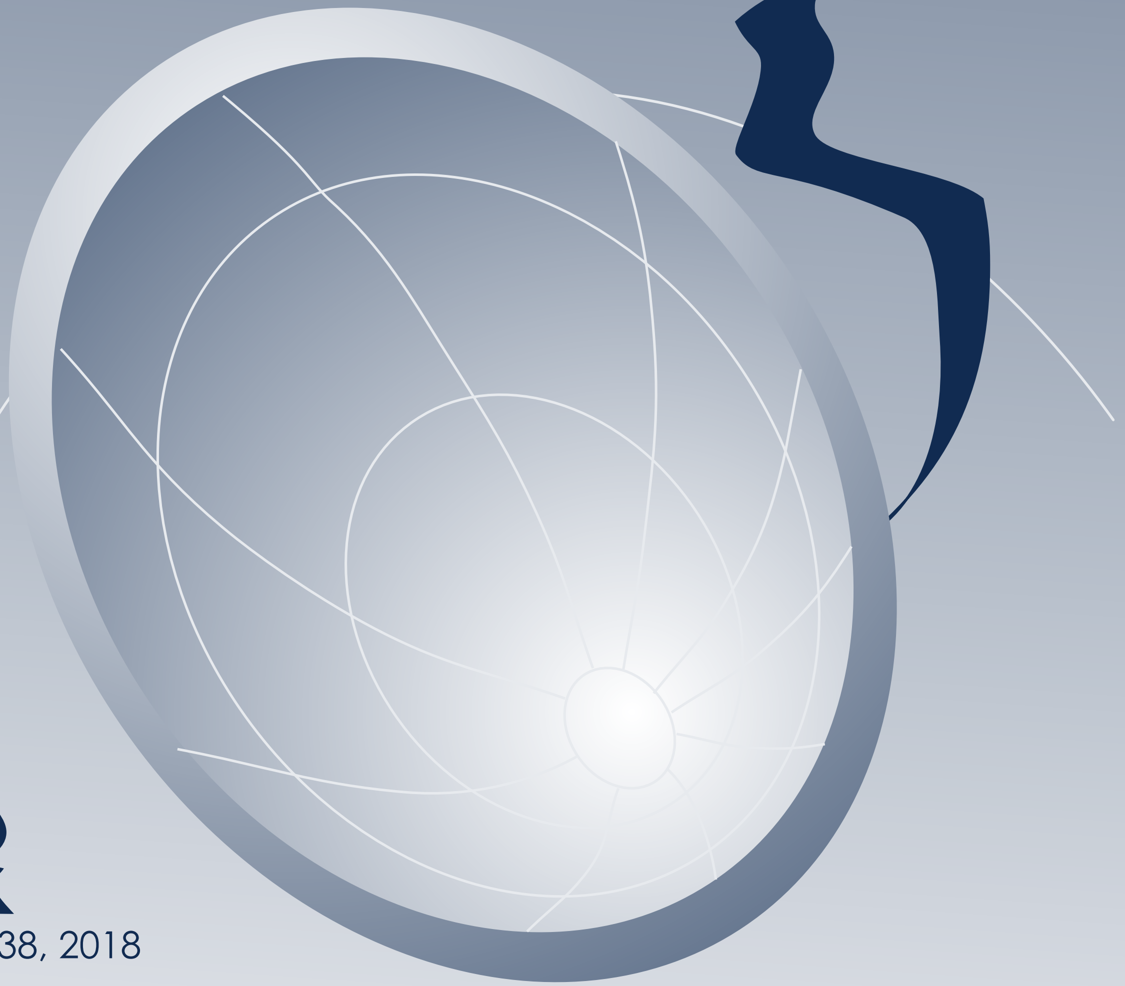
Geography Research Forum

Special Issue

Im/Mobilities in the 21st century



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SPECIAL ISSUE

IM/MOBILITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Editorial

Im/mobility: Connecting Disciplines — An Editorial Introduction

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Over a decade after the formulation of the "new mobilities paradigm" by Sheller and Urry (2006), which explained the increasing im/mobility within social institutions and practices, this issue of *Geography Research Forum* seeks to reconsider the concept of mobility as an interpretive framework. The contemporary global context underscores the basic contradictions at the heart of the concept of mobility alongside immobility, characterized by both massive migration and political protectionism. The world is becoming increasingly divided and defined by uneven terrains—politically, economically, socially and ecologically.

The idea of mobility—as distinct from mere physical movement—stresses the *social production* of movement. Mobility addresses not only physical human movement associated with the daily processes of walking, transport or travel, or large-scale movements of migration, but also other kinds of circulation, such as the flow of money, images, information, technologies or ideas. The concept of mobility addresses a range of scales, from the micro-scale of the human body to that of global networks, and, by its very nature, suggests new spatial and scalar logics. Indeed, mobility as a framework challenges the idea of space as a fixed container for social processes by placing new emphasis on its relations, networks, flows and circulation (Appadurai 1995; Castells 2004; Cresswell 2010; Sheller and Urry 2016). Yet, at the same time, mobilities are enabled by fixed "spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings" (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006), and form a complex, interdependent system in which mobilities and immobilities are intertwined. Sheller has pointed out the "in-between and liminal places at which movement is paused, slowed or stopped: borders, airports, toll roads, hotels, motels, detention centers, refugee camps, etc." (Sheller 2013, 51). Immobility also references the unevenness of mo-

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bility systems and practices and the unequal access to them. Since "mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power" (Sheller and Urry 2006), the study of discourses and practices of mobility must relate to both movement and non-movement (Sheller 2006), with an emphasis on how access to mobility is promoted, enabled or blocked.

Mobility opens up new sets of questions, subjects and methods that cut across disciplines, linking the social sciences and humanities. It also directly links the professions of the built environment (urbanism and planning, landscape architecture and architecture) to social, economic, biologic and political ecologies. It forces the redefinition of notions such as global and local, boundaries and borders, place, territory and landscape (Cresswell 2010). The themes of power, identity and everyday life offer a framework to study a wide range of daily practices, from walking, dancing, driving, air travel and playing sports, to new phenomena as diverse as parkour and elite helicopter travel (Adey 2009). Mobility is also a key framework for investigations into spatial transformations that occur at all scales as a result of globalization, migration, diasporic networks, capital flows and innovations in transportation. These themes and others have been theorized through a set of figures that have come to represent the mobility of modern life (Salazar 2017): from the *nomad* (Deleuze and Guattari 1986), to the *tourist* (MacCannell 1976), the *pilgrim* (Bauman 1996), and the *flâneur* (Benjamin 1996). Above all, mobility has become a kind of shorthand for the culture of modernity: fluid, free, detached and `deterritorialized' (Bauman 2000, Sheller and Urry 2006).

It is this rich and nuanced transdisciplinary potential that has drawn us, as guest editors, to mobility as a key organizing concept that bridges the design disciplines and the social sciences. Our interest as scholars of landscape architecture and urbanism is to focus on the relationship between mobility and space. The evolution of mobilities research is outlined and then traced in respect to the manner in which the "new mobilities paradigm" has challenged ideas of space, place and territory. Two main issues are explored across various scales to provide context for the essays included in this issue. The first explores the complex impact of global migration on urban space; the second focuses on the agency of driving and walking in the production of space.

MOBILITY, LANDSCAPE AND THE CITY

While the concept of mobility has become established in geographic research (Sheller 2013) as well as in anthropological studies (Salazar 2017), it has not yet assumed a central role in design discourse. However, movement—through buildings, cities and landscapes—has been a recurrent theme in architecture and landscape architecture theory and urban history. Movement has always structured settlement, both urban and rural. The domestication of territories by mobility infrastructure is driven by the fact that accessibility lies at the root of development. Urban structures and settlements are repositioned on the basis of new economies, proximities and hierarchies that are disclosed by mobility. Throughout history—via carriage paths, railways, trams and roads—mobility infrastructure merged with landscape to create vessels of collective life and drove modes of consumption and production. At the same time, landscapes and ecologies continue to be radically altered (Shannon and Smets 2010).

The idea that the experience of movement is central to urban life and to the perception of both city and landscape gained currency in the 1960s. In his captivating 1958 essay "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder" ([1958]1997), American cultural geographer J.B. Jackson considered how our relationship to the landscape was being rapidly reshaped from behind the wheel. Jackson reflected on the American romance with the road and the poetry of speed, using the image of a drag-racer's "world of flowing movement, blurred light, rushing wind or water…" (206-7) to suggest the ways in which American road culture had altered the experience of the landscape itself: "The new landscape, seen at a rapid, sometimes terrifying pace, is composed of rushing air, shifting lights, clouds, waves, a constantly moving, changing horizon, a constantly changing surface beneath the ski, the wheel, the rudder, the wing" (204).

Some years later, Appleyard, Lynch and Myer summed up the critical role of movement in shaping the image of the city in their classic work *The View from the Road* (1964): "the experience of a city is basically a moving view, and this is the view we must understand if we wish to reform the look of our cities" (cited in Kamvasinou 2010, 6). The American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin embraced this idea by developing a landscape aesthetic for the urban freeway (1966). In the post-war period, British landscape architects such as Brenda Colvin, Sylvia Crowe and Geoffrey Jellicoe also claimed a central role for landscape architects in the design of Britain's highway network. They drew on English landscape traditions as well as a new landscape aesthetic based on the emerging field of environmental perception, and its themes of speed, time sequences and mobile viewpoints (Merriman 2006; Kamvasinou 2010). Other examples of movement-based design approaches include Lawrence Halprin's writing and design methodology using notational "scoring" systems based on choreographing kinesthetic experience (Halprin 1966, 1970), as well as Gordon Cullen's "serial vision," a central idea of his "townscape" aesthetic based on designing a sequence of changing views along a path of movement. Movement was also a central concept and tool for the emergence of cognitive studies in environmental design, such as Kevin Lynch's pioneering work *The Image of the City* (1960) in which movement was the basis for the development of the "cognitive map" of the city, based on concepts such as orientation and legibility.

Recent research on mobility is indebted to these seminal studies of the perceptual and cognitive dimensions of movement which analyze the visual dimensions of movement and its role in shaping individual urban experience. If these spatial theories understand the city from the starting point of individual experience and perception through movement, contemporary mobility research has stressed its social production, based on the fundamental assumption that mobile practices both produce and are produced by social relations. Thus, its focus has been on "the constitutive role of movement within the workings of most social institutions and social practices" (Sheller and Urry 2016, 11). This approach has been applied to the understanding of the city as a whole: "People not only observe the city whilst moving through it, rather they constitute the city by practicing mobility. The meaning of places in the city is constituted by movement as much as by their morphological properties" (Jensen 2009, 140). It is from this perspective that walking is often a focus of mobility research. Historically, urban walking has taken different forms, from the ceremonial urban procession in ancient Rome, to the seventeenth-century development of the promenade as a new leisure space, to the urban *flâneur* identified with nineteenth-century Paris. Walking is an everyday practice that shapes urban space and is shaped by the space in which it occurs. It can create new subjects, new forms of public space and provide alternate readings of the city (Conan 2003, Rosenberg 2016).

But how does movement actually constitute the meaning of places? Mobility offers new ways of conceptualizing city and territory, and the notions of place that have been used define them. As Massey has argued, rather than a static, bounded entity, with a single, essential identity, the idea of place has become more fluid. If, as she has asserted, "space is the product of social relations," place is best imagined as a particular intersection in a network of social relations that occur at various scales (Massey 1994). Place is thus open, dynamic and a site of ongoing processes. Massey presents a dialectical view of the relationship of the local to the global, where place and local identity are porous, multiple and open to constant transformation. In this view mobility participates in the continuing production of space through everyday mobile practices which create meaning and shape identity (Jensen 2009, Adey 2010). It replaces the metaphor of space as a container for social processes with the concept of networks and the "space of flows," Manuel Castells' (1996, 2004) term for the translocal, technologically driven networks of the city in the information age.

Perhaps one of the key impacts of this approach on the discipline of landscape architecture and urbanism is the concept of "landscape as infrastructure"—an integrative concept that proposes to address functional issues together with ecological, aesthetic and social concerns (Rosenberg 1996; Allen 1998, Shannon 2004, Belanger 2009; Hung 2011). Landscape architects and urbanists have addressed conditions of mobility, dispersal, decentralization and flexibility by reconsidering the relationship of urbanism and landscape to infrastructure and restoring its connection to the biophysical landscape. According to this approach, landscapes function as *systems* at nested, interconnected scales, and cannot be designed as discrete 'scenes'. Instead, they are characterized by their performance, rather than by their appearance, meaning that landscapes that can be empirically evaluated for achieving specific goals. Designers have re-engaged with infrastructural systems in order to transform them from socially neutral, technocratic systems to cultural artifacts — from totalized, invisible systems to contextualized spaces that express cultural values which are part-and-parcel of the public realm. Approximately seventy years ago, Lewis Mumford would have labelled these as polytechnic infrastructures, when one-sided civil engineering was transcended to a civic dimension (Mumford 1934).

In contemporary society, the social production of movement is also being radically transformed by diverse mobilities of people, objects, images, information and technologies. The world is on the cusp of a paradigmatic shift in physical mobility. This, in turn, will fundamentally transform the built environment and generate novel spaces and temporalities. As the post-petrol age beckons, a number of forces are coming together, namely technological developments on vehicle autonomy, vehicle sharing, vehicle electrification, alternative personal transport (e-scooters, self-driving pods, etc.) integration of renewable energy resources, which are complemented by concepts of shared economies/mobilities and increased investment in public transportation. The convergence of new shared mobility services with automated and electric vehicles will offer more transportation choices, greater affordability and accessibility, and eventually contribute to healthier, more livable cities, along with reduced greenhouse gas emissions.

Mobility is often conceived of as a form of freedom, but in fact it results from the dichotomies of autonomy and heteronomy, production and adaptation (Kesselring 2006, 270). Worldwide and local networks (spatial, economic and socio-ecological) continue to evolve and as Castells argued more than two decades ago, networks "constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power and culture" (1996, 246). At the same time, heeding the warning by Urry, attention must be given to democratic accessibility, since "movement makes connections and connections make inequalities" (Urry 2012, 24). Inequalities result from dramatically uneven forms of access to or effects on various kinds of mobility (Urry 2000,195).

MIGRATORY MOBILITIES

Inequality is an unavoidable term in relation to migratory mobilities. Humankind is presently witnessing immense refugee and migration waves, with numbers reaching heights not seen since the partition of India in 1947. On the one hand, migration flows have been driven by uneven economic development, accelerated ecological (even climate) change, warfare, ethnic conflict and political instability. On the other hand, the reach of new communication media and transport facilities have generated supply-driven migration flows. Large segments of populations have been completely uprooted and thereafter face reception contexts that range from welcoming and absorbing to overtly hostile.

Although there are liberating and emancipatory aspects to mobility (Urry 2000) there are also numerous hurdles that often culminate in various forms of immobility. For some, refugees and immigrants represent human security threats, competing for ever more scarce resources (land, food and water, welfare, jobs, etc.) and threaten the status quo. As evidenced by unforgiving contemporary immigration policies in the United States (responding to groups primarily from Central America), Italy (responding to groups primarily from North Africa and the Middle East), Hungary (responding to groups primarily from Eastern Europe), and Brazil (responding to groups primarily from within Latin America) the populist wave sweeping the globe brings with it a high degree of inhumanity and intolerance associated with migration. The stringent immigration policies under President Trump, including the separation of children from their asylum seeking parents at border crossings exemplify growing racism and xenophobia.

Transnational mobility and migration are not frictionless, as Castells' "spaces of flows" (1996) or Bauman's "liquid modernities" point out. Migration is linked to the notion of "transnationalism" which interrogates the social organization and consequences of the complex interconnectivity of cross-border networks that are embedded in everyday social practices (Appadurai 1995; Smith 2005). Research through the prism of transnationalism includes topics as diverse as social construction of transmigrant networks, to the politics of transnational social movements, the proselytizing activities of organized religions, the economic connections of commodity chains and criminal syndicates, and now, sadly, the machinations of transnational terrorist networks (Smith 2005).

The thorny issue of migration has been tackled here in three contributions from different, yet overlapping spatial perspectives, that each probe the complex impacts of migration on urban and rural space. Monica Rivera-Muñoz and Bruno De Meulder unravel the embeddedness and social solidarities of migration and how chain migration transforms the local landscape by affecting destination locales and villages in Cuenca, Ecuador. Jeroen Stevens indirectly addresses rural to urban migration and the prospects and perils of *'the right to the city'* without the support of the Brazilian state, showing how these processes have led to new prototypes of urbanism in São Paulo. In the French context, Jeremy Foster critically interrogates the changing power of the state in relation to migrant/French identity, through a discussion of the relationship of citizenship and urban park design.

The contribution of Monica Rivera-Muñoz and Bruno De Meulder, "Effects of migration and mobility: mapping spatial transformation in the peri-urban settlements of Cuenca," compellingly delves into themes tied to the mobility of people, resources and ideas through an interpretative reading of centuries old migration processes in Ecuador's rural Andes. Beginning with Spanish colonization and their stricter control in the north, southwards migration of colonial outcasts, impoverished whites and indigenous people formed secondary *parroquia* (parish) settlements. They developed *'in-between'* the formal colonial city and native territory of fertile lands that the *haciendas* had appropriated on the plains and the Andes' steep slopes. In recent decades, migration has become transnational, following close on the heels of successive economic crises. In turn, the agency of mobility and remittances has resulted in the dramatic social and spatial transformation of the rural hinterlands. Entrepreneurial investments are complemented by traditional systems of reciprocity, solidarity and care, including *minga* activities (community cooperation). Repeated iterations of such processes incrementally develop household and community patrimony alike and expand and renew support networks.

Countering mainstream prejudices of the detrimental effects of migration, Rivera-Muñoz and De Meulder focus on the close intertwinement of '*ever-more global flows and ironically ever-more anchored reproductions of locality.'* They argue that migration transcends individual acts and is conceptually and literally collective, juxtaposing private, collective and reciprocal practices. Mobility includes a host of micro-scale strategies of becoming, *'becoming a migrant, becoming successful, becoming a returnee, becoming an entrepreneur.'* Migration and the impact of transnational remittances in rural and peri-urban territories transcends material enrichment and help locals resist expulsion through the endogenous urbanization processes they catalyze. The mobility of some is instrumental to sustain a socio-economic mix and preserve social networks for others. Migration empowers vulnerable peasant groups, allows them to break social structures imposed by centuries-old traditions and regulations, and initiates social mobility. The essay reveals the manner in which *parroquia* and extended family units are continually torn between self-reliance and dependency upon outside forces, while arguing that the process of migration provides resistance to over-arching generic suburbanization of the territory.

The "right to the city" is deeply entrenched in a number of Latin American cities. As Rivera-Muñoz and De Meulder reveal in the case of Ecuador, incremental, self-built informal settlements prevail in both urban and rural areas. However, the incremental rural development afforded by migrant remittances is a far cry from the makeshift encampments and home-made homes explored in the contribution of Stevens, *'Prototypes of Urbanism: Urban Movements Occupying Central São Paulo.'* As a centuries-old arrival city for migrants, successive waves of vacancy and occupation define São Paulo. Stevens concentrates on occupation movements that claim the right to the city for the homeless (many rural-urban migrants) through popular demonstration. Following both the outward expansion of the city's conurbation and the inner city proliferation of squatter settlements, new migrants soon began to occupy vacant buildings in the city's urban core. They resourcefully, yet illegally, house themselves, and justify this activity by pointing to the failure of the State. In Brazil, as elsewhere, social and economic mobility is tied to geographic specificity and as riches grow, so too does abandonment of lower-lying landscapes and underserviced areas, opening up vacancies to accommodate newcomers.

