transformative movements¹⁸.

However, social mobilization led by more radical grass-roots organizations continued, although it was less visible and influential, even in some non-governmental spaces such as the social forums, where NGOs have gained more and more presence and influence. They still put at the centre the questions of autonomy, the creation of rights (not just legal recognition) through social and political action, and the demand of a city organized on the basis of use values and a radical, participatory and decentralized democracy.

Within this process, a new discourse on the right to the city has gained strength and presence in different spheres, but, in its new dominant version, it has substantially changed its original content: “It does not seem that Lefebvre’s approach and radicality are always seriously taken into consideration and preserved”¹⁹.

The “world charters” for the right to the city

In 1995, the Brazilian *Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana*²⁰ (FNRU, National Forum of Urban Reform) presented the “Charter of Human Rights in the City”, which became a major

precursor of the City Statute and of the world charters. In 2001, within the framework of the first World Social Forum (WSF) and with the support of Habitat International Coalition (HIC), the process of drafting of the World Charter for the Right to the City began. The discussion of proposals is ongoing within the frameworks of the WSF, different regional social forums and the World Urban Forum (WUF)²¹.

Since the beginning, the process has been led by big international networks, especially HIC, whose members are community-based organizations, but mainly NGOs and academic or professional institutions. The debate is essentially guided by groups of experts, whereas the proposals “come from some NGO experts in a top-down manner”²². NGOs, local authorities, international institutions and other public and private actors integrate progressively, reducing the influence of community-based organizations in the discussion.

The results of the debates on the drafting of charters show “the institutionalized version of a top down agenda agreed on by some NGO networks”²³. However, according to Unger, who points to the example of WSF 2009, more radical discourses on the right to the city are still present in the discussion, even if they have become invisible due to the process of convergence towards a single discourse²⁴. Moreover, the main spaces of discussion and the leading actors in the process seem to have changed recently, with the new centrality of the UN agencies (mainly UN-Habitat and UNESCO) and forums (such as the 2010 WUF) in the discussion of the charters.

The initiative slowly shifted its aim of creating a “political document” to intending “to build an instrument both universal and compact which may be adopted by the United Nations System, the regional human rights systems, and governments, as a legal instrument”²⁵. That is, what originally could be understood as a document for inspiring and sharing struggles, and for creating and reinventing rights in a bottom-up manner through social and political action, became a document with a strictly legalistic approach, with the aspiration of becoming a new human rights instrument within the existing international and national systems – and their visions – of rights.

Brazil City Statute

Before the transition to democracy in the 1980s, “new community-based movements” appeared in Brazil. They fought for their own interests (as women, workers, homeless, unemployed, black people...) but also for social and political issues that concerned society as a whole²⁶. They undertook actions of pressure, criticism and frontal opposition to the military regime.

Brazilian 2001 City Statute

The City Statute is “the legal framework governing urban development and management, which recognized the ‘right to the city’ as a collective right” in Brazil³⁰. It affirms the central role of local governments in urban management (giving more power to them) and declares that representative democracy is to be reconciled with participatory political processes³¹. It is considered as an inspiring example of how the right to the city ideas can be used to guide a new socially oriented urban-legal order.

According to Fernandes³², the Statute has four main dimensions. Firstly, it provides conceptual elements to determine the principle of the social function of urban property, trying to understand the city as a whole where

individual interests of land-owners co-exist with other groups’ interests. Secondly, it provides new legal, urban planning and financial instruments for more economically efficient, socially and politically fairer and environmentally sustainable cities. Thirdly, it provides mechanisms for an effective participation (of “civil society”, but also private sector) in urban planning and management. Fourthly, it provides instruments to promote regularization of informal settlements.

According to Ribeiro³³ and Bassul³⁴, the Statute contains principles and instruments of a distributive nature (such as usucaption³⁵ of property, special use of land for social housing, etc.) and of a redistributive nature (instruments to interfere with processes of speculation and capture of surplus value, new progressive taxes, etc.).

Their internal organization was based on militant associationism, and they had a strong political-ideological character²⁷, under the principles of autonomy, horizontality and participatory democracy.

The new political situation that arose after the transition in the 1980s enabled the participation of these movements in the creation of a new institutional framework, considered capable of integrating their demands. In the case of the movements engaged in the “urban question”, these demands were mainly around the production and appropriation of urban space, as well as the introduction of limitations to the right to private urban property as the only way to guarantee more just and democratic cities²⁸. The *Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana* (MNRU, National Movement for Urban Reform) emerged as a collective platform of different actors in order to influence the drafting of the new Brazilian Constitution.

The MNRU focused progressively its efforts on proposing legal initiatives (particularly new instruments for controlling urban land and housing market), neglecting social and political mobilization and popular organization²⁹. Subsequently, experts acquired increasing prominence whereas the movement lost part of its grass-root and political pressure profile. In any case, the strategy managed to introduce in the 1988 Constitution the amendment which enabled the preparation of the City Statute.

The first bill for the Statute was proposed in 1990 and was well received by the FNUR (new denomination for the MNRU), because it encompassed their main proposals³⁶. However, it was strongly rejected by the construction industry, which considered it a “socialist and confiscatory” proposal³⁷ and blocked the process through different means.

The deadlock was only broken after long negotiations in a working group composed of the FNUR and the business sector. In 1997, they presented a new proposal which modified and limited the initial approach and which was accepted by the business sector: “the instruments might be profitable for urban estate activities, since they introduce innovations in the forms of collaboration between public authorities and private companies”³⁸. Despite the rejection of certain bodies within the FNUR, approval prevailed as the agreement was largely considered the best possible solution³⁹. According to certain authors, the FNUR had to relinquish many of its proposals⁴⁰, such as stronger limitations on the right to private urban property and more clarity in the principles, objectives and basic concepts of the Statute. After a small number of modifications, the project was approved unanimously by Congress on the 20th of February 2001.

It seems that the main reasons for this unanimity after a long and hard negotiation was that what at one point was regarded as a threat for the business sector, went on to be considered as an opportunity. They were aware of the fact that the previous model of urban development had not succeeded and that the “deterioration of urban living conditions in Brazil posed an increasing risk for the market”⁴¹. The new model could enable the legitimization, invigoration and expansion of the market without exposing their interests to much risk. They were very aware of this fact, since “most of the instruments the Statute wanted to introduce were already being put into practice in the municipalities and they considered the results as stimulant for real state capital”⁴².

The Salvador da Bahia Master Plan

The City Statute delegated the specification and realization of its essential issues to the local sphere through the drafting of Master Plans. The new Plan in Salvador da Bahia was developed from the beginning of 2005 to the beginning of 2008.

The process was mainly directed by technical experts of the prefecture, which prepared the proposals and restricted participation to consultation and discussion in several public hearings. These were characterized by low public involvement⁴³. The participants were mainly civil servants, councillor advisers, university students, professionals and, to a lesser extent, environmental groups and NGOs, as well as the business sector⁴⁴.

The process was severely criticized by the participants and the media because they had not received enough information or training for the participation process, because of the technical language used, and because the proposals approved in previous hearings had not been incorporated, whereas the amendments put forward by the real estate, construction and hotel business sectors were indeed taken into account⁴⁵.

The participation of social movements was low. The main social movements for the right to housing, black and women movements were virtually absent, and so was the MSTB. The absence of these organizations was “mainly due to the disbelief that Salvador’s public authorities were really interested in encouraging an open and clear debate”⁴⁶.

Despite social opposition and the loss of support from several parties in the local government, the proposal was endorsed in February 2008, in a hall with a majority of members from the civil construction business and politicians present⁴⁷. The construction sector appraised the project as “a significant advance in relation to the Plan in force”⁴⁸.

The following common features are to be found in these related processes of discursive production at international, national and local level: the commitment to institutionalization and the loss of radicalism; the gradual loss of prominence of community-based movements and organizations; the silencing of proposals coming from more radical movements (due to the impossibility of including their demands or due to their lack of participation); and the strong influence and support of historically prominent actors in the production processes of the city.

Contents of discursive production: analysis of themes, approaches and linkages in key texts.

This section presents the key themes offered by the referred texts, as well as certain cross issues which link them. We base our analysis⁴⁹ on three different texts which organize the discourse according to certain “structuring principles”, present throughout the texts but vaguely defined. Besides these principles, the “mechanisms” to put them into practice are explained to a greater or lesser extent. In both the World Charter for the Right to the City and the City Statute, these mechanisms are imprecisely described (given their nature as declaration and framework law respectively). Although in the Salvador da Bahia Master Plan they are more precisely described, they often remain unclear, as the text focuses on proposals and wilfulness rather than on punitive or control mechanisms to avoid the contravention of principles. We can group these “principles” and “mechanisms” in three common and recurrent themes: the *social function of the city*, *participation*, and *recognition of diversity*.

The social function of the city

The social function of the city is a central issue in all three documents. Particularly, the World Charter for the Right to the City considers that: “As its primary purpose, the city should exercise a social function, guaranteeing for all its inhabitants full usufruct of the resources offered by the city. In other words, the city must assume the realization of projects and investments to the benefit of the urban community as a whole, within criteria of distributive equity, economic complementarity, respect for culture, and ecological sustainability, to guarantee the well-being of all its inhabitants, in harmony with nature, for the present and for future generations”⁵⁰.

And Salvador da Bahia Master Plan translates this general idea into a set of rights in the following sense: “The social function of the city of Salvador corresponds with the right to the city for everyone, which includes the right to urbanized land, housing, sanitation, physical and psycho-social security, infrastructure and public services, urban mobility, universal access to public and for public use spaces and equipments, education, work, culture and leisure, full exercise of religion and economic production”⁵¹.

All three documents provide explanations of the different situations in which the aforementioned social function is not being accomplished by urban property – for example, in the case of being “deserted, unused, underused or unoccupied property”⁵². Additionally, in the City Statute, it is emphasized that: “Urban property accomplishes its social function when it meets its fundamental demands of urban organization of the city as expressed in the Master Plan, guaranteeing citizens’ needs of quality of life, social justice and development of economic activities”⁵³.

Salvador Master Plan establishes some more general criteria: urban property is not accomplishing its social function when it is not used for housing, economic activities, infrastructure and public equipments and services, environmental and cultural conservation, religious activities or third sector activities.

However, all these definitions, and therefore the concept of “social” itself, are wide and not very innovative. They all go against the inactivity of urban land (in fact, the Master Plan considers particular mechanisms of intervention in urban property, based on the City Statute instruments), but they don’t offer new conceptualizations and don’t go beyond the “traditional” functions attributed to the city. Property is in any case considered as a commodity in the sense that it is taken for granted, that it has to be managed according to its exchange value rather than its use value. It seems that all three documents consider it as an asset that must be distributed or redistributed with regard to social criteria.

When referring to the “functions” of the city, beyond the social function of property, “the city and its rural surroundings”⁵⁴ is understood as a closed unit of analysis with well-defined characteristics and functions, where the “economic function” is very present, as well as the references to terms such as the necessary “competitiveness” of the city. The city is understood as both producer and provider of goods and services, and at the same time as a product which needs to be “competitive”. Among all these functions, “efficiency” appears as a recurrent idea, as when the Salvador de Bahia Master Plan states that the first goal of the *Política Urbana do Município* (local urban policy) is to: “Consolidate Salvador as one of the national metropolises of Brazil, a singular centre of configuration of identity and synthesis of national culture, a regional centre producing specialized services at the avant-garde of technical-cultural research and experimentation, business opportunities, enterprises and jobs in the traditional economic activities and in the new economic areas of creative, technological, information and tourism industries”⁵⁵.

The relation between “social function” and “economic function” is not explicitly outlined. However, it is implied that they are not incompatible but somehow complementary. The “competitiveness” of cities is linked to the idea of their capacity for inclusion, precisely as a way of making them more attractive and competitive.

In a broader sense, the “social issue” is always considered an element “to be integrated” in the overall “management” for the competitiveness of the city, as well as (and this being a confusing relation) an issue which needs to be properly “managed”.

Participation

In the texts, “participation” is linked to themes such as “consultation”, “public debate”, “control” of state’s action and the election of representatives. For instance, the City Statute states that: “Institutions in charge of the management of metropolitan regions and urban agglomerations must include compulsory and relevant participation of the population, and of associations that are representative of the different community groups, so that direct control of their activities and the full exercise of citizenship is guaranteed”⁵⁶.

Although all these concepts are legitimized in the texts through the idea of full exercise of citizenship, they are linked to the notion of democratic management through terms such as “efficiency”, “good management”, “transparency”, “sustainability” or “decentralization”. At some points the texts refer to “political participation”, but the idea is not explicitly linked to terms we could connect to stronger conceptions of participation where civil society organizations increase their power basis and develop empowered forms of participatory gover-

nance⁵⁷. In any case, the participation of private sector actors is considered equally important for “good management” of the city, having also a very important and unquestioned role, together with “civil society”.

The idea that urban development programmes and projects should be managed by “community-based organizations” is also mentioned. However, this concept seems to be approached from an instrumental point of view, as it implicitly identifies these organizations as potential efficient managers of resources. In fact, the same is said regarding the state and private profit-making companies.

On the other hand, the relation between individual participation and collective participation is not outlined, nor what kind of decisions are the responsibility of whom and how they relate among themselves and regarding a particular conception of civil society and its role.

“Participation” seems to be understood as a right contained in a series of rights within a defined and unquestioned model. It is primarily seen as a guarantee for good management and satisfaction of needs, but it is not clear, neither in the principles nor in the mechanisms stated in the texts, if it is considered as a process with the potential of reverting power relations implying a change of paradigm regarding the ways of production of the city and appropriation of the territory.

Recognition of diversity

Diversity is a recurrent issue in all three texts. It is linked to concepts such as “discrimination”, “inequitable distribution” of commodities, or “inequitable” access to city services and resources, in relation to “gender”, “age”, “class”, “disability” or other “vulnerable” social groups. There is a direct relationship between identity and injustice. Consequently, recognizing diversity would consist in “managing” differences in order to avoid the inequity of “rights”: “Cities, through affirmative action policies in favour of vulnerable groups, should suppress the political, economic, social, and cultural obstacles that limit the freedom, equity, and equality of citizens and impede the full development of the person and his or her effective political, economic, social, and cultural participation in the city”⁵⁸.

The discourse on “special protection to the groups” appears in all three texts and it reflects the logics of social policies addressed to defined focus groups. However, these groups are considered as having a fixed, static identity. Some groups are more precisely defined, as low-income groups (the “poor”, which are defined by the usual criterion of salary), while others (as “classes”) are very vaguely defined – or not defined at all – in all three texts (not

even in Salvador's Master Plan). In any case, identity seems to be something fixed, categorized and pre-determined by the institutional framework itself.

MSTB's struggle for the right to the city in Salvador da Bahia: action and the production of an alternative discourse.

We now deal with MSTB's social struggle for the right to the city in Salvador da Bahia, getting an insight into the limitations and potentials of MSTB's activities within the different dimensions of their "room for manoeuvre", against the dominant discourse and within the new institutional framework. Simultaneously, in a context of tension and power relations, a new discourse and a new representation of those dimensions emerge within the MSTB.

Salvador and the MSTB

Historically, occupation has been the only way to have access to housing for the lower income classes of Salvador, which has strongly influenced the city's urban development. Nowadays 2.9 million inhabitants live in its metropolitan area (one of the poorest and most inequitable regions in the country), where the housing deficit is estimated at 105,000 homes.

The MSTB "is a grass-roots organization that performs in the urban space and mobilizes homeless workers to fight for their right to housing. [...] With this aim, they pressure the government through mobilization and occupation of abandoned properties which have no social function"⁵⁹. Under the motto "Organize, Occupy and Resist", their principles are "Autonomy, Fighting Spirit, Horizontality and Solidarity". The movement started in July 2003 and since then it has been growing intensively⁶⁰.

The movement is present in around 24 occupied sites in Salvador, in urban voids or in unused buildings, where more than 5,000 families live. It also has 6 *núcleos*, a kind of meeting points for previous registration and organization of families that want to occupy (36,000 families are registered)⁶¹.

The strategic response dimension

In its discourse, MSTB's strategy is based on a broader goal than achieving the end of evictions and guaranteeing the access to housing and services for all inhabitants in their occupations. Their aim is "creating a new sociability, new forms of relation, a collectivization

process [...] which go beyond the market logic of the city in order to substitute them by the logic of people's needs [...]. Therefore, the struggle for the right to the city is above all a strategic project, a political horizon, a particular conception of society" (interview with MSTB in 2010)⁶². Ultimately, it goes beyond inclusion to achieve transformation: "We do not want to be included in their city, but to create our own"⁶³.

This conception of the city contained in MSTB's discourse is not shared by the state, which "proposes reforms and a model of city tied to speculation and to the logic of the city as a good [...] State intervention is carried out according to financial needs and without real participation; needs, demands and rights are only understood in terms of individuality"⁶⁴.

For MSTB coordinators, social movements must preserve their autonomy, which is understood as the need to have a strategy of their own – regardless of the state, or against the state – establishing tactical alliances with the state only when necessary.

This strategy, together with their lack of belief in state activities, have prevented the movement from participating in policy making processes (such as the Master Plan) or in other kind of forums (national or global). However, as a tactic, it does participate occasionally in certain spaces which appeared as a result of the Statute, such as the *Conselho das Cidades* (Council of the Cities) in Bahia, or the Negotiating Commission formed by the *Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Urbano da Bahia* (SEDUR, Urban Development Department of Bahia) and the MSTB.

Given all this, the scope of influence of the MSTB in all these spaces has been greatly reduced, but the movement understands this as necessary to avoid co-optation and the legitimization of processes they do not support or believe in.

This strategy places the MSTB at a disadvantage against other community-based movements and organizations that support collaborative strategies with the state, both in terms of scope of influence and regarding the access to resources by means of projects and subsidies. Nevertheless, this position brings the MSTB closer to other movements with similar political and ideological conceptions.

The social mobilization dimension

Mobilization and social organization are at the core of MSTB's actions. The movement has gone through a process of expansion which is understood as an action that has a political nature, that is, an action that is a continuous process of appropriation, control and re-creation of the territory – the territory being defined as "a political space of dispute, in which market logics are gradually being substituted by the logics of people's needs"⁶⁵.

The goal of the organization (on the basis of the work done in assemblies, meetings, daily struggle, popular education processes and so on) is to raise awareness in a broad sense, beyond satisfying immediate needs: “considering housing as something more than a shelter [...] People must raise awareness, become active individuals”⁶⁶.

Self-managed initiatives (community centres, schools, kitchens, nurseries, school-support centres, productive undertakings, etc.) are not considered as alternative forms of service supplies or income production but as “spaces for the emergence of a new sociability and also as part of the collectivization process”⁶⁷.

Within the discourse, identity plays a central role in this process, not only as “recognition” and “attention” to diversity but as a transformative process: “the processes of participation aim to generate and transform group identities (blacks, women, young, workers, hip hoppers) while building at the same time common identities”⁶⁸. Identities are not understood as something that is fixed or predetermined, but something that is permanently generated and transformed through participation in the struggle.

The transformation of the city is carried out by starting from the identity itself: “We must assure public health, security, education, real autonomy, employment... But what kind of employment? What kind of public health? What kind of security? All these issues must be approached from the identity: another kind of public health, of employment... they must be considered in relation to gender, class...”⁶⁹.

The institutionalization of the right to the city in Salvador has created new opportunities for mobilization, as well as risks. It has helped to stop several evictions and – to a lesser extent – has provided more funds for housing projects in MSTB occupations. The situation has generated expectations that have enabled mobilizations, but at the same time it has increased the risk of self-interested participation and quick demobilization.

In order to avoid evictions, the State has demanded that MSTB refrain from starting any building processes with durable materials within the occupied areas, and to wait for public intervention. Nevertheless, the number of housing projects has not increased significantly and bureaucracy has not been reduced. This has generated long waits, frustrations and a negative effect on the processes of mobilization.

Housing projects have included public spaces and equipment, which has created access to further services beyond housing. However, on the one hand, in certain cases they have weakened existing self-managed initiatives in the occupied sites. On the other hand, the projects are conceived according to the “ideology of the single owner-occupied house”⁷⁰. This “ideology” can be perceived in the rigid spatial design of public and private spaces

(conceived for family and individualistic needs, not for socialization, for sharing domestic tasks such as childcare, or for promoting community productive or cultural initiatives, for example) and in the individual tenure of the house (collective property of the social housing complex is not considered). Again, this leads to individual and self-interested attitudes, as well as to speculative processes of informal buying and selling.

In the planning and management of these housing projects, carried out by private companies, very few spaces for participation have been offered. When spaces for participation in the design were created, agreements were usually not respected by the companies, generating frustration in the future inhabitants. Building companies generally ended up making the proposal for the final design, which is usually bound to criteria of minimization of costs. Moreover, building companies have been often accused of obtaining enormous benefits (beyond the limits established by the programmes) and not satisfying the building quality criteria established in the regulations and contracts – which were already at a minimum level⁷¹. In addition, it seems that the legal owners of the occupied land (individuals or enterprises) could also be speculating and pressurizing the state in order to obtain higher prices, knowing that the state wanted the land to build houses for the people settled in it⁷².

In any case, the times imposed by the state and the private companies (long and frustrating waits followed by a very short time for design and building), avoided participation and the introduction of community demands, generating tensions and demobilization.

The technical/behavioural dimension

In MSTB’s discourse, the “qualification” of its militants does not have to do with technical training but with political training and education, which is considered a long and spontaneous process arising through participation and commitment to the daily struggles of the site occupations: “Vocal leaders emerge spontaneously and gradually learn and qualify for different forms of community-based organization”⁷³. It is a process through which “individuals also obtain legitimacy in the community”⁷⁴. In addition, leaders receive methodological and political-ideological instruction of a more theoretical nature in the “political training courses”, supported by advisory organizations.

The formal spaces for discussion and consultation that the new institutional framework offers represent spaces for technical discussion and consultation to satisfy and sort the demands of the social movements. Therefore, the state expects specific qualifications, technical knowledge and project management capacity from them. On the contrary, the MSTB considers that they

are negotiating spaces of a strictly political nature. It participates just in order to maintain legitimacy, to obtain information and, eventually, “as a way to achieve specific commitments and denouncing abuses where they are perpetrated... which certainly are bound to happen”⁷⁵.

This situation poses significant restrictions on MSTB's actions. They do not prioritize technical matters and they politicize debates which are considered technical by civil servants. Hence, the state takes this fact as a reason to justify their disregard for MSTB's demands and to give priority to the demands of other social movements and NGOs, which have “a broader technical capacity” and a less belligerent attitude.

As a representative example, a civil servant of SEDUR stated in an interview that “MSTB is not concerned with technical matters. They should put forward things like that [talking about a housing project of 54 ‘sustainable houses’ for small farmers in a rural area, managed by a NGO]. Costs are very low and quality is optimal! But MSTB is not interested in things like this. We support them, but they continue with confrontation... They must understand that we are on their side, but they need to make proposals”.

The institutional/interorganizational dimension

MSTB's internal structure is not oriented towards efficiency in terms of management capacity, but towards creating mobilization and political consciousness, taking joint decisions, building consensus and promoting participation, autonomy and self-management. It is divided into several coordination spaces (whose members are elected by consensus), assemblies and working groups at different scales (state, city, settlement, group of families). These spaces are autonomous in decision-taking; however, they follow basic strategic guidelines and specific political-ideological approaches which are defined in the Congress⁷⁶.

All this seems to affect positively the movement's representativeness, democracy and horizontality. However, the slow pace of the processes to create leaders, together with the rapid expansion of the movement, has raised the problem of not having enough leaders, those in place having to hold that position repeatedly. On the other hand, this assembly structure at times prolongs decision-making processes. This fact can raise problems regarding the engagement with the pace of processes in the State and private companies, as well as posing a “disadvantage” in relation to other social organizations which have more hierarchical and agile decision-making structures.