Stevens' prolonged embeddedness in the city's organized movement of movements, particularly with the *Frente de Luta por Moradia (FLM)* (Frontline of the Housing Struggle), allowed him to actively participate in the creation of an alternative city, of *'urbanisms in the making.'* As in Cuenca's rural hinterland, principles of mutual aid and communal reciprocity prevailed, however in São Paulo collective life was imposed by occupation movements and included more strangers than family members. Unlike Cuenca's gradual build-up of patrimony, in São Paulo the incremental and innovative parasitizing on the structural frame of iconic vacant buildings is always temporary. Thus, the investment in the makeshift encampments and improvised homes would be wasted, if the materials were not continuously recuperated and moved from one occupation to the other, creating a sort of makeshift mobility. In the case of the occupations of São Paulo, meanings of buildings are radically exchanged: the moving out of high-end functions from the center is exchanged for the most elementary base, namely housing for an uncertain, floating population. In '*Towards a post-historical landscape governmentality? Refractory im/mobilities and multi-temporality at Paris' Jardins d'Eole,'* Jeremy Foster develops the notion of a *'right to the city'* through the prism of French identity and redefinition of the urban commons. Following a comprehensive framing of France's notions of citizenship using Michel Foucault's concept of *governmentality* (a regulatory web of behavior where the state maintains socio-economic order), Foster critically interprets the *Jardins d'Eole*, a ten-year old park in the *Cour du Maroc* quarter of Paris in the 19th arrondissement which hosts a predominately migrant population. He advances political scientist Arun Agrawal's idea of bio-political governmentality which orchestrates the mineral and the vegetal in constructed landscapes not only to provide a '*setting*' for daily life, but also to act as a vehicle for ideology, sociality and identity. Landscape is conceived of not merely as a place, but as an event, a *'space of becoming,'* wherein the temporality of socio-ecological processes is central.

Foster argues that the *Jardins d'Eole* represents a new kind of landscape governmentality, which struggles to maintain a *'balance of republican universalism and local plurality.'* His interpretation of the park highlights its seemingly contradictory goals: simultaneously to promote France's commitment to assimilationist-republican core values of social and environmental equity while supporting multi-ethnic cultural appropriation and political solidarity. Through a number of episodes, including the occupation of park of the park by drug dealers and urban encampments by immigrant groups, the park is testimony to the contemporary challenges of *'translocal fluxes.'* Foster concludes that the notion of landscape governmentality is no longer possible in the contemporary context, where mobility continues to reshape the city and *'where heterogenous publics undermine the possibility of the urban commons.'*

AUTOMOBILITY, WALKING AND TERRITORY

The second section is focused on the everyday practices of driving and walking. Underlying this interest is the belief that people's understanding of the world comes out of everyday practices, and that space comes into being through such social practices. The concept of the everyday was articulated by Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau as the basis of all social experience and a crucial arena of modern culture. The everyday, according to Henri Lefebvre, can be defined as "a set of functions which connect and join together systems that might appear to be distinct . . . (it) is therefore the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden" (cited in Harris and Berke, 1997, 34). The everyday opens up new areas of urban experience, the overlooked ordinary in-between spaces of habit and routine and stresses the temporal as much as the spatial.

The routine, often non-reflective practice of driving has been approached from a range of theoretical and methodological perspectives in mobility research. A core concept is that of *automobility*, which places the driver (and the car) into a broader socio-cultural context: a complex matrix that encompasses, according to Edensor "humans, machines, roads and other spaces, representations, regulatory institutions and a host of related businesses and infrastructural features" (2004, 102). His research analyzes the complex ways in which automobility is linked to identity and the production of cultural meaning, based on the understanding that national identity is partly constituted out of the habitual performance of everyday life (Edensor 2004). Baudrillard recognized the centrality of the automobile to understanding the organization of society: "driving creates a new experience of space and, at the same time, a new experience of the whole social system" (cited in Packer 2008, 12). His insight into the car's unique, hybrid spatial qualities underscores the experiential aspects of driving: the car "rivals the house as an alternative zone of everyday life: the car too is an abode, but an exceptional one; it is a closed realm of intimacy but one released from the constraints that usually apply to the intimacy of the home…" (cited in Featherstone 2005, 9).

The complex portrait of the car as an intimate domestic space is one of the issues alluded to in Nir Cohen and Orit Rotem's essay *'Driven by fear? Commuting and Fear of Terrorism in the West Bank.'* The control of movement is a central feature of the occupation, enforced through a system of checkpoints, physical roadblocks, and patrols (B'Tselem 2004; Handel 2014). Road systems strengthen Jewish networks of settlement while fragmenting Palestinian communities. Cohen and Rotem's research examines driving behavior in the contested space of the Occupied West Bank, focusing specifically on Israeli Jewish settlers' perceived fear of terrorism. The authors apply principles derived from the scholarship on the fear of terrorism to the mobile context of the commuter, arguing for the need to "re-problematize (cars) as hybrid spaces in which automated materiality and human subjects create new forms of emotional agency." Citing Sheller (2004), they refer to the "automotive emotions" that are a product of "historically situated car cultures and geographies of automobility." They examine the effects of personal, environmental and situational factors on the fear of terrorism among various groups of Israeli West Bank settlers, and identify the specific factors that are correlated with fear. Overall, Cohen and Rotem's findings show that their research respondents generally indicated a high level of perceived safety. The authors suggest that two concepts may account for these counterintuitive findings: first, the routinization of mobility as a strategy for dealing with fear, and second, driving as a form of refuge. These two ideas shed light on the overall role of mobility practices in managing and shaping geo-political realities. Defensive transportation planning has become one of the most visible hallmarks of the geography of occupation. The segregated road system of bypass roads and tunnels has transformed the settlement complex in the West Bank to a "gated/gating community" designed to separate Palestinian and Jewish populations (Handel 2014). Cohen and Rotem's research makes a contribution to the understanding of the perception of fear associated with Jewish Israelis' commuter practices in a volatile setting through a study of individual drivers. It points to the critical role of fear and safety in shaping Jewish Israeli driving behavior in a politically fraught mobility system in which the control of movement is key to the process of territorialization (Handel 2014).

Walking is also addressed in this volume as an everyday practice through which one may negotiate urban space and perform identity. Walking, according to de Certeau, similarly can be part of a process of appropriation and territorialization. It is an expression of choice; it is like an individual act of speech that gives new meanings to urban space: "space is practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers" (1984, 117). Other recent mobility research has focused on the emotional, sensorial dimensions of everyday mobility as an embodied practice, drawing on phenomenology in order to study the performative aspect of movement that begins with the human body. Two essays explore how identity is negotiated and performed through walking and reconsider how the city is remade—or re-imagined—by its walkers.

Arnon Ben-Israel and Avinoam Meir's essay '*Mobility along socio-cultural borders: Brisk-walking in Bedouin towns in Israel*' addresses the ways in which the practice of walking inscribes a new spatial organization in the city through a study of brisk-walking among the highly marginalized population of Israeli Bedouins. Based on in-depth interviews with brisk-walkers from the towns of Hura and Tel Sheva, the authors have drawn a vivid portrait of a leisure sports practice that has been growing among Bedouin men and, more surprisingly, among Bedouin women, despite its lack of formal legitimacy in Bedouin culture. The spatial structure of the Bedouin town is based on tribal segregation in which women's access to public space is restricted by a patriarchal social structure and codes of honor and modesty. Thus, in a traditional society characterized by highly restrictive social norms, especially for women, brisk-walking has become a transgressive practice that has had subtle, but far reaching, effects on the construction of space, gender and identity.

Ben-Israel and Meir document the social dynamics of group walking as well as the practices of individual walkers, the itineraries they follow, and the personal experiences that the walkers narrate. The authors interpret the social, cultural and spatial dimensions of this data and reveal the ways in which walkers have succeeded in re-drawing boundaries of legitimate social space and social identities. These questions follow from a Lefebvrian approach to the defining role of space in the production of social relations, by defining boundaries of exclusion and inclusion. There is no public sphere in the Bedouin town as defined by modern Western societies, given that land is largely private and based on familial and tribal ownership. Moreover, as the authors note, because of its lack of legitimacy, there are no acceptable, '*conventional'* spaces for this exercise to take place. Brisk-walking instantiates the clash of cultural codes between Jewish and Bedouin spaces and leisure practices, and points to the improvisational solutions to the problems of access, some of which include choosing to brisk-walk in socially neutral spaces outside the town. These 'borrowed spaces', as the authors refer to them, which may include nearby Jewish towns, allow the Bedouin to "bypass restrictive social norms and cross-cultural boundaries."

In *'The Mobile Imagination: walking-mapping-constructing the urban landscape,'* Hirsch and Gabrielian also theoretically ground their contribution in French post-structuralism, as do Foster and Ben-Israel and Meir. However, their object of interrogation is Manhattan's canonical "rogue street," Broadway, a single diagonal that slices through Manhattan's pervasive grid, and their objective is to move from thick description to designed projection. They interrogate the history of this street and its everyday practices, particularly in relation to the 1811 Commissioners' Plan. Hirsch and Gabrielian 'fieldwalk,' map and ultimately reimagine Broadway through design strategies which reconfigure various mobility infrastructures and disclose new relations to ecology, topography and the horizon, and open up new programmatic use.

For Hirsch and Gabrielian, walking is much more than "promenading;" it is an activist design methodology. Their "mobile fieldwork" allowed them an imaginative reading which sought to "uncover previously unforeseen connections between the two grounds of Manhattan: the inherited (Broadway) and the imposed (grid)." They employed walking "as spatializing" and a form of "critical ethnography." They stress the importance of drawing (specifically section and perspectival drawings) as an alternative means of seeing—of uncovering and engaging hidden logics. Their design research unfolds new forms of appropriating and exploring the city. Through the focus on a series of specific mobility infrastructures, they inscribe new urban narratives for a possible future of Manhattan, using the practice of walking as a design tool.

CODA

The issue closes with a reproduction of Vadodara-based Nilima Sheikh's painting series "Kashmir in Your Dreams." Her sixteen large, ceiling-hung scrolls reinterpret the mural and scroll painting traditions of India and the Himalayas, Tibet, China and Japan. The series, widely acclaimed at *Documenta 14* (exhibited in Athens in 2017), is to be read as pairs with the otherworldly painting on one side and text on the other, creating an alluring interplay of image and text. The work encapsulates a number of the large themes addressed in this im/mobility issue and metaphorically complements the text-based contributions. The tumultuous history of Kashmir—including early plundering armies, the epic works of Hamzanama for Emperor Akbar in 1577, the 1948 partition of India and Pakistan, the 2002 Gujarat riots (which Sheikh simply terms genocide) and age-old violence against young Indian brides—is evocatively captured by Sheikh with layered references to inter-tribal and sectarian anarchy across time and imagined landscapes.

In Sheikh's work, both mobility and immobility are implicitly addressed through reinterpreted myths of the trouble-in-paradise region. The migration and displacement of besieged peoples are overriding themes, and as Sheikh herself explains, "My concerns are primarily about losing home. When you move on, you take some material belongings and leave behind others. You take some memories along too. In that sense, who is not a refugee?" (Kalra 2018). The work itself reveals the mobility of ideas: her source material comes from Turkish, Persian and Indian manuscript painting, to literary excerpts extracted from historical accounts, folktales, fiction, poetry and journalism. Sheikh credits her long-standing fascination with Kashmir to childhood walks where she not only heard repeated tales of the landscape and humankind embodying alternating roles of protagonists, but also learned to see the territory from a naturalist point of view through her mother's interest in botany. The literal traversing of the ground as a palimpsest reveals the longue durée of landscape despite the contestation of territories and divisive politics.

It is our hope as editors that the essays selected for this issue of *Geography Research Forum* add conceptual richness to the "new mobilities paradigm" by stressing its spatial complexity. The diverse set of new subjects and physical or geographical settings presented in this collection raise new questions regarding the relationships of mobility, city and territory and offer promising avenues for future research across disciplines.

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Migratory Mobilities

Effects of Migration and Mobility: Mapping Spatial Transformation in the Peri-urban Settlements of Cuenca, Ecuador

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KU Leuven

The settlement constellation of parishes or 'parroquias' around Cuenca, a medium-size city in the southern highlands of Ecuador, is steadily urbanizing and transforming. Transnational migration forcefully fuels this process. Remittances facilitate development investments in the rural areas of the Azuay province and catalyze economic and social dynamics. Migration strategies and family support intertwine with other social practices on larger spatial scales, including community systems of water distribution and locally owned transportation services. Similarly, the impact of investments from remittances of migrant families transcends household economies. The enlarged building stock in the parroquias offers housing opportunities for national migrants who seek opportunities in Cuenca. This in turn invigorates dynamics in the social and spatial fabrics of the parroquias, especially in their centers. The paper explores the impact of remittances on the spatial transformation of the parroquias, semi-rural villages in the vicinity of Cuenca. It analyses the particular interplay between age-old livelihoods and imaginaries of successful lifestyles. Extended family dynamics, investment and entrepreneurship are key factors in this interplay with the spatially embedded characteristics of the parroquias.

Keywords: *Transnational migration; remittance houses; remittance landscape; peri-urban transformation; migration strategies*

PRELUDE

Manuel, a 71-year-old peasant in Baños, was a construction worker for more than fifty years. In the 1960s, he spent long work-seasons on coastal plantations. Three of Manuel's four children live in the United States. Financing the dangerous journeys to the United States got him into debt. However, remittances later allowed him to build his son's houses that he now guards and takes care of. As is true for so many rural households in Azuay, migration is inherently intertwined with Manuel's family

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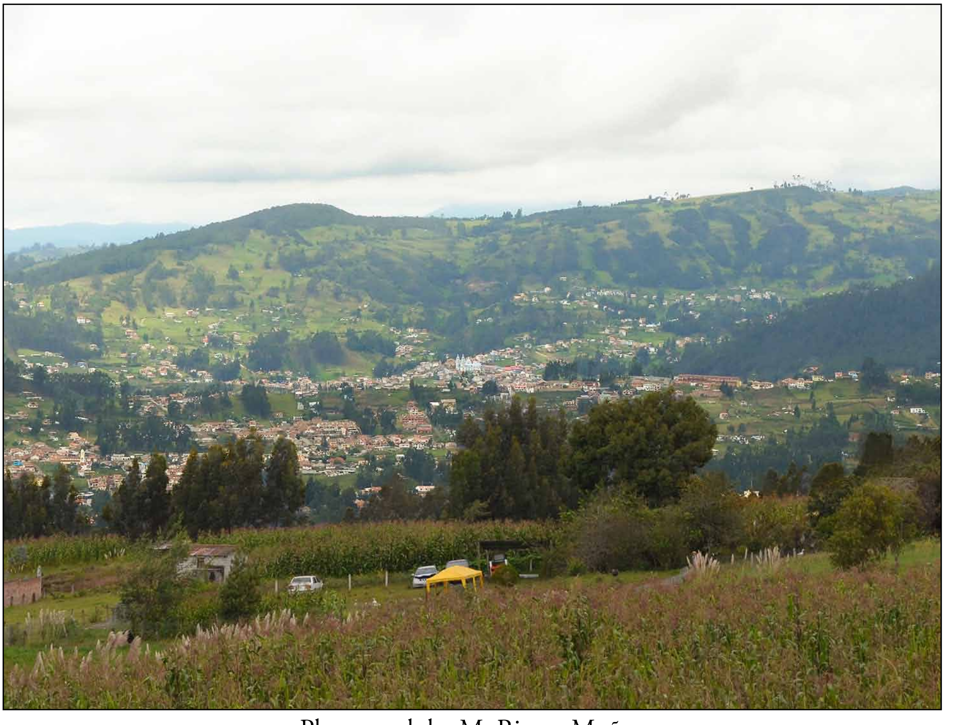
trajectory. Migration has always been a response to scarcity in the region. It enables financial, cultural and technical means to pour in from the host countries. The impressive investment wave in housing that Cuenca has witnessed for the last thirty years is a result of this migration tradition. This housing investment trend demonstrates that migration is as much a collective as an individual act. It implies movements backwards and forwards and necessarily juxtaposes private, collective and reciprocal practices. As such, the ongoing landscape transformation and housing boom in Azuay results from movements and movements on the rebound, a complex of interacting micro-scale strategies of becoming: becoming a migrant, becoming successful, becoming a returnee, becoming an entrepreneur.

TRANSNATIONAL REMITTANCES RESHAPE THE INTER-ANDEAN LANDSCAPES

Remittances are a major factor in Ecuador's economy (Acosta et al., 2006). Particularly in rural areas, they drastically impact human development investments (León et al., 2007). At the same time, remittances systematically increase over time. Since 1999, only oil exportation revenues have exceeded remittances (Acosta et al., 2006; Cardenas, 2016). Provinces receive a larger part of remittances. For example, Azuay accounts for less than 5% of the national population, but in 2014 received 22% of Ecuador's remittances (El Telegrafo, 2015). Remittances impact agricultural production and rural land-use across the Ecuadorian highlands and especially in southern locations (Gray, 2009a; B. D. Jokisch, 2002; Kyle, 2000; Vasco, 2011). Changes in labor resources and increased income as result of out-migration have indeed "mixed and countervailing effects on smallholder agriculture" (Gray, 2009b). Contrary to conventional assertions that out-migration leads to abandonment of rural lands (Borrero, 2002), most transnational households continue to practice agriculture despite its low profitability. Sometimes even an expansion of agricultural areas has been observed (Gray and Bilsborrow, 2014). Once debts acquired to emigrate are repaid, investment in construction and land receive priority. The resulting massive construction wave is urbanizing much of the rural landscapes of Cañar and Azuay provinces whereby rural landscapes turn into true urbanized landscapes. Patterns of remittance use have positive impacts for transnational households from the southern Ecuadorian highlands in the domains of housing, health care and education. Land improvement or purchase of land is also clearly facilitated by remittances (Mata-Codesal, 2014). Mata-Codesal also notes that there has been an increase in attention to facades as rural housing overtime. Klaufus, who studies the semiotics of mobility, observed how the formal language used in remittance housing resonates with the ideas of social and economic improvement of migrant families. Mobility of people, resources, and ideas, not only generates opportunities for social mobility, but also materialize sediment into materiality (Klaufus, 2012a). This is surely the case for families in peripheral informal urban settlements of Cuenca (Klaufus, 2012a, 2012b).

Figure 1: Baños landscape of urbanization



Photograph by M. Rivera-Muñoz

This article exposes the agency that mobility and remittances have had in the social and spatial transformation of the peri-urban hinterlands of Cuenca and conversely, how the spatial characteristics of the peri-urban landscape impact the development catalyzed by migration and remittances. Besides landscape transformation, special attention is given to the particular interplay between traditional livelihoods and imaginaries of successful lifestyles and extended family dynamics, torn between traditional systems of reciprocity and care and contemporaneous opportunities, investments and entrepreneurship. The transformation of migrant-sending communities goes beyond improvement of material well-being. The investments of transnational families interplay with socio-spatial structures and stimulate new and existing social practices. Some are oriented to the communities' self-provision of infrastructure. Some practices are age-old like the minga, a form of community work that still exists in the rural Andes, and as well in peripheral and popular urban neighborhoods. Such logics constitute the backbone of current landscape transformation in migrant-sending communities in the southern highlands of Ecuador, and of processes of landscape urbanization around urban centers like Cuenca (see Figure 1). In this article, landscape urbanization is interpreted as the gradual accumulation of built tissue, and ulterior acquisition of urban functions that takes place within productive landscapes. It differs from 'urban sprawl'[1] in that outward urban expansion from the center only accounts for a part of the new buildup. Landscape urbanization is largely an endogenous process. The local population in the parroquias, stimulated by remittances, generates development in their territories that improves living conditions and resonates with desired lifestyles that combine traditional and modern lifestyles.

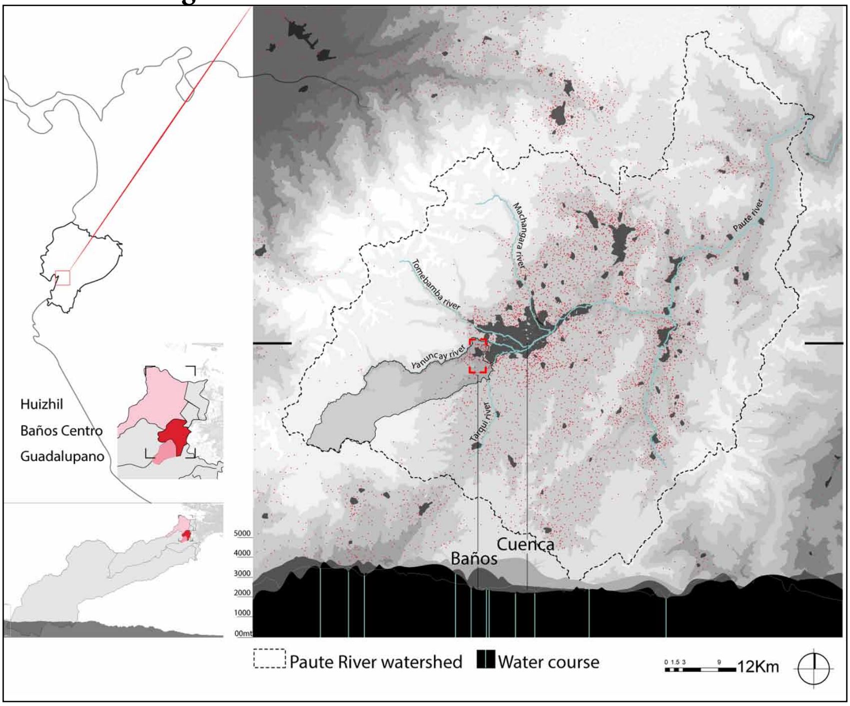
Today, the parroquias are simultaneously the landscapes of the 'new rural' and also of urban expansion. Especially in the vicinity of the parish centers, they are well-connected and have improved living conditions, served with a relatively dense network of roads, almost universal power service (in the whole country)[2], community-managed potable water systems, service of mobile telephony, and an improved and expanded internet coverage.

Several questions guide this exploration: How do mobility and migration resonate in physical space and vice versa? How do spatial characteristics anchor, channel or steer investment of remittances? What are the material outcomes and what do they express? How do different actors converge and interact in such spaces in transformation?

CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

Baños is an exemplary case. One of the 21 rural parroquias that surround Cuenca, it has the highest number of transnational emigrants in Azuay province (INEC, 2010). Counterbalancing the exodus of its own migrating population, Baños also receives an influx of low-income rural migrants and mid-income "city people", for whom this parroquia is an attractive alternative to increasing living costs in the city center. The majority of its more than 17,000 habitants lives in proximity of Cuenca and close to the parroquia center. The population is increasing, which in turn drives its landscape urbanization process. Baños' territory is 22,000 hectares and its altitude ranges from the 2580 to the 4200 meters above sea level. Only 13% of its territory has slopes lower than 5%, and less than the 11% has slopes between 5 and 12% (GAD Baños, 2015). Steep slopes and fragility of the high mountain ecosystems imply that 70% of Baños territory is not suitable for agriculture. Nonetheless, it does have a high value for water-related ecosystem services. The parroquia is administratively organized in 10 communities (Baños Centro, Huizhil and Guadalupano are three of them), and 34 hamlets, mostly in a dispersed settlement configuration (Figures 2-3). The majority of the settlements are located in the vicinity of the center of the parroquia, between 2500 and 3000 MASL.

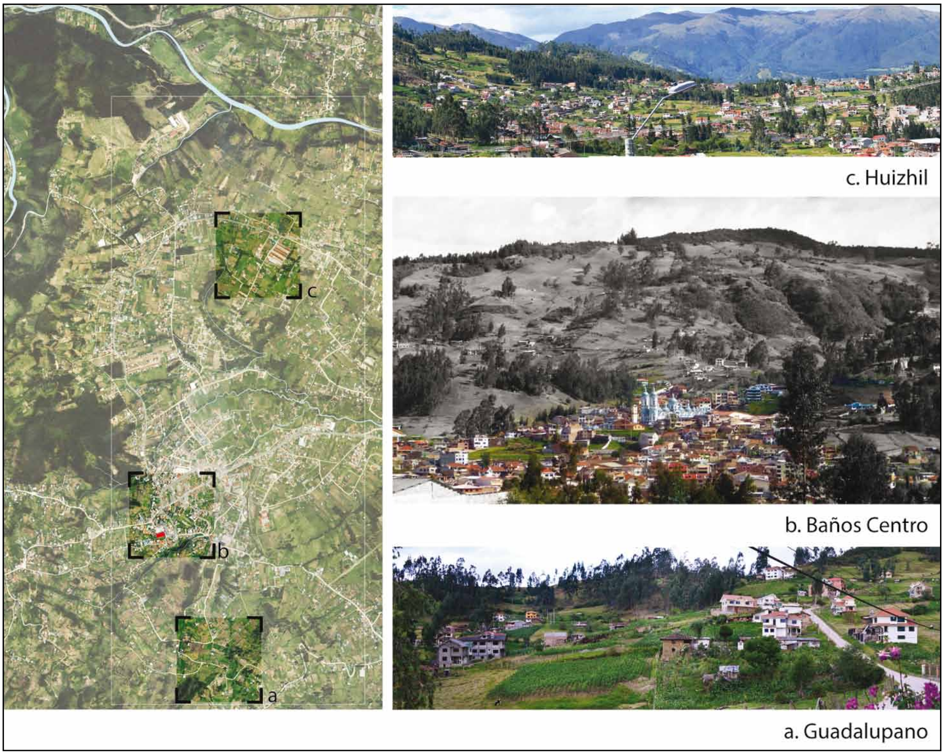
Figure 2: Baños location in relation to Cuenca



Elaborated by M. Rivera-Muñoz

In order to gain insight into the transformative exchange between socio-economic and spatial structures in the landscape (in its present condition and over time), the article analyses three spatial dimensions: landscape construction, landscape occupation and landscape urbanization. 'Landscape construction' explores its process of constitution, emphasizing the social-spatial and historical processes at the base of the current condition of the case study. By means of the construction of two narratives, 'landscape occupation' exposes the ways in which migrant households articulate socio-spatial strategies of social reproduction. Finally, 'landscape urbanization' unfolds the landscape transformation over time, acknowledging, 'endogenous' processes of urbanization, and the concurrent existence of a productive landscape that is still the economic and cultural base of peasant communities in the rural parroquias. The article draws from multiple information sources, including census data, historical cartography and ortho-photography, archival research and intensive fieldwork (observation, interviews, on-site data collection, mapping) to elaborate the multi-layered maps. The resulting 'thick' and transcalar cartography simultaneously addresses transformations at the building, tissue and urban scales.

Figure 3: Different patterns of landscape urbanization in Baños



Elaborated by M. Rivera-Muñoz, Source: Ortho-photo by Senplades

Migration and mobility: long-term economic strategies in the Andes

Long before Alexander von Humboldt received universal esteem for describing his crossing of the Andes, traversing the Andes was in many ways already part-and-parcel of a way of life for native inhabitants. Andean social structures –with inevitable variations over time and along such a long mountain range– unfolded in a longue-durée journey of 'mutual dependency' with the mountains[3]. People occupied and controlled diverse ecological floors or natural environments, nested by the wide range of altitudinal differentiations in the Andes (Dollfus, 1981; Murra, 1975). The altitudinal differentiations delivered a variety and abundance of resources which von Humboldt scientifically documented some two hundred years ago, but actually had been harnessed for centuries.

New political actors reusing old systems of population mobility and control

The Spanish colonial regime dispossessed and displaced indigenous populations from their ancestral lands. The Spanish adopted and generalized two ordering systems that the Incas had developed to control the vast territory they had conquered the previous century: mitmaq (long-distance resettlement of rebellious people); and reducciones (population regrouping and concentration in new settlements) (Dollfus, 1981; Murra, 1975). Concurrently, the Spaniards' new economy based on the exploitation of both natural resources and labor, and their creation of cities induced new dynamics of population mobility and immobility[4] in and across the territory.

Mobility, migration and the reconfiguration of the social landscape during colonial times

During the eighteenth century, Bourbon Reforms increased taxes, hampered intercolonial commerce and increased indigenous exploitation. Colonial control in the south was looser than in the northern highlands of today's Ecuador. This triggered intensive southwards migration of impoverished groups, whites and indigenous alike[5]. In general, newcomers settled in Cuenca's periphery, where social constraints were less strict than in the city, and where there was a high percentage of land ownership amongst the indigenous population (Chacon et al., 1982; Palomeque, 1994). This resulted in a kind of mestizaje (mixing of races and cultures) of rural spaces in the hinterland: a space in between city and countryside and in between more strict colonial rule and indigenous culture. In this 'in between', a peasantry of mestizo and poor whites emerged that consolidated the prevalent small landownership in the Cuenca region.

The deeply rooted culture of small landownership in Azuay and Cañar, generated, incrementally and over generations, a culture of patrimony that played an essential role in migration processes. The scale of transnational migration in Ecuador's southern highlands at the end of the twentieth century was directly linked to the asset of landownership. It allowed peasants to bypass the formal credit market whose access was based on employment as a strict credibility criterion. Cash-poor, landowning peasants could instead acquire fast loans to finance their journey abroad, by pawning property titles to illegal usurious lenders (See Gray, 2009a; B. Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002).

Modern migrations: reactivating old and tracing new paths of migration

Migration waves became more frequent and broader in spatial scope over time. In the southern highlands, several significant migration waves succeeded each other during the last seventy years. The first wave in the mid-twentieth century concerned rural-urban-migration and intra-regional migration between the highlands and the coast (Chiriboga and ILIS, 1984, 81; Kyle, 2000; Larrea, 1985, 60). The second wave was transnational. It began in the 1960s, gained force in the 1980s, and broadened during the Ecuadorian crisis of the late 1990s.

Male peasants from Azuay and Cañar provinces were the first to migrate in large numbers after the implosion of the toquilla hat industry generated massive unemployment in the 1950s. At first, they resumed seasonal work migration to coastal plantations (initiated during the late nineteenth century), but when the economic crisis became national during the 1980s, they had to look for new destinations. The United States was the main transnational migration destination. The organization of this migration capitalized on international experience and relationships established for hat export (Kyle, 2000)

The national financial crisis of 1998 struck urban and rural populations alike, and triggered the most recent and massive migration wave. Nearly 14% of the working population migrated between 1999 and 2007 (United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA-Ecuador and FLACSO, 2008). This second wave amplified, deepened and radically diversified the already established migration patterns: Spain and Italy became new favorite destinations, womens' participation in migration increased drastically, and finally urban and middle class segments of the population supplied the largest migration numbers (Gratton, 2005). Transnational migration reached a new level, expanded the geographic span of action, and intensified its connections. The drastic acceleration and amplification of migration should however not obscure the fact that age-old Andean survival tactics were reproduced. These tactics, as so often, were prompted by necessity. Indeed, precarious peasant economies always incessantly stimulated adaptations and extensions of activity repertoires.

As a result, the landscape became the repository of material inputs and cultural stimuli in the wake of migration. Landscape transformations intensified with population growth and the further distribution of public services and intensification of land occupation, use and division. Mid-century coastal migrations led to the replacement of single-story houses in the hinterlands by more 'urban' typologies: the two-story houses, which were the common type in the parroquia center at the time. The houses of the parroquia center have simultaneously updated their style, functions and materials. The adobe portal house was exchanged for terraced houses with brick loadbearing walls. The terrace provided space for domestic productive activities as plots became smaller. The new typology also accommodated commercial and artisanal activities. In the past, this activity would have taken place outside or in the portals.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF LANDSCAPE

The political landscape as the warp of spatial development

Centuries of mestizaje reduced ethnic differences between what once was categorically distinguished as two distinct 'republics' (Matienzo, 1910/1567; Solórzano Pereira, 1648). But that doesn't imply that differences disappear. Out-of-fashion designations such as blancos (whites) and gente del pueblo[6] (common people) persist in local language. In the parroquia, these categorizations are rather fluid and amalgamate ethnicity, social position and geographical location of belonging. Blancos (an epithet often including mestizos) live in the parroquia center and towards the "front" of the parroquia church (as in Huizhil), on the lower and flatter lands. Gente del pueblo refers to indigenous and mestizo. They commonly settle "behind" the parroquia church (as in Guadalupano). They inhabit and cultivate slopes.

The colonial articulation of ethnicity and class[7] considered European culture inherently superior to native culture and implied differentiated trajectories for people (and subsequently spatial development of their territories), based on their skin color and cultural background. Whites were favored over mestizos, and mestizos over indigenous. This also applied to employment opportunities. In the 1970s, before transnational migration reversed orders, the Huizhil population–mainly consisting of blancos and mestizos, were more likely to establish regular, often even daily connections with the city (as workers, drivers, tailors and so on). Indigenous people mainly occupied the higher and steep lands. Their main income was anchored in agricultural practices, despite the low suitability of their lands for such purposes. Their interactions with the parroquia center and with the city were occasional, rather than daily. Only bricklayers –a common occupation in the parishes– were an exception to this rule, since they commuted daily[8].

Better roads to the city created accessibility and this implied more economic opportunities. Blancos and mestizos had easier access to formal education and ascended faster socially and economically in the city, hence their dependency on land diminished.

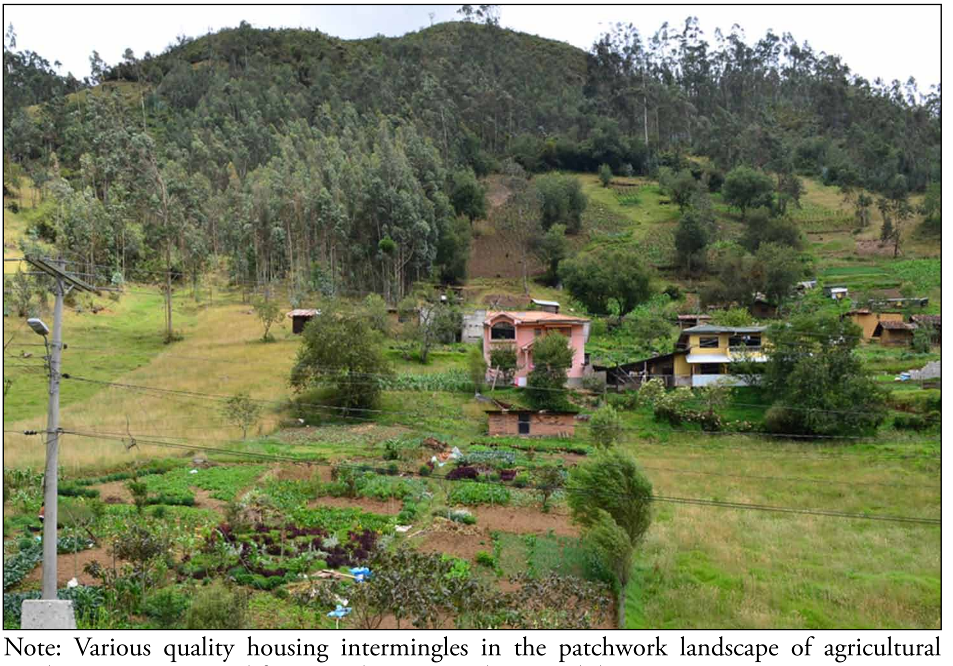
Continuation of agriculture in places like Huizhil is currently more culturally than economically motivated. Where land is still cultivated, chacra[9] is the dominant crop, because it thrives on infertile soils and requires little labor (Figure 6). It is clear that more intense urban development – in comparison with places like Guadalupano, for example –results from the denser road net, milder topography and people's less land dependence (resulting in a higher propensity to sell it). Predominantly indigenous places like Guadalupano, on the contrary, demonstrate significantly less development dynamics. Transnational migration impacts the development of these places, particularly since government support has been largely absent. Only collective efforts and private resources have brought change (Figure 4).

Due to its symbolic significance, concentration of services and its good connection with the city, the center of Baños receives the bulk of remittance investments (Figure 5). During the last decades, the steady transformation of the parish center and the incremental growth in the number of under-occupied buildings (because of their absent owners) has stimulated an influx of low-income migrants seeking employment in Cuenca. On the rebound, this influx stimulates more investments in the parroquia. Housing production increases correspondingly.

Baños is the parroquia with the second largest communally-managed potable water system in Azuay province. It supplies 6,500 households, mainly around Baños Centro and the area towards the city that remains below the altitude of the treatment plant. The water supply project, originally intended for a convent, started in the 1950s but soon extended to the whole community for providing irrigation and later, household consumption. Today, the administration of the system is a formal, legally-established institution. Members (users) democratically elect the institution's board.

The project began through weekly mingas to open trenches that conduct water to the parroquia from the spring, located three kilometers uphill. During the 1970s and again in 2000, the system was modernized to augment its capacity. Mingas formed the foundation of the dense network of potable water and roads in the parroquia. The improvement of living conditions in such formerly isolated locations significantly requalified them. They gained recognition as alternative places with a good living standard, which stimulated further development and landscape urbanization.

Figure 4: Guadalupano



Note: Various quality housing intermingles in the patchwork landscape of agricultural production, commercial forest, and pastures. Photograph by M. Rivera-Muñoz

Figure 5: Baños centro

Note: Besides its importance as symbolic center of the parroquia, Baños Centro concentrates most of the parroquia's economic activities and hosts its most well-known attraction, the thermal baths. Photograph by M. Rivera-Muñoz

Figure 6: Huizhil

Note: Huizhil's population has stronger ties with the urban economy and it is less dependent on agriculture. Agricultural activities persist at a small-scale, and focus on low-labor crops like the chara or pastures. Photograph by M. Rivera-Muñoz

Literature often emphasizes the "reproduction of new, autonomous households" as a result of migration (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002, 79). Nevertheless, strategies enabling migration most commonly involve entire extended families and intertwine with social practices at other scales, such as minga[10].

Rural migrant families always and continuously (re)assemble diverse means to face crisis, combining proven methods and hazardous options, including illegal journeys with people smugglers. Parents provide collateral for loans that relatives, acquaintances, or even the very smugglers offer. Reciprocation is eventually expected, although not necessarily directly to the parents (Perez Guartambel, 2010). The education of younger siblings and support of aging parents are self-evident forms of reciprocity. Lending money to a close relative for a clandestine journey (Jokisch and Kyle, 2010), temporarily accommodating a newcomer, assisting settling and job searches at destinations, are also reciprocity practices that significantly invigorate migration chains within a community. Once the migration endeavor manages to reciprocate the assistance, remittances return and a substantial part of these are invested in construction within the village.