The movement's relationships with other social movements rely on common political-ideological positions, especially in regard to their conception of autonomy and horizontality. The

Frente Nacional de Movimentos de Resistência Urbana (National Front of Urban Resistance Movements), created in 2006, embodies the main space for collaboration with other social movements: “The movements working together in the Front share a long tradition of autonomy and horizontality”⁷⁷. Within these spaces, and according to the broad conception of struggling for the right to the city and with the central aim of creating common identities, urban homeless movements work together with black or hip-hop movements: “It is a natural alliance, since all of them live in *favelas*, suffer police abuse and share rebellion against poverty and the system that marginalizes them”⁷⁸.

NGOs and other kinds of non community-based organizations do not participate in the Front, nor do other big urban Brazilian movements that maintain a more collaborative attitude towards the state.

Beyond the front, the MSTB collaborates with other entities with common political-ideological convictions, such as NGOs with a militant profile, particular university collectives and also individuals, usually experts that support the movement.

The assumed positions of the movement have strictly limited the number of allies and have at times brought the MSTB to a situation of isolation, especially after directly confronting the government. Nevertheless, for MSTB these are not instrumental alliances, but strategic, and they have been tight and unproblematic due to the fact that they share a common ideological-political base. Beyond mutual support to actions, common visions, discourses and strategies have emerged within these alliances, particularly within the core of the Front.

Conclusions

Relying on Fairclough's textually oriented discourse analysis⁷⁹, we have intended to explain the broad dissemination and institutionalization of the currently dominant discourse on the right to the city, with regard to the related process of progressive loss of radicality. We showed how new actors acquired more relevance within a widening process that creates a broad “consensus” around the emerging dominant discourse. At the same time, some community-based organizations and movements have been losing influence, while an increasing number of them have become more and more bureaucratized and have moved away from radical demands.

Throughout the process, there have been conflicts among different conceptions of the right to the city. On the one hand, the demands of particular social movements whose conceptions were close to the lefebvrian ones were silenced in favour of those actors with less

radical perspectives. The concept is accepted by historically dominant actors in the city (not just governments, but even real estate and construction sectors), and becomes institutionalized, widely assumed and introduced in discourses, legislations, plans and policies. In the end, a reformist, managerial, and commoditized perspective of the right to the city prevailed.

The present analysis allows us to bring into question the capacity of the new institutionalized discourse to encourage substantial changes within power relations, as well as to refute the hegemony of particular actors in the processes of production of the city. In addition, it is worth reflecting on the possibilities to continue creating an alternative and more transformative discourse.

The MSTB, through practices of resistance, presented an alternative discourse. First, not technical knowledge or efficiency in management but the organic performance of the movement and the political training of its members were the central issues. The mobilization of the social basis was considered to be a process of transforming individual and collective identities, of generating political awareness and a way of producing a new sociability in a new city. The creation of wide networks in collaboration with other movements had also a political meaning, as well as confrontation with the state. MSTB's discourse of the right to the city was a politicized and transformative one which aimed at substantial changes in social, cultural and economic relations in the city and beyond.

On the one hand, the institutionalization of the dominant discourse in Salvador seemed to create some new opportunities for MSTB actions: some spaces for negotiation, more access to information, a decrease in the number of evictions and a slight increase in the access to housing projects by the inhabitants of MSTB-occupied sites. Nevertheless, state practices were led by technical discussion and by the search for "efficiency", promoting the de-politization and the bureaucratization of movements. All this has caused strong limitations, isolation and a certain disadvantage in the struggle of MSTB, which is led by strong political-ideological convictions, a solid conception of autonomy and the prioritization of politicized social action. On the other hand, it seems that the institutionalization of the right to the city discourse is not promoting significant changes in power relations in Salvador: the strict bureaucratic control of processes continues, but also the strong influence (or even control) of the construction industry. The influence of the private sector might be due to the persuasion of experts and political authorities, or to the limitations of laws and regulations, or because of their infringements remaining unpunished.

We have tried to explore the question of whether the institutionalization of the right to the city has meant an "advance" where this process has occurred. Throughout this paper we

have also intended to clarify what "advance" may mean for the dominant discourse: we showed that it has little to do with profound transformations. In the particular case of the Brazilian context, where these "advances" have been particularly acclaimed, we have witnessed that they did not seem to have encouraged substantial changes or the subversion of power relations. Furthermore, they might be generating more limitations (though some opportunities as well) to an alternative and more transformative discourse. Nevertheless, there is always an existing space – as MSTB's action shows us – for an alternative and more radical discourse and practice, for an alternative representation and construction of the right to the city.

1. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Le Droit à la ville*, Paris, Anthropos, 1968; Henri LEFEBVRE, *Espace et politique*, Paris, Anthropos, 1973; Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Production of Space* (1974), transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991.
2. Mark PURCELL, "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal*, October 2002, vol. 58, 2, p. 101.
3. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *City*, June-September 2009, vol. 13, 2-3. p. 362-374.
4. WORLD CHARTER FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, 2005, <http://www.urbanreinventors.net/3/wsf.pdf>.
5. ESTATUTO DA CIUDADE, Lei nº 10.257 10th July 2001, Ministério das Cidades, www.cidades.gov.br, http://www.pdp.saojoaodelrei.mg.gov.br/Estatuto_LEI10257.pdf.
6. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992; Norman FAIRCLOUGH, "The Dialectics of Discourse", *Textus*, 2001, vol. 14, 2, p. 3-10.
7. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, "The Dialectics of Discourse", *loc. cit.*, p. 3.
8. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, *Discourse and Social Change. op. cit.*
9. Michael DARCY, "The Discourse of 'Community' and the Reinvention of Social Housing Policy in Australia", *Urban Studies*, January 1999, vol. 36, 1, p. 14.
10. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, "The Dialectics of Discourse", *loc. cit.*, p. 8.
11. *Id.*
12. Greg MARSTON, "Managerialism and Public Housing Reform", *Housing Studies*, January 2004, vol. 19, 1, p. 7.
13. Michael SAFIER, "On estimating 'room for manoeuvre'", *City*, 2002, vol. 6, 1, p. 117-132.
14. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*
15. *Id.*
16. Kevin STENSON and Paul WATT, "Governmentality and 'the Death of the Social'? A Discourse Analysis of Local Government Texts in South-east England", *Urban Studies*, 1999, vol. 36, 1, p. 189-201.
17. Paul GREASY and Jonathan ENSOR, *Reinventing Development? Translating Rights Based Approach from Theory into Practice*, London, Zed Books, 2005.
18. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*
19. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, "Which Right to which City? In Defence of Political-Strategic Clarity", *Interface*, May 2010, vol. 2, 1, p. 315.
20. The FNUR has its origins in the *Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana* (MNRU, National Movement for Urban Reform), created in Brazil in the mid-1980s during the process of drafting of the new federal Constitution. It was born as a space to draw together claims around the urban question, with the aim of participating in, and influencing, the preparation of the new text. It coordinated the efforts of urban social and grass-roots movements, NGOs, academics, technical advisors and other actors in the struggle for the right to the city. After the approval of the Constitution (CONSTITUIÇÃO DA REPÚBLICA FEDERATIVA DO BRASIL, 1998, Presidência da República, http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/), its name changed to *Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana* (FNUR, National Forum of Urban Reform), but kept on its purpose of bringing together actors in order to influence new legislation and policy-making processes.
21. HABITAT INTERNATIONAL COALITION, "El Derecho a la Ciudad y la Carta Global por el Derecho a la Ciudad. ¿Por qué una Carta Mundial por el Derecho a la Ciudad?", <http://www.hic-al.org/derecho.cfm?base=2&pag=derechocidad2>.
22. Knut UNGER, "'Right to the City' as a Response to the Crisis: 'Convergence' or Divergence of Urban Social Movements?", February 2009, <http://reclaiming-spaces.org/crisis/archives/266>.
23. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*
24. Knut UNGER, "Right to the City' as a Response to the Crisis: 'Convergence' or Divergence of Urban Social Movements?", *op. cit.*
25. Enrique ORTIZ, "Towards a World Charter for the Right to the City", 2009, <http://www.hic-net.org/articles.php?pid=2296>, p. 3.
26. Aparecida FERNANDES, Angela QUINTANILLA, Regina M^a POZZOBON and M^a Gabriela ISASA DE MELO, "Consideraciones sobre los movimientos sociales y la participación popular en Brasil", transl. Beatriz Demoly, *Nueva Sociedad*, November-December 2002, 182, p. 139-154.
27. Maria DA GLÓRIA GOHN, « Sociedade civil no Brasil: movimentos sociais e ONGs », *Nômadias*, April 2004, 20, p. 140-150.
28. Éder Roberto DA SILVA, *O Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana e o Processo de Democratização do Planejamento Urbano no Brasil*, dissertation of the Master's Programme in Urban Engineering, Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 2003.
29. Emilia MARICATO, "As ideias fora do lugar e o lugar fora das ideias: planejamento urbano no Brasil" in Otilia ARANTES (ed.), *A cidade do pensamento único: desmanchando consensus*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 2000, p. 121-192.
30. Edésio FERNANDES, "Constructing the 'Right to the City' in Brazil", *Social and Legal Studies*, June 2007, vol. 16, 2, p. 201-219, p. 201.
31. Edésio FERNANDES, *Law and Urban Change in Brazil*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1995.
32. Edésio FERNANDES, "Constructing the 'Right to the City' in Brazil", *loc. cit.*
33. Luiz Cezar DE QUEIROZ RIBEIRO, « Estatuto da Cidade e a questão urbana brasileira » in Luiz Cezar DE QUEIROZ RIBEIRO and Adauto Lucio CARDOSO (eds), *Reforma urbana e gestão democrática: promessas e desafios do Estatuto da Cidade*, Rio de Janeiro, Revan, 2003.
34. José Roberto BASSUL, *Estatuto da Cidade: Quem ganhou? Quem perdeu?*, Brasília, Senado Federal, 2005.
35. Usucaption is the acquisition of the title or right to property by the uninterrupted possession of it for a certain term prescribed by law.
36. José Roberto BASSUL, "El Estatuto de la Ciudad: la construcción de una ley" in Celso SANTOS CARVALHO and Anaclaudia ROSSBACH (eds), *El Estatuto de la Ciudad de Brasil: un comentario*, transl. Fernando Campos Leza, São Paulo, Cities Alliance and Ministério das Cidades, 2010, p. 77-88.
37. TFP, *TFP contra a Reforma Urbana socialista e confiscatória – Estatuto da Cidade*, <http://www.tfp.org.br/secoes/arquivo>, p. 6.
38. CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, Projeto de lei nº 5.788-D.
39. Éder Roberto DA SILVA, *O Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana e o Processo de Democratização do Planejamento Urbano no Brasil*, *op. cit.*
40. Grazia DE GRAZIA, « Reforma urbana e Estatuto da Cidade » in Luis César DE QUEIROZ RIBEIRO and Adauto Lucio CARDOSO (eds), *Reforma urbana e gestão democrática: promessas e desafios do Estatuto da Cidade*, Rio de Janeiro, Revan, 2003.
41. José Roberto BASSUL, "El Estatuto de la Ciudad: la construcción de una ley", *loc. cit.*, p. 88.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
43. Maria de Fátima PEREIRA DO NASCIMENTO, *A participação cidadão no Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano de Salvador*, Dissertation of Master's Program in Social Politics and Citizenship, Universidade Católica de Salvador, 2008.
44. CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE SALVADOR, *Minutes of public hearings for the discussion of the Projeto de lei nº 216/07*, 2007.
45. Maria de Fátima PEREIRA DO NASCIMENTO, *A participação cidadão no Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano de Salvador*, *op. cit.*
46. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

47. *Correio da Bahia*, 21/2/08.
48. Maria de Fátima PEREIRA DO NASCIMENTO, *A participação cidadão no Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano de Salvador*, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
49. In order to analyze the world charters for the Right to the City, we focus on the version presented in the WSF 2005, which is still discussed.
50. WORLD CHARTER FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
51. PLANO DIRETOR DE DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO DO MUNICÍPIO DE SALVADOR, Lei nº 7.400/2008, Prefeitura Municipal de Salvador, http://www.sedham.salvador.ba.gov.br/lei7400_pddu, p. 2.
52. WORLD CHARTER FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
53. ESTATUTO DA CIUDADE, Lei nº 10.257 10th July 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
54. WORLD CHARTER FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
55. PLANO DIRETOR DE DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO DO MUNICÍPIO DE SALVADOR, Lei nº 7.400/2008, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
56. ESTATUTO DA CIUDADE, Lei nº 10.257 10th July 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
57. John GAVENTA, *Triumph, Deficit or Contestation? Deepening the "Deepening Democracy" debate*, IDS Working Paper 264, Brighton, IDS, 2006.
58. WORLD CHARTER FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
59. MOVIMENTO DOS SEM TETO DA BAHIA, <http://www.mstb.org.br/>.
60. Luis César DOS SANTOS MIRANDA, *Vizinhos do (in)conformismo: O Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia entre a hegemonia e a contra-hegemonia*, Dissertation of Master's Program in Social Sciences, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2008.
61. Raúl ZIBECHI, « Los Sin Techo de Bahia: La utopia del Buen Vivir », 1st March 2010, <http://alainet.org/active/37113&lang=es>.
62. The interviews were made with MSTB coordinators.
63. *Id.*
64. *Id.*
65. *Id.*
66. *Id.*
67. *Id.*
68. *Id.*
69. *Id.*
70. Pedro Fiori ARANTES and Martiana FIX, "Os paradoxos do Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida", December 2009, http://habitabrazil.blogspot.com/2009/12/os-paradoxos-do-programa-minha-casa_14.html.
71. Among the people interviewed, several civil servants and professionals, who had worked together with private companies, as well as the coordinators of the MSTB, expressed accusations in very similar terms.
72. Rubbina KARRUNA, *Institutional Ignorance in an Urbanizing World: Can the New Institutional Economics Approach to the Operation of Markets Provide a Useful Tool for Analysing the Poor's Access to Land and Housing in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil?*, Dissertation of the Master's Programme in Urban Economic Development, Development Planning Unit, University College London, 2009.
73. Interview with MSTB in 2010.
74. *Id.*
75. *Id.*
76. The Congress is the highest organ of decision and political definition of the movement. It is celebrated every three years, accompanied by a long pre-congressual process of discussion in the assemblies. During the congress, the essential strategic guidelines and political-ideological alignments are discussed and defined, and state coordinators of the movement are elected for the next three years. Guidelines and alignments must be respected as a general framework, although coordination spaces, assemblies and working groups function with great autonomy, given their singularities and particular contexts.
77. Interview with MSTB in 2010.
78. *Id.*
79. Norman FAIRCLOUGH, *Discourse and Social Change*, *op. cit.*; Norman FAIRCLOUGH "The Dialectics of Discourse", *loc. cit.*

Mega-projects and resistances in contested urbanism: reclaiming the right to the city in Dharavi

Camillo Boano, Melissa Garcia Lamarca and William Hunter

Locating the case: a set of competing visions

Popularly known as Asia's largest slum, covering almost 239 hectares and with an estimated population between 700,000 and one million people¹, Dharavi is characterized by its strategic location in the centre of Mumbai and thus finds itself at the heart of a challenging, highly contested debate over the present and future of the city. Through the controversial Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP), international developers, bureaucrats, state agencies, civil society and social movements are engaged in multiple confrontations over land, density, typology and the right to a decent life, while futuristic Dubai or Shanghai-style landscapes are imagined for development over what is now prime real estate.

Historically evolving from a small fishing village, as Mumbai's urban development and corresponding squatter settlements pushed northwards – off valuable land in south Mumbai onto the current location's swampy, unhygienic area – Dharavi became the city's geographical centre, located between inner-city districts and the financial centre Bandra-Kurla Complex, near the Chhatrapati Shivaji International Airport. Such an evolution has transformed the site and consolidated its development, layering generations of slum dwellers in what are now 85 *nagars* (neighbourhoods), organized in a complex labyrinthine physical layout and built around work-live dwelling forms.

The narrative of Dharavi serves to ground the material and discursive production of spatialities, highlighting land values and built densities at the base of the argument over Mumbai's future. These elements accentuate inequalities in the existing and expanding spaces of exclusion, driving the contest over space as significant government and market pressures towards becoming a world-class city – expressed through the neoliberal Vision Mumbai² – push against the struggle for a bottom-up, inclusive development process promoted by civil society and heterogeneous citizen groups in Dharavi.

Building upon the context of spatial tensions between top-down urban strategies and bottom-up tactics of spatial adaptation and urban activism, the conceptual analytical neologism of

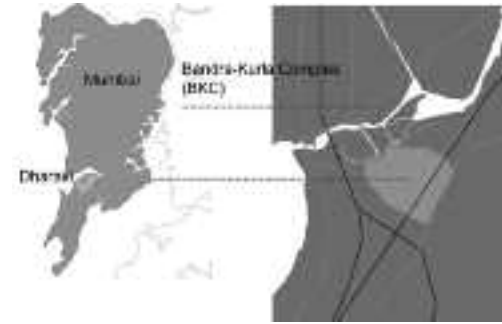


Fig. 1. Map of Mumbai, illustrating Dharavi's strategic location in the heart of the city (Source: BUDD, 2009)

contested urbanism is elaborated on through exploring the material-discursive dynamics in the formation, transformation and representation of social movement struggles over space in Dharavi. Specifically, the paper aims to spatially depict the challenges of the right to the city through the confrontational and oppositional forms of power that shape people's access to housing and slum redevelopment, as exemplar of a wider struggle over social justice.

As its base, the paper uses the extensive research and experience that formed part of the completion of the MSc Building and Urban Design in Development, University College London, during a three-week field study in Dharavi, Mumbai³. In partnership with the Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute For Architecture (KRVI), the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) and the Development Planning Unit, a group of 16 students and their tutors were engaged in critical analysis and design processes aimed to reveal visions and interpretations of the possible future developments in Dharavi, confronting the dichotomies of mega-projects and resistances and questioning the relevance of social justice and the right to the city in urban transformations⁴. In this context, the concept of contested urbanism aims to represent multiple forces that shape the politics of Dharavi, offering critical insights and, hopefully, a reinvigorated ethical renewal of the disciplines of architecture and urban design.

The Dharavi Redevelopment Project: homogeneity and modernism

Dharavi and its inhabitants have long played an integral role in the development of Mumbai's urban narrative. The historical area of Dharavi, described as "one of the six great *Koliwad*as of Bombay", was originally home to the *Kolis*, a traditional fishing community that lived on the swampy inlet which was fed by the Arabian Sea⁵. Much was to change for the *Kolis* as the city began to develop and urbanize during the middle of the 20th Century⁶. And though

some areas avoided externally imposed planning schemes in 1944 and 1963, the sense of occupational displacement grew. Their legacy was ultimately lost to a budding settlement of hutments, slowly constructed through an increasing collection of waste and debris, effectively operating as infill on top of the swamp in the district that came to be known as Dharavi, now commonly referred to as “Asia’s largest slum”⁷. Kalpana Sharma⁸ describes it as “a dirty, pest-ridden locality without basic services where thousands of people live in subhuman conditions. It is partly this – but it is much more”. Today, Dharavi is made up of roughly 85 *nagars*, each of which manifests a distinct and unique character with diverse ethnic mixtures and religious narratives⁹.

Due to its strategic location, the demographic pressures on the island city and especially the government and private sector’s global transformative goals towards the status of a world-class city, the Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) was introduced as an integrated special planning area in 2004. Essentially conceived as a state facilitated public-private partnership, orchestrated by Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) and spatialized by the architect Mukesh Mehta, the DRP is in essence a *tabula-rasa* redevelopment strategy for the entire territory of Dharavi. Mehta proposes several physical alterations for Dharavi that form the base of the DRP: an artificial and instrumental division of the area into five sectors to be allocated to five private developers; a maximum increase of Floor Space Index¹⁰ which contributes to higher urban densities; and the adoption of a spatial transformation from horizontal, low-rise hutments to a high-rise podium style typology (G+12 and higher). Informal settlements are thus literally replaced with high-rise developments irrespective of the existing vibrant economy and the diverse complexity of needs within which have evolved through stratifications, adaptations and historical modifications (Figure 3).

Announcement of the DRP was issued by MHADA in June 2007 and was received with mixed emotions. *The Times of India* reported the initial site-purchase bidding was to attract international interest from developers of the highest calibre, with an Expression of Interest form (EoI) costing Rs. 1 lakh (£ 1,280), a minimum opening bid of Rs. 1000 crore (£ 125,000,000) and over Rs. 4000 crore (£ 500,000,000) to be expected in profits¹¹.

National and international developers who fit certain criteria were the only applicants invited to purchase the EoI forms. The details of the plan itself were highly secretive, as the initial document submitted by the Government-hired architect Mukesh Mehta outlining the five-sector, five-developer vision and plan was taken on unanimously with no significant call for citizen input¹².

Clear from the start, however, was that residents currently living in Dharavi, many of whom



Fig. 2. A view of Dharavi (Source: authors).

were unaware of the plan and its implications, would only be eligible for rehabilitation housing under the DRP if they lived in Dharavi before 1995¹³. Furthermore the planning for the project occurred with no detailed survey of Dharavi; when the latter was finally completed it was found that at least 80,000 households needed to be resettled¹⁴. No one has addressed what will happen to the additional 35,000 households not eligible for rehabilitation housing, for example those that live in lofts and are tenants, migrant workers or members of the same families living below¹⁵.

From this massive mega-project, homogenous in its aims and modernistic in its vision, grassroots opposition has emerged. The confrontational environment has boosted the development of various bottom-up initiatives and spatial experimentations that challenge the DRP’s proposed relocation of residents, the complete lack of an inclusive process and the possible consequences of a government/market-driven process of redevelopment irrespective of the social and spatial multiplicity of Dharavi.

In recent years, alternative critical visions of the DRP from civil society and academics have emerged through an invited space of negotiation offered by the Government of Maharashtra via a Committee of Experts (CoE), appointed in early 2009. This body offers suggestions to humanize the DRP, simultaneously maintaining a close and highly strategic relationship with government bodies in order to function as facilitators between various institutional levels.

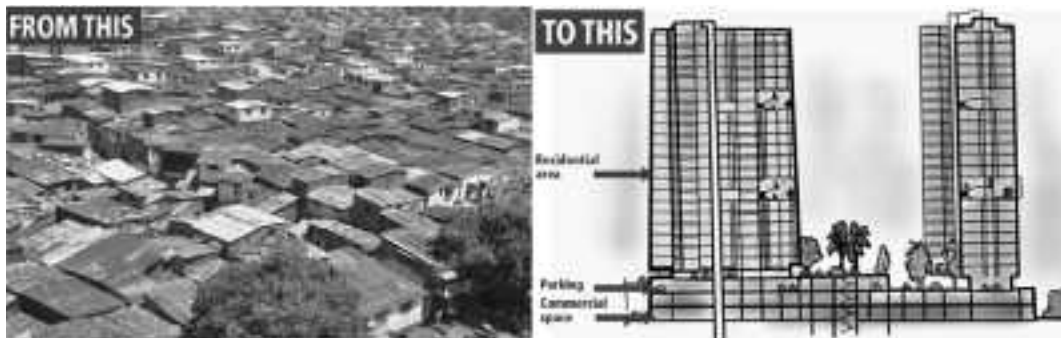


Fig. 3. Dharavi's imagined spatial transformation, published in the *Mumbai Mirror* in May 2009.