The donation of a plot of land (as an advanced inheritance) reduces costs and time for migrating children to materialize homeownership aspirations and secures returns on the whole household investment. It simultaneously re-connects migrants to their villages and re-articulates lifetime alliances. Parents usually take charge of construction, as if it were a credo in the eventual homecoming of children. In fact, reciprocity intertwines care with expectations and links development with anchorage. Building a house in the Andes equates to build one's life foundations. This also relates to ancient Andean principles of interconnectivity and reciprocity. Kinship intertwines blood ties with shared occupation and use of given lands.

Landscape occupation

Contrary to popular depictions of emigrant households as nouveau riche, in practice, received remittances are rather modest[11]. Successful migration journeys depend on household capacities to articulate a series of support strategies, ranging from emotional support to the maximization of savings and efficient investment of remittances. Strategies of savings maximization include "self-imposed restrictions on expenses" (Mata-Codesal, 2011, 109), continuing or even increasing agricultural production (Gray and Bilsborrow, 2014; B. D. Jokisch, 2002), commercialization (of this production) on city markets and building houses in their places of origin, a choice often criticized (Borrero, 2002; Jaramillo, 2002).

Remittances enable the opening up of new ventures and forms of income, which no longer require the city as an intermediary. In the parroquia center, new manufacturing shops, grocery stores, café-nets (telephone and internet booths) and restaurants are funded with resources incoming from migration. In the parroquia, hinterland remittances allow the enlargement of land patrimony. Land remains important for the social and cultural reproduction of the peasant population, but its role also transforms. Use and exchange values often play interrelated roles. For instance, a piece of land can be the collateral to a loan for a new migration trip, or it could be sold in order to finance a car that will generate a new form of income for a family member.

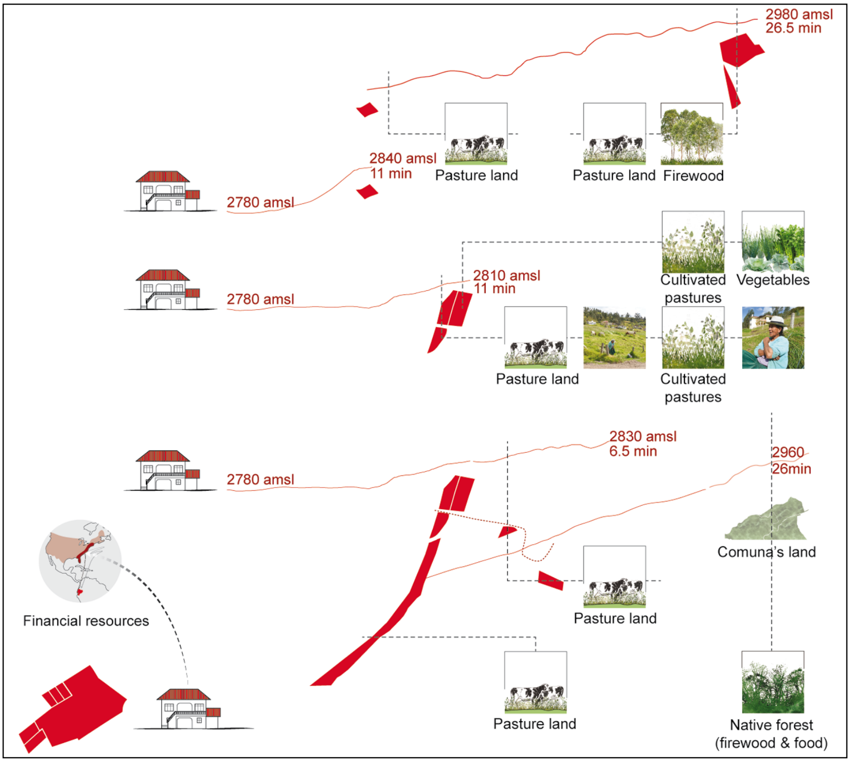
In the following narratives, two exemplary cases (one more urban, the other more rural) are addressed to understand how migrant households who are supported by remittances rearticulate and reproduce, in contemporary modes, age-old practices of multi-locality. In both cases, the city continues to be an important commercial place. However the exchanges (money, communication) between parroquia and abroad are more intense (than with the city), and ultimately structure family actions in the landscape.

Narrative 1: Multi-locality and micro-verticality at the household scale

Without request, Manuel, whose story was told above, was casually offered a loan to migrate. Considering himself too old and having aging parents to take care of, he endorsed his eldest and married son to take the "opportunity". Manuel's risky support was hence situated in the context of family ties of care, solidarity and reciprocity. Eventually, his son's entrepreneurial nature provided the finances for others to make the journey to the United States.

When Manuel was young, he received a plot of land to build his house, as an advanced inheritance from his parents. Similarly, Manuel already donated plots of land to all his children. He hired an architect to obtain construction permits and subsequently took charge of the construction of his sons houses. Manuel's extended family has received remittances for almost seventeen years now. Nonetheless, agriculture remains central in the family's everyday life. Two of Manuel's sons are married and their cash income is managed independently. Manuel is in charge of his single son's money and investments. The women—Rosa, Ines and Miriam (wife, daughter and daughter-in-law) — take charge of the agricultural activities of the family and Manuel only has a secondary role. Over the years, the family has incorporated new properties to their patrimony. Properties of parents and offspring are interlocked. Parcels vary in size and suitability. Most of the land is dedicated to pastures, given the steep slopes. The family arranges who uses which piece of land and for what kind of production, regardless of formal ownership titles. Similarly, tacit agreements are central to the fair distribution of labor between family members (Figure 7).

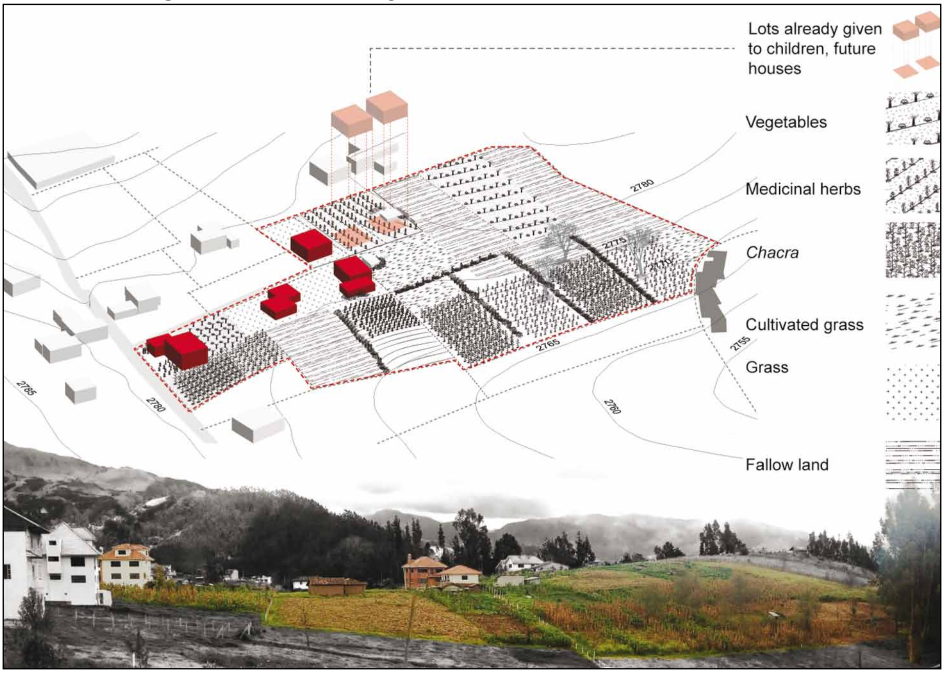
Figure 7: Construction of the family patrimony: A rural example



Note: After a main house is built, remittances are invested in land. The variety of altitudes of the acquired new plots provides the household with a diversity of resources. To make use of those resources, household members engage in journeys that in a micro-scale reproduce the vertical control of ecosystems. Elaborated by M. Rivera-Muñoz

The houses of Manuel's family cluster around his parents' house, and are close to the best agricultural lands, on and around which everyday activities center, which include daily or weekly communication with members abroad (Figure 8). The grandchildren of Manuel and Rosa regularly help with agricultural chores, but education is clearly their priority. While migration is considered by many families the only way out of poverty, it is simultaneously considered merely a temporary measure, a means of transition, rather than a goal. Education on the other hand, is regarded as a definitive mode of social and economic mobility.

Figure 8: The housing cluster of Manuel's extended family



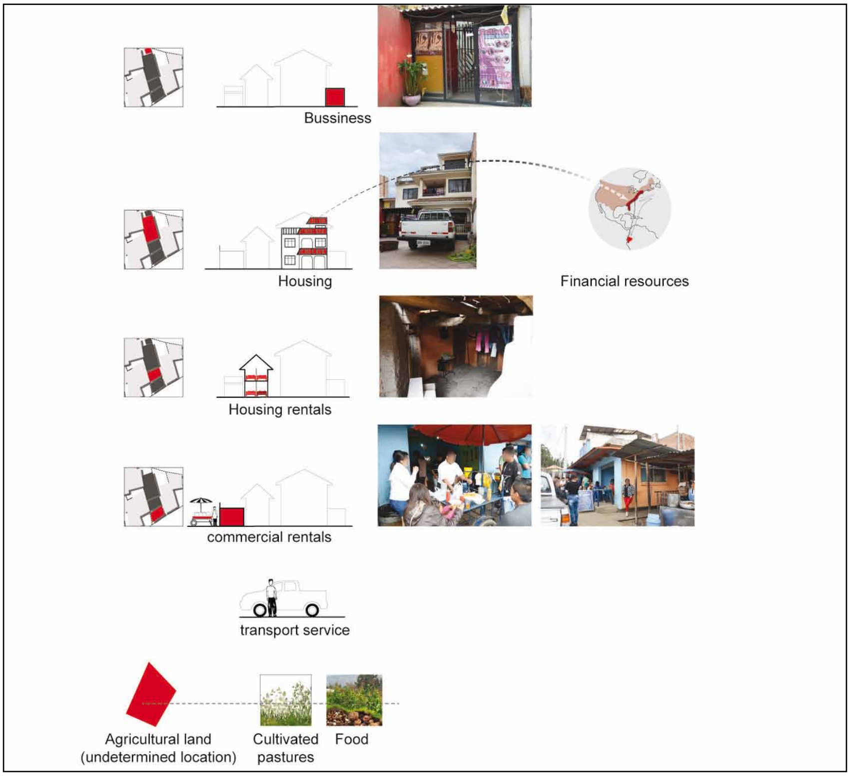
Note: The practice of giving to offspring, as advanced inheritance, a plot of land to build a house, contributes to the reduction of costs and time and crystallizes aspirations of homeownership. Given plots are subdivisions of the family patrimony and are preferentially located in the closeness of the parents' house, forming clusters, or towards main roads. In both cases, houses are placed in order to preserve land for cultivation.

Narrative 2: Filling the voids. The dynamics of absent owners and vacant houses

The amount of vacant housing that emigrants' investments generate in rural locations is frequently criticized as unwise by urban dwellers and observers alike. There is clearly a tension between uses, needs or aspirations and the amount of structures produced. It is most likely the first time in history that such a rural society of subsistence farming has an enduring experience of surplus means that consequently have to be invested. Vacant buildings offer cheaper housing for low-income national migrants looking to work in Cuenca, or to fill the labor niches left by international emigrants in the rural areas.

Every day, Memo sells ceviche[12] in a shop he rents in the center of Baños. He decided to move here eight years ago, encouraged by kin already residing in the parroquia. The shop that Memo rents belongs to Daisy, who lives with her family and mother in a house owned by one of her three brothers who lives in the United States. Daisy manages her brother's assets, together with her own and her parents' (Figure 9).

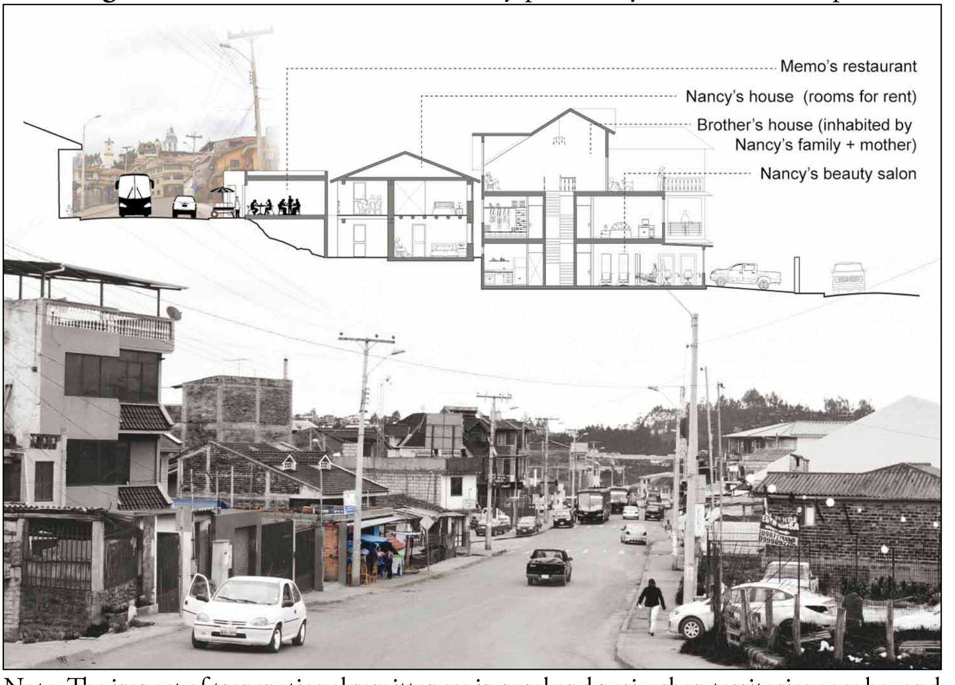
Figure 9: Assembling incomes



Note: Emigrants' investments have a decisive role in improving the living conditions and increasing economic opportunities for extended families. Taking care of a migrant's house or belongings renews family ties and reciprocity relations between members of migrant and non-migrant households. This relation fluctuates between reciprocity, interdependency and personal economic convenience. Elaborated by M. Rivera-Muñoz

In addition to Memo's shop, Daisy rents several rooms in the old house behind it. She also runs a hairdresser salon in the house where she lives. Her husband acquired a pick-up truck and became partner in a transportation company in the parroquia, whose membership fee he paid with the help of a loan he accessed by mortgaging a property of his in-laws. All of this illustrates the decisive role of emigrants' investments. They improve living conditions, increase economic opportunities for the extended family, and simultaneously strengthen their ties (Figure 10). The house of a single emigrant is usually inhabited by parents, but the asset can also provide economic buffer to other family members, for whom the emigration period is a grace period to explore economic opportunities and stabilize an individual household. However, at some point, emigrants are expected to become benefactors. Financing the construction of a house, which demonstrates an improved economy, is an element that strengthens the image of the migrant as a moral figure. Sponsoring community initiatives, like mingas or religious festivities, are also ways in which transnational families symbolically enact their absent beloved's presence and their multi-local family identity.

Figure 10: Construction of the family patrimony: An urban example



Note: The impact of transnational remittances in rural and peri-urban territories goes beyond material assets. Houses constructed through remittances become spatial resources for the village, and trigger further multi-directional mobility and migrations, stimulating synergies that expand the array of possibilities for parish dwellers and newcomers. They reshape the morphological and social patterns of occupation and activate landscape urbanization. Elaborated by M. Rivera-Muñoz

Landscape urbanization

The causes for landscape urbanization are multiple in nature and origin. It can be partially attributed to the improved connectivity and consequent development of rural territories due to public investment in the national road system during the last years and the private investment of remittances of transnational families. Other causes intermingle global (capitalist urbanization) and local rationalities, which are explained below.

Housing transformation across migratory trajectories

As previously observed, migrants' houses in Baños are shockingly larger than traditional adobe constructions (Figre3a), (B. Jokisch and Kyle, 2005; Klaufus, 2012b; Mata-Codesal, 2014). However, they are not particularly extravagant[13] compared to the average house in the city. Three decades of remittances improved economic capacities and reshaped lifestyles has clearly transformed the architectural language in Baños, with a similar force of previous migration waves. The contemporary architecture seeks to demonstrate acquired prosperity and economic improvement.

The Spanish grid of Cuenca accommodated urban development until the first half of the twentieth century, when regional migration catalyzed urban expansion. A first development plan was made in 1949. By the 1960s, new avenues and urban blocks started to emerge. At that time, parroquias were still remote rural places, connected by a single road, along which ribbon development occurred at the village entrance. By the end of the 70s, new settlement in Baños clustered along the new road connecting Cuenca-Huizhil-Baños. The road improved access to the urban markets, which in turn stimulated the diversification and extension of activities of peasant households. The realization of the north-west section of Cuenca's ring road opened up a new development front, that was exploited in the 1980s, when remittances infused a continuous financial flow into the regional economy. The expansion of public services such as potable water further encouraged urbanization, including remoter locations beyond and higher than the parroquia center. Currently a new water treatment plant, at a higher altitude, is under construction. It will undoubtedly trigger development in a whole new area further west of the parroquia center.

Land, in the in-between territory (between Cuenca and the countryside), is essentially the main patrimony of the local population. It evidently has an important use value. For migrant-households it also offers a safe investment option[14]. Remittances allow families to extend their patrimony and simultaneously to dynamize its use. Unsurprisingly, the remittance boom has increased land prices in Azuay and Cañar (B. D. Jokisch, 2002; Klaufus, 2006; Mata-Codesal, 2011). Transnational migrants families are a major, but not the only party, on the land market in rural Cañar and Azuay provinces that has been turned into – as Jokisch asserts – "a peri-urban, even gentrified, landscape of cultivated real estate" (2002, 523). In locations such as Baños, close to the city and with basic service provision, the struggle for land has to a large extent also become a fight with land speculation and real-estate-driven urbanization (Figure 11). Rural land is promoted and bought as investment for future urbanization. Remittances provide for financial stability, and enable rural migrants to resist displacement that capitalist urbanization normally entails, ultimately allowing them to live the 'urban' landscape they have self-constructed over a long time period.

Figure 11: Blind pockets in the urbanizing landscape

Note: Real-estate developers target rural lands with good road connectivity and services. Existing condominium laws allow the circumvention of rural land use regulations and avoidance of extra payments for public services, all in a way to increase profits. Photograph by M. Rivera-Muñoz

CONCLUSION: REWRITING PRACTICES OF RESISTANCE

The qualities of flexibility, as well as necessity to adjust and adapt to changing circumstances, shatter conventional depictions of peasant culture as a world of slowness and stagnation. Migration has always been an economic strategy of rural societies. However, in the past decades it has acquired larger scales and reached towards new horizons. Migration is, for inhabitants of the parroquia, a life-changing decision to be taken while they are still young. Successful migration invariably generates spatial transformations in the place of origin. It usually enlarges the family patrimony as an asset, which is as well utilized more dynamically. As such, it increases the capacity of family members to support themselves and others in various development trajectories.

Migration is not only a personal endeavor, but simultaneously an extended family project. Local and host-country social and economic networks enable and support migration journeys. In turn, these migration endeavors strengthen the home context through remittances and investments in land and building. As such, migrations iteratively improve personal and collective conditions, as well as use, expand

and renew support networks. The landscape becomes the repository of incremental spatial transformations that are a result of this iterative process: between migrations to ever-further host-countries, and investments in the ever more locally anchored places of belonging.

Transnational migration and associated economic mobility empower the most vulnerable peasant groups (remotely located and indigenous). It allows them to break social structures imposed by centuries-old traditions and regulations that once blocked personal and economic development. Economic betterment opens the gate to social mobility. This includes increased mixture between formerly distant social groups, blurring ethnic-based social division.

The longer migration continues and the more successful it is, the more family patrimony is fed by remittances and the more development dynamics it can support. Construction is an evident investment outlet, but remittances are also invested in commerce and service shops, cars, vans and trucks or machinery and equipment for small-scale enterprises within the parroquia. In turn, these investments engender a multitude of trajectories often interwoven and in synergy with one another. As a result, the array of possibilities for parroquia dwellers (old and newcomers alike) expands. The parroquia population fosters a sense of progress and overall regained self-assurance.

Migration organization and support practices of rural (extended) households, unfold across localities and continents. They can be qualified as acts of resistance, because they invigorate rural households to take over their own affairs, turning them into "purposeful decision makers" instead of "powerless and disenfranchised" victims (Conway and Cohen, 1998) that passively accept social and economic inequalities that have existed since colonial rule. Indeed, migrant families claim and take real control over their territory[15]. Building it, developing it, incrementally turning it into a firm fabric is part-and-parcel of gaining control. As it always has been, the right to the city is not so much a benefit or privilege that one obtains by invoking it, but something one acquires through the active production of the city.

The improvement of services, opening of roads and overall connectivity in Cuenca's parroquias turned centuries-old peasant territories into 'potential' residential landscapes, where urban expansion and productive activities compete for the same space. Already today, sites such as Huizhil attract middle-class households. Transnational remittances help local families to compete and resist expulsion. As such, migration is instrumental to sustain a socio-economic mix, while preserving social networks.

The impact of transnational remittances in rural and peri-urban territories transcends the material enrichment of migrant-sending households. Family and communal strategies practiced across scales, and the investments that transnational families make, strengthen their agency in territories. As a result, communities experience improved self-esteem as a community, and accordingly redefine their collective identity. The collective identity resonates more than ever in the materiality of the fabric they incrementally weave, in eternally repeated iterations between migration endeavors and remittance investments, between ever-more global flows and ironically ever-more anchored reproductions of locality.

NOTES

1. This article uses spatial description of urban sprawl following Inostroza, Baur and Csaplovics (2013, 88): "Urban sprawl has been defined as growth by the creation of new low-density suburbs with detached or semi-detached housing and large commercial strips. (…). It is patchy, scattered and strung out, with a tendency for discontinuity, and it leap-frogs over areas leaving agricultural or open space enclaves behind."
2. 99.64% of households in Cuenca, and 96.92% in Baños have public power service (INEC, 2010).
3. As Echeverria succinctly elaborates on Braudel's notions, there is a relation of dependency, a parasitism that reciprocally ties humans and nature, and thus, it primitively constitutes the election of a mode of civilization (2013, 29).
4. The colonial regime imposed various ways of forced labor and bonded servitude to the indigenous population. After independence, Republican laws concealed the continuation of systems of indigenous exploitation. The agrarian reforms of 1964 and 1973 finally abolished debt peonage and huasipungo, the most persistent modes of workforce capture. Huasipungo was a parcel of land given by a landowner to a worker in exchange for days of free farm work.
5. Although indigenous community abandonment didn't begin during this period, it experienced an important wave. In Azuay and Cañar this was especially important, registering proportions of 30% versus 70% of local indigenous people versus forasteros or migrant indigenous people respectively (see Poloni-Simard, 2006).
6. The terminology used in this paper to differentiate population groups emerges from the ways in which the Baños people refers to themselves and/or to others, and it is used only when such distinction is relevant to explain the political landscape in the parish.
7. This notion has been identified and studied in Cuenca by several authors(see: Hirschkind, 1980; Klaufus, 2012a; Kyle, 2000; Lowder, 2003; Miles, 1994; Poloni-Simard, 2006).
8. Public transport service started in Baños Centro during the early 1950s.
9. A traditional Andean form of cultivation that combines the cultivation of corn with a variety of legumes and tubers.
10. Mingas are also a common way to gather labor for the construction of a house in the rural areas. In urban popular neighborhoods, mingas are often carried out in public areas, like parks, for construction as well as for maintenance works.

11. The average monthly remittance coming from United Sates and Spain in 2009 was 299 USD and 516 USD correspondingly (Maldonado and Saldaña, 2010). For the same year, the local minimum wage was 218 USD and the food basket reached an average of 528 USD (Varela, 2011).
12. Traditional coastal dish prepared with fish or seafood.
13. In general, it can be said that extravaganzas were much more common in earlier phases of transnational migration than in Guadalupano. The derogative epithet of "migrant houses" that such houses received implied that owners were low-educated people and may have influenced the adoption of the more controlled expressions of the remittance houses today.
14. The banking crisis between 1998 and 1999, led to State intervention in 16 of the 40 banks then operating in the country, many of which were finally closed (Lafuente, 2001). Since then, the lack of trust in the Ecuadorian banking system persists – especially in big banks– in opposition to the small credit unions that have since thrived.
15. "We conceptualize household negotiating, family-network development, people's mobility, remittances, and recipient investments as self-determined and relatively autonomous "resistance" actions of people attempting to survive in a crisis-ridden structure of dependent capitalist relationships, with all their accompanying hostility and destructive potential (…). Such purposive action even by those with little space to maneuver is empowering. Vulnerable they may remain, but not totally bereft of options" (Conway and Cohen, 1998, 33).

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Prototypes of Urbanism: Urban Movements Occupying Central São Paulo

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University of Leuven

Myriad members of urban movements are occupying vacant urban spaces in central São Paulo. This article explores whether and how particular prototypes of urbanism are germinating from such reclamations of vacant architecture. If urbanism is understood as a deliberate intervention in the material urban environment as a means of ameliorating mankind's artificial living environment, how then are urban movements prefiguring alternative ways of going about this? In other words, how does the intermittent inhabiting of such occupations take part in reconceptualizing and remaking the city? And what prototypical model of urbanism does this bring in its wake? First, São Paulo will be discussed as an arrival city, where migration, urbanization and urban movement synchronously emerged. Second, the center's vacancy will be examined as a distinct spatial condition that, together with increasing migratory arrival, set the stage for urban occupation movements to squat downtown buildings. Third, particular contemporary occupation practices in the central city will be highlighted, exploring how multiple occupation movements carve out spaces of cohabitation in the center's vacant architecture. Finally, conclusions will be drawn on how such occupations might figure as prototypes of an alternative mode of city making. The parallel photo-essay seeks to shed light on the architectural and proto-urbanistic realm of occupations. The research underpinning this text stems from a close collaboration with multiple social movements, cultural collectives, human rights associations and governmental and academic institutions in São Paulo. Approximately two years of participant-observation were spent in occupations, and multiple workshops, debates and exhibitions were organized in occupations over the course of varied fieldwork periods.

Keywords: *Architecture of the city, social movements, squatting, urban activism, urban design*

ARRIVAL CITY

Like many cities, São Paulo is a migrant city. Its architecture has been shaped by ceaseless flows of migratory arrival over five centuries. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, São Paulo was a small town. It was occupied by missionaries, Portuguese exiles, criminals and orphans, daredevil traders and adventurers, for-

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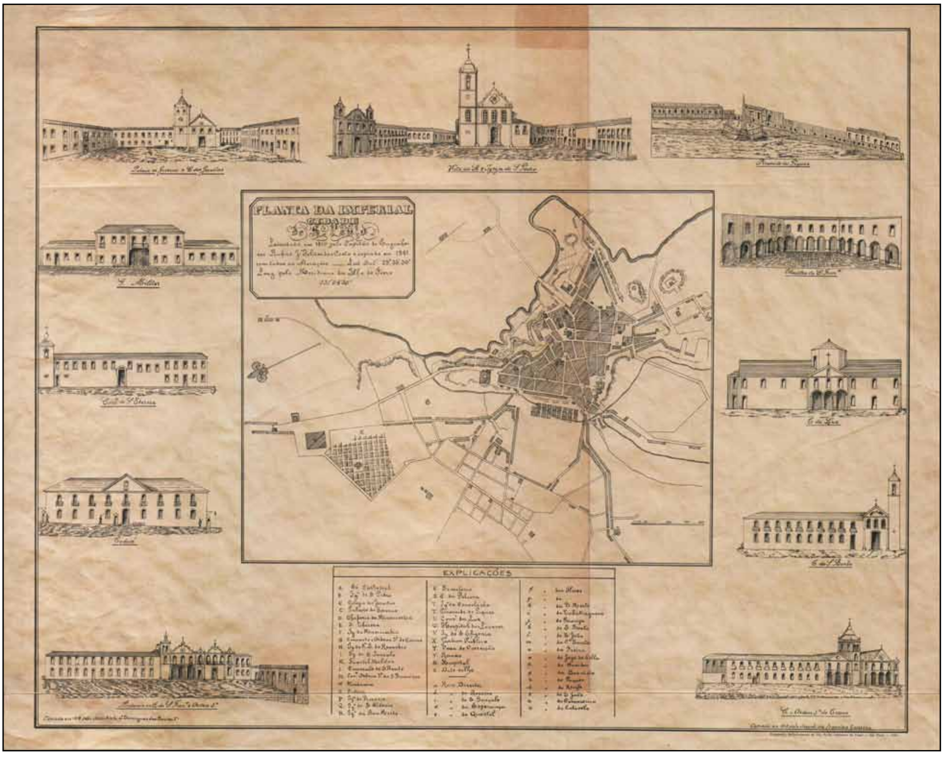
merly nomadic tribesmen, and Blacks; São Paulo was a cultural maelstrom from the very outset (Metcalf, 2005; Morse, 1958). At least until the introduction of land tenure in 1850, the free occupation of land conditioned by cultivation was São Paulo's most commonplace principle for settling (Rolnik, 1997). Overall, the Atlantic forest-landscape of the Paulistanian plateau was considered 'vacant', replete with development potential, hitherto unexplored and readily available to be taken in. The right to occupy such vacant land, supposedly res nullius, arguably constitutes the most archetypical and universal 'hidden history of housing' (Ward, 2002), predating any other urbanization formula. As a result, the area of nineteenth century São Paulo, which largely overlaps with the perimeter of the area today designated as 'o centro' (Figure 1), was, in fact, a constellation of land-occupations made by a population brought on the move for a variety of reasons. São Paulo was built from miscellaneous migrant occupations even before it was a city.

Figure 1: 'Map of the Imperial City of São Paulo', 1810



Note: The perimeter represented largely overlaps with the city's contemporary 'centro velho', or old center. Source: Secretaria de Estado de Economia e Planejamento, Insituto Geográfico e Cartográfico.

From last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, successive immigrant streams fueled the vast expansion of the urban conurbation. In the transformation from a town to a city, São Paulo underwent during the same decades its first pervasive housing crisis (Bonduki, 1998). European workers were simultaneously pushed away by demographic pressure, economic depression, dictatorships and war, and attracted by extensive 'New World' propaganda and State-funded migration subsidies. As the Municipality recruited, transported and redistributed foreign labor power, they supported the Paulistanian coffee boom and rising industrial modernity. Sixty percent of the 4.1 million migrants that entered Brazil between 1886 and 1934 ended up in São Paulo and turned the city into Latin America's capital metropolitan powerhouse (Holloway, 1980).

As migrants poured in, the former colonial elite increasingly vacated the congested center and searched for higher grounds. Inner city sobrados (townhouses), mansions, warehouses, stables and shacks were subsequently subdivided and subleased to new arrivals. As one population evacuated the center, newcomers recycled the material remnants that had been forsaken. Proliferating inner-city cortiços (downtown tenements) offered cheap, viable and essentially central dwelling options for the worker population. By the dawn of the twentieth century, an estimated one-third of São Paulo's dwellings were cortiços, housing the majority of its poorest arrivals in adapted older constructions and newly erected tenements (Kowarick & Ant, 1989).

Migration to the city continued as industrial growth and development proceeded throughout the twentieth century. Between the 1930s and 1950s, substantial investments were made in urban infrastructure, including a city-wide system of public avenues, parks and squares, which led to a vast 'verticalization' boom of the adjacent building tissue (Somekh, 2014). São Paulo was to be the center of Latin America's leap into modernity (Andreoli & Forty, 2004; Williams, 2009), and unsurprisingly, the historical center was partly redesigned to materialize this new modern world.

Halfway the twentieth century, middle- and higher-class population groups increasingly moved out of the central area, but its wide boulevards and worthy architecture were waiting to accommodate new users. The center, caught between the discrepant centripetal and centrifugal fluxes of arrival and departure, acquired the foundation of its highly unique contemporary urban character. On the one hand, it was the best located area in the city, and received more urbanistic attention than any other district. The center featured some of the city's most remarkable masterpieces of modern architecture, and received significant investment in public works. Yet, on the other hand, vacancy started to increase, and much of the worthy architecture became abandoned.

São Paulo's magnetic effect on migration engendered a pandemic rural-urban transfer that took off in the 1970s, culminated in the 1980s, and is continuing today although at a slower pace. Between 1970 and 1980, Latin America as a whole became a predominantly urban society, with 64 percent of its population living in cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants by 1980 (Gilbert, 1994). Although many rural settlements continued to grow in absolute terms, legions of peasants were moving to the cities. New modes of transport and improved infrastructure eased the move, and many rural emigrants could soon count on established local relatives or acquaintances to show them the ropes of city life (Gilbert, 1996; Santos, 1996). Remittances to the countryside partly allowed rural families to survive, while simultaneously conveying an imaginary of the megacity's 'promise of progress'. The city radiated opportunity, prospect and hope. As migrants flowed in, São Paulo continued to raise its productivity and development, and therefore its attractiveness, in a mutually beneficial cycle of urbanization and migration. São Paulo's metropolitan region consequently grew into a megacity, expanding from a habitat of eight million inhabitants in 1970 into a city of more than 12,500,000 by 1980. Between 1970 and 1990, São Paulo's metropolitan population doubled, absorbing in two decades the same population growth as during its previous five centuries of urbanization (IBGE, 2010).

During this major population growth, the absence of sufficient spatial and social infrastructures forced São Paulo's rural arrivals to initiate the self-construction of supposedly 'interim' shelter on peripheral land. Despite significant investments of the Federal Housing Bank, the state-led provision of social housing could not keep up with uninterrupted arrival, and consequently the city's peripheries were overtaken by squatter settlements (Maricato, 1982, 2011). In 1973, favelas made up a mere one percent of São Paulo's dwellings; by the end of the 1980s they comprised more than ten percent of the housing stock (Pasternak Tascher, 1995). By 1993, an estimated twenty percent of the city's housing stock took the form of squatted favelas (FIPE – SEHAB, 1994).

The city's migration-based urbanization boom of the 1970s and the resulting proliferation of squatter settlements paved the way for the widespread emergence of urban movements (Fix & Arantes, 2003; Foweraker, 2001). Members of these movements promptly entered the city's spatial and political stage as new, forceful actors (Gohn, 1991; Sader, 2001), a tendency which broadly resonated throughout the continent (Escobar & Alvarez, 1992). The urban movements were born in the purported urban 'margins' and from those that the city had largely left 'without' ('without homes, without land, without work, without rights, without property, without capital' (Zibechi, 2012, 41)). Movement members began to move themselves, rejecting the materially and socially deprived spaces that the city had allocated to them. They consequently brought to the city a broad repertoire of 'insurgent' claims for equal access to the promises that urban life could offer, including access to land, housing, education, work, recreation and healthcare (Holston, 2008).

Insofar as migration was the lifeblood of São Paulo's urbanization process, and vice versa, the conflict-ridden tension between arrival (in expectation of urban inclusion) and urbanization (unable to keep up and deliver dignified urban conditions for the arriving masses) provoked a plethora of struggles over space (Kowarick, 1989). During the last decades of the twentieth century, São Paulo's center in particular, became an urban stage where discontent was regularly ventilated and exposed. Protesters regularly occupied central squares, boulevards and streets, particularly since they were imbued with historical meaning and symbolic significance. Here, in the city's historic cradle, in the middle of things, claims were made that in fact addressed the entire city. The center's distinct urban morphology, structured by an extensive system of boulevards, squares and parks, flanked by a rich juxtaposition of highly symbolic architecture, proved to be a political agora par excellence, providing the most strategic and exposed public forum for sharing discontent, contentment or pride. In the 1980s, the massive Direitas Já protests took over the central squares and boulevards to eventually bring down military rule in 1985. In June 2013, the country-wide protests, inflamed by São Paulo's 'passe livre' free transport movement, incited pervasive revolts to take over the center for two weeks. Renowned Paulistanian urban scholar Ermínia Maricato was not surprised: 'It is the urban question, stupid!' (2013, 19).

In 2016, protests both in favor and against the impeachment of the Workers' Party's president Dilma Rousseff inundated the center. Protestors from all parts of the metropolis assembled there and navigated symbolic itineraries. The center's urban morphology provided not merely passive support, but acted as a subject of popular action. Its architecture resonates with Solnit's (2001, 218) 'ideal insurrectionary city', where 'stone and cement are soaked with meanings, with histories, with memories' and underscore the vital midpoint of things. The center's double-coded urban realm, where urban authorities live side-by-side with urban pariahs, was the backdrop for the rise of insurgent occupation movements that would manifest spatial claims. Insofar as demonstrations address the architecture of the city with collective bodily action, they simultaneously create mobile architectural scenography and theatrical props to reinforce such claims. Through the occupation of space, the bodily mass becomes a mobile spatial body in itself. Colored shirts, flags, banners, balloons, graffiti, tents, trucks, drums and the like orchestrate a demonstrative performance on the urban stage.

VACANT CITY

During the last two decades of the previous century, almost 5,300,000 migrants settled in São Paulo's metropolitan region, while simultaneously an exodus of approximately 180,000 inhabitants took place from the city's most symbolic Região Central (IBGE, 2010). As the city's population grew by 42 percent, the center lost 30 percent of its inhabitants. Between 1980 and 2000, the megacity's oldest district of Sé lost nearly 40 percent of its entire population (IBGE, 2010). As a result, an estimated 40,000 registered central dwellings were left vacant by the turn of the millennium (Silva, Biava, & Sígolo, 2009). The additional depository of many more abandoned hotels, factories, office buildings, storehouses, commercial enterprises, cinemas, theatres, hospitals and other architectural cascos was never calculated. In the meantime, central lots and buildings were increasingly repurposed into parking spaces, temporarily storing automobiles in the relics of former cinema halls, palaces, hangars, industrial halls or department stores. In a metropolis dominated by car-use, such parking facilities are highly lucrative, and often said to bring more cash as any other program (Nakano, Campos, & Rolnik, 2004; Silva et al., 2009).

In addition, numerous buildings have been under-occupied, leaving countless square meters unused or inhabited by a mere concierge, a few tenants or security guards hired to protect properties from unwanted 'invaders'. The report of the Fundação João Pinheiro calculated that in 2012, São Paulo's metropolitan region counted an estimated 571,491 'vacant domiciles with the potential of being occupied' (Pinheiro, 2015, 43). This number almost equaled the listed housing deficit of 586,129 urbanites left homeless or living in precarious conditions (Pinheiro, 2015, p 33). Somewhat cynically, one could picture two parallel hidden cities dispersed over São Paulo's urbanized agglomeration: a material city of vacant architecture, awaiting new destinies, and a human city of homeless, perpetually on the lookout for improved dwelling opportunities.