The meta-narrative of transformative urban processes: contested urbanism

Dharavi, as in many other urban scenarios, is located in a web of contested visions through the perception of the production of space as an inherently conflictive process, where various forms of injustice are not only manifested, but produced and reproduced. Adopted and elaborated as a method of inquiry into relationships between space, society, politics and culture, the neologism of contested urbanism developed by the authors since the fieldwork in Dharavi, is useful in many interconnected ways as it helps to:

- Depict hegemonic, technocratic, hypermodern discourses that shape state authority material interventions in urban areas, always originating in a top-down fashion without meaningful participation.
- Focus attention on the politics of urban transformation that systematically exclude citizens, and in this case, slum dwellers, in the management, adaptation and evolution of their living spaces. Power is thus positioned in a distant bureaucracy, facilitating functional neoliberal alliances with economically powerful developers, architects and urban *intelligentsia*.
- Represent the economy of interconnected resistance alliances and materialities of place-based social movements that are able to mobilize alternative and spatial imaginaries.
- Navigate at the frontier of universal civilization, deploying a multi-scalar relationship that responds to local demands, critically engaging with the global.
- Position the core attribute of architecture and design as responsive, dependent and locally grounded activity moving out of the simplified vision of building and architecture as commodified objects.

Spaces of transformation: a foucaultian and lefebvrian vision of Dharavi

In order to understand how the spatialities of contested urbanism are constructed and manifested, a dichotomist vision of space as physical, static metric space with social dynamics must first be reinforced. Such a vision is grounded in Heidegger's "human spatiality"¹⁶, Lefebvre's use of "lived space of the social and political world"¹⁷ and Bauman's adoption of complex spatial interaction between "cognitive, moral and aesthetic spaces and products"¹⁸. This framework enables a deeper understanding of the power relations embedded in urban transformations that systematically exclude Dharavi's slum dwellers in the management, adaptation and evolution of their living spaces, thus directly challenging notions of homogeneity and uniformity, creating spaces for alternative antidotes against the erasure of "difference"¹⁹.

Sandercock²⁰ states in this context that democratic practice is undermined as the contradictory ideals of majority groups are depoliticized by those in power having warranted their own rationality of what constitutes a "good city". She also posits that within the contemporary era, increasingly shaped by globally competitive capital, the ideals that shape urban landscapes are likely to become less locally contextual and more influenced by a range of hegemonic "pre-shaped and unquestioned cultural imperatives" that aim to provide "societal guidance" to a prefabricated dream of a sustainable, healthy, attractive and competitive "good city" – as witnessed in the elitist, top-down ideals expressed by Vision Mumbai.

Yet, despite such great utopian urban dreams, in reality, space has remained representative of real/virtual power and money and, therefore, an object of significant contestation. The city and its *terrains vagues* at the centre or periphery remain a battleground of property rights and structures often relinquished due to short-term economic and/or political gain and real estate mantras, with no recognition of, or concern for, potential uneven effects in the long term. Such a situation clarifies that "being political is always a matter of becoming in place and through space"²¹ in line with a broader "spatial turn" in social science and humanities.

Interesting is Foucault's contention that the spatial distribution (*répartition*) for sovereignty, discipline and security is equally important but differently organized. Foucault offers readings of the geometric plan of towns, and particularly utopian schemas (rigid, orthogonal and modernistic), where the relation between sovereignty and territory is one where the aim is "to connect the political effectiveness of sovereignty to a spatial distribution"²². Foucault suggests that a "well-policed territory in terms of its obedience to the sovereign is a territory which has a good spatial organisation [disposition]"²³.

Foucault²⁴ starts his discussion on space and power from the two very specific examples of the plague-stricken town and the Panopticon becoming “the utopia of the perfectly governed city”. Foucault²⁵ in that respect offers readings of the geometric plan of towns, and particularly the utopian schemas well represented in the holomorphic visions of the DRP, where the relation between sovereignty and territory is one where the aim is “to connect the political effectiveness of sovereignty to a spatial distribution”. For him, the construction of artificial towns in Northern Europe, on the model of military camps with geometric figures, architectural precision and rationalistic layouts were not dissimilar from the technocratic hypermodern Dubai-style landscapes imagined in the essence of the DRP, and thus “a question of structuring [*d’architecturer*] a space”²⁶.

Foucault suggests that architecture, although an inherently political act, cannot by itself liberate or oppress. In his mind, liberation and oppression are practices, not objects, and neither practice can ever be guaranteed by artefacts functioning in the “order of objects”.

The discovery and appropriation of such discourses in the case of Dharavi draws attention to the failure of architects to subject themselves to their own critical reflections and to move away from their obsession with the object itself, in the process opening up space for more culturally sensitive approaches to home-making or re-making in urban transformations. Such a vision, which incorporates the notion of casual, rhizomatic, fluid and incremental production of spaces, as Brillembourg²⁷ argues, “relates to the realm outside what is prescribed meaning, working with what already exists, materially and socially”, as a “collective construction”. This acts towards breaking down the “ever shifting”²⁸ dichotomy of legal-illegal, legitimate-illegitimate and authorized-unauthorized.

Moreover, the Foucaultian notion of heterotopias, which literally means “other spaces”, is an appropriate representation of Dharavi’s materiality and narrative. Such aporetic spaces reveal or represent something about the society in which they reside through the contradictions they produce but are unable to resolve, in a continuous flux between contradiction and acceptance, invisibility and recognition. In essence, heterotopias are spaces that accommodate the deviant and house the “other”, segregating them and allowing mechanisms “of control distribution and places in a society”²⁹.

Thus conceiving Dharavi not as an homogenous global prototype of a population warehouse, recalling Davis’³⁰ apocalyptic vision, but as “real emplacements that simultaneously represent, contest and reverse all other environments”³¹ or a city made of impurity, ambivalence and in a state of constant metamorphosis, will help us to understand slum urbanism as a response to, and oppositional strategy against, state and economic-led utopian and

modernistic planning. Such opposition and resistance is illustrated by the community-driven slum upgrading projects that have sprouted throughout Dharavi since the 1990s, where the housing cooperatives formed by groups of Dharavi’s residents design and participate in the construction of their new flats. There “the informal explains the practices (social, economic, architectural and urban) and the forms (physical and spatial) that a group of stakeholders (dwellers, developers, planners, landowners and the state) undertake not only to obtain access to land and housing, but also to satisfy their need to engage in urban life”³², in essence what could be understood as a form of “deep democracy”³³. Such a heterotopian vision serves to frame Dharavi and its contested urbanism as “spaces apart, open but isolated”³⁴, struggling for an alternative that denounces all that is in place around it and contests the monotony and dominance of the DRP.

The connection with Henry Lefebvre’s work on the *production of space* is obvious and unavoidable here, especially because, as Till³⁵ recently argues, “once Lefebvre has said (social) space is a (social) product – one can never again see the world as a place set apart, or reduce architecture to a set of abstract forms.” On *production*, Lefebvre means that people create the space in which they make their lives; it is a project shaped by interests of classes, experts, the grassroots and other contending forces. Space is not simply inherited from nature, passed on by the dead hand of the past, nor autonomously determined by “laws” of spatial geometry as per conventional location theory. Space is produced and reproduced through human intentions, even if unanticipated consequences develop, and even as space constrains and influences those producing it.

Production also implies that space be considered analogous to other economic goods. The produced spatial ensemble of the built environment, nature and landscape can among other things, be bought and sold. It makes up an important part of economies. Besides producing goods and services, economies produce spaces. Dharavi literally fills such a vision by locating itself, beyond its geographical location, in an economically-led transformation of space.

For Lefebvre, space is thus not merely a neutral container or milieu in which life transpires, nor is it the obvious platform upon which all activity must occur. Architecture, human densities and location relations are a force in structuring what can be done in space itself. Walls and roads obviously privilege certain kinds of activities and inhibit others, support the projects of one type of actor and deter the goals of others. Beyond such material impediments are the symbols and styles that also influence behaviour: elements of disempowering monumental grandeur, diverse endogenous architecture falsely implying true choice, monotonous cubes and towers that stultify rewarding forms of sociability. A space is thus neither merely a medium

nor a list of ingredients, but an interlinking of geography, built environment, symbolism and life routines. Ways of being and physical landscapes are a piece, albeit one filled with tensions and competing versions of what spaces should be. People fight not only over a piece of turf, but about the sort of reality that it constitutes. The struggle over Dharavi is exactly this: a battle for survival of a reality, of an existence.

In the “production” of Dharavi, a sort of master distinction is between those who produce a space for domination versus those who produce space as an appropriation to serve human needs. In that respect, the DRP envisions a spatial transformation from horizontal, low rise “slums” to a high-rise podium style typology where residential units will be placed on the top floors of the buildings, while the commercial units will be located at the ground and first floor. The parking area will be on the third floor, just below the pedestrian-only podium level. An emergent issue from this is how a monolithic typology attempts to accommodate the daily needs of people and their future aspirations³⁶.

In domination, space is put to the service of some abstract purpose (hence, Lefebvre’s phrase “abstract space” to describe the result). This can be to facilitate state power (e.g., the Napoleonic version of Paris and other “phallic” displays) or, more pervasively, the reproduction of capital for the achievement of a neoliberal Vision Mumbai³⁷. In Mumbai, space is carved into real estate parcels for exchange in the market, cubes and volumes demarcated and partitioned so as to be interchangeable as commodities. The resultant space represents the “triumph of homogeneity”³⁸ and stands, both in its totality, as well as in its constituent parts as “product”. While acknowledging some benign intentions, Lefebvre³⁹ condemns the modernist movement in general for using the “pretext that it was exposing (people) to open air and sunshine” as a cover for design arrogance in the service of capital.

Moreover, Lefebvre⁴⁰ infers the risk that ideology contributes to urban spatial planning as a discourse and practice by illustrating how even in a democratic capitalist society, the ideas and visions that shape spatial change in cities, “are often only reflective of the homogenic desires of conflicting, but dominant, privileged minorities”. These minorities possess access not merely to an economic and technical capacity but also the social networks and cultural influence to carry out spatial transformation, induced by their ideological perception of what the common vision should be. This perception is often in conflict with those of other less empowered diverse groups within society who often constitute the urban majority.

What is interesting in such spatiology is that space is not just produced materially, by political, economic and social forces, but that it is also produced by the ways we represent it. The critical Lefebvrian thinking on Dharavi lies in the recognition that the space of the slum

is not an inert supporter of social action, but participates in the action itself. The heterotopian adoption of such space makes explicit the fragmented, mobile, and conflictive nature of the production of space.

Spaces of rights: the right to the city

At its core, Lefebvre’s right to the city is a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right of all *citadins* to participate in the process of production in the city where they reside⁴¹. It is less a juridical right and more of an oppositional demand, challenging claims of the rich and powerful⁴² and indeed the abstract space that facilitates the reproduction of capital.

Formulated by Lefebvre in the 1960s, the idea of the right to the city grew out of the discontent with inequity and exclusion driven by capitalism, manifested socially and spatially in cities. It emerged through his critiques of functionalist and technocratic urbanization processes in France of the 1960s and 1970s and of the welfare capitalist society as the “bureaucratic society of organised consumption” where needs are created and institutionalized⁴³. Lefebvre believed the use value of the city trumps capitalism’s focus on exchange value⁴⁴ and sought to rethink the foundations of capitalist social relations such as “ownership over” and how value is given to urban space, essentially requiring a radical restructuring of social, political, and economic relations, both in the city and beyond⁴⁵.

As Harvey⁴⁶ notes, the right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it as our hearts desire, and remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality. Thus the production of urban space is not only about planning the material space of the city, but rather integrating all aspects of urban life, including the right of appropriation, as manifested in claimed spaces of the city – such as Dharavi.

For over half a century, Dharavi’s residents have in essence claimed their right to the city within their 239 hectares of urban space at the heart of Mumbai. A sort of “third Dharavi” emerged⁴⁷ in the yawning gap between traditional urbanity, one considered as backwards, and the newly planned version, one unable to achieve a satisfactory urban reality. In essence, Dharavi has reinvented itself over time through “a new, informal, and transformative building practice that allows them (slum dwellers) to inhabit a city that, officially, does not account for them in its master planning”⁴⁸. The diverse urban spaces resulting in Dharavi include multi-functional open spaces, organic clusters and an incremental evolution of built form, adapted through time by adding storeys to the ground level to accom-

moderate changing needs of the family and community, with spaces associated with different uses and social interactions. Indeed, no master plan, urban design, zoning ordinance or construction law can claim any stake in such heterotopy or especially Dharavi's prosperity, as they were built over many decades entirely by successive waves of immigrants fleeing rural poverty, political oppression and natural disasters⁴⁹.

As alluded to earlier, since the early 1990s, the Alliance – a partnership of SPARC, its nonprofit developer wing NIRMAL and two grassroots organizations named Mahila Milan and the National Slum Dwellers Federation – has sought to enable a bottom-up process by directly engaging Dharavi's poor in the production of space in Dharavi, claiming their right to housing in the city. These activities demonstrate, through previously unrealized solutions in spaces they control, the urban poor's potential to challenge and change formalized rules and regulations that tend to function in the interests of dominant powers. By producing housing, the Alliance sets a precedent as an NGO developer undertaking this work as Lefebvrian production of space concepts manifest in concrete examples of bottom-up, community-driven urban development processes. Precedent setting also provides a linguistic device for negotiating between the legalities of urban government and the "illegal" arrangements to which the poor usually must resort, shifting the burden for municipal officials and other experts away from white-washing illegal activities towards building on "legitimate" models⁵⁰.

In recent years however, facing "*Dubaification*" in the top-down, technocratic DRP process, Dharavi's designation as a special planning area in 2004 – a status that enables secretive modification of development regulations – has thrust the reins of development completely into the hands of the government and private sector. After subsequent years of bottom-up pressure tactics and struggles, including open letters to the government and media and peaceful protests from residents of Dharavi, leaders of prominent grassroots groups and NGOs and the Concerned Citizens of Dharavi (CCD), a space was made for institutional participation when the CCD was sanctioned as a Committee of Experts (CoE) in 2008. This eleven-member panel of activists, professionals, academics and retired civil servants, including members of the Alliance, chaired by the retired Chief Secretary of Maharashtra⁵¹, continues its pressure for the urban poor's representation and meaningful engagement within the DRP.

Alongside deeply conflicting visions between actors and questioning of true rights to the city for Dharavi's residents and how claims to this demand are effectively represented, the top-down government vision is clearly and profoundly embedded in a neoliberal trickle-down approach, where the DRP authority sees the project's objective as "their [Dharavi residents'] mass economic uplift by providing better alternatives of living and business opportunities",

in the belief that "upgradation can maybe take them (slum dwellers) into a world class city"⁵². The simultaneous claim by the DRP Authority that they wish to "treat Dharavi's residents as partners in the project", to "involve people in decision-making"⁵³ has been completely denied in practice. No Dharavi resident sits on the CoE, raising questions regarding the degree to which their diverse needs and aspirations are being addressed in the process. Furthermore, even if engagement does occur, it is debatable what will change, as the government has made clear in the past that while the outputs of studies and conversations would be considered, the project will fundamentally proceed as planned⁵⁴.

Though the bottom-up vision – as manifested by members of the Alliance and the CoE – is critical of the DRP, these actors maintain a close and highly strategic relationship with government bodies in order to function as facilitators between different institutional levels. While the CoE has successfully lobbied for the adoption of urban design guidelines in the DRP and a socio-economic baseline survey to be conducted in Dharavi, their vision and desire for an inclusive development process has been relegated to making the DRP more "humane" and guiding developers towards a more sensitive development⁵⁵. Hence, the five-sector, five-developer DRP concept continues, with the CoE merely tweaking the edges, appearing as a body legitimizing a "gentler" neoliberal approach to Dharavi's development rather than actively pursuing a radical Lefebvrian right to the city.

In July 2009, however, the CoE released an open letter to the Government of Maharashtra calling the DRP a "sophisticated land grab", stating that "the correct solution to redeveloping Dharavi would be to give up the notion of making a profit out of it, either for the Government or for the builders, and to focus instead on the interests of the residents of Dharavi"⁵⁶. This shift in effort implies that the CoE is beginning to directly challenge the DRP's neoliberal top-down approach, although not fully towards a deep, radical Lefebvrian rethinking of fundamental premises in capitalist social relations. This reality is due in part to the open rejection of a rights-based approach by Alliance members who believe it is more effective to establish commonality of interest with the state in the furtherance of the strategic needs of the urban poor⁵⁷.

The CoE has not challenged the state's power but rather aligned with the way the right to the city is manifested in practice by grassroots groups across the world, in essence modifying the political content and meaning of the contested term⁵⁸. In this light the CoE is offering a *development alternative* rather than a *form of alternative development*⁵⁹, where the former provides strategies that seek to change and refine development positions while offering different perspectives within the DRP framework, and the latter seeks to redefine development alto-

gether, a necessary step to truly move towards rights to the city. If we were to imagine Dharavi through a form of alternative development, we would most certainly see the DRP's top-down spatial segregation and control approach completely rejected. The resulting spatial consequences of an emerging process based on right to the city claims – i.e. rights to housing, to livelihoods, to participate in shaping Dharavi – would without a doubt be complex and contested. Yet we would likely witness the initiation of a people-centred approach with multi-functional, adaptable spaces that can be transformed through time, leading to flexible spatial arrangements that can meet people's evolving livelihood requirements.

What strategies then, in this complex and highly contested case of urbanism, are most effective to claim bottom-up rights to the city? As Roy⁶⁰, posits, will demanding rights through "rebellious citizenship" ensure the right to the production of space for the urban poor, or will it leave them without access to the infrastructure of populist mediation and its regulated entitlements? It is clear that appropriate tactics are needed to begin resolving the spatial tensions between top-down urban strategies and bottom-up tactics of spatial adaptation and urban activism. One clear element that is fundamental in the move towards greater equity and justice for the urban poor in Dharavi is that of persistent and continuous struggle.

Spaces of modernism and critical regionalism

The "triumph of homogeneity" and "space as commodity" concepts, manifesting in the misdirected power of the DRP, are a fundamental threat facing re-development schemes across the world. Recalling the parallel utopian ideals of the modernist movement, mention has been made of Lefebvre's condemnation of such abstraction and domination of space for capital gain rather than appropriating it for human needs. Famously, Lewis Mumford⁶¹ also questioned the sterile, abstract modernism characterized by the so-called "form follows function" slogan, one popularized though never subscribed to by Louis Sullivan. The rigorists, according to Mumford, "placed the mechanical functions of a building above its human person who was to occupy it – instead of regarding engineering as foundation for form, they treated it as an end"⁶². Akin to the strict grid of high-rise structures and networked thoroughfares seen in Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, the proposed "tower block-on plinth" typology of the DRP, in the context of Dharavi's current landscape, signifies the deafening of evolutionary, organic human-driven development.

Within a global *space of flows*⁶³, these schemes are essentially relegating *spaces of meanings* to localized micro-territories, substantiating the open ended phenomenon of

modernism characterized by the inevitable and even desirable obsolescence of human traditions, institutions and conventions⁶⁴. People are given no choice but to surrender or react on the basis of the most immediate source of self-recognition and autonomous organization, namely their locality⁶⁵, as manifested in claims towards the right to the city. Often the failures of progressive social movements to counter economic exploitation, cultural domination and political oppression have allowed plans like the DRP to exist. Acknowledging the global as a form of top-down, anthropomorphized capital restructuring, Harvey⁶⁶ suggests an opposing duality where the local is the site of "place-bound identities and a reactionary politics of aestheticised spatiality". In Mumbai and Dharavi, there have been legitimate degrees of opposition represented in general by the Alliance and perhaps most vocally through rallies by the National Slum Dwellers Federation.

Yet as noted in a prior allusion, Foucault⁶⁷ said that people in slums are unlikely to have enough capability to exercise liberating power alone and from within the slum. By Ricœur's⁶⁸ account, this incapacity is the root of the problem confronting underdeveloped areas. The "apocalyptic thrust of modernisation" associated with a universal commonality of political rationale and modes of living have stifled the creative and mytho-ethical nucleus of older societies⁶⁹. In order to get onto the road toward modernism, is it necessary to jettison the old cultural past? Herein lies the paradox for Dharavi within the broader context of Mumbai and beyond: "how to become modern and to return to sources, how to revive an old, dormant civilisation and take part in universal civilisation"⁷⁰.

Flashes of functional modernism already mushroom throughout Dharavi in the form of *in-situ* housing blocks. Two examples of this are the Rajiv Indira and Bharat Janata Cooperative Housing Societies. Formed in 1995 by fifty-four families, Rajiv Indira would combine with two other housing societies by 1999, eventually representing a combined 209 families earmarked for rehabilitation shelter. By 2002, five 5-storey apartment blocks were built, three of them housing community members in tenements of 225 square feet and two buildings market-sold to recoup costs and generate profits for future projects. The Bharat Janata project was initiated in 1991 to re-house a total of 156 households, although as of May 2009 only three of the proposed five 6-storey buildings had been constructed, two completely as rehabilitation housing and one mixed rehabilitation/market sale.

Residents that were interviewed described and understood the process of participation in the design process as one of "informing", where the Rajiv Indira architect presented four tenement layout options for the Society Committee to select just one. In Bharat Janata, only one option was offered to the Committee. From conversations with a variety of residents in

both building projects, they appear to have viewed the architect as an expert and were not conscious of their possible voice in the design process. Furthermore, most women claimed no direct knowledge of the process, admitting that their husbands often informed them of what had occurred at meetings⁷¹.

Beyond critical views on the technical and aesthetic aspects of new structures, major questions arose regarding the impact on people's livelihoods and social networks, including the use of communal space in and around the buildings. Prior physical layouts of hutment dwellings were more conducive to socializing as doors and windows faced the street, always open, allowing spontaneous, frequent and dynamic interaction. Although quality of life in the newly built shelter improved in both projects, relationships weakened as lives became more individualistic. Further observational analysis and interviews revealed that the ground floor space, the principal space used for socializing, especially for women, was poorly designed and regulated, if designed at all. Of major concern in Rajiv Indira and Bharat Janata is that the diversity of activities and the multiplicity of uses, in terms of functionality, facility and design are not recognized by the Government of Maharashtra's Slum Rehabilitation Authority policies. The critical perspective of urban production as a predominantly human experience within a complementary environment is thus ignored.

Here, the idea of sustaining livelihoods and social interaction should be added to the challenge of becoming "modern" while retaining cultural strengths. Alongside the grassroots efforts of local citizens and organizations, the convictions and methods used by authorities and practitioners are also critical towards a holistic evolution of the area. Here, as the third component of contested urbanism, the concept of *critical regionalism* may provide a method to negotiate between the top-down neoliberal Mumbai visions (the DRP) and the needs and aspirations of locals.

Under this paradigm, a clear path is cut between modernism's homogenized symbolic tendencies and the illusory recall of culturally irrelevant fantasies of locality⁷². Coined by Tzonis and Lefaivre in the 1990s, critical regionalism was adopted from Mumford's many musings in his rebuttals against absolute modernism. However, just as the vertical nature of *in-situ* redevelopment in Dharavi does not lack complete impractical merit for appropriately resolving squalor and density issues, modernism, according to Mumford, was not meant to be cast aside. In efforts toward progressive growth, buildings should make use of the latest technology of the day, as long as it is functionally optimal and sustainable⁷³. In the case of Dharavi, aside from the intrigue of evolutionary organic constructs of dwellings and space, many of the structures are irrevocably poor in structural sustainability, leaving them vulner-



Fig. 4. Rajiv Indira Housing Cooperative (Source: BUDD 2009).

able to monsoons, fire and the random demolition by the authorities. A critical approach that merges technology, flexible planning and use – themes of a critical regionalism – could be a solution towards appropriate development.

Architecture is not merely a means to shelter people, nor should it be seen as the picturesque notion of life. Rather it is an effort to reflect and enhance the purposes and ideals which characterize a particular age and people⁷⁴. According to Mumford⁷⁵, this takes place in meeting the practical demands of an environment modified for human use, but the modifications should "testify to the degree of order, of co-operation, of intelligence, of sensitivity, that characterises community"⁷⁶. In Dharavi the *in-situ* housing of Bharat Janata and Rajiv Indira constitutes mainly rapid solutions *sans* the appropriation of community complexity



Fig. 5. Bharat Janata Housing Cooperative (Source: BUDD 2009).

and need. While the buildings themselves are more substantial in structural terms, the choice of immediate function over sustained value-added quality only delivers false commodity to citizens. Currently though, these are the only bottom-driven alternatives to the mega-block typology of the DRP. In efforts to turn attention away from such top-down plans and to uphold the local culture and architecture against more universal and abstract forms, critical methods incorporating new technologies must emerge in tandem with, rather than avoiding, local particulars.

Spatial tensions at the heart of Mumbai: lessons and meanings

Exploring these strands of contested urbanism in Dharavi has made evident what Watson⁷⁷ defines as a *clash of rationalities* between techno-managerial and marketized systems of government administration, service provision and planning, and increasingly marginalized urban populations surviving largely under conditions of informality. This has manifested through a complete disconnect between the proposed Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) and the current situation of the stakeholders most affected by the process: the citizens of Dharavi⁷⁸. The complex and multiple natures of their highly productive and largely informal work-live environment, as well as social interactions within emergent diverse urban forms, are not integrated nor even understood. The proposed solution, ignoring any value in this dynamic spatial adaptation through time, is a *tabula rasa* plan to build a world-class city.

It is thus clear in the case of Dharavi that the Government of Maharashtra, in pursuing this vision, is producing social and spatial exclusion, rendering Dharavi a *heterotopia*. The practices resulting from such elements are rooted in top-down control and management towards facilitating the reproduction of capital, denying the inclusion or enablement of the urban poor in the process.

Contested urbanism highlights the nuances in the battles between the production of space for domination versus the production of space for appropriation to serve human needs and aspirations, the latter expressed through the spatial adaptation of residents of Dharavi and their struggles to develop housing through a bottom-up process, aided by the Alliance to construct an alternative to the DRP. Meanwhile, the Committee of Experts is pressing for the inclusion of the marginalized urban poor. True rights to the city, however, are not about inclusion in a structurally unequal, exploitative and insecure system, but rather are fundamentally about democratizing cities and their decision-making processes⁷⁹.

As Lefebvre's concept of abstract space facilitates the reproduction of capital for the achievement of a neoliberal Vision Mumbai, with Dharavi's space carved into real estate parcels for exchange in the market, there is a grave risk that the resultant space will represent the "triumph of homogeneity"⁸⁰ and stand, both in its totality as well as in its constituent parts, as a *product* with no trace of the historic, organic adaptations and struggles that have made Dharavi what it is today. If we are to move towards more socially just and sustainable urban spaces, culturally sensitive approaches to home-making or re-making in urban transformations are a fundamental necessity. This means integrating into urban design and planning the notion of casual, rhizomatic, fluid and, of course, incremental production of spaces that

respond to people's needs and aspirations, enabling sustained adaptation. Indeed, it is the task and power of design to unravel, clarify and negotiate contrasts and contradictions in the urban fabric⁸¹.

Despite Dharavi's fertility in containing the complexities and contradictions that appeal conceptually to professionals and academics alike, it must not be forgotten that it is a living, breathing place, the truth being revealed in its extreme situation of conflict. Its nature as a resource parallels the struggles of daily survival, the necessity for attention and solutions that can humanize conditions that are anything but. Ultimately exploring, depicting and rescuing Dharavi is in essence rescuing the very concept of the right to the city. By recognizing the nuances and subtleties of slums in general, and Dharavi in particular, as part of a city in itself constructed of impurity, ambivalence and in a state of constant metamorphosis, *slum urbanism*, inherently contested in nature, can be understood as a response and resistance to state and economic-led utopian and modernistic planning.

Dharavi's redevelopment needs to find an appropriate balance to inform both experience and subsequent proposals that will lead to inclusive transformative outcomes for individuals and the city as a whole. A critical regionalist approach to architectural and urban production can serve as a tool to negotiate the diverse desires of the people and the need to formally upgrade infrastructures and living conditions while realizing the rights of citizens to participate in the production of Mumbai. In engaging the currently marginalized residents of Dharavi in the process, equilibrium and critical awareness need to be sought between providing a development alternative or a form of alternative development⁸², with consciousness and clarity on working within the system and/or seeking to radically restructure social, political, and economic relations in the city and beyond.

While at present there appears to be a disjunction between grand expectations and acknowledged reality, the conceptual analytical neologism of *contested urbanism* is fundamental in depicting the material-discursive dynamics in the formation, transformation and representation of social civil movement struggles over space. The redevelopment opportunities as witnessed through the DRP provide a platform for a productive discourse on informality to emerge, particularly its assets and value to be mapped and appreciated within the canonical theories of architecture and urbanism. This could re-politicize informality to reveal the importance of the futures of Dharavi and other "states of informalities"⁸³.

Furthermore, the neologism reinforces the idea that design involves satisfying material needs and resolving competing social requirements through a process of active participation by the occupants and the mediation of "professionals"⁸⁴. Thus, the design process is simultaneously

the production of physical form, the creation of social, cultural and symbolic resources and also, critically, the outcome of a facilitated process in which enablement becomes a central idea. Such an approach fundamentally repositions the role of the architect. They are not, in Roy's⁸⁵ pointed phrase, "innocent professionals" but involved in a process requiring them to reflect upon what they produce through a contested vision of urbanism.

Beyond the narrative presented in the paper, the conceptual apparatus of the study and its adaptation to the case of Dharavi aims to repopulate and reinvigorate the call for a radical thinking on the powers of architecture and urbanism. For some readers familiar with a post-Marxist literature on cities and the current trends of rights to the city perspectives, the analytical neologism of *contested urbanism* could be seen as either an oxymoron or not a real novelty. For the authors, however, the originality of the concept lies in the fact that no matter how urbanism processes are labelled, packaged and implemented, the themes of production of space and the right to do so must converse with each other explicitly because both are embedded in a potential transformative process of social change. In addition, the neologism attempts to combine an urban studies perspective with an architectural one, offering a possible combination of scales for an effective investigation in a renewed critical architectural practice.

Lefebvre proclaimed that space is much more than an object or static form; it is active both as instrument and goal, means and end. The production of space, he argued, involves the most fundamental processes of social life, including the experience and representation of place and the construction of identity. How we plan and articulate Dharavi has much to do with how we construct and articulate ourselves as citizens and as professionals.

While the by-product of Dharavi's spotlight may be increased knowledge of informality, it is in the social struggles of such conflicts that an opportunity to create new drivers of knowledge production resides – new priorities that fuel urban research and professional practice able to reimagine the right to the city.

1. Kalpana SHARMA, *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories from Asia's Largest Slum*, Delhi, Penguin Books India, 2000, p. xx-xxi, p. 24.
2. BOMBAY FIRST and MCKINSEY & COMPANY INC., "Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a World-Class City", 2003, <http://www.bombayfirst.org/McKinseyReport.pdf>.
3. BUDD, "Dharavi: a Case of Contested Urbanism", Field trip final report, MSc Building and Urban Design For Development, Development Planning Unit, London, 2009, [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/DPU/courses/2009Fieldtrip/Dharavi Final Report \(low-resolution III\).pdf](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/DPU/courses/2009Fieldtrip/Dharavi%20Final%20Report%20(low-resolution%20III).pdf).
4. A recognized limitation of this study is the short period of time in which the research was conducted, as the Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) is still very much in evolution and flux, especially with Maharashtra state assembly elections in October 2009 and the global economic crisis significantly slowing down the project's development.
5. Kalpana SHARMA, *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories from Asia's Largest Slum*, op. cit., p. xxi.
6. Rajendra VORA and Suhals PALISHIKAR, "Politics of Locality, Community, and Marginalisation" in Sujata PATEL and Jim MASSELOS (eds), *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 161-182.
7. URBANOLOGY, *Urban Typhoon Workshop: Koliwada, Dharavi*, Mumbai, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action and Research, 2008, p. 12.
8. Kalpana SHARMA, *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories from Asia's Largest Slum*, op. cit., p. xx.
9. Sheila PATEL and Jockin ARPUTHAM, "An Offer of Partnership or a Promise of Conflict in Dharavi, Mumbai?", *Environment and Urbanization*, 2007, vol. 19, 1, p. 501-508.
10. Floor Space Index (FSI) refers to the ratio of total floor area of a bid to the gross area of the specific plot of land on which it is located.
11. TNN, Dharavi redevelopment to begin today, *The Times of India*, 1 June, 2007. Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Cities/Mumbai/Dharavi-redevelopment-to-begin-today/articleshow/2090403.cms>, 2009.
12. Sheila PATEL and Jockin ARPUTHAM, "An Offer of Partnership or a Promise of Conflict in Dharavi, Mumbai?", loc. cit.
13. TNN, *Dharavi Redevelopment to Begin Today*, op. cit.
14. Kalpana SHARMA, "A Reprieve for Dharavi", *InfoChange India*, 2009, <http://infochangeindia.org/Urban-India/Cityscapes/A-reprieve-for-Dharavi.html>.
15. KRVI, Dharavi summary, Mumbai: Kamla Raheja and Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture, presentation, 2007.
16. Martin HEIDDEGER, *Being and Time*, transl. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, New York, Harper, 1962, p. 19-21.
17. Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Production of Space*, transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 1991, p. 456.
18. Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Postmodern Ethics*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1993, p. 170.
19. Fredrick JAMESON, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 1991, p. 440.
20. Leonie SANDERCOCK, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century*, London, Continuum, 2005, p. 272.
21. David COWEN and David GILBERT, *War, Citizenship and Territory*, New York and London, Routledge, 2008, p. 1.
22. Michel FOUCAULT, *The Birth of the Clinic*, London, Taylor & Francis, 2003, p. 15-16.
23. Id.
24. Michel FOUCAULT, *The History of Sexuality*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978, p. 168.
25. Michel FOUCAULT, *The Birth of the Clinic*, op. cit.
26. Ibid., p. 223.
27. Carlos BRILLEMBOURG, "The New Slum Urbanism of Caracas, Invasions and Settlements, Colonialism, Democracy, Capitalism and Devil Worship", *Architectural Design*, 2004, vol. 74, 2, p. 79.
28. Ananya ROY, "Why India Cannot Plan its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanisation", *Planning Theory*, 2009, vol. 8, 1, p. 80.
29. Yael ALLWEIL and Rachel KALLUS, "Public-Space Heterotopias: Heterotopia of Masculinity Along the Tel Aviv Shoreline" in Michiel DEHEANE and Lieven DE CAUTER (eds), *Heterotopia and the City. Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, London, Routledge, 2008, p. 191.
30. Mike DAVIS, *The Planet of Slums*, London, Verso, 2006, p. 231.
31. James D. FAUBION, "Heterotopia: an Ecology" in Michiel DEHEANE and Lieven DE CAUTER (eds), *Heterotopia and the City*, op. cit., p. 31.
32. Carlos BRILLEMBOURG, "The New Slum Urbanism of Caracas, Invasions and Settlements, Colonialism, Democracy, Capitalism and Devil Worship", loc. cit.
33. Arjun APPADURAI, "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 13, 2, 2001, p. 23-43.
34. Michel FOUCAULT, "Different Spaces" in James D. FAUBION (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume II: Aesthetic, Epistemology, Methodology*, London, The New Press, 1999, p. 180.
35. Jeremy TILL, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2009, p. 125.
36. BUDD, "Dharavi: a Case of Contested Urbanism", loc. cit., p. 24.
37. BOMBAY FIRST and MCKINSEY & COMPANY INC., "Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a World-Class City", loc. cit.
38. Henri LEFEBVRE, "Space and the State" in Neil BRENNER, Bob JESSOP, Martin JONES and Gordon MACLEOD (eds), *State/Space. A Reader*, Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 337.
39. Id.
40. Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Production of Space*, op. cit., p. 76.
41. Mustafa DIKEÇ and Liette GILBERT, "Right to the City: Homage or New Societal Ethics?", *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 2002, vol. 13, 2, p. 58-74.
42. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *City*, 2009, vol. 13, 2-3, p. 362-374.
43. Henri LEFEBVRE, "Space and the State", loc. cit.
44. Don MITCHELL, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York, Guilford Press, 2003, p. 270.
45. Mark PURCELL, "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *Geojournal*, 2002, vol. 58, p. 99-108.
46. David HARVEY, "The Right to the City", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2003, vol. 27, 4, p. 939-941.
47. Zeynep KEZER, "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1984, vol. 52, 1, p. 11-19.
48. Hilde HEYNEN and André LOECKX, "Scenes of Ambivalence: Concluding Remarks on Architectural Patterns of Displacement", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1984, vol. 52, 2, p. 102.
49. Matias ECHANOVE and Rahul SRIVASTAVA, "Taking the Slum out of 'Slumdog'", *New York Times*, Saturday 21 February 2009. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/21/opinion/21srivastava.html?_r=4, 2009
50. Arjun APPADURAI, "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics", loc. cit., p. 33.
51. Sheila PATEL, Jockin ARPUTHAM, Sundar BURRA and Katia SAVCHUK, "Getting the Information Base for Dharavi's Redevelopment", *Environment and Urbanization*, 2009, vol. 21, 1, p. 243.
52. Gautam CHATTERJEE, Dharavi Redevelopment Project, Presentation at SPARC, Interview, 8 May 2009.
53. Id.
54. Sheila PATEL, Jockin ARPUTHAM, Sundar BURRA and Katia SAVCHUCK, "Getting the Information Base for Dharavi's Redevelopment", loc. cit., p. 54.

55. Benita MENDES, *Discussion on the Dharavi Redevelopment Project and the role of the Committee of Experts*, Interview, 21 May 200; Neera ADARKAR, *Discussion on the Dharavi Redevelopment Project and the role of the Committee of Experts*, Interview, 21 May 2009.
56. COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS, "Dharavi Redevelopment Project, Open Letter to the Government", 7 July 2009, p. 1, http://www.dharavi.org/Dharavi_Advocacy/1_Government_Documents/DRP_Letter_by_Committee_of_Experts.
57. Diana MITLIN and Sheila PATEL, "Re-Interpreting the Rights-Based Approach: a Grassroots Perspective on Rights and Development", *Working Paper Series 22*, Global Poverty Research Group of the Economic and Social Research Council, 2005, p. 24.
58. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*
59. Colin MCFARLANE, "Geographical Imaginations and Spaces of Political Engagement: Examples from the Indian Alliance", *Antipode*, 2004, vol. 36, 5, p. 910.
60. Ananya ROY, "Civic Governmentality: the Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai", *Antipode*, 2009, vol. 41, 1, p. 176.
61. Lewis MUMFORD, "The Skyline", *The New Yorker*, 11 October 1947, as republished in *The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* 15, Spring 1948, 1, New York, p. 106-109.
62. *Id.*
63. Manuel CASTELLS, *The Informational City: Economic Restructuring and Urban Development*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984, p. 402.
64. Gerard L. BRUNS, "Foucault's Modernism" in Gary GUTTING (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 348.
65. Heather VOISEY and Tim O'RIORDAN, "Globalization and Localization" in Tim O'RIORDAN (ed.), *Globalization, Localism and Identity: Fresh Perspectives on the Transition to Sustainability*, London, Earthscan, 2001, p. 25-42.
66. David HARVEY, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1989, p. 305.
67. Michel FOUCAULT, *The Birth of the Clinic*, *op. cit.*
68. Paul RICCEUR, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures" in Vincent B. CANIZARO (ed.), *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2007, p. 43-53.
69. *Ibid.*; Kenneth FRAMPTON, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" in Hal FOSTER (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, New York, The New Press, 1998, p. 17-34.
70. Paul RICCEUR, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures", *loc. cit.*, p. 47.
71. BUDD, "Dharavi: a Case of Contested Urbanism", *loc. cit.*
72. Michael SORKIN, "With the Grain" in Susanna SREFMAN (ed.), *Whereabouts: New Architecture with Local Identities*, New York, The Monacelli Press, 2004, p. 19-25.
73. Liane LEFAIVRE, "Critical Regionalism: A Facet of Modern Architecture Since 1945" in Alexander TZONIS and Liane LEFAIVRE (eds), *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World*, Munich, Prestel, 2003, p. 22-53.
74. *Id.*
75. Lewis MUMFORD, "The Skyline", *loc. cit.*
76. Lewis MUMFORD, as cited in Liane LEFAIVRE, "Critical Regionalism: A Facet of Modern Architecture Since 1945", *loc. cit.*, p. 38.
77. Vanessa WATSON, "Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issue", *Urban Studies*, 2009, vol. 46, 11, p. 2259-2275.
78. BUDD, "Dharavi: A Case of Contested Urbanism", *loc. cit.*
79. Margit MAYER, "The 'Right to the City' in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements", *loc. cit.*
80. Henri LEFEBVRE, "Space and the State", *loc. cit.*, p. 337.
81. André LOECKX and Kelly SHANNON, "Qualifying Urban Spaces", 2005, http://ww2.unhabitat.org/programmes/agenda21/documents/urban_dialogues/QualifyingUrbanSpace.pdf.
82. Colin MCFARLANE, "Geographical Imaginations and Spaces of Political Engagement: Examples from the Indian Alliance", *loc. cit.*, p. 910.
83. Ananya ROY, "Why India Cannot Plan its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanisation", *loc. cit.*
84. Camillo BOANO, "Post-Disaster Recovery Planning: Challenges and Potentials" in Alejandro LOPEZ-CARRESI and Ben WISNER (eds), *Disaster Management: Challenges in the 21st Century*, Madrid, Studium Press, (forthcoming).
85. Ananya ROY, "Praxis in the Time of Empire", *Planning Theory*, 2006, vol. 5, 1, p. 21.

The right to the city in South Africa

Richard Pithouse

South Africa has one of the highest rates of popular protest in the world and has produced vibrant, innovative and tenacious urban movements such as Abahlali baseMjondolo and the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign. Much of the popular protest in the country is organized from shack settlements and there is often a resonance, implicit or explicit, between some of its demands and the idea of the right to the city. This paper begins by showing that in South Africa, as is the case elsewhere, the right to the city is what Marcelo Lopes de Souza calls a contested territory. The paper then moves on to outline the broad arc of the history of popular struggles for the right to the city in South Africa. The final section examines the urban aspect of the post-apartheid deal and, via a particular focus on the shack dweller's movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, the popular resistance to that deal.

The right to the city as a contested territory

Henri Lefebvre's idea of "the right to the city", of a "transformed and renewed *right to urban life*"¹ is very much alive in contemporary South Africa. It has been taken up with enthusiasm by some of the leading grassroots militants in *Abahlali baseMjondolo* (AbM) [Residents of the Shacks]. AbM is South Africa's largest urban movement and primarily represents shack dwellers. "The right to the city" appears on the movement's banners, in press statements and as one of its demands. It has, along with all kinds of other ideas from other times and places, become part of what AbM like to call a living politics – "a politics that is easily understood because it arises from our daily lives and the daily challenges we face. It is a politics that every ordinary person can understand"². But "the right to the city" has also become part of the language of the bureaucracy of the United Nations and the World Bank. In view of the use that is being made of the idea of "the right to the city" in these types of institutions, and their allied NGOs, Marcelo Lopes de Souza argues that "'the right to the city' should be regarded (at least by emancipatory social movements and radical intellectuals) as a kind of 'contested territory', since the danger of a *vulgarisation* and *domestication* of Lefebvre's phrase by *status-quo-conform* institutions and forces is a real one"³.

It wouldn't be at all surprising if the idea of "the right to the city" moved from the Cities Alliance to the South African state. In fact, some of the language of the state already echoes in principle (without realizing in practice) aspects of Lefebvre's idea. For instance, the state routinely affirms in principle that it "understands that the poor have a right to stay close to areas of both economic and social amenities"⁴ even as it continues to expel the poor to increasingly carceral spaces on the urban periphery.

There are two critical points of difference between the conception of a right to the city deployed in popular struggles and the language of urban rights that is sometimes used by the state and its allied NGOs. The first is that the state, while occasionally mentioning that it has the legal right to expropriate land, operates, in practice, on the assumption that the distribution of urban land should be organized through the market. Grassroots militants have made a number of arguments against the commodification of land. Some are drawn from the modern socialist tradition, some from arguments about a pre-colonial commons and some make reference to divine authority to assert a communal ethic. For instance, Louisa Motha, a respected and influential leader in AbM, asserts that "Land is a gift to us all from God. It is a sin for one man [sic] to say that he can own the land alone"⁵. AbM has called for the expropriation of specific landholdings, organized and defended the occupation of land and insisted that "the land and the wealth of this world must be shared fairly and equally"⁶.

The second point of critical difference between the use that is made of the idea of a right to the city in popular movements and the use of related language by the state is that the state, while making some rhetorical gestures towards the language of public participation, is committed to a technocratic conception of "delivery" in which the urban crisis is, in practice, reduced to a housing crisis and progress is measured by the number of people moved from informal to formal housing. Its response to popular protest has generally begun with attempts at co-option into patronage networks and, when that is refused, quickly descended into repression. This initially tended to take the form of vertical repression, organized by the police and intelligence services⁷. But since Jacob Zuma ascended to the presidency, there has been a dramatic increase in the mobilization of horizontal oppression via local party structures⁸. At the same time the state's discourse in elite publics has become even more managerial, with promises of quicker and more efficient delivery via target setting. When public participation does occur, it is little more than a platform for politicians to make announcements. On the other hand, AbM uses the slogan from the disabled people's movement in England, "Nothing for Us Without Us" and has, along with many other popular organizations, insisted on the right to, to use Marcelo Lopes de Souza's⁹ phrase, engage in "grass-

roots urban planning". This disjuncture in how urban rights are conceived is primarily, although certainly not exclusively, rooted in the enduring fact of the shack settlement. The shack settlement has become the most dramatic image of the underside of the elite capture of the post-apartheid state. It has also become a deeply contested space onto which elite fears about crime, immigration, disease and political and social insubordination are projected with increasing virulence. At the same time, political parties and NGOs are involved in active competition to capture these spaces and to be able to represent their inhabitants as obedient. The result is a strange bifurcation in the stereotypes projected onto shack settlements and shack dwellers. When they are seen as a threat to bourgeois society, shack settlements appear, as Frantz Fanon wrote in 1961, as "places of ill fame peopled by women and men of evil repute"¹⁰. But when their inhabitants have, or appear to have, accepted the tutelage of an NGO or a clientelistic relation to a political party, they are more likely to appear as the long suffering but patient and noble poor. In both cases, the shack dweller appears as other worldly and certainly does not appear as a person who thinks or who is worthy or indeed capable of independent participation in civil society. The shack settlement appears as a space from which, in Jacques Rancière's words, "only groans or cries expressing suffering, hunger or anger could emerge, but not actual speech demonstrating a shared *aesthesis*"¹¹. This is as true for the state as it is for much of professional civil society, including, most emphatically, its left edge.

In their recent meditation on monstrosity, Lewis and Jane Gordon argue that in anti-black societies, black people are rendered monstrous "when they attempt to live and participate in the wider civil society and engage in processes of governing among whites [...] Their presence in society generally constitutes crime"¹². The urban poor very often have a similar relation to civil society in South Africa. S'bu Zikode, President of the South African shack dwellers' movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, made this point after he was driven from his home by an armed and state backed mob: "[T]echnocratic thinking will be supported with violence when ordinary men and women insist on their right to speak and to be heard on the matters that concern their daily lives. On the one side there is a consultant with a laptop. On the other side there is a drunk young man with a bush knife or a gun. As much as they might look very different they serve the same system – a system in which ordinary men and women must be good boys and girls and know that their place is not to think and speak for themselves"¹³.

In some respects, the authoritarian edge of the academic and NGO left has policed the borders of civil society against transgression by the self-organized poor with more consis-

tent vigour than the state, which tends to engage in repression and attempts at delegitimation in an episodic way and with a rhythm largely tied to electoral cycles.