Vacancy is highly visible in the center's architectural realm, plainly emphasized by innumerable pixos, black tags left by Pixadores, who target the center's vacant architecture – and preferably its most iconic assortment – to graphically express discontent on the city's vast social and spatial inequality (Caldeira, 2012). Pixação, not to be confused with the more 'hip' and less 'dissident' graffiti, has come to cover entire façades of the center's accumulated vacant patrimony, in a perpetual competition to adorn the highest, most visible and most unreachable surfaces of the streetscape with aggressive black writing, simultaneously displaying numerous 'hidden' peripheral youth lives and underscoring the astonishing abundance of central architecture left to rot.

Downtown São Paulo's concentration of vacant properties is the result of a complex conflation of legal, political, economic and architectural currents. Many buildings are caught up in ownership disputes, inheritance controversies or lack the paperwork necessary for legal sale. In the political spectrum, incremental 'IPTU'[1] taxation which fines unused properties has proven too meager; it has hardly been monitored or controlled, and has been easily bypassed or plainly neglected, and has consequently failed to enforce property owners attributing a so-called 'social function' to their properties, as legally prescribed by the Constitution's 182nd article, which in fact defines property as legitimate only if used (Friendly, 2013). Innumerable buildings have piled up tax debts this way, but together with unpaid water and electricity bills, they left owners unable or reluctant to sell or rent their inheritance. Following economic logics, many Paulistanian scholars (Raquel Rolnik, personal communication, 19/2/2015; Pedro Arantes, personal communication 22/2/2015) refer to landowners' speculation as one of the principal explanations for São Paulo's downtown vacancy, where land values are greater than the commercial value of buildings themselves, making the buildings financially irrelevant in comparison to high-priced central land holdings (Silva, 2000, 2009). Frequently, only the most lucrative commercial basement floors are rented for commercial enterprises such as retail stores, lanchonette-snack bars, restaurants, or parking spaces. Upper floors, in turn, are left abandoned in order to avoid administrative costs and problems related to rental contracts, management and maintenance, in particular in high-rise elevator-dependent constructions.

Part of the center's historical patrimony has suffered from severe decay, requiring expansive refurbishments to accommodate formally approved re-uses or maintain functionality and profitability. Conservation measures have additionally frozen the potential redevelopment of buildings with architectural heritage. With three independent heritage departments, respectively managed by federal, state, and municipal governmental administration, procedures to acquire restoration permits are an outright Kafkaesque bureaucratic nightmare. Furthermore, shifting market standards have prevented the office-towers, built en masse between the city's prosperous 1940s and 1960s from complying with contemporary norms or expectations. Many buildings lack, for instance, central air-conditioning systems, integrated parking spaces, flexible open office floors, or infrastructure for extensive ICT networks. The shift of the city center has marginalized many commercial spaces and once famous hotels, theaters or cinemas, causing them to become abandoned (Simões, 1990).

From the 1970s onwards, the city center gradually migrated from the 'old' historical location to the south-west, where first the Avenida Paulista, and later the Avenida Pinheiros and Avenida Faria Lima developed into the city's foremost new business centers (Frugoli, 2000). In addition, the architectural appearance of many older buildings no longer aligned with the commercial image that enterprises sought to convey. Developers apparently preferred, in general, to erect new buildings in novel 'central' urban hotspots, rather than renovate buildings in the traffic-congested old center (Nakano et al., 2004). The rampant urban growth of the twentieth century occurred at such a quick pace that that 'renovation' and 'refurbishment' remained marginal practices, dwarfed by the ever-growing construction boom in the periphery of the endlessly expanding megacity.

Meanwhile, central cortiços suffered from increased evictions and military interventions during the military regime (1964-1985). Rising rents, declining wages and increasing unemployment also caused the expulsion of many of the center's ecortiçados to peripheral squats or evacuated them into subsidized peripheral housing estates (Santos, 1996). The homeless who occupied central open spaces were increasingly removed by military groups from the center's squares, parks, bridges and sidewalks. By the 1980s it became harder and harder for the urban poor to maintain residence downtown. In the same period that migrants massively arrived in the city, the old centre was increasingly abandoned.

Caught-up in a limbo between degradation and renewal, vacant buildings were stripped from strict functional prescriptions, and hence became open for practical and semiotic recycling. Their location remained very much central, despite migrating programs and functions. Numerous vacant buildings were still prestigious edifices, nested in the most historical core of the metropolis, sitting along principal avenues, squares and parks. The dispersed constellation of omnipresent vacant buildings surfaced as a landscape of untapped spatial opportunities (Herscher, 2012). It is precisely in vacancy's temporarily undefined program, betwixt and between a formally defined extinct past and an uncertain, open-ended hereafter, that experimental urban practices find a fertile soil to nest, in the abundant supply of space suspended from use and meaning. This urban condition is not just a neutral, passive context of such occupation practices, but instead, the latent agency that invokes them: vacancy always implies a kind of invitation.

OCCUPIED CITY

Central São Paulo's numerous vacant buildings, and the wide presence of organized urban movements, provoked a multitude of occupation practices from the 1990s onwards. Homeless movements, as one of the most vigorous examples, set out to occupy abandoned central buildings in the aftermath of violent evictions from cortiços in 1997. Neuhold (2009) illustrated how sem-teto movements very soon occupied vacant buildings in all corners of the center, while Sanches (2015) made clear how their actions compelled local authorities to repurpose or rebuilt at least 37 central buildings as social housing between 1990 and 2012. As occupations meanwhile branched out in the center's vacant fabric, homeless movements fine-tuned their tactical repertoire and ideological discourse, evolving into highly politicized 'new protagonists' in the center's political and spatial urban arena (Barbosa, 2014; Earle, 2017).

During the last two decades, urban movements brought thousands of homeless families 'in movement' for collectively claiming space in the center. Urban architecture did not merely provide the 'stage' on which occupation movement played out. These buildings were its very raison d'etre, providing the spatial opportunity to claim genuine rights to the city and all the promises of progress it entailed, such as decent housing, proximity to urban services and job opportunities.

Two decades after the center's first organized homeless occupation, dozens of sem-teto movements have occupied hundreds of downtown vacant buildings along with a vast array of squatters not connected to any movement. Organized occupation movements have different political lineages and adopt diversified tactics. Some of their occupations have become illustrative case studies. The notorious Hotel Cambridge, for instance, was occupied in 2012 by MSTC, the Homeless Movement of the Center, inhabiting the building until 2017 with 170 of the city's lowest income families. The erstwhile downtown hotel hosted an endless series of highly political gatherings and communal initiatives related to education, care, and production, and served as the subject of the now famous 'Era Hotel Cambridge' movie[2] (Stevens, 2017). The 26-story Prestes Maia building also became a symbol of popular resistance, recurrently occupied and evicted, but today again housing more than 500 families in the relicts of a concrete industrial complex. As a genuine micro-cosmology, the derelict building is now replete with micro-adaptations to readjust it for collective inhabitation. Both occupations appear as extraordinary 'dwelling complexes' (Maak, 2015), where in the absence of conventional and rigid occupational norms, more fluid ways of communal living have emerged, notwithstanding the sustained precariousness and overall poverty of their inhabitants. Here, experimental models of co-housing are tested, as movements are setting off to piece together alternative dwelling environments with the means at hand in the center's vacant architecture. In the provisional and incipient city-making that MSTC pursues as one of the most organized and performative downtown movements, other ways of city-making seem to emerge, challenging the collective imagination of how cities could be thought of, lived, and ordered differently. The mere recognition and subsequent demonstration of the spatial 'resourcefulness' held by the center's vacant architecture is therein of fundamental importance.

Some buildings have remained occupied for years. The Maua motel is inhabited by occupants from MMLJ, the Movement for Housing and Struggle for Justice since 2007. Most homeless occupations, however, are highly temporary, seizing vacant spaces for a few hours, days, weeks or months, and residences consequently dwell somewhere between makeshift encampments and home-made-homes, taking pride and glory from the often iconic architecture of the buildings they inhabit. Inside, their stay-overs remain temporary places of refuge, transitory settlements. The occupants, mainly rural migrants, are reluctantly tolerated for a while. The occupation is commonly more a fait accompli that owners and administrations have to live with then a wholeheartedly accepted situation. Expulsion remains a constant threat. This uncertainty makes these settlements extremely fragile.

As partially self-constructed and self–managed dwelling environments, occupants resemble Habraken's urbanistic 'alternative to mass housing', by recognizing vacant buildings as structural supports, never holding them as property, but nevertheless taking temporarily possession (Habraken, 1972). In the spirit of Habraken, such inhabitation can be seen as a profoundly architectural act. Cleaning, adapting interior spatial organizations with some plywood, hammer and nails, blocking or making new openings, repairing decrepit roofs, reinstalling plumbing and pipes, repainting façades and decorating interior walls, renewing a floor, camouflaging mould with curtains while decorating rooms: 'dwelling is building' (Habraken, 1972, 18). While building structures themselves remain largely unchanged, interiors, furniture, technical installations, and aesthetic decorations are modified incessantly, reflecting a mobile city in flux that capitalizes on a readily available building framework.

As exemplary 'bricoleurs', occupation movements operate incrementally, to 'making things better', while remaining caught up in the paradox of temporariness. Every investment is a potential waste of resources. They are therefore very different from the incremental self-help housing of Latin American urban peripheries, such as the barriadas documented by Turner (1968) and others, where family-growth is gradually articulated in building consolidations and extensions, eventually developing entire urban districts. Central building occupations, instead, never truly consolidate, since they largely capitalize on existing buildings. It is precisely the temporary nature of merely 'camping' in already-available structures that provides a set of real-life demonstrations of what the vast stockpile of vacant buildings could potentially serve.

In the occupations' temporary encampment, daily routines are partly in phase with the rhythm of the city, but are complicated by internal rhythms of collective life. Working and living together, passing by the gate control, chats and gossip that have to ease the shared suffering of eternal stairclimbing, compulsory communal activities and movement gatherings, collective cleaning and working: occupation-life is willy nilly a communal endeavor, especially in buildings that were never designed to accommodate housing. The resulting shared life implies a tenacious balancing of private and communal life worlds. Here again, prototypical aspects surface, experimenting with an existenzminimum that is not based on private-owned single-household social apartments, but on principles of sharing and caring, regardless the everyday hardship this entails. For many families, it is precisely the communal life of occupations that proves a leverage to climb out of poverty. On the other hand, it also constitutes the main raison for numerous occupants to step out of occupation life, often preferring the more individual and free life in favelas, cortiços, or the street above the strictly regulated communal life imposed by many occupation movements.

Constructing a temporary refuge within the rudimentary layout of buildings, and minimally tinkering with its architecture, an idiosyncratic and 'home-made' dwelling environment is eventually installed. Sometimes this means simply re-inhabiting sound structures that are up for grabs, such as the spacious and luxurious occupied Hotel Lord, occupied by TNG 'Terra Nossa Gente' (the Soil of Our People) or the Conselheiro Carrão 202 occupation, occupied by MMPT, the Housing Movement for All. The latter was entirely refurbished before its sale was stuck in red tape. Other occupations have required more complex adaptation. In the Rio Branco 47 occupation, MSTC packed an old cinema hall with small dwelling units formed by new brickwork and plaster, while in José Bonifacio 137, 95 families subdivided the open office floors of the former office building using plywood panels in order to allow for a rapid demount and transport of the complete infill to a new occupation site in case of eviction.

As contemporary metropolitan nomads, the movements' architecture is necessarily flexible and mobile to allow for impromptu moves. They are a series of exploratory experiments in situ, testing ad-hoc makeshift solutions for the most urgent symptoms of a pervasive urban housing crisis. Their provisional nature and their inherent creativity suggest new prototypes of urbanism that are simultaneously nomadic and troglodyte, transforming existing frames into a home for as long as it may last.

Central São Paulo's diversity of occupation practices constitutes a highly dynamic movement of movements. The movements share similar objectives and compete with one another to capitalize on the same material vacancy. Conflicts arise, especially due to criminal infiltration, which emerges from the very same entrenched poverty, but represents a very different coping strategy for escaping segregation and exclusion. Narco-traffic cartels are replicating occupation strategies on a wide scale, while continuously threatening existing ones. An illustrative example is the former Federal Police Headquarters, a 23-floor skyscraper flanking the central Paisandu square, which was occupied by a narco-traffic cartel until its dramatic fire and collapse in May 2018. Movements and cartels, as two fundamentally different modalities of cultivating 'brotherhood' try to break out of reproductive cycles of deprivation. While more 'legitimate' social movements such as MSTC and traffickers both cultivate a discourse of emancipation, the latter have adopted a culture of physical violence. The emancipatory liberation discourses advocated by many social movements often go together, paradoxically, with strict rules, involving curfews, enforced participation in weekly meetings and political events, and a zero-tolerance policy regarding alcohol, drugs and crime. Cartel-organizations, on the contrary, provide more precarious and uncertain dwelling spaces, but internal regulations and demands are usually less strict, making it a commonplace dwelling 'choice' for a lot of the poorest urban denizens, who are excluded, unwanted and do not easily 'fit' elsewhere.

In addition to homeless movements' occupations, some highly visible buildings are squatted by anarchist-artistic groups, such as the eccentric Casa Amarelha, a self-declared downtown 'Black Urban Quilombo[3]' residing in a nineteenth-century villa, or the unusual Ouvidor occupation ensconced in the State's former Headquarter of Culture, located prominently in front of the principal bus terminal Bandeiras, and inhabited by ever-changing international groups of street- artists and others who are outsiders to the city's restricted formal cultural circuits. At least tens of central theatre companies engage in occupation practices, such as the Teatro Oficina in Bixiga or the Teatro do Satyros at Praça Roosevelt (Stevens, 2015). The Largo da Batatata, the Parque Augusta, the Avendia Paulista and the notorious Minhocão viaduct were artistically 'squatted' to claim improved public spaces.

Prototypes of a city in the making

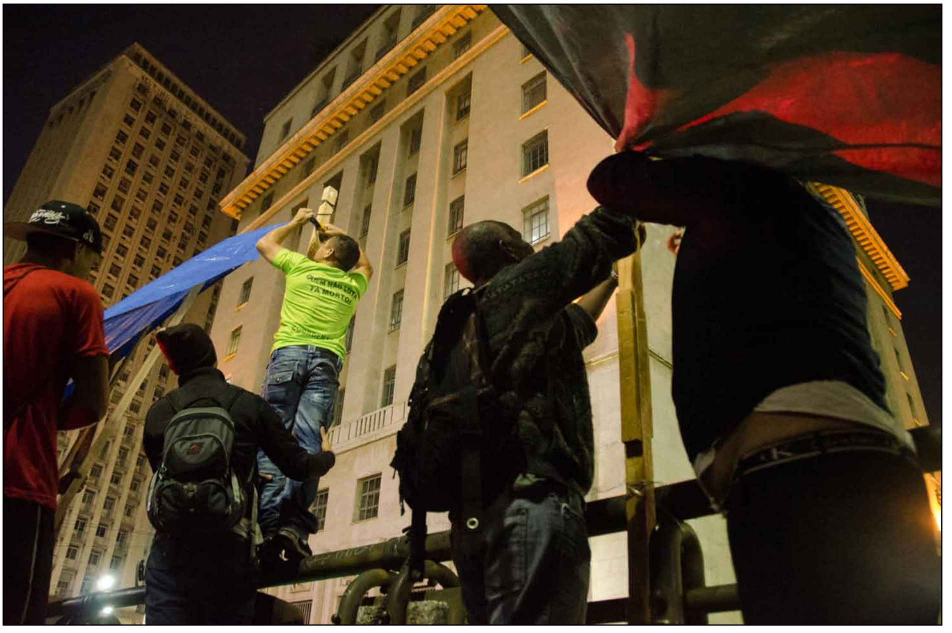
Central São Paulo's intricate juxtaposition of building tissues, iteratively in decay and renewal

Source: Photo by author, 2016

Protest at the central Parque Anhangabau to impede Dilma's impeachment in April 2016

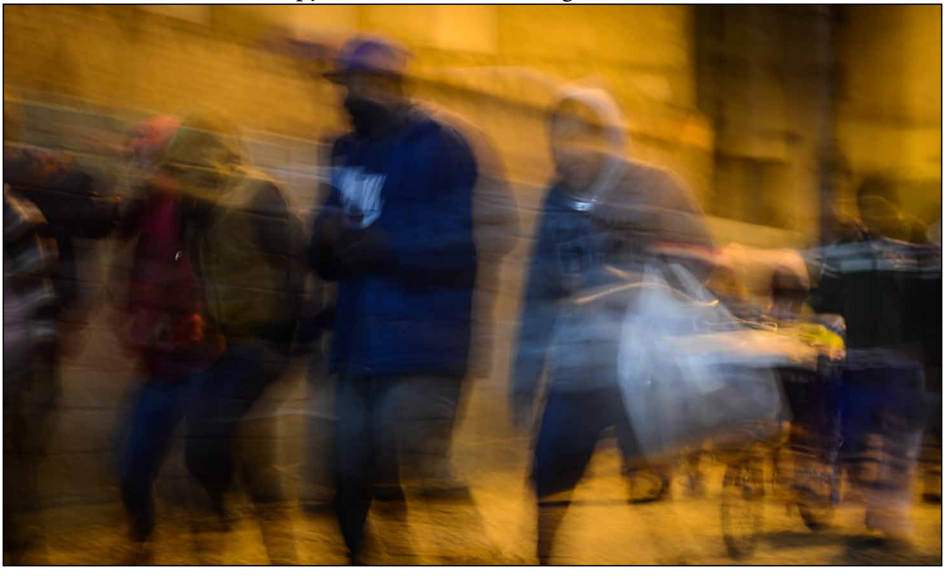
Source: Photo by author, 2016

Demonstration of FLM, the Frente de Luta por Moradia in front of the municipal town hall to protest against eviction actions.



Source: Photo by author, 2016

Members of São Paulo's FLM, the Frontline of the Housing Struggle, 'brought in movement' to occupy a downtown building at the Rua José Bonifacio



Source: Photo by author, 2017

Occupation São João 288, in one of the city's most luxurious 19th century hotels, vacated in the 1980s, and occupied in 2012 by MSTRU (Homeless Moviment for Urban Reform), affiliated to FLM

Source: Photo by author, 2015

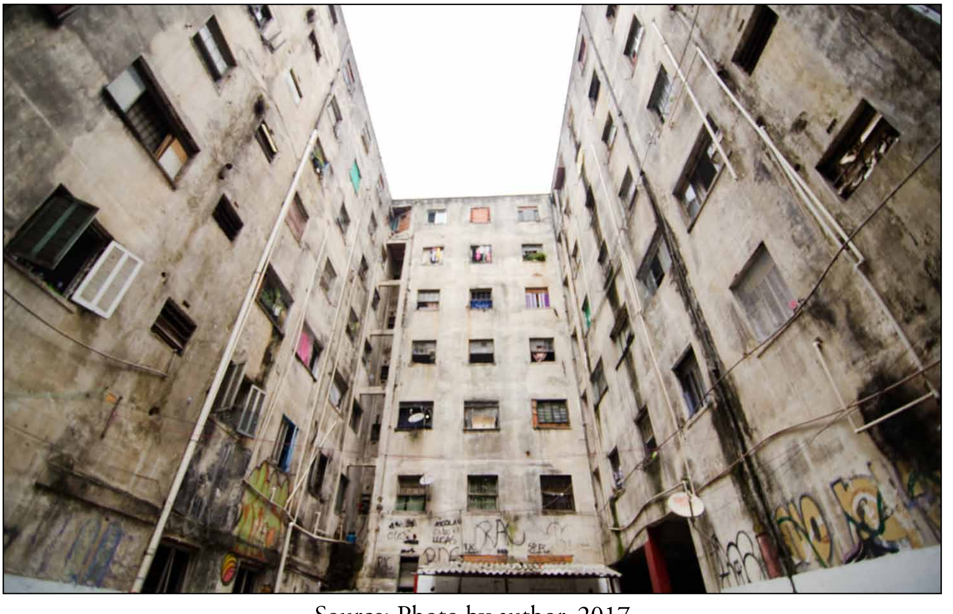
Ocupação Prestes Maia, an occupied factory building along the center's wide Prestes Maia Avenue

Source: Photo by author, 2016

Ocupação, North of the center, an unfinished building ruin, occupied in May, 2017 by MSTRN, the Homeless Movements of the Northern Region

Source: Photo by author, 2017

Inner courtyard of Ocupação Maua, occupied since 2007 by MMLJ, and housing 237 families

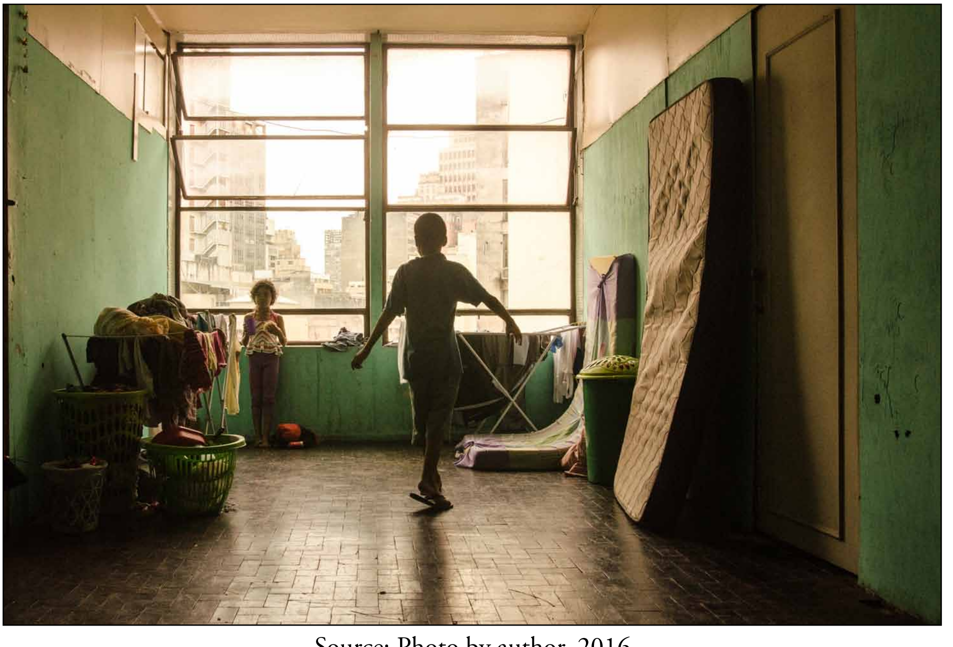


Source: Photo by author, 2017

Ocupação Rio Branco, 47, self-constructed dwelling units in a former central cinema hall

Source: Photo by author, 2018

Ocupação José Bonifacio, 137, occupied by MSTC. Plywood walls subdivide formerly open office floors



Source: Photo by author, 2016

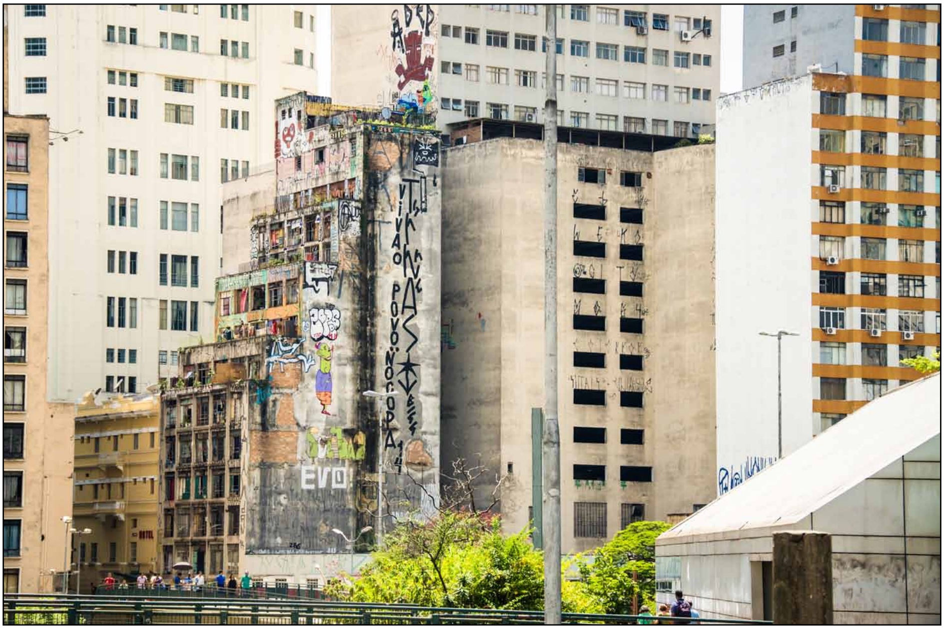
Ocupação Ciné Maroccos, occupied by the cartel-affiliated MSTS, the Homeless Movement of São Paulo, evicted in 2017 after the discovery of a large depository of crack and weaponry.

Source: Photo by author, 2016

Ocupação Antonio de Godoi, behind the Praça Paisandu, occupied by the cartel-affiliated MLSM, the Movement of Social Struggle for Housing.

Source: Photo by author, 2017

Ocupação Ouvidor 63, squatted by artistic groups.



Source: Photo by author, 2016

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS ON PROTO-URBANISM

São Paulo's urbanization largely resulted from migratory processes of arrival that led to the emergence of myriad urban movements in the 1970s and 1980s. As migrant populations continuously contributed to the outwards expansion of São Paulo's urban conurbation, the city's historical downtown area was increasingly vacated due to a convergence of architectural and urbanistic, but also legal, economic and political factors. The converging increase of arrival and vacancy rates created in the center of the city a fertile ground for the proliferation of occupation movements.

During the last two decades, vacant buildings consequently became the stage of numerous occupations. They take many different forms and greatly vary in terms of aspirations, organization and political affiliation. Yet, on the whole, all of these occupation practices capitalize on the abundant availability of sound and worthy architecture, located in one of the city's most symbolic and best-serviced areas. Their strength often lies in smartly 'parasiting' on structures already available, vacant, and hence inviting to be given new use and meaning. Occupations are, consequently, mostly highly mobile, almost nomadic 'encampments', temporarily taking refuge in existing building shells, and making them temporary inhabitable or useful.

The amount of such small temporary interventions in the center is hard to assess. Housing occupations by organized movements can be estimated between hundred and two hundred.[4] Artistic occupations come and go, but in dozens of urban sites they are structurally present. Although each occupation in itself is a micro-urban practice, a minimal and temporary use of space rather than an actual making of space, the proliferation and concentration in the old center of hundreds of such micro-interventions adds to the constitution of a more structural constellation of occupations. Separately, they offer anecdotal evidence in urbanistic terms, but together, occupations are increasingly acquiring critical mass and duration with an emerging structural agency in the improvement of the city's social and spatial realm. In their large-scale re-appropriation of the center, occupations emerge as prototypical instances of an urbanism-in-the-making by providing preliminary real-scale samples of a potential dwelling mode, capitalizing on the large availability of qualitative but temporarily vacant, and hence unused urban space.

In the miscellaneous ways in which the center's vacant urban landscape is consequently injected with new life and meaning, particular prototypes of urbanism seem to surface. 'Prototypes', here, covers multiple semiotic meanings. Prototypes are chiefly provisional and preliminary. They 'come before' and initiate. Yet at the same time, since they are only provisional, they are exploratory, experimental, potentially innovative. They result from trial and error, and have no pre-established modus operandi. They are fragile and precarious, they might work out well, they might collapse. They are in a test-phase. Not-yet established. Emergent, perhaps. By the same token, they are nevertheless building toward a 'type'. They are not merely experiments for the sake of artistic exploration, but aim for gradual improvement and fine-turning.

Occupations share many characteristics with such prototypes. In their peculiar spatial temporality, they could be interpreted as prototypes of an 'urbanism-in-the-making,' in which spatial development and the amelioration of the built environment is based on temporary use of built space readily available for tackling highly urgent urban challenges. Occupations emerge as prototypes of urbanism by prefiguring alternative models of collective social housing, but also of artistic production and shared urban life. Occupations emerge as prototypes of an urbanism not yet 'calibrated' or 'established', but as emergent forms of city-making still in a status nascendi. In urbanistic terms, they remain 'proto', try-outs on real scale, fragile and prone to eviction, criminal infiltration, and afflicted by precariousness. They provoke urbanism, in that sense, both as an established scientific field and as an urban practice to learn from such temporary urban interventions and start speculating on urbanistic paradigms rooted in ongoing dynamics and practices of movements 'out there' in the everyday of social and cultural mobilization and engagement. Urban movements, then, are arguably prototyping an urbanistic model that is still in the process of being formulated.

NOTES

1. IPTU, 'Imposto Predial e Territorial Urbano' or 'Urban Property Tax' is a municipal property tax imposed by the Brazilian Constitutions since 1988. It allows municipalities to incrementally increase property taxes on unused buildings or land plots to stimulate real estate transactions and enforce the so-called 'social function of property'.
2. The film 'Era Hotel Cambridge', by the well-known Brazilian producer Eliane Caffé was largely filmed inside the occupation, and many occupations play prime roles. The film was launched in 2017 and gained multiple prizes. See also Caffé (2017).
3. The term 'Quilombo' originally referred to Black runaway-slave encampments in the surroundings of the city.
4. Estimation based on interviews with housing movement leaders between 2015 and 2018

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Towards a Post-Historical Landscape Governmentality? Refractory Im/Mobilities and Multi-Temporality at Paris' *Jardins d'Eole*

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Today, overlapping mobilities and displacements are creating new kinds of urban spaces, as well as new kinds of urban subjectivity. The circulation of people, ideas, capital and imagery undermines the cityscape's ability to mediate feelings of collective citizenship, and notions of 'improvement' that inform the making and maintenance of urban landscapes. This erosion is significant in a city like Paris, where the cityscape has historically been used to cultivate feelings of republican citizenship. Despite the converging 'post-historical' effects of neo-liberalism and immigration, Paris' government strives to provide an urban landscape that ensures 'equal access for all and appropriation by none', while still meeting sustainability goals. At Jardins D'Eole, programming, design and construction gave agency to an unprecedented array of stakeholders while avoiding identity politics. Although the park has promoted the co-existence of multiple publics and new forms of environmental citizenship, these achievements have been challenged by translocal forces. A Foucauldian lens of 'governmentality' suggests these tensions, and their resolution, might originate in how urbanites' understandings of the 'city-as-transformed-nature' involves a détente between the temporal understandings produced by historical narratives and those produced by daily life. Rather than a failure of governmentality, Jardins d'Eole offers new ways of conceptualizing linkages between the state, urban landscape, and futurity.

Keywords: *urban commons, governmentality, nature, neo-liberalization, time-consciousness, immigration*

MOBILITY, LANDSCAPE SUBJECTIVITY, TEMPORALITY AND (ENVIRONMENTAL) CITIZENSHIP

In many cities worldwide, the increasing circulation of ideas, money, technologies and imagery is not only creating new kinds of urban practices, but also redefining the 'urban commons'— that is, the commonly-owned and used resources in an urban society managed for individual and collective benefit, according to tacitly-

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understood norms and values.[1] Because it transcends notions of 'public' and 'private', the urban commons is sometimes conflated with 'urban public space' or 'cityscape'. However, because it also mediates a 'right to the city' – that is, an imaginary realm of opportunity, imagination, and inter-subjectivity that encourages feelings of citizenship– the urban commons cannot be reduced to those physical categorizations, important though they are. New technologies play an important role in this transformation; another major factor is the geographical mobilization of capital and labor by neo-liberalization, which has challenged traditional understandings of citizenship as a comingling of identity and obligation. The logics of neo-liberal global restructuring not only discourage the state's role of protecting individuals against the vicissitudes of the market – for example, in housing, education, health care, quality of life – they also tend to undermine its long-term power to shape 'urban public space' for social or cultural ends. In many parts of the world today, market-centric urbanism recasts the urban public space as a luxury rather than a necessity, and so-called 'green initiatives' become caught in the cross-currents of consumption and capital return.

Footloose, rent-seeking capital, and neo-liberal political economies are also challenging the enduring and taken-for-granted belief that landscape 'improvement' brings about a cognate transformation of citizens. To understand this, one needs to consider the hidden role of 'urban nature' as a vehicle of governmentality, Foucault's term to describe the regulatory web of behavior whereby, since the Enlightenment, states have maintained social and economic order, and mediated the idea of citizenship.[2] This disciplining of the population through techniques of government is largely undetected; it works because individuals and groups internalize certain values and manage their own behavior, through the governance of the self. Mediated through both official and tacit codes of practice, governmentality relies on a 'natural consensus' constructed by a combination of spatial representation/discourse and social praxis. In scholarly discourse, it has usually been associated with control, oppression and dominance; however, like most of Foucault's theoretical constructs, it also has a constitutive potential. One especially elusive, dispersed variant of governmentality, 'bio-power', refers to the management of, or caring for, the biological processes of life, and the social and environmental conditions under which we live (Gissen, 2014, 17). Because the state's viability depends on its citizen's economic productivity, this 'caring' invariably involves their corporeal wellbeing (or, today, 'quality of life'). And because it works primarily through the environment, as both representation and lived reality, this caring is largely mediated through quotidian and material practices, and the anatamo-affectability of individual citizens (Payne, 2014).[3]

This kind of bio-political governmentality, akin to what political scientist Arun Agrawal (2005) calls 'environmentality',[4] allows one to see how the orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal in constructed landscapes not only provides a 'setting' for daily life, but also acts as a vehicle for ideology, sociality and identity. Thus, inhabiting a constructed urban landscape (re)produces understandings about collective and individual rights and responsibilities that are simultaneously *social* (i.e. between people), and *environmental* (i.e. between people and the biophysical world). As geographer Nate Gabriel puts it, "the techniques of government associated with (the forming of) urban parks....produce 'park subjects', who in turn reproduce park discourse through the establishment of particular forms of knowledge about cities, nature, and people."(2011: 124). Thus, Foucauldian governmentality not only implies 'landscape subjectivity', but also 'landscape subjects'— arguably both necessary components of citizenship; consequently, "teaching people how to…appreciate landscape" often goes hand in hand with "a desire to control potentially disruptive affects" (Matless, 1994, 153 –154).

An often-overlooked aspect of landscape's anatamo-affective governmentality is the fact that, unlike *nature,* landscapes are pervaded by memory. Both places and representations, constructed landscapes' 'improving' potential draws on how a physical site evokes, usually unconsciously, broader cultural narratives and histories. Consequently, the layering of spatial experience and aesthetic sensibilities in a constructed landscape is intertwined with how that landscape provides a material-spatial framework for fashioning a sense of temporal orientation.[5] This temporal orientation involves the synchronization of the time-consciousness dominating the public sphere with multiple 'other' *temporalities.* Arguably, it is precisely the ability of the articulation of the mineral and the vegetal in the urban commons to render legible the living and the processual that underwrites its capacity to convey not just a sense of continuity, but of *futurity* ('a better world')—a key imaginary in both the idea of the nation-state, and the contractual subjectivity we call citizenship.

Here again, the emerging global political economy is having a transformative impact. Circulations of capital generate circulations of people, creating complex and contradictory forms of *temporal disorientation*. New arrivals in cities often have a complicated relationship with that city's 'national history', may bring a different sense of time-consciousness with them, and are less likely to perceive it as a meaningful object, poised in a linear relationship between past and present.[6] Today, these temporal disorientations are reinforced by digital media, which bring some 'worlds' – places, people, practices – together, but also insulate some from each other (Sheller & Urry 2006). Situating urbanites in multi-scalar time-space, digital technologies encourage the idea that the 'right-to-the-city' is a personal matter, rather than something tied to a shared, teleological-historical imaginaries. Under these circumstances, even native residents can begin to feel alienated from the history of the city and their sense of self in relation to it.[7] Familiar in rapidly-growing cities of the post-colonial/global South (Barac, 2015), this contingent, im/mobile urban subjectivity is also now manifest in cities of the global North, especially those whose colonial past is making economic, political and racial demands on the present. Raising questions about who, what, or indeed *where* is 'the state', these competing temporalities all weaken notions that the passage of time leads to a better future, and relatedly, historic (and *historicist*) notions of the urban commons as an intersubjective vehicle for citizenship and improvement.

This governmental co-production of landscape subjectivity and subjects has if anything become more critical today. On the one hand, the decline of taken-for-granted Western-historicist ideologies of 'progress' is calling into question classic governmental discourses about the commons and citizenship that underwrite both city-making and nationhood, and the 'disinterested' shaping of landscapes. Meanwhile, paralleling with this so-called 'end of history', there is the growing realization that the survival of humans' rests increasingly on the informed, long-term management of biophysical resources that are either frail, scarce, or beyond human control (Rose, 2013). These contradictory factors transforming landscape governmentality have led some to call for a new, post-historical *mentalité* that re-envisions landscape *as an event,* in which informational and affective relations with bio-physical world are mediated through the cyclical temporality of socio-ecological practices that involve adaptation and holding together (i.e. *use*) rather than the linear temporality of discourse and improvement (i.e. *history*) (Hinchliffe & Whatmore, 2006; Livesey, 2010). This formulation of landscape as a 'space of becoming' configured by practices that begin before and continue after the construction of the project aligns with arguments that the urban commons is not a transcendent, durable ontological entity, but something contingent and participatory—actively, collectively and continually constructed (Nelson, 2017). It also accords with the practical reality that any actively-used landscape's ability to provide a range of benefits (i.e. not just ecological services but corporeal well-being), to less advantaged citizens (let alone non-citizens), depends on ongoing material investment, maintenance and care.

Here it is important to recognize ways landscapes actually work *as commons*. Countering Lefebvrian arguments that by drawing on the natural, constructed landscapes enforce hegemonic power interests, the idea of landscape, at root, embodies a search for coherent, meaningful spaces that encourage collective identification by projecting a harmony between humans and the bio-physical world (Vicenzotti & Trepl, 2009, 391). These two competing interpretations of landscape means that construing the landscape as a commons requires grappling with an ambiguous synthesis whose manipulative and redemptive aspects can (never) be fully disentangled (Daniels; 1989, 206.) This ambiguity is further heightened today, when the classic Habermasian commons is increasingly expanded to encompass not only the cultural but also *natural* resources a society depends on. Under these circumstances, a constructed landscape's bio-political potential rests not so much on its function as a visual and discursive object of identity – i.e. a "set of things said or reproduced regarding a terrain" (Wylie, 2007, 106—but rather on its function as a socio-ecological milieu in which political processes are tempered by performative practices that encourage informational connections between bio-physical materiality, action (past and present) and subjectivity.

In the following, the manner in which this "performative tempering of the bio-physical" might open up alternative ways of thinking about landscape governmentality– that is to say, the role that designed open space might play in reshaping the urban commons— is explored by tracing the life of a recently-constructed urban park in Paris. Paris is an especially apposite setting in which to explore such processes, because it is a city where, unlike others in the global North today, the administration still strives to shape the urban commons – i.e. a coherent, meaningful realm that encourages citizenship—in a way that promotes social and environmental equity across the entire urban territory. Crucially, I argue, this *contemporary* production of urban landscape also extends a *historical* entanglement of spatiality and temporal subjectivity (or time-consciousness).