Nevertheless, despite this elite hostility the shack settlement has been the source of much of the popular protest, often sporadic and usually organized locally, that has been mobilized against the African National Congress (ANC) since 2004¹⁴. It also houses much of the membership of the major organized poor people's movements, like Abahlali baseMjondolo, the Landless People's Movement and the Treatment Action Campaign. And it has been a central site in the politics of xenophobia and ethnic communalism that escalated into full scale pogroms in May 2008¹⁵.

The intensity of the shack settlement in particular, and the city in general, as a site for popular politics, is not new. Apartheid conflated modernity with a specifically white urbanism. The racial paranoia that informed the idea that a fully modern urban life must be white produced a tremendous white anxiety in response to the black presence in the cities. Unsurprisingly both the popular and the elite strands in the struggles against apartheid often put the demand for an equal right to an urban life at the centre of their demands¹⁶.

A long history of popular struggle for the right to the city

The first major struggle for black access to the cities emerged from the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union (ICU) in the 1920s. The 1913 Land Act had given legal sanction to the mass enclosures of land for the purpose of setting up a fully commercial white agriculture. These enclosures pushed a rural crisis into a spiralling descent into mass poverty that is still evident in the deprivation and struggles of today. In his *Native Life in South Africa*, Sol Plaatjie wrote of the "roving pariahs" created by the "sickening procedure of extermination, voluntarily instituted by the South African parliament"¹⁷.

The ICU had emerged out of the general black ferment – including riots, strikes, boycotts and anti-pass campaigns that developed in most towns and many rural areas after the First World War. It was founded in Cape Town, 1920, with the syndicalist ambition of forming "one great union of skilled and unskilled workers"¹⁸ and had a hundred thousand members by 1927¹⁹. In Durban, it had 27,000 paid up members by 1928²⁰ and ran night schools, staged music and dance performances, held large marches, made innovative use of the courts, and spoke in many churches, becoming what liberation theology would later call a prophetic voice in these churches often leading to a profound re-orientation of their collective social vision.

In Johannesburg, many tens of thousands of Africans were able to occupy and hold land as squatters in the late 1940s. Squatter leaders included James Mpanza, of the *Sofasonke* party, and the poet and novelist Modikwe Dikobe. Alf W. Stadler writes that “Official views of the organization of the squatter camps convey the impression that the leaders were simply authoritarian bullies exploiting the plight of the homeless for gain, and that the camps were the habitats of prostitutes and vagrants”²¹. But he concludes that “Although the evidence is fragmentary, what bits can be pieced together of the movements reveal powerful reciprocal relationships of authority and trust between squatter leaders and their followers”²².

Afrikaaner nationalism ascended to state power in 1948, and in 1950 the legal foundations for the successful segregation of the cities were laid via the newly-passed Group Areas Act, which eventually resulted in mass forced removals of blacks to segregated townships on the urban peripheries. Planning for segregation was often organized through “sanitised language” that evoked “technocratic rationality”²³. But there were times when some of the motives of the state were laid bare. In 1951 Dr. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, stated that “Only by the provision of adequate shelter in properly planned Native townships can full control over urban Natives be regained”²⁴. The state was proposing a clear trade off – people would have to give up both the political autonomy and spatial proximity to the city of the insurgent squatted commons in order to access legitimacy and services from the state.

Places like Cato Manor in Durban, District Six in Cape Town, and Sophiatown in Johannesburg had given rise to vibrant and cosmopolitan urban cultures in which local practices mixed with, appropriated, and reworked imported cultural idioms such as jazz. In Johannesburg, urban “slum life” produced the Drum writers, while the painter Gerard Sekoto spent important phases of his life in District Six and Sophiatown²⁵. Bloke Modisane’s novel *Blame Me On History* famously begins: “Something in me died, a piece of me died, with the dying of Sophiatown [...] In the name of slum clearance they had brought the bulldozers and gored into her body”²⁶. In places like Sophiatown and Cato Manor, people did not achieve the right to decent housing but they did achieve some sort of right to the city, “the right to an urban life”²⁷, and created an urban intellectual and cultural commons for which there is considerable popular nostalgia to this day. It is, as Manuel Castells²⁸ cautions, a serious mistake to reduce the urban question to a housing question.

These forced removals are remembered bitterly in popular and official memory as great crimes of apartheid. They occur as originary events in many accounts of political conscientization. However, the memories of these settlements also capture an essential recurring ambiguity: on one hand, the shack settlements are remembered as sites of political and cultural

freedom, due to their proximity to the city, their cosmopolitanism, and their autonomy from the state and authoritarian modes of enforcing “tradition”. At the same time, the settlements are also remembered as sites of suffering as the absence of state support meant the absence of the services – sanitation, roads, health, water, refuse collection and so on – that were needed for a viable urban life. But speaking in 1960, the former head of the ICU, A.W.C. Champion, nevertheless described Cato Manor as “the place in Durban where families could breathe the air of freedom”²⁹.

After the Sharpeville massacre in Johannesburg in 1960, the protests against pass laws that had been common in the 1950s were crushed and the state appeared impregnable. Africans were successfully barred from occupying any autonomous or potentially autonomous spaces in the city and could legally live only in workers’ hostels or servants’ quarters. In the year after Sharpeville, Frantz Fanon described the colonial city as a “world cut in two”³⁰: “A world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manichean world. The native is a being hemmed in; apartheid is simply one form of the division into compartments of the colonial world. The first thing which the native learns is to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits”³¹.

For Fanon, the event that would inaugurate the end of the colonial world of compartments occurs when the violence used to police the dividing line is “taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters”³².

In 1973, the Durban strikes³³ began a new era of urban militancy. In 1976, the country-wide aftermath of the uprising in Soweto widened the cracks emerging around white space. In cities across the country, land was occupied and new shack settlements founded. By the mid-1980s the state, battling to contain a growing urban rebellion at home and waging war in Angola, lost the capacity to regulate the movement of Africans. Although elite white suburbs were protected where possible, people were able to move into the cities, seize land in defiance of the state, and establish communities beyond the control of the apartheid state. They were often referred to as “liberated zones”³⁴. In parts of some cities, and especially in Durban, land occupations, particularly during the late 1970s and the 1980s, achieved a decisive break with the racialization of space that was at the heart of the exclusionary logic of the apartheid city³⁵.

The 1980s were profoundly marked by the violent conflict between the anti-apartheid and non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) and the pro-apartheid and Zulu Nationalist movement *Inkatha*. This conflict was often waged in shack settlements – and in consequence some

came to be governed by warlords. But by the late 1980s, the UDF-aligned civics had won over large portions of the squatter periphery. Marie Huchzermeyer reports that – although there were certainly instances where UDF-aligned civics were authoritarian – generally, “the UDF and civic structures introduced free access to land. In informal settlements, this meant a shift from rental tenure towards a system that may be associated with ‘communal land holding in rural areas’ with entry through sponsorship and screening”³⁶. The insurgent urban commons drew on rural and traditional practices to, in Catherine Cross’s words, organize “a powerful social movement against the practice of paying rent to access land”³⁷.

In 1985, riots broke out in the Crossroads settlement in Cape Town. In four days of conflict, 18 people were killed and hundreds injured. In response, the state declared a moratorium on forced removals. Although distinctions between “legals” and “illegals” allowed the state to continue to evict, mass protest had won a major concession – the exclusion of autonomous or self-planned African communities from the cities, successfully enforced since the mid-1960s, was no longer absolute.

In the late 1980s the Urban Foundation, a project of big capital, became a major player in reformulating state policy in response to the new situation³⁸. The Foundation aimed to develop an individual, market-based solution to the housing crisis. It replaced the term “squatter camp”³⁹ with the term “informal settlement” – which, they felt, broke with the fears of invasion implicit in the earlier term, and which implied instead a temporary condition that could be alleviated by unleashing previously blocked entrepreneurial energies. The Foundation, influenced by new ideas in the World Bank and, no doubt, also cognisant of the grassroots rebellion confronting the state, resurrected the housing model of the early 1950s, when the state was weaker and shack dwellers were stronger than under high apartheid. It worked for the provision of basic services to shack settlements, and for shack dwellers to be allowed to develop their homes into more formal dwellings as their incomes improved. The prospect of tenure security and of access to services was widely used to persuade settlement committees to force a halt to the building of new shacks.

By 1990, the Urban Foundation gained decisive influence over the National Party’s urban policy-making and was asked to devise a socio-economic upliftment programme for the state. It did so in the form of a consultant – rather than community – driven programme that allocated a capital subsidy through the specially set up and state-financed Independent Development Trust (IDT). The subsidy delivered ownership of a serviced site to qualifying household heads on whose behalf developers made applications. Because it didn’t challenge the property market – a market based on spatial exclusivity – Urban Foundation serviced sites were gener-

ally provided on the periphery of the cities, as in the apartheid model. The civics condemned this consultancy-driven model and its result of toilets on peripheral sites.

In that same year, the ANC opened their offices in Johannesburg after their unbanning. A huge banner in the foyer declared “Occupy the Cities!”⁴⁰. But the moment of Thermidor came quickly as the elites that captured the anti-apartheid movement via the ANC demobilized or incorporated popular politics⁴¹ and set about making their own accommodation with white power. The movement’s support for grassroots urban planning ended with the advent of representative democracy.

The post-apartheid urban deal

Fanon proposed a clear and spatial measure for decolonization. He argued that the ordering of the colonial world, its geographic lay-out, must be examined in order to “reveal the lines of force it implies [which] will allow us to mark out the lines on which a decolonized society will be reorganized”⁴². Post-apartheid society came into being with very different types of urban space. On the one hand, there were the state-created and regulated spaces – what Henri Lefebvre calls strategic spaces, spaces that sort and classify⁴³ – which were broadly divided into black spaces and white spaces. On the other hand, there were the autonomous spaces created and regulated by popular power, some of which was democratic and some of which was not. The late apartheid state had been forced, by its lack of popular legitimacy and the power of popular resistance, to seek an accommodation with autonomous space. That took the form of the withdrawal of the threat of eviction and the provision of basic services. But the post-apartheid state has largely used its enormous popular legitimacy to pursue three projects – the deracialization of formerly white space, the commodification of formerly black space and the eradication of autonomous space⁴⁴.

After apartheid, the right to housing was guaranteed in the Constitution and laws were passed to protect squatters from arbitrary eviction and to prevent any eviction that would leave people homeless⁴⁵. But although it had not been long since the mass mobilization against apartheid in the 1980s – a mobilization that was often driven by popular organizations acting with a considerable degree of autonomy from centralized party control, and which often confronted the urban question directly –, the state, and its allied NGOs, were able to move very quickly to reduce the political question of the right to the city to a technical question of building houses. The reduction of a deeply political set of questions to the technocratic language that reserved urban planning as a state and NGO function and measured

success in terms of “units delivered” became largely dominant in civil society. Houses were built in impressive numbers but they were often very small, of extremely poor quality and located in peripheral ghettos⁴⁶. Moreover housing projects have been routinely captured by local political elites and, at every level from the awarding of construction contracts to the allocation of individual houses, used to support the personal and political interests of those local elites. This has often been undertaken ruthlessly and, on occasion, violently by local party structures.

A decade after apartheid, progressive planners in the democratic state recognized the failings of the subsidy system and in 2004, a new policy, *Breaking New Ground*, was implemented. It declared a shift from “conflict and neglect” to the integration of settlements “into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion” via “a phased *in-situ* upgrading approach”⁴⁷. However, the policy had no real political support and has not been implemented⁴⁸. The state instead turned to out and out revanchism via a return to the apartheid language of “slum clearance”⁴⁹. Shack settlements were now slums to be eradicated from the cities rather than communities to be fully integrated into the cities. Once again shack settlements, and their inhabitants, were being explicitly presented as a threat to aspirations for an elite modernity. Although the state’s own research showed that the number of people living in shacks was in fact growing, the date on which the last shack would be demolished was first announced as 2010 and then shifted to 2014.

Three primary strategies were deployed to eradicate shacks. The first was to withdraw or limit services such as water, electricity, refuse removal and so on to the point where conditions in the settlements became life threatening. The second was the use of various forms of surveillance and state violence to prevent the expansion of settlements or new land occupations. The third was the destruction of established settlements. When established settlements were destroyed, some residents were allocated houses, often in peripheral housing developments while others were coerced into state built shacks, known as transit camps, and others were left homeless⁵⁰.

The state’s actions towards shack dwellers were and remain systemically unlawful and, indeed, criminal. In 2007, Mahendra Chetty, Director of the Durban office of the Legal Resources Centre, attested that: “The City, as a matter of regular and consistent practice, acts in flagrant breach of the law [...] A recurrent theme with these evictions is the simple callousness with which they are carried out. They are carried out in an extremely authoritarian and high handed manner against the most vulnerable people in our society – poor black women, old people and the unemployed”⁵¹.

In many cases, poor people confronted with state illegality were simply not able to secure legal representation. But there were a number of important defensive victories in the courts, some of which kept people in their homes. The most famous case, the 1999 Grootboom case, compelled the state to meet some of the immediate housing needs of a group of people who were being evicted from a land occupation in Cape Town. It was termed “the most important judgement to date in South Africa’s post-apartheid legal history”⁵², but while the Court did affirm an important principle, it was not realized in practice. Irene Grootboom, who brought the case before the court, died still living in a shack in 2008.

Marie Huchzermeyer has stressed “the ambiguous position of the judiciary in relation to access to urban land by the poor” and, in view of the court support for the eviction of a 10,000 strong land occupation in Bredell, near Johannesburg in 2001, concluded that “Although Grootboom involved some interference by the judiciary in the affairs of the executive arm of government, the judiciary seems reluctant to rule in favour of the poor, when the economy or investor confidence is at stake”⁵³.

But there have also been more political challenges to evictions and, also, the disconnection of water and electricity by the state for non-payment or because connections in shack settlements are deemed unlawful. A popular challenge to the resegregation of the cities, this time on the basis of class, started to emerge with the beginnings of some important social movements at the turn of the new century⁵⁴. And since 2004, South African cities have been convulsed by thousands of municipal revolts, largely, although not always, organized from shack settlements. Their primary tactics have been road blockades and vote strikes. Despite rapidly increasing repression resulting in regular arrests and police violence, a violence that has occasionally been fatal, these protests have continued to gather intensity⁵⁵.

A key demand has been for people to be able to make their own decisions about where they would like to live. Sometimes this has been generalized into a collective demand for the right to the city. In many instances, protesters have demanded to be able to stay in their centrally located shacks rather than to be moved to new housing projects on the periphery of the cities, showing that the question of housing is not reducible to being formally housed by the state. A second key demand has been the right to co-determine “development”. This includes both a demand to recognize grassroots urban planning that has already occurred by, for example, formally recognizing past land occupations, and a demand that future planning, such as the building of houses or the provision of services, be jointly undertaken by communities and the state.

Abahlali baseMjondolo

In Durban, an organized shack dweller's movement emerged out of the general ferment. In March 2005, a road was blockaded by residents of the Kennedy Road settlement, as roads had been blockaded around the country since 2004. Kennedy Road is the inner suburban core of the city and had been marked for eradication. In the months after the road blockade, there were intense discussions with people from 11 other nearby settlements, all in the inner suburban core, and in October that year a decision was taken to form the *Abahlali baseMjondolo* [shack dwellers] movement (AbM) and to pursue a politics of the poor by and for the poor⁵⁶.

The movement was not founded by an NGO or a political organization and had no donor funding. It drew on the traditional language of the dignity of each person, reworked into a cosmopolitan form appropriate for urban life. From the beginning, the movement had something of the feeling of the warmth and mutual care of a congregation⁵⁷, a slow, deliberative and deeply democratic political culture⁵⁸ and an impressive diversity in terms of ethnicity, race and so on⁵⁹. It was, in the sense of the term developed by Marcelo Lopes de Souza⁶⁰, an autonomous political project.

Since then the movement's experience with the state has swung from outright repression to a cautious but productive engagement and back to an even more ruthless mode of repression. From the founding road blockade in March 2005 until September 2007, when a legal and peaceful march on the mayor was violently attacked by the police, the state refused to accept AbM as a legitimate organization.

In some respects, settlements that had collectively affiliated to the movement were treated as dissident territories by the police and there were instances where the Kennedy Road settlement was occupied by the military at times of heightened tension. AbM protests were unlawfully banned and then attacked when they went ahead in defiance of bans. Well-known members were forced out of their jobs, there were more than two hundred arrests and all kinds of other forms of police harassment including the use of police violence to physically prevent the movement from taking up invitations to debate with politicians on radio and television⁶¹.

During this period of repression the movement was subject to consistent slander from the state, much of it alleging a political conspiracy by a white agent of a foreign government tasked with destabilizing the country. Similar assumptions about malevolent white and middle class agency animating popular politics have often been present in the NGO and academic left. Jacques Rancière's question from another time and place certainly retains its potency in

contemporary South Africa: "Why has the philosophy of the intelligentsia or activists always needed to blame some evil third party (petty bourgeoisie, ideologist or master thinker) for the shadows and obscurities that get in the way of the harmonious relationship between their own self-consciousness and the self-identity of their popular objects of study? Was this evil party contrived to spirit away another more fearsome threat: that of seeing the thinkers of the night invade the territory of philosophy?"⁶²

Despite the difficulties faced by the movement, from October 2005 until September 2007, a considerable amount was achieved. The movement declared a *University of Abahlali baseMjondolo* and in the discussions of that university resolved to protect its autonomy by refusing party politics. It was decided to only engage with NGOs if and when they were prepared to work with the movement on the basis of mutuality⁶³ and important connections were made with the churches. A key slogan in what came to be called the movement's "living politics" became "talk to us, not for us". During this time the movement continued to grow and was able to achieve a remarkable degree of unmediated access to public voice. Shack dwellers, who had been rendered a politically inert category after apartheid, emerged on the national stage as political actors acting in their own name as a rational and speaking presence in the media, independent from party and NGO control.

In practical terms, AbM was able to reach a point of being able to successfully resist evictions in all the settlements where they were strong, to build and defend new shacks, to openly undertake and successfully defend their expansion of existing shack settlements, to win access to various state services outside of party patronage, to set up crèches and various mutual support projects, to (illegally) safely connect thousands of people to electricity and many to water, to vigorously contest police oppression, to democratize the governance of a number of settlements, to win sustained unmediated access to voice in the popular media, to defend the right to dissent against local party elites, to contest the withholding of welfare as a punishment for dissent and to fight a high profile battle for land and housing in the towns and cities. Although paid up annual membership never got much beyond ten thousand in a country with up to eight million shack dwellers, the movement was able to become part of the national drama and to put the issues of shack dwellers clearly and firmly on the national agenda.

AbM became able to call meetings and initiate campaigns in which those NGOs, academics and lawyers willing to work with a grassroots movement on the basis of mutual respect, and on the terrain where the movement is strong, rather than, as is more typical, on the basis of an assumed right to lead and to dominate grassroots organizations from without, could work with the movement. The first campaign developed in this way was against the

Slums Act. The Slums Act was first proposed and passed in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007 and was meant to be replicated in other provinces. The Act essentially compelled local government to evict shack dwellers within set time frames and criminalized the unlawful occupation of land, resistance to evictions and any form of shack dwellers' organization that occupied land unlawfully and raised money via a membership fee⁶⁴. The process of resistance to the Slums Act included careful discussions within the movement, mass mobilization, public debate and an ongoing legal battle to have the act declared unconstitutional.

It slowly became clear that the movement had entered a second phase after the attack on the march in September 2007. This attack was witnessed by the local bishops, who strongly condemned it, and it was also condemned by international human rights organizations. Unlawful police repression stopped, the state recognized AbM as the legitimate representative of 14 settlements in Durban and negotiations began with city officials. In the beginning, there were explicit attempts to persuade AbM to "shift from a political discourse to a development discourse". This was refused. For a while there was something of a stand off but once AbM had secured the right to remain political in and outside of the negotiations⁶⁵, the negotiations could continue.

The state and capital are not the only threats to the right to the city. In May 2008, African migrants were attacked and hounded out of shack settlements across the country in a wave of xenophobic pogroms. The pogroms followed years of state-led xenophobia⁶⁶, much of which identified the shack settlement as the key site of an unlawful and criminal foreign presence⁶⁷. AbM took a decision to shelter and defend all people born in foreign countries⁶⁸ and were able to ensure that there was not a single attack in any of the settlements affiliated to the movement and to stop two in-progress attacks in settlements not affiliated to the movement. A number of other movements, such as the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign⁶⁹, also undertook serious work against xenophobia.

In February 2009, AbM and the Durban Municipality announced a deal which committed both parties to the *in-situ* participatory upgrading of three settlements and the provision of some basic services to 14 settlements⁷⁰. It marked a number of major victories including a decisive break with the spatial logic of apartheid (the settlements to be upgraded are in the inner suburban core), an acknowledgement that settlements need decent access to services, a recognition that development can be a collaborative process between communities and the state, and a negotiated challenge to the eradication agenda.

But in September 2009, AbM leaders were attacked in the Kennedy Road settlement by an armed mob directly linked to the local structure of the ruling party chanting ethnic slogans⁷¹.

Two people were killed in the resulting conflict and the homes of more than 30 AbM leaders were destroyed and looted, following which local leaders of the ruling party seized control of the settlement. Party leaders in the city and the province attacked the movement in extremely strongly language in days following the attack, excoriating it for taking the government to court to have the Slums Act declared unconstitutional and accusing the movement of being "anti-development". The Provincial Minister of Safety and Security, Willie Mchunu, declared that the settlement had been "liberated"⁷². Police officers, state officials and journalists were all told that foreign NGOs were funding the movement in order to "stop development" so that they can "keep Africans poor" and sustain their "access to donor funds". Open repression, including public death threats against AbM activists and the ongoing demolition of the homes of AbM activists in the Kennedy Road settlement continued with complete impunity for some months. The state-backed attack on the movement took place amidst a general turn towards an authoritarian ethnic politics. In Johannesburg, the Landless People's Movement suffered a similar repression⁷³.

In October 2009, AbM succeeded in having the Slums Act declared unconstitutional in the Constitutional Court. Following this the state abandoned talk of the imminent eradication of shack settlements and, in Durban, agreed to a long-standing AbM demand to provide basic services, including electricity, to shack settlements. However, no clear alternative programme to the eradication agenda has emerged and the trajectory of the state after the judgment is not yet clear. There is a moment of opening that could conceivably result in *in-situ* upgrades being prioritized over forced removals to the urban periphery, but there are no grounds for thinking that the state is likely to put the social value of urban land before its market value or that it is likely to accede to the demand for participatory urban planning.

AbM was seriously weakened by the attack. Its inability to continue with its open and democratic practices for a period of more than five months damaged the movement. This was compounded by a degree of declining participation in some of the original settlements that had first come together and built the movement. Some of this was due to state repression and exhaustion, but it was often due to the success of the movement in realizing the immediate demands that had given rise to mass activism in those areas (i.e. stopping evictions and winning upgrades or service provision in those areas). At the same time, there was a simultaneous rapid growth in other more peripheral areas that had just begun to confront the threat of eviction. Some of the new areas tended to take a more instrumental approach to the movement, treating it more like an effective external technical resource rather than a political movement requiring their active participation. The result was that growing

numerical strength added to the movement's commitments without necessarily translating into growing political strength. But the movement has taken serious steps to address this and there has been considerable progress in some of the new areas.

It has also, under extremely difficult circumstances, sustained a real fidelity to the key principles that animated its original politics, including regular participatory democratic practices and clear organizational autonomy from NGO control and party politics.

The movement has shown that, after the attack, it can still put thousands on the streets under difficult circumstances and has recently organized two small but successful land occupations. And while active commitment to the movement ebbs and flows in different areas according to dynamic local circumstances, weekly meetings of the AbM central structure are usually attended by thirty or forty people, all elected representatives from their settlements, with around twenty settlements being represented.

The movement's elected head, S'bu Zikode, continues to propose a compelling alternative to the return to revanchism. He proposes an idea of "a living communism" that would, given its stress on popular and everyday practices, certainly, have excited Henri Lefebvre: "[A] living communism is a living idea and a living practice of ordinary people. The idea is the full and real equality of everyone without exception. The practice, well, a community must collectively own or forcefully take collective ownership of natural resources – especially the water supply, land and food. Every community is rightfully entitled to these resources. After that we can think about the next steps. We are already taking electricity, building and running crèches, insisting that our children can access the schools. We just need to keep going"⁷⁴.

1. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, transl. and ed. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Cambridge, Blackwell, 1996.
2. Sibusiso ZIKODE, "To Resist all Divisions and Degradations", Interview by Richard Pithouse, *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, vol. 1, 1, 2009, p. 22-47, <http://www.interfacejournal.net/2009/11/interface-issue-2-civil-society-vs.html>.
3. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, "Which Right to Which City? In Defence of Political-Strategic Clarity", *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, 2010, vol. 2, 1, p. 319, <http://www.interfacejournal.net/2010/05/interface-21-crises-social-movements.html>
4. Lindiwe SISULU, *Media Briefing Remarks by Housing Minister, Lindiwe Sisulu on the Occasion of the 2006/2007 Budget Vote Statement*, 24 May 2006, Imbizo Media Briefing Room, Parliament, Cape Town, 2006, http://www.dhs.gov.za/Content/Media%20Desk/Speeches/2006/24%20May%202006_2.htm
5. Louisa MOTHU, *Lousia Motha interview on 17 April 2009*, by David Ntseng and Richard Pithouse, Motala Heights, Durban, 2009.
6. Zodwa NSIBANDE and Sibusiso ZIKODE, "Serving Our Life Sentence in the Shacks", *Pambazuka News*, 29 July 2010, <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/66287>
7. Stephanie LYNCH and Zodwa NSIBANDE, "The Police and Abahlali baseMjondolo: A List of Key Incidents of Police Harassment Suffered by Abahlali baseMjondolo", 2008, <http://abahlali.org/node/324>.
8. Kerry CHANCE, "The Work of Violence: a Timeline of Armed Attacks at Kennedy Road", *School of Development Studies Research Report*, July 2010, 83, <http://sds.ukzn.ac.za/default.php?3,6,684,4,0>; Jared SACKS, "Independent Report into Political Violence Against the Landless People's Movement", *International Alliance of Inhabitants*, 2010.
9. Marcelo LOPES DE SOUZA, "Together with the State, Despite the State, Against the State: Social Movements as 'Critical Urban Planning' Agents", *City*, 2006, vol. 10, 3, p. 327-42.
10. Frantz FANON, *The Wretched of the Earth*, transl. Constance Farrington, London, Penguin, 1976, p. 103.
11. Jacques RANCIÈRE, *Dissensus: On Politics and Culture*, transl. and ed. Steven Corcoran, London, Continuum, 2001, p. 38.
12. Lewis GORDON and Jane GORDON, *Of Divine Warning: Reading Disaster in the Modern Age*, Boulder, Paradigm Press, 2009, p. 42.
13. Sibusiso ZIKODE, "Democracy is on the Brink of Catastrophe", 2009, http://www.ru.ac.za/modules/blog_include/blog_content.php?blog_id=756.
14. Peter ALEXANDER, "Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protests – a Preliminary Analysis", *Review of African Political Economy*, 2010, vol. 37, 123, p. 25-40.
15. Michael NEOCOSMOS, *From "Foreign Natives" to "Native Foreigners"*, Dakar, CODESRIA, 2010; Richard PITHOUSE, "The May 2008 Pogroms: Xenophobia, Evictions, Liberalism, and Democratic Grassroots Militancy in South Africa", *Sanhati*, 2008, <http://sanhati.com/articles/843/L>.
16. See for instance Philip BONNER, Isabel HOFMEYER, Deborah JAMES and Tom LODGE (eds), *Holding Their Ground*, Johannesburg, Raven Press, 1989; Paul MAYLAM and Iain EDWARDS (eds), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1996.
17. Colin BUNDY, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1988, p. 231.
18. Helen BRADFORD, *A Taste of Freedom. The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, p. 3.
19. Lucien VAN DER WALT, "The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW and the ICU, 1904-1934", *African Studies*, 2007, vol. 66, 2-3, p. 238.
20. Paul LA HAUSSE, "The Message of the Warriors:

The ICU, the Labouring Poor and the Making of a Popular Political Culture in Durban, 1925-1930" in Philip BONNER, Isabel HOFMEYER, Deborah JAMES and Tom LODGE (eds), *Holding Their Ground*, op. cit., p. 27.

21. Alf STADLER, "Birds in the Cornfield: Squatter Movements in Johannesburg, 1944-1947", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1979, vol. 6, 1, Special Issue on Urban Social History, p. 104.

22. *Id.*

23. Bill FREUND, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian working Class of Durban, 1910-1990*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1995, p. 69.

24. Susanna GODEHART, "The Transformation of Townships in South Africa: The Case of kwaMashu Durban", Dortmund, SPRING Centre, *Spring Research Series*, 49, 2006, p. 52.

25. Bill FREUND, *The African City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

26. Bloke MODISANE, *Blame Me on History*, Johannesburg, Paper Books, 1986, p. 5.

27. Henri LEFEBVRE, *Writings on Cities*, op. cit., p. 158.

28. Manuel CASTELLS, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1979.

29. Quoted in Paul MAYLAM, "Introduction" in Paul MAYLAM and Iain EDWARDS (eds), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*, op. cit., p. 19.

30. Frantz FANON, *The Wretched of the Earth*, op. cit., p. 29.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

33. INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION, "The Durban Strikes: South Africa 1973" in Robin COHEN, Peter GUTKIND and Phyllis BRAZIER (eds), *The Struggles of Third World Workers*, London, Hutchinson, 1979, p. 401-417; Stephen FRIEDMAN, *Building Tomorrow Today: African Workers in Trade Unions 1970-1984*, Johannesburg, Raven Press, 1987.

34. This term was used until 1994. See, for instance, Andrew SILK, *A Shanty Town in South Africa: The story*

of Modderdam, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1981; and Rian MALAN and David LURIE, *Life in the Liberated Zone*, Rivonia, William Waterman, 1994 (text by Rian Malan and photographs by David Lurie).

35. Richard PITHOUSE, "Shacks in Durban Till the End of Apartheid", *The Commoner*, December 2009, <http://www.thecommoner.org.uk>.

36. Marie HUCHZERMEYER, *Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil*, Trenton, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 2004, p. 117.

37. Catherine CROSS, "Shack Tenure in Durban" in Doug HINDSON and Jeff MCCARTHY (eds), *Here to Stay*, Durban, Indicator Press, 1994, p. 180.

38. See Marie Huchzermeyer's account of the Urban Foundation in Marie HUCHZERMEYER, *Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil*, op. cit., p. 121-124 and 145-178.

39. The term "squatter camp" probably came to South Africa from California, where it was used in the 1930s to describe the settlements erected by the dust bowl refugees. See John STEINBECK, *Of Men and Their Making: The Selected Non-Fiction of John Steinbeck*, London, Penguin, 2002.

40. Gill HART: personal communication.

41. See Michael NEOCOSMOS, "Civil Society, Citizenship and the Politics of the (Im)Possible: Rethinking Militancy in Africa Today", 2007, <http://abahlali.org/node/1429>; and Nigel GIBSON, "The Pitfalls of South Africa's 'Liberation'", *New Political Science*, 2001, vol. 23, 3, p. 371-387.

42. Frantz FANON, *The Wretched of the Earth*, op. cit., p. 29.

43. Henri LEFEBVRE, *The Production of Space*, transl. David Nicholson-Smith, London, Blackwell, 1991, p. 374.

44. CENTRE ON HOUSING RIGHTS & EVICTIONS, "Business as Usual: Housing Rights and 'Slum Eradication' in Durban South Africa", 2008, <http://www.cohre.org/southafrica>; Richard PITHOUSE, "Shacks in Durban Till

the End of Apartheid", loc. cit.

45. CENTRE ON HOUSING RIGHTS & EVICTIONS, "Business as Usual: Housing Rights and 'Slum Eradication' in Durban South Africa", loc. cit.

46. *Id.*

47. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING, "'Breaking New Ground': Comprehensive Plan for Housing Delivery", 2004, <http://www.nwpg.gov.za/DDLG&TA/acts/Breaking%20New%20Grounds.pdf>.

48. Richard PITHOUSE, "A Progressive Policy Without a Progressive Politics: Lessons from the Failure to Implement 'Breaking New Ground'", *Town Planning Journal*, 2009, 54, p. 1-14.

49. Richard PITHOUSE, "Shacks in Durban Till the End of Apartheid", loc. cit.

50. CENTRE ON HOUSING RIGHTS & EVICTIONS, "Business as Usual: Housing Rights and 'Slum Eradication' in Durban South Africa", loc. cit.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

52. Quoted in Marie HUCHZERMEYER, "Invasions, Evictions and the Law in South Africa", Research Presentation at the National Housing Research Seminar, Pretoria, 23 and 24 March 2004.

53. *Id.*

54. Richard PITHOUSE, "Shacks in Durban Till the End of Apartheid", loc. cit.

55. *Id.*

56. Richard PITHOUSE, "Coffin for the Councillor", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2006, vol. 41, 1-2, p. 171-184.

57. *Id.*

58. Raj PATEL, "A Short Course in Politics at the University of Abahlali baseMjondolo", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2008, vol. 43, 1, p. 95-118.

59. Richard PITHOUSE, "A Progressive Policy Without a Progressive Politics: Lessons from the Failure to Implement 'Breaking New Ground'", loc. cit.

60. Marcelo LOPEZ DE SOUZA, "Urban Development on the Basis of Autonomy; a Politico-Philosophical

Framework for Urban Planning and Management", *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 2000, vol. 3, 2, p. 187-201.

61. Stephanie LYNCH and Zodwa NSIBANDE, "The Police and Abahlali baseMjondolo: A List of Key Incidents of Police Harassment Suffered by Abahlali baseMjondolo", loc. cit.

62. Jacques RANCIÈRE, *Dissensus: On Politics and Culture*, op. cit., p. 249.

63. Mark BUTLER (ed.), *Living Learning*, Pietermaritzburg, Church Land Programme, 2009.

64. CENTRE ON HOUSING RIGHTS & EVICTIONS, "Business as Usual: Housing Rights and 'Slum Eradication' in Durban South Africa", loc. cit.

65. For example, there was a serious attempt on the part of the movement to politicize shack fires. See Matt BIRKIN-SHAW, "A Big Devil in the Jondolos': A report on shack fires", http://abahlali.org/files/Big_Devil_Politics_of_Shack_Fire.pdf.

66. Michael NEOCOSMOS, "Civil Society, Citizenship and the Politics of the (Im)possible: Rethinking Militancy in Africa Today", loc. cit.

67. For example, see South African Press Association, *Land Invasion Law About to Get Off the Ground*, 2010.

68. Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2008, <http://www.abahlali.org/>.

69. Kerry CHANCE, "The Work of Violence: a Timeline of Armed Attacks at Kennedy Road", loc. cit.

70. Malavika VARTAK, "Experiences of Abahlali baseMjondolo and the Kennedy Road Settlement, Durban, South Africa: A report for the Development Planning Unit of University College London", 2009, <http://www.abahlali.org/node/6122>.

71. Kerry CHANCE, "The Work of Violence: a Timeline of Armed Attacks at Kennedy Road", loc. cit.

72. *Id.*

73. Jared SACKS, "Independent Report into Political Violence Against the Landless People's Movement", loc. cit.

74. Sibusiso ZIKODE, "To Resist all Divisions and Degradations", loc. cit.



Sébastien Sindeu, *Tanger, Appartement boulevard Pasteur*, 2010.

Est-ce la bonne image ?

Résumés

La ville comme bien commun.

Construire le futur de notre histoire

Edoardo Salzano

Cet article met en valeur l'importance des enseignements de l'histoire, tout en illustrant le contexte dans lequel le « droit à la ville » a émergé en Italie dans les années 1960, a décliné dans les années 1980 – quand une nouvelle vision de la société et de nouvelles valeurs se sont affirmées. Il paraît aujourd'hui ressurgir à travers les revendications de nouveaux mouvements urbains comme un aspect de la critique, la résistance et la substitution de l'imaginaire soutenu par le néolibéralisme. On y soutient qu'une multitude d'événements « *bottom-up* », exprimant la souffrance individuelle, la détérioration de l'environnement physique, le péril pour la santé, la réduction des services et des espaces communs, la précarité de l'emploi, peuvent être interprétés comme une action commune qui renvoie à l'imaginaire de « la ville comme un bien commun ». Mais une semblable action requiert un aménagement de la ville et du territoire qui abandonne les objectifs et les privilèges de la propriété immobilière, ainsi que l'augmentation de la valeur économique consécutive à l'urbanisation aveugle, indifférente aux priorités sociales réelles. Au contraire, il faut avoir pour objectif le bien-être de la population actuelle et future en termes de santé, d'accès aux ressources, aux biens communs, quelle que soit la condition sociale, culturelle ou économique des personnes.

Le droit à l'eau au Sud, un outil paradoxal pour penser le droit à la ville : entre coproduction et contestation des services urbains

Luisa Moretto, Julie Aubriot

Face au manque persistant de solutions permettant une fourniture efficace et équitable des services urbains, l'approche par les droits s'est graduellement imposée comme cadre de référence. Cependant, au delà de l'importance d'un cadre normatif reconnaissant les droits d'accès aux services essentiels et de leur reconnaissance dans les législations nationales, les moyens techniques et financiers pour les mettre en œuvre restent encore peu définis. Le propos de cet article est de montrer comment la « définition » d'un droit à un service de base, ici le droit à l'eau, et les pratiques qui se développent au niveau urbain pour sa mise en œuvre, peuvent contribuer à la réflexion et à la réalisation du droit à la ville. Il s'agit de montrer, au travers du regard croisé entre deux études de cas issues de pays émergents ou en développement : l'Afrique du sud et le Venezuela, que le processus de réalisation du droit à la ville peut se développer à partir, d'une part, des tentatives d'institutionnalisation du droit à l'eau et, d'autre part, des expériences tant de contestation que de collaboration entre la société dite « civile » et les pouvoirs publics.

Des villes et des migrants : droits et peurs

Marcello Balbo

Les villes, y compris celles du Sud, dépendent de plus en plus de la population immigrée, prête à accepter des travaux que la population locale cherche à éviter. L'« urbanisation de la migration » a inévitablement un impact sur l'espace urbain, dont des portions de plus en plus larges sont modelées par le mode de vie des immigrés, leurs valeurs culturelles et leur rapport à l'espace public. La plupart des gouvernements ne sont pas disposés à faire face aux problèmes et sont incapables de profiter des opportunités qu'une société urbaine interculturelle peut offrir. L'article analyse

les nouvelles responsabilités à la charge d'autorités locales souvent dotées de capacités d'intervention insuffisantes, et propose une réflexion sur le sens que les migrants attachent à la notion de citoyenneté et à celle du « droit à la ville ».

L'aménagement de l'espace public, un levier du droit à la ville

Sabine Guisne

Ce travail de recherche architecturale porte sur la notion de capacitation spatiale. Celle-ci traduit le potentiel qu'ont les configurations spatiales de soutenir, mais aussi de contraindre les usages et, par la même occasion, de participer au développement des sentiments de confort ou de malaise éprouvés par leurs usagers. Dans cet article, la question du droit à la ville est abordée en considérant que le droit à un usage confortable de l'espace public en est une condition essentielle. À ce titre les pistes d'aménagement visant ces droits élaborées durant cette recherche sont présentées dans une perspective opérationnelle. Il s'agit d'une méthode de design centrée sur la reconnaissance et la prise en compte de la dimension plurielle des usages urbains. Cette considération s'avère, en effet, indispensable au développement du confort de chaque usager sur l'espace public. Dans un premier temps, il est montré comment l'observation de terrain est une condition préalable, nécessaire mais pas suffisante, d'un design attentif aux usagers. Il est ensuite démontré comment les options méthodologiques prises, tant en phase d'observation que de conceptualisation ou encore d'opérationnalisation, tentent de maintenir la méthode au plus près de la pluralité d'usages. Enfin, des cas concrets illustrent la façon dont l'aménagement peut, par ce biais, participer au développement du droit à la ville.

Du squat au marketing urbain. Quand l'hospitalité devient outil d'action publique

Vincent Calay

L'article propose une description des modalités d'émergence de nouvelles formes de droits à la ville à Bruxelles depuis la seconde moitié des années 1990. Partant de l'étude d'une affaire – dite de l'« Hôtel central » – où s'est joué un renouvellement de la conception de l'urbanité de la ville, il étudie la manière dont ce renouvellement s'est progressivement stabilisé, engendrant une transformation des catégories institutionnelles de l'hospitalité de la ville. Ce faisant, l'article propose un abord spécifique de la fabrication des instruments d'action publique urbaine en étudiant de près le rapport entre la critique développée par les activistes urbains et sa réception institutionnelle. Ce travail descriptif vise à écarter les récits simplificateurs des rapports entre mondes politique, économique et culturel, pour dégager les micro-dynamiques de pouvoir qui structurent leurs relations et gomment, temporairement ou en continu, leurs étiologies. En conclusion, l'article propose de relier la question du droit à la ville au façonnage des hospitalités urbaines et y situe les enjeux d'un renouvellement de la critique de l'action urbaine.

L'accès au terrain urbain en Afrique sub-saharienne : le droit à la ville dans l'Angola de l'après-guerre

Harry Smith, Paul Jenkins

L'article explore le sens original du concept lefebvrien du droit à la ville et considère comment des réinterprétations récentes peuvent être utilisées dans le contexte des villes de l'Afrique sub-saharienne, où les politiques coloniales et postcoloniales ont créé des conditions urbaines différentes. L'article examine le cas de l'Angola, où

les attitudes par rapport à la ville engendrées pendant l'époque coloniale subsistent depuis vingt-cinq ans de guerre civile et ont fondé le processus de rédaction de la nouvelle législation d'aménagement territorial et domaniale. Sur la base des recherches faites dans les zones péri-urbaines d'Angola, l'article décrit une situation dans laquelle les habitants revendiquent leur droit à la ville d'une façon quotidienne au moyen de l'utilisation de formes d'accès aux terrains qui ne sont pas reconnues par l'État. L'article examine quelques tentatives d'introduction progressive de droits à la terre en Angola qui contrastent avec les expulsions en masse durant la même période.

En finir avec les sans-abris : droit au logement et droit à la ville

Fran Klodawsky

La promotion d'un meilleur accès au logement décent et sécurisé – en d'autres termes, le droit au logement – a longtemps été au centre des projets contre-hégémoniques au Canada. Toutefois, il y a eu peu de discours sur le droit à la ville. L'objectif général de ce rapport de recherche est d'examiner le potentiel d'un cadre de référence normatif du « droit à la ville » pour renforcer les imaginaires et les pratiques contre-hégémoniques des groupes de défense des droits au logement qui œuvrent pour l'égalité. Dans ce contexte, le « droit à la ville » prend la forme d'un procédé conceptuel et analytique. Le contexte canadien global au sein duquel les discours sur le droit au logement ont été mis en lumière (et les droits à la ville négligés) est examiné avant de porter l'attention sur l'examen des résultats institutionnels des efforts contre-hégémoniques effectués pour aborder les problèmes grandissants relatifs à l'accessibilité des logements et aux sans-abris. Dans le cadre de cette analyse, l'accent est mis sur des

indices préliminaires au sujet de la valeur de l'incorporation d'une formulation plus explicite du « droit à la ville ».

Un habitat de qualité : mouvements contre-hégémoniques et droit à la ville

Mark Purcell

Cet article défend l'idée que le droit à la ville, entendu comme une revendication du droit d'habiter correctement l'espace urbain, peut être le point de départ efficace à partir duquel des mouvements urbains peuvent commencer à construire de plus larges coalitions anti-hégémoniques pour des futurs urbains alternatifs. L'article développe plus particulièrement l'idée que le droit à la ville est utile pour établir des relations d'équivalence et de différence simultanées – interdépendance et autonomie – entre les membres d'une coalition.

La planification du point de vue de la vie quotidienne : du local au global

Jacqueline Leavitt, Ayse Yonder

Les théoriciens et praticiens de la planification tournés vers l'activisme, ont reçu une secousse intellectuelle en revisitant la conception du droit à la ville d'Henri Lefebvre. Cet article examine comment la superposition des principes du droit à la ville à une compréhension « texturée », suggérée par Michel de Certeau au sujet de la vie quotidienne, pourrait défier le paradigme dominant de la planification. Les périodes historiques durant lesquelles la planification urbaine aux États-Unis a pu prendre une position progressiste sont présentées et des exemples d'initiatives de planification au sujet du logement, de l'environnement, de la puériculture, etc., aux États-Unis, en Europe, au Brésil, et en Afrique sont considérés. Ces initiatives

mettent en évidence les avantages qui pourraient découler du travail des planificateurs progressistes hors des limites professionnelles et d'un développement de la signification des principes du droit à la ville dans la vie quotidienne.

La participation des habitants dans les projets urbains

Fabien Bressan

Faire un projet urbain sans imaginer un dispositif d'implication des habitants paraît aujourd'hui impossible. En effet, que ce soit dans les lois, dans le paraître ou dans les faits, de nombreuses démarches sont expérimentées afin de mettre en valeur la parole des usagers au cœur de l'aménagement urbain. Pourtant, derrière cet affichage se cache souvent une réalité moins glorieuse, et la participation habitante se résume souvent à un effet d'annonce, portée par une lourde communication de façade. Le projet partagé n'est alors réellement construit qu'entre « sachants » : élus, techniciens, experts et concepteurs. Néanmoins, les expériences pour faire la ville autrement existent. Ainsi, l'association Robins des Villes tente depuis près de quinze ans d'élaborer et d'animer des démarches où la place des usagers redevient centrale au sein du processus de projet. Le droit à la ville serait ainsi un droit accordé aux citoyens d'en être un véritable acteur.

Vers des *Community Land Trusts*. Essai à partir d'une pratique associative orientée vers une démocratie participative en milieu urbain

Loïc Géronnez

La démarche de Periferia consiste à coproduire la ville avec les habitants. Pour y parvenir, l'association a mis le débat public

au centre de la conception de l'espace public. En poursuivant ces objectifs, elle s'est penchée sur les expériences de *Community Land Trusts*. Ces organisations maintiennent des espaces en propriété collective et en vendent l'usage à des ménages fragilisés. Montages immobiliers innovants, ils allient implication des habitants et pérennisation des populations les plus faibles dans des quartiers de qualité, en donnant accès à un logement, à des espaces de production et à des équipements collectifs au cœur de la ville. Plus fondamentalement, l'article souligne l'apport des *Community Land Trusts* au renouvellement des conceptions des politiques publiques. Ces organisations font le pari que l'intérêt général peut émerger de la négociation permanente entre les intérêts des habitants, ceux des voisins et des personnes concernées indirectement, et ceux des pouvoirs publics. Ils apportent une nouvelle manière de construire l'intérêt général par le croisement de ces points de vues, plutôt que de laisser cette responsabilité à la seule décision de l'État ou aux lois du marché.

« Right to the City-NYC » : plateforme politique et campagne de reconversion de logements de luxe en habitations pour revenus modestes. Analyse et prospective pour la ville de New York

David Dodge

À travers les organisations locales, les visions de la communauté et un développement dirigé, le Right to the City-NYC, une association d'organisations communautaires de New York, a appliqué l'idée philosophique associée au droit à la ville pour opérer des changements sociaux et économiques. En utilisant le cadre théorique de la gentrification, des déplacements et de la construction du pouvoir de la communauté, RTTC-NYC a développé et

proposé depuis 2009 une plateforme politique qui inclut trente-trois recommandations politiques pour améliorer la vie des communautés à bas revenus et pour protéger celles qui pourraient être déplacées. À partir des recommandations, l'association a voté pour donner la priorité à une campagne de transformation d'appartements de luxe vides et de projets de développement immobilier bloqués en logements à bas prix. Cette campagne a pour but d'augmenter l'accès au logement dans des quartiers pauvres et en même temps de combattre le développement des résidences de luxe dans ces quartiers.

Résistance et alternative contre le nouveau discours du droit à la ville :

le cas du Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia (Salvador da Bahia, Brésil)

Sergio Belda, Jordi Peris, Alexandre Frediani, Alejandra Boni

Le droit à la ville, un concept auparavant associé aux mouvements sociaux qui luttait pour des changements radicaux des relations dans les villes, a été récemment accepté et redéfini par de nouveaux acteurs, tels que des gouvernements, des ONG ou des agences des Nations Unies. Le droit à la ville a commencé un processus d'institutionnalisation au niveau international, national et local. Cependant, le nouveau discours tenu, devenu dominant dans ces espaces, a perdu sa radicalité initiale, et occulte des visions alternatives et plus progressives. L'article se concentre sur les contenus, les processus de production et d'institutionnalisation de ce nouveau discours. Pour cela, nous nous inspirons de l'analyse critique du discours pour nous rapprocher de trois textes clés au niveau mondial, national (Brésil) et local (Salvador da Bahia). De plus, nous étudions le cas local du Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia, pour analyser les limites importantes

de ce processus (même s'il présente aussi un nouveau potentiel) pour la résistance et la production d'un discours alternatif et plus progressif.

Mega-projets et résistances dans un urbanisme contesté : revendiquer le droit à la ville à Dharavi

Camillo Boano, Melissa Garcia Lamarca, William Hunter

Dharavi, dans le cœur de Mumbai en Inde, est récemment devenu le symbole iconique des *slums* en Asie et dans le monde au travers de sa permanence, de sa multiplicité, de son dynamisme, de sa densité et de son échelle. Partiellement à cause du *glamour* émergeant de l'informalité et de la fétichisation de la pauvreté, et partiellement à cause de sa localisation stratégique, Dharavi se présente comme la

dernière frontière des pratiques oppositionnelles. Elle confronte le style futuriste et néo-libéral de Dubaï, les transformations néo-hausmanniennes et les méga-projets centralisés sur l'accumulation du capital, la consommation des élites, *slum clearance*, et la spéculation immobilière dérégulée. Intégrant le débat sur le droit à la ville, et adoptant une compréhension foucauldienne du pouvoir, une approche lefebvrienne de la production de l'espace et une perspective régionaliste critique, l'article explore le néologisme conceptuel et analytique de l'urbanisme contesté. Au travers de ce processus, d'importantes pressions gouvernementales et économiques envers cette *world-class city* en devenir se sont exprimées.

Le droit à la ville en Afrique du Sud

Richard Pithouse

Cet article a trois grands objectifs. Tout d'abord, celui d'examiner les différents usages de l'idée du droit à la ville dans l'Afrique du Sud contemporaine. On y soutient que l'État et les ONG qui lui sont associées, ainsi que les luttes populaires, font appel au droit à la ville mais que les premiers tendent à le limiter à une conception technocratique du développement alors que les seconds tendent à l'utiliser pour exprimer le contenu des luttes trouvant leurs racines dans des pratiques populaires. Le deuxième objectif de cet article est de broser dans ses grandes lignes une histoire des luttes populaires pour le droit à la ville en Afrique du Sud. Le dernier objectif est de fournir un aperçu des tentatives de réalisation du droit à la ville en Afrique du Sud après l'apartheid, avec un intérêt particulier pour le mouvement *shack dweller's Abahlali base Mjondolo*.

Abstracts

The city as a common good: building the future drawing from our history Edoardo Salzano

This article explains how history is the teacher of life, by illustrating the context in which the right to the city emerged in Italy in the late 1960s, declined in the 1980s, when a new vision of society and new values triumphed, and attempts now to rise again through the claims of new urban movements as a means to criticize, resist and replace the urban imaginary sustained by neoliberalism. It is argued that the myriad incidents that arise from below, expressing individual suffering, the deterioration of the physical environment, the danger to human health, the loss of services and communal spaces and the precarious status of employment can be transformed into a common action and embodied by the imaginary of the 'city as a common good'. This, in turn requires a planning process that forgoes the objectives and privileges of real estate interests, ad the growing economic value of indiscriminate urbanized development regardless of any real social priorities. Instead it has to embrace the welfare of present and future populations in terms of health, access to resources, and common goods – both natural and historical – regardless of social, cultural, or economic conditions.

The right to water in the South, a paradoxical tool to think the right to the city: between coproduction and contestation of urban services Julie Aubriot, Luisa Moretto

Given the enduring lack of solutions for efficient and equitable supply of urban services, the rights-based approach has

been increasingly proposed as a possible frame of reference. Nevertheless, besides the importance of a normative framework within national legislations acknowledging access rights to basic services, the technical and financial instruments to make these rights operational are still unclear. This paper aims to show how the "definition" of a right to a basic service, in this case water, and the practices developed at the urban level to guarantee its implementation, can contribute to both the conceptualization and realization of the right to the city. Based on two case studies from an emerging country (South Africa) and a developing one (Venezuela), we contend that the process out of realizing the right to the city can be developed, on the one side, from the attempts to institutionalize the right to water and, on the other, from the experiences not only of contestation but also of collaboration between so-called civil society and public bodies.

Cities with migrants: rights and fears Marcello Balbo

Cities, including many cities in the South, rely largely on international migrants willing to take up jobs eschewed by the local population. The growing 'urbanization of migration' inevitably affects the urban space, parts of which are shaped by the migrants' specific ways of living, cultural values and sense of collective space. Most governments are unwilling to face the problems and unable to see the opportunities the increasingly multicultural urban society has to offer. The article examines the responsibilities entrusted to local authorities with an often limited capacity in dealing with the challenge of international migration, while looking at the migrants' quest to become members of the local community and the sense they attach to the idea of the 'Right to the City'.

Designing public space to support the Right to the City: The objective of spatial empowerment Sabine Guisne

Our architectural research work focuses on the concept of *capacitation spatiale*. This means the potential of spatial configurations to be alternately a support or a constraint for the user and, at the same time, to contribute to develop users' feelings of ease and unease. In this paper, we tackle the issue of the right to the city by considering that the right to an easy use of public space use is an essential condition. As such, and from an operational perspective, we present some design guidelines addressing these rights, which we have developed during our research. This is a design method focused on the acknowledgment and consideration of the plurality of urban uses. Such consideration is indispensable in order to afford each individual user easy use of public space. Firstly, we show how field observation is a necessary, but not sufficient, preliminary condition for a design that responds to users. Next, we demonstrate how the methodological options we advocate, in the observation, conceptualization and even implementation phases, try to maintain the method as close as possible to a plurality of uses. Finally, we use specific examples to illustrate how design can, by these means, contribute to the development of the right to the city.

From squat to urban marketing. When hospitality becomes a tool for public action Vincent Calay

The paper describes how new forms of "rights to the city" emerged in Brussels in the late 1990s. Drawing on a case study – the Hotel Central affair – it shows how

the renewal of the city's urbanity actually unfolded, engendering transformations in the institutional categories of the city's hospitality. By doing so, the paper develops a specific approach towards the development of urban policy tools by following closely how urban activists' criticism has been received institutionally. This descriptive approach aims to develop a complex vision of the relations between politics, economy and culture by focusing on micro dynamics of power underlying such relations. In conclusion, the paper bridges a gap between the issue of the right to the city and the setting of urban hospitalities by constituting hospitality itself as a specific issue in the current renewal of urban critique.

Urban land access in Sub-Saharan Africa: the right to the city in post-war Angola Harry Smith, Paul Jenkins

The paper explores the original meaning of the 'right to the city' as formulated by Lefebvre and considers how recent reinterpretations of this may apply to cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, where colonial and post-colonial policies have created different urban legacies and conditions. The paper examines the case of Angola, where attitudes to the city from the colonial period endured after 25 years of post-independence civil war and provided the background for the formulation of new urban planning and land legislation. Drawing on research undertaken in peri-urban areas in Angola, the paper describes a situation where urban dwellers claim their right to inhabit the city on a day-to-day basis using socially legitimate forms of land access which are not recognized by the state. It then focuses on some experiments in the introduction of incremental rights to urban land undertaken in Angola in recent years, contrasting these with the mass evictions that have taken place in the same

period. The paper concludes reflecting on the relevance of the notion of the 'right to the city' in a macro-region of the Global South where the very idea of the 'city' is being redefined on the ground.

Ending homelessness in Canada: right to housing and right to the city Fran Klodawsky

Promoting greater access to decent, secure shelter – in other words, the right to housing – has long been a focal point for counter-hegemonic projects in Canada. Interestingly though, discourses of right to the city have been all but absent. A central goal in this paper is to explore the potential for a normative "right to the city" frame of reference to strengthen the counter-hegemonic imaginaries and practices of equality seeking housing groups. In this context, "right to the city" is conceived of as a conceptual and analytic device. I begin by introducing the broad Canadian context within which discourses on the right to housing have been highlighted (and right to the city neglected). I then narrow the focus to examine some institutional outcomes of counter-hegemonic efforts to address growing problems of housing affordability and homelessness. As part of this analysis, I highlight some admittedly preliminary evidence about the value of incorporating a more explicit "right to the city" framing.

To inhabit well: counter-hegemonic movements and the right to the city Mark Purcell

This article argues that a right to the city, understood as a conjoint claim to a right to inhabit urban space well, can be an effective starting point from which diverse urban movements can begin to build broad counter-hegemonic coalitions for alterna-

tive urban futures. In particular, it argues that the right to the city is helpful for establishing among members of the coalition what I call relations of equivalence: relations of simultaneous sameness and difference, interdependence and autonomy.

Planning through the lens of everyday life: from local to global Jacqueline Leavitt, Ayse Yonder

Planning theoreticians and practitioners inclined toward activism have received an intellectual jolt in revisiting Henri Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city. This paper considers how juxtaposing the principles about the right to the city with a textured understanding suggested by Michel de Certeau about everyday life would challenge the mainstream planning paradigm. We first discuss historical periods when urban planning in the United States might have taken a progressive policy stance, and consider current examples of grassroots planning initiatives about housing, the environment, child care, etc. drawn from the United States, Europe, Brazil, and Africa. These initiatives highlight what might be gained if progressive planners work outside the professional boundaries and develop the meaning of right to the city principles in everyday life.

Residents participation in urban projects Fabien Bressan

Developing a project without imagining an instrument for citizen participation seems nowadays impossible. Whether prescribed by law or applied by actions, numerous processes are being experimented with in order to value the voice of citizen in urban planning. However, behind this declared purpose, often a less glorious reality is hidden in which commu-

nity participation is just announced but not fully implemented. The participatory project is hence constructed amongst “those in the know”: elected officials, technicians, experts and designers. Nevertheless, experiences in alternative city-making do exist. For 15 years the Robin des Villes association has sought to develop and facilitate an approach where the central role of users is made central to the project process. The right to the city is thus seen as a citizen’s right to be a true actor in this process.

Towards Community Land Trusts : experiment based on a participatory democracy practice-oriented in the city
Loïc Géronnez

Periferia’s approach aims to coproduce the city with its inhabitants. To reach this aim, the association has put public debate at the centre of its conception of public space. In pursuing these objectives, it has focused on the experience of Community Land Trusts. These organizations own facilities considered as collective property which are offered for use by marginalized households. Through innovative real estate schemes, they bring together citizen participation and the stability of the weakest groups within quality neighbourhoods, by guaranteeing access to housing, to production spaces and to collective infrastructure in the heart of the city. More importantly, this paper underlines the contribution of Community Land Trusts to a renewal in the conception of public policy. These organizations propose that general interest can arise from permanent negotiation between the interest of citizens, either resident in the area or more indirectly involved, and public bodies. They bring a new way of building the general interest through the gathering of these points of view, rather than leaving the responsibility to state decisions or market rules.

Right to the City-NYC’s Policy Platform and Condo Conversion Campaign: grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City

David Dodge

Through grassroots organizing, community visioning and leadership development, Right to the City-NYC, an alliance of community-based organizations in New York City, has been applying the philosophical ideas associated with the “right to the city” to bring about social and economic change. Using the framework of gentrification, displacement, and the building of community power, RTTC-NYC developed and released the 2009 Right to the City-NYC Policy Platform, which includes 33 policy recommendations to improve low-income communities and protect those living there from displacement. From the policy recommendations listed in this platform, the alliance voted to prioritize an organizing campaign to convert empty luxury condominiums and stalled development projects into low-income housing. This campaign seeks to simultaneously increase available affordable housing option in low-income neighborhoods, and combat the negative impacts of luxury development in these communities.

Resistance and alternative against the new discourse of the right to the city: the case of the Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia (Salvador da Bahia, Brazil)

Sergio Belda, Jordi Peris, Alexandre Frediani, Alejandra Boni

The right to the city, a concept previously associated with the struggle of social movements in the search of radical changes in the relations in the city, has recently been accepted and redefined by new actors, from governments and NGOs to UN agen-

cies. It has entered a process of institutionalization in some international, national and local arenas. However, a new discourse around the concept, which has lost its original radical nature, has become dominant in these spaces, concealing alternative and more transformative visions. The paper aims to understand the contents as well as the processes of production and institutionalization of this new discourse. For this purpose, we draw on critical discourse analysis to approach three key texts at international, national (Brazil) and local (Salvador da Bahia) level. Moreover, we will study the local case of the Movimento dos Sem Teto da Bahia, to analyse how this process poses significant constraints (but also new potential) for resistance and for the production of an alternative and more transformative discourse.

Mega-projects and resistances in contested urbanism: reclaiming the right to the city in Dharavi

Camillo Boano, Melissa Garcia Lamarca, William Hunter

Dharavi, at the heart of Mumbai, India, recently became the iconic symbol of slums in Asia and in the world through its intrinsic permanence, multiplicity, dynamism, density and scale. Partially caused by the emergent glamour of informality and fetishization of poverty and partially because of its strategic location, Dharavi has emerged as the last frontier of oppositional practices confronting neo-liberal futuristic Dubai-style, neo-Hausmannite transformations and mega-projects focused on capital accumulation, elite consumption, slum clearance and deregulated real-estate speculation. Nestled in the debate around the right to the city, adopting a Foucaultian understanding of power, a Lefebvrian approach to the production of space and a critical regionalist perspec-

tion, the paper explores the conceptual analytical neologism of contested urbanism. Through this process, significant government and market pressures towards becoming a world-class city as expressed through Vision Mumbai push against the struggle for a bottom-up and inclusive development process promoted by civil society and heterogeneous citizen groups in Dharavi. The politics of density, the spatial tactics and the dialectics emerging in urban transformation driven by neoliberal approaches are investigated within the material-discursive dynamics in the forma-

tion, transformation and representation of social civil movement struggles over space, over the right to the city.

The right to the city in South Africa

Richard Pithouse

This paper has three broad aims. The first is to examine the different uses to which the idea of the right to the city is put in contemporary South Africa. It is argued that both the state and its allied NGOs, as well as popular struggles, make some

use of the idea but that the state and its partners tend to tie it to a technocratic conception of development while popular struggles tend to make use of it to express the content of struggles rooted in popular practices. The second aim of the paper is to provide, in broad brush strokes, a brief overview of the history of the popular struggles for the right to the city in South Africa. The final goal of the paper is to provide a sketch of attempts to realize the right to the city in post-apartheid South Africa with a particular focus on the shack dwellers’ movement Abahlali base Mjondolo.

Les auteurs

Julie Aubriot a un doctorat en aménagement urbain (LATS-ENPC). Elle s'intéresse à la notion de droit à l'eau en milieu urbain et plus particulièrement aux usages militants du droit dans le domaine de l'accès à l'eau en Afrique du Sud, notamment à Johannesburg. Elle travaille aujourd'hui au Conseil Mondial de l'Eau.

Marcello Balbo est professeur à l'Università Iuav di Venezia où il enseigne l'urbanisme. Ses intérêts portent principalement sur les questions de tissus urbains dans les pays en voie de développement. Il occupe également la chaire du programme « Inclusion sociale et spatiale des migrants internationaux : politiques et pratiques urbaines » de l'UNESCO. Il a dirigé plusieurs projets de recherche sur les politiques urbaines et sur la migration internationale concernant différents pays du Sud, entres autres l'« Observatoire Expérimental des Migrations Internationales dans les Régions Urbaines d'Amérique latine – MIUrb/AL » et la recherche UN-Habitat sur les « Politiques et Pratiques Urbaines de Migration Internationale ». Il est l'auteur de divers articles sur les politiques urbaines et la migration internationale et a édité *International Migrants and the City* (Un-habitat Nairobi et IUAV de Venise, 2005).

Sergio Belda est assistant de recherche à l'Université polytechnique de Valence (Espagne), Groupe d'études en développement, coopération et éthique. Détenteur d'un master en politiques et processus de développement et formé en architecture et ingénierie civile, son expérience professionnelle, dans le Nord comme dans le Sud, se situe dans le secteur public (Service public du logement de Rosario,

Argentine), aux Nations Unies (ONU-Habitat / Rolac, Rio de Janeiro) et dans des ONG (Ingénierie sans frontières). Ses domaines de recherche comprennent la planification urbaine, le traitement de l'eau, la souveraineté alimentaire, les mouvements sociaux, la construction de capacités, la planification et la gestion du développement, les théories du pouvoir, la complexité et les changements sociaux.

Camillo Boano est architecte et directeur du MSC Building and Urban Design in Development à la Development Planning Unit, Bartlett School of Built Environment, University College of London. Il a un master en développement urbain et un doctorat en planning et conjugue des intérêts en production spatiale, urbanisme et théorie critique en circonstances exceptionnelles de catastrophes, conflit, déplacement et design urbain dans les géographies du Sud global. Son travail et ses intérêts de recherche sont focalisés sur le développement urbain, le design et les transformations urbaines.

Ilaria Boniburini est docteur en planification urbaine et régionale et a un master en promotion des établissements et des infrastructures pour la coopération et le développement. Après douze ans d'expérience comme architecte pour la conservation des sites historiques en Grande-Bretagne, depuis 2004 elle est principalement engagée dans des activités de recherche dans le domaine des établissements et de l'aménagement de la ville. Actuellement ses intérêts de recherche sont centrés sur la ville africaine, les discours et les pratiques des organisations multilatérales dans le domaine de la ville et la planification urbaine, les liaisons entre celle-ci et l'impérialisme culturel, bref le droit à la ville comme pratique de changement

social. Elle est membre de la direction et professeur d'une école d'été italienne de planification de la ville et travaille avec eddyburg.it, un site internet engagé dans les domaines de l'urbanisme, la société et la politique.

Alejandra Boni Aristizábal est docteur en droits humains et démocratie de l'Université de Valence. Elle est professeur titulaire dans le Département de projets d'ingénierie et coordinatrice du Groupe d'études en développement, coopération et éthique de l'Université polytechnique de Valence, où elle dirige aussi le master de politiques et processus de développement. Elle a été professeur invitée dans plusieurs universités. Actuellement, ses recherches sont centrées sur le développement humain, les capacités et l'éducation, thèmes sur lesquels elle a édité plusieurs ouvrages en espagnol et écrit plusieurs articles pour différentes revues spécialisées. Elle mène également une recherche sur l'aide au développement et l'immigration.

Vincent Calay est docteur en sciences politiques et sociales et diplômé en géographie humaine, science politique et gestion de l'environnement. Il est chercheur à l'Université libre de Bruxelles et fut chercheur visiteur au centre d'histoire de sciences politiques en 2010-2011 dans le cadre du programme « Research in Paris » de la Mairie de Paris. Ses recherches portent sur le gouvernement des villes européennes. Il développe une approche pragmatique des pratiques de gouvernement de la ville qu'il applique à différents thèmes centraux des études urbaines contemporaines comme l'internationalisation ou les politiques de rénovation urbaine. Sa thèse de doctorat sur l'internationalisation de Bruxelles sera prochainement publiée sous le titre *Le Pouvoir de connexion. Tensions*

dans la fabrique d'une World City. Il y propose une approche ethnographique de pratiques de grandissement de la ville comme ville mondiale.

David Dodge est diplômé en sciences politiques de l'Université de New York et a été le coordinateur de Right to the City – NYC, où il travaille depuis novembre 2009. Il a également travaillé en tant que chercheur et est l'auteur du Rapport de l'Alliance Condo Conversion, publié au printemps 2010. Fin 2008, Il fut l'organisateur de terrain principal avec l'organisation LGBTQ SAVE Dade à Miami, en Floride. De 2005 à 2007, Il travailla à la Community Voices Heard et débuta comme organisateur principal de la campagne Logement public.

Alexandre Frediani est Professeur au Development Planning Unit de l'University College of London. Il est en charge du développement spécialisé en politiques d'amélioration des établissements précaires concernant le point de vue participatif du développement. Ses connaissances spécifiques incluent le développement humain, le logement, le développement urbain, la participation et l'approche capacitaire d'Amartya Sen. Il a mené récemment un travail de consultance avec le PNUD-Brésil en utilisant des méthodes participatives pour l'identification des besoins des dix municipalités dont l'indice de développement humain au Brésil est le plus bas. Depuis 2008, il travaille avec le centre Leonard Cheshire Disability & Inclusive Development à un projet qui explore les capacités et les limites du contexte urbain. Avec Architecture sans Frontières, il a participé à l'organisation d'ateliers. Il est professeur invité des programmes de master à l'Oxford Brookes University et à l'Université polytechnique de Valence.

Melissa Garcia Lamarca est une éducatrice et consultante engagée dans les processus *bottom-up* de développement de villes durables et plus justes socialement. Depuis une décennie, elle travaille au Canada et internationalement, en collaboration avec les gouvernements, des universités, des organisations non-gouvernementales et communautaires en tant que chercheuse, éducatrice et/ou médiatrice. Elle est membre du groupe Sustainability Solutions et a un bachelier en économie et géographie de l'Université McGill, un diplôme en développement économique des communautés (Université Concordia) et une maîtrise en développement planning de l'University College London. Ses intérêts de recherche englobent le droit à la ville, la justice spatiale, l'économie écologique et les transformations économiques et institutionnelles. Elle a travaillé à Montréal, Canberra, San Francisco, Buenos Aires et Istanbul, et est actuellement associée à la Faculté de développement et politique urbaine grâce au « International Honors Program's Cities in the 21st Century course ».

Loïc Géronnez a rédigé l'article pour l'association Periferia. Née d'une pratique dans le Nordeste brésilien, Periferia est constituée en 1998 autour des notions de participation citoyenne. Basée à Bruxelles, son équipe mène un travail organisé autour de trois axes : 1° le renforcement des capacités de groupes citoyens (animation du programme Capacitation citoyenne, renforcement de collectifs, appui méthodologique à des ONG latino-américaines) ; 2° la mise en place et l'animation d'ateliers de travail urbain et de débats publics (quartiers de La Roue, Lemmens et Canal Midi à Anderlecht, place de la Duchesse à Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Cité des Monts à Herstal, place du Sablon à Bruxelles, Nouvelles Résidences à Saint-Nicolas lez Arras, Faubourg de Cambrai à Valenciennes, groupe bud-

get à Anderlecht) ; 3° la conception et la mise en œuvre d'innovations en politiques publiques (budget participatif, Community Land Trust).

Sabine Guisse est architecte diplômée de La Cambre en 2005. Son travail de Prospective Research for Brussels, financé par Innoviris, porte sur les usages de l'espace public et vise leur reconnaissance en tant que ressources pour la conception. Sur base d'une vaste étude empirique sur le terrain bruxellois, elle élabore une méthode de design observant pour les producteurs de l'espace public. La méthode a déjà été testée dans le domaine pédagogique (avec des étudiants et des professionnels). Depuis 2008, son travail de thèse évalue à quel point les méthodes de design observant de l'espace public intègrent la dimension plurielle des usages de l'espace public urbain.

Fran Klodawsky est professeur agrégée au Département de géographie et d'études environnementales de l'Université Carleton. De 1991 à 1994, elle était directrice de l'Institute for Women's Studies et, antérieurement, elle était la conseillère de la présidente de Status of Women Issues. Ses premières recherches se concentraient sur le dilemme de l'accès au logement pour les familles monoparentales. Plus récemment, ses intérêts de recherche ont porté sur deux volets : premièrement, les initiatives des femmes pour promouvoir l'égalité et l'intégration dans les villes, notamment ce qui a trait à la sécurité et aux services municipaux et, deuxièmement, les efforts déployés à l'échelle communautaire, interurbaine, nationale et internationale pour examiner l'importance du logement abordable, et les dilemmes qui surgissent, y compris celui des sans-abris, lorsque ce type de logement n'est pas disponible.

Paul Jenkins est architecte, urbaniste et sociologue. Au travers de sa pratique, de l'élaboration de politiques, de la formation et de l'enseignement, et de la recherche, il a travaillé ces quarante dernières années à un large éventail de domaines liés au cadre bâti : architecture, construction, logement, planification et études urbaines. Son travail concerne désormais en grande partie les questions sociales et culturelles, et les pays du Sud – principalement en Afrique subsaharienne, mais aussi le Brésil. Son travail dans le Nord (Royaume-Uni et Europe) comprend le développement de la recherche architecturale au sein des universités et de la profession, et le développement de la recherche et des connaissances entre ceux-ci et d'autres partenaires sociaux. En parallèle, il est professeur d'architecture et établissements humains à l'École de l'environnement bâti de l'Université de Heriot-Watt à Édimbourg, où il assure la fonction de Senior Adviser pour le Centre pour l'environnement et les établissements humains.

William Hunter est un architecte et designer dont l'expérience et la recherche internationales incluent des missions à New York, Zurich, Londres, Mumbai, Istanbul et Bangkok. Son travail s'étend de projets et concours culturels et commerciaux à des analyses de terrain sur le logement inclusif et le développement dans le Sud global. Ses intérêts de recherche actuels gravitent autour des processus alternatifs de l'urbanisme, une critique régionaliste du capitalisme moderne et une pratique du développement urbain anthropocentrique. Après avoir terminé un master en construction et design urbain pour le développement au Development Planning Unit, Bartlett School of Built Environment, il est actuellement enseignant à l'University College London.

Jacqueline Leavitt est professeur d'urbanisme dans le Département de planification urbaine et régionale à l'École Luskin des Affaires publiques à l'Université de Californie. Elle donne des cours sur le logement et le développement communautaires, les villes et la planification, y compris l'histoire de Los Angeles. Elle a publié des articles sur le logement, le développement communautaire, les femmes en matière de planification et est l'auteur de deux livres, l'un sur les attitudes des locataires à l'égard de leurs propriétaires à New York, l'autre sur les coopératives de logement à faible revenu. Elle a travaillé avec le groupe Droit à la ville basé à Los Angeles, une coalition luttant pour le droit fondamental au logement, ainsi qu'avec la Commission Huairou sur les questions concernant les femmes et le développement communautaire.

Judith le Maire est architecte et docteur de l'Université Paris I La Sorbonne. Sa thèse qui s'intitule *La grammaire participative. Théories et pratiques architecturales et urbanistiques entre 1904 et 1968*, défendue en 2009 est en cours de publication aux Presses universitaires de Bruxelles. Elle s'intéresse aux pratiques des architectes et aux filiations de processus de projets impliquant les citoyens dans l'aménagement de leur environnement urbain. Elle dirige CLARA (centre des laboratoires associés pour la recherche en architecture) à la Faculté d'architecture de l'Université libre de Bruxelles et y enseigne le projet dans l'atelier Histoire, théorie, critique. Elle apporte son expertise notamment au Service facilitateur des quartiers durables de Bruxelles Environnement et à la formation au métier et à la culture de l'espace public PYBLIK depuis plusieurs années. La formation et l'engagement des architectes, notamment dans la maîtrise d'ouvrage publique, ou la société civile est l'une de ses préoccupations. Elle interroge plusieurs procédures

de consultation des acteurs du projet urbain et leur dimension participative.

Luisa Moretto est enseignante et chercheuse à la Faculté d'architecture de l'Université libre de Bruxelles. Elle a une formation en architecture et un doctorat en environnement de l'Université de Venise. Elle s'intéresse aux questions de développement urbain, de gouvernance urbaine, des services urbains et de pauvreté. Elle a aussi une expérience professionnelle au sein des organismes internationaux où elle a travaillé comme consultante pour le Oslo Governance Centre-PNUD sur les thèmes de la gouvernance décentralisée et pour la Banque Inter-Américaine de Développement sur les questions de la réhabilitation urbaine durable. Elle est actuellement l'un des quatre coordinateurs de N-aerus (Network-Association de chercheurs européens sur l'urbanisation dans le Sud).

Jordi Peris est Professeur titulaire à l'Université polytechnique de Valence (Espagne) dans le Groupe d'études en développement, coopération et éthique. Sa thèse doctorale portait sur la gestion de projets et il a une formation en ingénierie et sciences politiques. Ses recherches sont centrées sur la planification du développement, la gestion de programmes et projets, le développement durable urbain, l'apprentissage et le changement organisationnel, l'éducation supérieure et les capacités, le pouvoir et le changement social. Il a une expérience de recherche, d'enseignement et de consultation en Amérique latine et en Afrique.

Richard Pithouse a une formation philosophique et enseigne la politique à l'Université de Rhodes en Afrique du Sud. Son travail académique actuel porte sur

la théorie politique, avec un intérêt général pour la théorie politique émancipatrice et un intérêt particulier pour Frantz Fanon ; l'histoire des luttes populaires pour le droit à la ville et les luttes populaires contemporaines en Afrique du Sud. Il a travaillé avec et dans plusieurs organisations et mouvements populaires progressistes qui ont émergé ces dix dernières années en Afrique du Sud. Il est également un commentateur régulier dans divers journaux en Afrique du Sud.

Mark Purcell est membre du Département d'Urban Design and Planning à l'Université de Washington. Il a écrit sur les politiques urbaines dans des journaux tels que *l'International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Urban Studies*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Rue Descartes*, *Geoforum* et *Antipode*. Son livre *Recapturing Democracy* (Routledge, 2008) étudie le néolibéralisme, la démocratie radicale, et le droit à la ville. Son travail actuel explore les façons de construire des grands mouvements de coalition pour une démocratie radicale dans la ville.

Fabien Bressan est géographe-urbaniste et travaille depuis près de huit ans au sein de l'association française Robins des villes. Animée par des architectes, urbanistes, géographes, sociologues, artistes ... et habitants, elle propose un autre regard sur la ville. L'association se pose en relais citoyen au service d'une ville conviviale

et s'engage pour l'implication de tous dans l'aménagement du cadre de vie, plus d'échanges entre les différents acteurs de la ville, un meilleur partage des décisions. Elle s'interroge donc sur les moyens à mettre en œuvre pour permettre aux habitants de comprendre l'urbanisme et les projets de leur ville. En s'inscrivant comme un acteur facilitateur, Robins des villes œuvre pour une meilleure cohésion entre les sphères urbaines et sociales des politiques d'aménagement urbain.

Edoardo Salzano a été Professeur d'urbanisme et Président de la Faculté de planification de la ville, du territoire et de l'environnement de l'Université de Venise. Il a travaillé comme consultant d'administrations publiques italiennes, au niveau national, régional et local. Auteur de plusieurs livres, essais et articles, il a fondé et dirigé deux revues d'urbanisme et un journal en ligne, qu'il gère actuellement: eddyburg.it, un site internet italien concernant l'urbanisme, la société et la politique, soit « les trois volets de la ville ». Il collabore avec de nombreuses organisations liées aux mouvements de lutte urbaine soit en Italie soit en participant à des forums internationaux.

Harry Smith est Senior Lecturer et Directeur du Centre pour l'environnement et les établissements humains, à l'Institut d'urbanisme et d'architecture de l'École de l'Environnement Bâti de l'Université de

Heriot-Watt à Édimbourg. Fort de son expérience européenne en architecture et en planification urbaine, il a ces dernières années participé à de nombreux projets de recherche autour de la production du cadre bâti, allant de la relation entre l'État, le marché et la société civile lors de projets urbains, à l'étude de processus de logement, ou d'enjeux urbanistiques et architecturaux, avec un accent particulier sur les approches participatives. Ses travaux de recherche portent sur des pays d'Europe, d'Amérique latine et d'Afrique subsaharienne. Il fut précédemment coordinateur de N-AERUS (Network-Association de chercheurs européens sur l'urbanisation dans le Sud).

Ayse Yonder est professeur d'urbanisme et ancienne présidente du Centre des diplômés pour la planification et l'environnement à l'École d'architecture de l'Institut Pratt de Brooklyn (New York). Son enseignement, ses recherches et ses publications portent sur le développement communautaire, les problèmes relatifs aux catastrophes et le genre, la régulation des établissements informels et des politiques de régénération urbaine et le rôle des arts et de la culture dans le développement urbain. Elle est membre de la Commission Huairou, une coalition internationale d'organismes de femmes. Elle a travaillé sur un certain nombre d'initiatives communautaires au Centre Pratt pour le développement communautaire à New York, le KEDV en Turquie et la Commission Huairou.

The authors

Julie Aubriot holds a PhD in urban planning (LATTS-ENPC). She works on the concept of right to water in urban areas and particularly on the use of law by rights activists in the field of access to water in South Africa, with a special focus on Johannesburg. She is now working at the World Water Council.

Marcello Balbo is Professor of Urban Planning at *Università Iuav di Venezia*, where he teaches Urban Planning. His main focus is on urban issues in developing countries. Holder of the UNESCO Chair “Social and Spatial Inclusion of International Migrants: urban policies and practice”. He has directed several research projects on urban policies and international migration concerning different countries of the South, among others the “Experimental Observatory on International Migrations in Urban Areas of Latin America - MIUrb/AL” and the UN-Habitat research on “Urban Policies and Practices Addressing International Migration”. He has authored several articles on urban policies and international migration and has edited the book *International Migrants and the City*.

Sergio Belda is a research assistant at the *Universitat Politècnica de València* (Technical University of Valencia), Spain, within the Research Group on Development, Cooperation and Ethics, in the Master on Politics and Processes of Development. His background is in Architecture and Civil Engineering. He has professional experience in both the North and the South, in the government sector (Public Housing Agency of Rosario, Argentina), UN (UN-Habitat/ROLAC, Rio

de Janeiro), and NGO (Engineering Without Borders, between others). He has worked in the areas of urban planning, water and sanitation and food sovereignty. Currently, his research interests are urban planning, urban change and right to the city; food sovereignty; social movements; capacity building; and power, complexity and social change theories.

Camillo Boano is an architect and Director of MSc Building and Urban Design in Development at Development Planning Unit, Bartlett School of Built Environment, University College London, UK. He holds a Master Degree in Urban Development and a PhD in Planning and combines interests in spatial production, urbanism and critical theory with the exceptional circumstances of disasters, conflict and displacement and urban design in geographies of the Global South. His work and research interests are focused on urban development, design and urban transformations, shelter and housing interventions, reconstruction and recovery in conflicted areas and divided cities, and on the linkages between society, space and built environment. He has worked and undertaken research and consultancies in Nicaragua, Ecuador, Venezuela, Salvador, Occupied Territories, Lebanon, Jordan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Thailand, India and Indonesia. He is an Associate Lecturer in the Department of Planning, Oxford Brookes University in Oxford, and Visiting Lecturer at the University of Bologna and the Polytechnic of Turin (Italy).

Ilaria Boniburini holds a PhD in Urban and Territorial Planning and is a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture of the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology in Rwanda. She has twelve years of experi-

ence as a conservation architect in the UK. Since 2004 she engages in research activities and projects in the area of informal settlement and urban planning. Currently her research interests are African urbanism, discourse and practices of multilateral organizations in the field of housing and urban planning, the nexus between cultural imperialism and urban planning, and the right to the city as a practice for social change. Ilaria is a board member and teacher of an Italian independent summer school of urban planning in Italy and works with eddyburg.it, a progressive website on urban planning, politics and society.

Alejandra Boni Aristizábal holds a PhD in Human Rights and Democracy by the University of Valencia. She is an Associate Professor at the Department of Projects Engineering and team leader of the Research Group on Development, International Cooperation and Ethics at the *Universitat Politècnica de València* (Technical University of Valencia), where she also leads on the Master on Politics and Processes of Development. She has been a Visiting Fellow at several Universities. Currently, Alejandra is researching in human development, capabilities and education, topics on which she has edited several books in Spanish and authored papers in several journals. She is also researching development aid and migration, on which she has co-authored papers.

Vincent Calay holds a PhD in Political and Social Sciences and degrees in Human Geography, Political Science and Environment Management. He is currently a Research Fellow at the *Université libre de Bruxelles* and has been a Visiting Fellow at Sciences-Po Paris in 2010-2011. His research work is on urban government in

Europe. Within this framework, he focuses on urban government practices in capital cities with a strong interest in the relations between urban activism and changes in urban institutions and policies in fields such as internationalization policies and urban regeneration. His PhD thesis on the internationalization of Brussels will be soon published under the title *The Power To Connect. The World-City as a Matter of Concern*. This book will propose an ethnographical approach to the set of measurement practices transforming the small capital city of Belgium into a World-City.

David Dodge was Right to the City-NYC Coordinator. David began working with RTTC-NYC in November of 2009. David brings 5 years of experience in electoral and grassroots community organizing to his work with the local Alliance in New York City. He has also worked as the primary researcher and author on the Alliance’s Condo Conversion Report, released in spring of 2010. In the fall of 2008, David worked as the lead Field Organizer with the LGBTQ organization SAVE Dade, based in Miami Florida. While working at Community Voices Heard from 2005-2007, David started and was the lead organizer for the Public Housing Campaign. David has a BA in Political Science from New York University.

Alexandre Frediani is a Lecturer at Development Planning Unit, University College London. He is a development planner specializing in squatter settlement upgrading policies and participatory approaches to development. Areas of expertise include human development, housing, urban development, participation and Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach. Recently he has finished a consultancy with the UNDP-Brazil using participatory

methods for the assessment of needs in the 10 municipalities with the lowest Human Development Indices in Brazil. Since 2008, he has been partnering with Leonard Cheshire Disability & Inclusive Development on an initiative exploring capabilities and disabilities in the urban context. With Architecture Sans Frontières – UK, Alex has been running workshops. Alex is a Visiting Lecturer on Masters programmes at Oxford Brookes University and at the Technical University of Valencia.

Melissa Garcia Lamarca is an educator and consultant who is a passionate believer in the need for bottom-up, inclusive processes towards more socially just and sustainable cities. Over the past ten years she has worked in Canada and internationally with governments, universities, non-governmental and community organizations as a researcher, educator and/or facilitator. She is a member of Sustainability Solutions Group workers’ cooperative and has a BA in Economics and Geography (McGill), a Graduate Diploma in Community Economic Development (Concordia) and an MSc in Development Planning (University College London). Melissa’s research interests include the right to the city, spatial justice, ecological economics and institutional and social transformation. She has worked in Montreal, Canberra, San Francisco, Buenos Aires and Istanbul, and is currently Traveling Faculty in Urban Politics and Development with the International Honors Program’s Cities in the 21st Century course.

Loïc Géronnez authored the paper for the association Periferia. Periferia was born in 1998 around public participation concerns, from practices in the Brazilian Nordeste. Based in Brussels, its team of 4-5 people work around three axes: 1)

the reinforcement of citizen groups’ abilities (facilitation for the programme “Capacitation Citoyenne”, capacity building, methodological support for Latin-American ONGs); 2) the organization and facilitation of urban workgroups and public debates (neighbourhoods of la Roue, Lemmens and the Canal Midi in Anderlecht, place de la Duchesse in Molenbeek, Cité des Monts in Herstal, place du Sablon in Brussels, Nouvelles Résidences in St Nicolas lez Arras, Faubourg de Cambrai in Valenciennes, participatory budget in Anderlecht); 3) the design and implementation of innovations in public policies (participatory budget, Community Land Trust).

Sabine Guisse is an architect who graduated from La Cambre in 2005. Her contract, Prospective Research for Brussels (Innoviris), focuses on the uses of public space and their recognition as a resource for design. Based on a vast empirical study of Brussels, she provides an observant design method to public space producers. The method has already been tested in the pedagogical field (with students and professionals). Since 2008, her doctoral work has been evaluating the extent to which observant public space design methods integrate the plural dimension of urban public space uses.

Fran Klodawsky is an Associate Professor at Carleton University in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies. Between 1991 and 1994, she was the Director of Women’s Studies and prior to this, she was Advisor to the President on Status of Women Issues. Her first focus of research was the housing dilemmas of single parent families. More recently, there have been two streams of research interest: first, women’s initiatives to promote

equality and inclusiveness in cities, especially with regard to safety and municipal services; and second, community, inter-urban, national and international efforts to examine the significance of affordable housing and the dilemmas that arise, including homelessness, when such housing is not available.

Paul Jenkins is an architect, planner and social scientist who has worked during the past 40 years across a wide range of built environment fields: architecture, construction, housing, planning and urban studies – in practice, policy-making, teaching/training, and research. A major element of his work now focuses on social and cultural issues and much of his work is in the Global ‘South’ – mainly Sub-Saharan Africa, but also Brazil. His work in the ‘North’ (UK and Europe) includes architectural research development within academia & the profession and research/knowledge development between these and other social partners. He is concurrently Research Professor of Architecture in the Edinburgh School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, and also Professor of Architecture and Human Settlement at the School of the Built Environment, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, where he is Senior Adviser for the Centre for Environment and Human Settlements (CEHS).

William Hunter is a trained architect and designer with diverse international practice and research experience including assignments in New York, Zurich, London, Mumbai, Istanbul and Bangkok. His worked has ranged from commercial/ cultural projects and competitions to field analysis on inclusive housing and development in the Global South. Current research interests revolve around alternative processes of urbanism, a

regionalist critique of capitalist modernism, and the charge for critically anthropocentric urban development praxis. Upon completing the MSc Building and Urban Design in Development at the Development Planning Unit, Bartlett School of Built Environment, he is now a Univesité catholique de Louvain’s College Teacher Fellow.

Jacqueline Leavitt is Professor of Urban Planning in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the Luskin School of Public Affairs at the University of California at Los Angeles. She teaches classes about housing and community development, cities and planning including the history of Los Angeles, and gender. Dr. Leavitt has published articles on housing, community development, women in planning, and is author of two books, one on tenant responses to landlord abandonment in New York City and an edited book about low-income housing cooperatives. Dr. Leavitt has worked with the Los Angeles based group Right to the City and a coalition fighting for the human right to housing and with the Huairou Commission on issues about women and community development.

Judith le Maire is an architect and holds a PhD from the University “Paris I La Sorbonne”. She defended her thesis, to be published as “Participatory grammar. Architectural and urban planning practices between 1904 and 1968”, in 2009. Her research interests focus on the architects’ praxis and practices and on project processes involving citizen in the design and planning of their urban environment. She is the head of CLARA at the Faculty of Architecture La Cambre-Horta (Université libre de Bruxelles), and teaches design studio within the History, Theory and Critique Unit. For a number of years she has contributed her expertise to, among

others, the Facilitatory Service for Sustainable Neighbourhoods [Brussels Environment] and PYBLIK, a vocational training for the professions and culture of public space. One of her concerns consists in the education and involvement of architects as public or civil society contracting authorities. She investigates several actors in urban project consultation processes and their participatory dimension.

Luisa Moretto is a Lecturer and Researcher at the Faculty of Architecture of the Université libre de Bruxelles. She has a background in architecture and holds a PhD in Analysis and Governance of Sustainable Development by the University of Venice. Her research interests are focused on urban development, urban governance, urban services and urban poverty. She has also professional experience with international organizations in the field of decentralized governance (Oslo Governance Centre-UNDP) and sustainable urban rehabilitation processes (Inter-American Development Bank). She is currently one of the four coordinators of N-AERUS (Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South).

Jordi Peris is an Associate Lecturer at Universitat Politècnica de València (Technical University of Valencia), Spain, within the Research Group on Development, Cooperation and Ethics. He has a PhD in project management. His background is in engineering and political sciences. Current research interests in development planning, programmes and project management, sustainable urban development, organizational learning and change, higher education and capabilities, power and social change. Has research, teaching, training and advisory experience in Latin America and Africa.

Richard Pithouse is trained in philosophy and teaches politics at Rhodes University in South Africa. His current academic work is on political theory, with a general interest in emancipatory political theory and a particular focus on Frantz Fanon; the history of popular struggles for the right to the city in South Africa and contemporary popular struggles in South Africa. He has worked in and with a number of the popular progressive organizations and movements that have emerged in South Africa over the last decade. He is also a regular commentator in newspapers across South Africa.

Mark Purcell is a faculty member in the Department of Urban Design & Planning at the University of Washington. He has published on urban politics in journals such as *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Urban Studies*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Rue Descartes*, *Geoforum*, and *Antipode*. His book *Recapturing Democracy*, published in 2008 with Routledge, examines neoliberalism, radical democracy, and the right to the city. His current work explores ways to build broad coalitional movements for radical democracy in the city.

Fabien Bressan is geographer and planner, working in the last 8 years for the French association Robin des Villes. This association is composed by architects, planners, geographers, sociologists, artists and resi-

dents and proposes a different view of the city. It aims at engaging with citizens in order to build a more convivial city, at including all inhabitants in the planning process, strengthening exchanges amongst different urban actors, and improving shared decision-making. It explores instruments to allow inhabitants to understand urbanism and projects on their town. By means of its facilitating role, Robin des Villes contributes to a better cohesion between the urban and social dimensions of urban planning politics.

Edoardo Salzano is a former Professor in Urban and Regional Planning and Dean of the School of Urban, Regional and Environmental Planning at the University IUAV of Venice. He also worked as a planning consultant in many Italian local governments. Author and editor of several books, journal articles, he has contributed to newspapers and magazines, and funded two planning journals and an online journal. He is founder and director of www.eddyburg.it, an Italian website concerning urban planning, society and political issues. Edoardo works with, actively supports and provides technical assistance to a number of the progressive organizations and urban movements in Italy, as well as participating in international forums.

Harry Smith is a Senior Lecturer and Director of the Centre for Environment and

Human Settlements, at the Institute for Urban and Building Design in the School of the Built Environment, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK. With professional experience in architecture and urban planning in Europe, in recent years he has been involved in a number of research projects focusing on the production of the built environment, ranging from the relationships between state, market and civil society in urban development and housing processes to building and urban design issues, with a particular focus on participatory approaches. His research experience spans countries in Europe, Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa. Was formerly a co-coordinator of N-AERUS (Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South).

Ayse Yonder is a Professor of City Planning and former Chair of the Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment at the School of Architecture at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York. Her teaching, research and publications focus on community development, gender and disaster issues, informal settlement regularization and urban regeneration policies, and the role of arts and culture in urban development. She is a member of the Huairou Commission, an international coalition of grassroots women’s organizations. She has worked on a number of community based initiatives through the Pratt Center for Community Development in New York City, the KEDV in Turkey, and the Huairou Commission.