NARRATIVES OF NATIONHOOD, HISTORY AND NATURE VS. THE REGENERATION OF URBAN LANDSCAPE IN PARIS

From the eighteenth century on, creating the imagined community of a nation like France involved not only integrating socially- and spatially-fragmented populations, but also *multiple forms of life* with/in a single overarching narrative of national destiny. The French state's claims to authority was bolstered by its ability to discursively situate its narrative of achievements in a natural world (or territory) that seemed to antedated its existence, and didn't rely on it for its continuance. Historically, the most potent fusion of the two meta-discourses of European historicism that underwrite narratives of nationhood, *history* and *nature*, occurred in the parks and boulevards of the bourgeois-capitalist city, of which Paris is of course the seminal example. It is arguably in such urban public spaces, suggestive of an a-political commons where commerce and production make way for bio-physical rhythms and life forms requiring multi-generational care, that the linkage between landscape improvement and the cultivation of national feeling was most powerfully realized.[8]

This historic entanglement has been called into question over the last three decades by changes in the global economy. Having lost much of its traditional industry but experienced exponential growth of its tourist, cultural and service economies, Paris has reconfigured itself to respond to the dynamics of global neo-liberalization. France as a whole has abandoned the *dirigiste* policies that dominated political and economic life until the 1970s,[9] and embraced a hybrid state-centered neo-liberalization *a la Francaise*, in which the state seeks instead to facilitate and guide capital interests, while mitigating consumption-driven urban development. Paris' administration has had to navigate between transforming the city into a visually seductive, but socially-hollow container for global capital, and providing the basic infrastructures of daily life needed to support equitable social relations (Picon, 2015). The city's government still strives to extend the ideal of publicly-funded, well-designed, high-quality public open space to neighborhoods throughout the city,[10] even as it seeks to address questions of sustainability and an array of challenges stemming from increasing mobility: tourism, urban branding, and new publics that challenge mainstream cultural practices and values.

This is because, in Paris, the urban landscape has, for two centuries, not only played a key role in mediating the sense of national history, but also the ideology of assimilationist republicanism. Based on the ideals of the Revolution, and privileging *'liberté, fraternité, egalité'* over racial, ethnic and religious difference, the French interpretation of democracy reciprocally requires citizens to eschew other religious and cultural identities and affiliations.[11] Seen as a superior alternative to both the agnostic multi-culturalism found in European countries and the pluralistic communitarianism of Anglo-Saxon ones, this *laicité* has been likened to a civic or secular religion. This universalist interpretation of citizenship has profound urbanistic consequences, placing extraordinary demands on the urban commons, both as a space of representation and identity, and as a space of material and embodied practice (Newman, 2013). On one hand, it informs arguments that certain neighborhoods' population's 'failure to assimilate' is attributable to the physical character of their built environment. On the other hand, it leads to *local landscapes* being routinely conflated with *national space*, and as a result, consciously designed and managed to ensure not just equal but also dignified 'access for all and appropriation by none'. In practice, this provision of a commons in which urbanites can be something other than workers, consumers and spectators is distinctly contractual: 'delinquency' and 'incivility' in it are viewed as subtle threats to the republican order (Newman, 2013).

The 'techniques of (landscape) government' are especially evident in the city's traditional fenced parks, which are open for predetermined times, and overseen by uniformed *gardiens,*(custodians) who ensure they are only used in specific ways, safeguarding the landscape as well as users experience by enforcing a universal code of behavior that makes the park accessible to anybody. As a result, entering one of these parks means entering into a kind of unwritten contract with the state; one gains the right to use the facility on equal terms as others, in exchange for granting the city and the state the power to define what kind of space it is. Less obviously, these parks naturalize republicanism by defining and enacting a particular relationship between urbanites, the state and nature writ large (Newman, 2013). Thus, in France, the configuration of the mineral and the vegetal in the urban landscape invokes cultural-national memory, and the use of the urban commons to produce citizen/subjects draws on the historicist time-consciousness that dominates the public sphere.[12] (This conflation was prefigured by the strategies of Baron Haussmann's director of public works, Adolphe Alphand, who in the 1860s used new public open spaces to stage an 'invented history', a patrimonial, palimpsest-like dialogue between traces of the city's material past and the emerging bourgeois-capitalist order).[13]

This historically-charged relationship between urban commons and assimilationist-republican citizenship, combined with the fracturing of landscape subjectivity created by contemporary im/mobility, complicates equitable urban regeneration in Paris today. Often, this regeneration takes the form of a *zone d'amenagement concertée* (or ZAC)[14], and involves completely new green open spaces or networks, designed as anchors for new *quartiers* created on gaps in the urban fabric by infrastructures no longer required by industries that have left the city. Although designed in a way that reflects Alphand's 'art of left-overs' (Grumbach, 1977) these regeneration projects discussed in terms of 'green urbanism'—i.e. improving the quality of urban life, and meeting sustainability goals such as densification, pollution reduction, bio-diversity and climate resilience. This has not prevented some from seeing these projects as a smokescreen for the gentrification of previously poor, usually immigrant, neighborhoods, and the state's (neo-liberal) retreat from the cost and responsibility of managing the urban commons. Others have blamed these overtly contemporary projects for erasing the atmospheric qualities of old industrial and working-class neighborhoods (Hazan, 2010). That said, because they invariably deploy the vegetal in a more distributed way through the cityscape than traditional parks, these projects imbricate *everyday life*, the *state* and (managed) *nature* in a new way. Indeed, by experimenting with new strategies for combining accessibility, urban programming and long-term green agendas, several recent projects by Paris' *Directeur de l'Espace Vert et Environnement* (DEVE) gesture towards of a new kind of landscape governmentality.[15]

However, the governmental potential of these contemporary projects remains contingent on the political climate and social topography of Paris. At a time when French cultural identity is itself being contested, such well-meaning urban projects may not automatically produce unequivocal national feeling. Neighborhoods, no less than cities and nations, can be refuges against an unsettled and unsettling world, but they can also become symbols of identity through practices of differentiation and intolerance (McDowell, 1999, 114). In *quartiers populaires* (working class neighborhoods), for instance, social and economic *im*mobility can lead residents to seek a sense of identity through standing in their *quartier,* become digitally enfolded within translocal elective communities, or indeed, a combination of these. These are not trivial dynamics; over twenty percent of central Paris' population are non-French born or immigrant-descendent, and in some neighborhoods this figure doubles (APUR, 2010). Notwithstanding its image as the quintessence of mainstream French culture, Paris has experienced many waves of migration, most recently, after World War II, from France's ex-colonies. Many of this now sizable population of non-ethnically-French Parisians came to the country as temporary workers during the *Trente Glorieuse*, the thirty years of dramatic growth and reconstruction from 1945 to 1975, but ended up settling there, even as the industries that employed them departed for more profitable locales. Nowadays, immigration has slowed, but despite decades of official inclusiveness in public institutions and social policies, many immigrant-descended residents of Paris' *quartiers populaires* still do not feel like fully French citizens.

Such feelings have been attributed to official discourses and school curricula that overlook the *shared* histories of France and its overseas territories, which is where many of these urbanites, or their parents, come from; also, to persistent racism in policing as well as employment (exacerbated by the shift from statist to a neoliberal economy) that especially affects young immigrant men. In Paris' *banlieue* (peripheries) and working class neighborhoods, a profound tension has emerged between the moral values of some immigrants and the liberal secularism promoted by the French stat– a gap that, as the recent terrorist attacks have shown, has been exploited by transnational, internet-based extremist religious groups keen to foster grievances against the secular liberal nation-state. After decades of assimilation, this process now seems to have reversed, increasing Islamophobia and support for far-right policies amongst mainstream French.

Thus, contrary to popular perceptions, contemporary Paris is subject to an array of translocal fluxes and im/mobilities that threaten social coherence, and fracture temporal orientation and landscape subjectivity in the city. This would seem to open up opportunities for new kinds of landscape projects in which biophysical relationships and socio-political processes are integrated via participatory practices that encourage informational connections between landscape and subjectivity. That said, it is an open question whether such participatory landscape practices can transcend the background historic and political processes shaping the larger urban setting of which the landscape is part.[16]

Jardins d'Eole: A new 'distribution of tasks' and the limits of governmentality

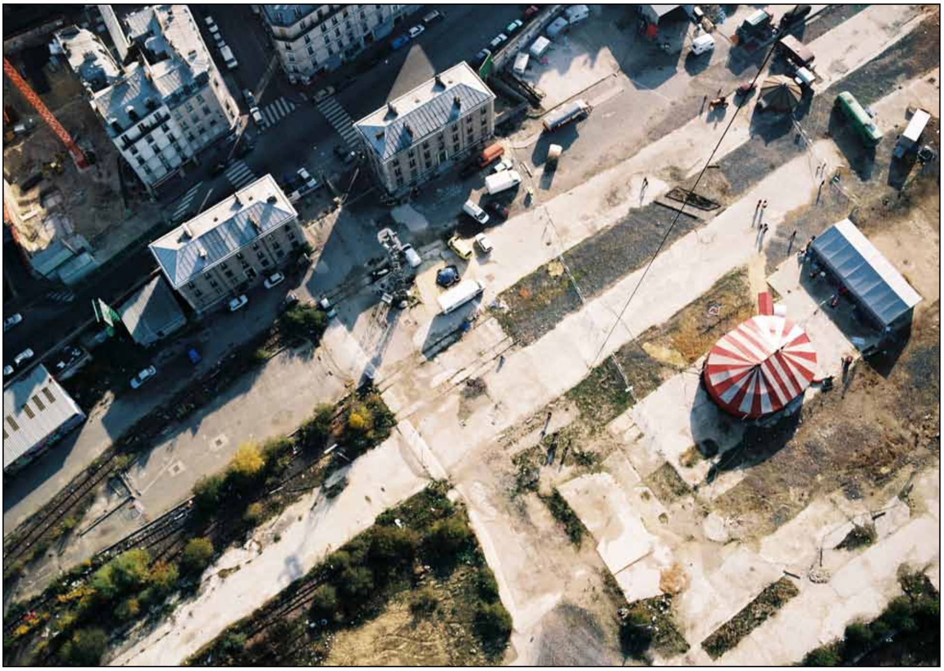
A recent project in Paris which navigates many of these challenges is the *Jardins d'Eole*, a park completed in 2008, in the dense *Cour du Maroc quartier*, a neighborhood that has been working-class for over a century, and today has a predominantly immigrant population (Figure 1). Situated on a railway yard in the 19th arrondissement decommissioned in the 1990s, the 4.2 hectare park is flanked on one side by the mainline rail corridor, and on the other, by the *Rue d'Aubervilliers*, one of the oldest routes out of Paris. Part of a larger ZAC, the park was intended to provide desperately needed open space, and turn around a working class neighborhood which, though vibrant in parts, was also highly congested and contained abandoned buildings inhabited by squatters. The *Jardins d'Éole's* location also makes it accessible to residents of the *Goutte d'Or*, a *quartier* as poor, congested and open-space deprived as the *Cour du Maroc*. Effectively forming a seam between these two neighborhoods, the park created a common ground in which long isolated communities, of different national and ethnic origins, could interact.[17] Although tensions do exist, this is part of Paris' *petite couronne*, the older *intra-muros* suburbs, where thousands of non-ethnic French have been absorbed into mainstream society, and some kind of *mixité sociale* thrives.

Figure 1: Aerial view of *Jardins d'Eole*; ca.2010; Cour du Maroc and Cent-Quatre to the E, railway corridor and *Goutte-d'Or* to the West

Source: GoogleEarth

The approach used to create the *Jardins d'Eole* was significantly different from that previously used in other Paris parks. It was an attempt by the state (and its proxy, the city) to make its provision of public open space less controlling and more inclusive, without abandoning ideal of linking landscape improvement and citizenship. Although the final design of the park stemmed from an international design competition, won by Corajoud, Corajoud and Descombes, and was celebrated in the design press, its commissioning and development engaged an unusual array of local stakeholders (Jolé, 2008; Renaud & Tonnelat, 2008). Indeed, the park largely owes its existence in part to the local neighborhood association's tactical use of the growing rhetoric of 'green urbanism', both to rally local residents in support of a park, and to strengthen the hand of local and national politicians who invested political capital in realizing it. The SNCF (the French national railway company) who were the previous property owners, planned to sell the site to a waste handling corporation that would have brought heavy traffic and pollution to the neighborhood. The *Alliance Jardins d'Eole* (AJE) was formed to fight these plans using various forms of activism (Newman, 2015, 49-50), and once they succeeded, worked with architects, sociologists and municipal authorities to shape the future park's design (Figure 2).[18] This multi-year process recognized that the surrounding community comprised hundreds of extremely space-deprived households with children, and had in effect already claimed the space and in a sense projected its future. During the site's years of abandonment, *quartier* residents had regularly colonized it for communal picnics and carnivalesque festivals.[19] This extended consultation process not only addressed aspirations that the new park address racial, environmental and class-based inequalities, it helped build a sense of political solidarity and agency in a multi-ethnic community.

Figure 2: Aerial view of site before construction, showing community use



Source: *Associations Jardins d'Eole*

These local histories (i.e. both material-environmental and socio-political) informed schema for the long narrow site (Foster, 2012). The parallel lines of the abandoned infrastructure were used to arrange the multiplicity of required programs and landscape types into discrete zones within a limited area. The ambition to spatialize a new relationship between the city and local residents, and the heterogeneous surrounding fabrics, is especially evident in the design of the park's boundaries. To the east, along the *rue d'Aubervilliers*, a wide esplanade reminiscent of older parts of Paris was created, with pavilions, benches and allées of trees, which unlike the rest of the park, was intended to remain open 24 hours a day. To the west, an elevated promenade, including a pedestrian bridge, was built alongside the railway tracks, linking the two streets that connect the park to the *Goutte d'Or*, and buffering the noise of passing trains. The social needs of the local population informed the park's program and design. Topography was manipulated to improve visibility and to distribute users throughout the park. In addition to large and small turf areas, a large wild meadow, and community gardens, the park contains multiple ball courts and active play areas, a large central space for festivals, musical performances and screenings, and refreshment stands to be operated by residents. The *Jardins d'Eole* was also designed to demonstrate the ideals of sustainability. Water became an important design element, both as a visual and sensorial resource, and a way to cultivate an awareness of the need for resource management. To emphasize urban hydrology, a unique *jardins de gravier* (gravel garden) was created to collected water for recycling in an adjacent canal garden, which includes a lush aquatic habitat.[20]

Figure 3: *Jardins gravier:* water as key design element demonstrating the ideals of sustainability: gravel and canal gardens

Source: Abré Crafford, 2009

The programming and design of *Jardins d'Eole* was a combined effort by the city, sociologists and landscape designers to build a sense of agency amongst the local residents as regulators of their own public spaces. Along *rue d'Aubervilliers*, long dominated by drug dealing, a crèche was incorporated into old railyard entrance buildings, and new pavilions were created to house refreshments kiosks and after-school programs and provide spaces for local communities to develop entrepreneurial, mentoring and managerial skills. These gestures towards local autonomy continued after the park opened, with the AJE given the ongoing responsibility of programming key parts of it, a radical departure from Paris norms. The AJE was comprised of multiple immigrant groups, and embraced pluralism and diversity at an abstract level (describing the park as a 'space of cultural encounters'), while carefully maintaining the assimilationist-republican avoidance of identity politics. Thus initial notions that the park include plantings and spaces evocative of some community members' home countries were replaced by symbolically-neutral and ecological ideals of 'bio-diversity' (Newman, 2011,198) and during the campaign to build the park references to particular cultural identities were eschewed in favor of the normalizing term quartier. Other strategies to balance republican universalism and local plurality were the politics surrounding the park's name,[21] and the use of architectural elements designed to emphasize the ready-made industrial character of the neighborhood.[22]

Figure 4: A park in a dense *quartier* of extremely space-deprived households, many with children

Source: author's photograph, 2009

As built, then, the *Jardins d'Eole* diverges from the traditional Alphandian park in some respects,[23] and mirrors it in others. On the one hand, unlike the traditional

Parisian park, it is not meant to be an illusionistic, compensatory natural retreat. While there are groves of shade trees – now maturing—and quiet places, its spatial geometry is emphatically 'un-natural', there are many architectonic elements, and commercial activities are not excluded. On the other hand, as in the traditional park, socially-constructed ideas of nature did provide a governing signifier linking all the parties involved in its creation, albeit here in the guise of green urbanism. Similarly, the formal design, by using the traces of the old railway lines to topographically script the park's different areas and relate it to its urban context, constructs an Alphandian 'invented history'. Crucially, though, as anthropologist Andrew Newman makes clear, the *process* of creating *Jardins d'Eole* was unique. Overriding national and business interests, it advanced the needs and aspirations of the local community, some of whom belonged to a global urban gardening movement (Newman 2015, 47), while scrupulously avoiding identity politics. It acknowledged local affective feelings about the site rooted in its prior informal use, and helped promote a republican mixing between groups of diverse origins, ethnicities and ages. The final design's programming and environmental strategies also increased these groups' everyday right to the city and engagement with natural processes by augmenting the range of practices and agents usually found in Paris' parks.

Figure 5: Multi-functional ball courts

Source: author's photograph, 2017

In all these ways, one could argue the concept of landscape governmentality has been updated at the *Jardins d'Eole,* and indeed, the park has been held up as an example of grass-roots urbanism. Nevertheless, some critics have argued the park has gentrified the *quartier*; while others have blamed intermittent insurgent use of the park (of which more below) on the DEVE's devolution of authority to the community, arguing that in practice this retreat of the state has *weakened* the principle of equal access for all. Familiar from discussions about other recent parks, the playing out of these arguments here has been shaped by local circumstances. On the one hand, in the streets fronting the park, derelict buildings have been replaced by social housing, though most of the pre-existing fabric has been refurbished by middle class businesses. On the other hand, many social housing ensembles remain within a few minutes' walk, and the park's users, mostly children and youths, still overwhelmingly come from these *quartiers*. The high-profile 2010 renovation of Paris' obsolete and cavernous *Pompes Funébre* (municipal funerary depot) into *le Centquatre*, a nearby venue for contemporary art, was meant to draw tourists to the neighborhood and develop a synergy with the park, but was soon reconfigured by the city to include more community-related activities.

Figure 6: Immigrant encampment, esplanade along *rue de Aubervilliers*

Source: Mathieu Alexandre, 2016, AFP/Getty

Although these ongoing corrections of the original urban regeneration project suggest a more-or-less collaborative relationship between city and community, this alliance has recently been severely tested by trans-local fluxes acting on the metropolis as a whole. Despite intensive community use and monitoring as well as back-up policing, a few years after opening, the park was invaded by drug dealers displaced by urban renewal elsewhere in north-east Paris, and became so crime-ridden it had to be shut down for months. Attributing this to the parks 'democratic' design, the DEVE revised the original planting to improve visibility,[24] fenced-off and rented parts of the esplanade to fee-charging cultural organizations, and introduced policing strategies that alienated the local communities and reduced their engagement with the park.[25] In 2015 and 2016, intermittent occupations of the park by undocumented immigrants,[26] while respected by local residents,[27] took a toll on its more fragile components.[28] Parts of *Jardins d'Eole* remain occupied by outsiders seeking daytime and nighttime shelter, though it is still heavily used by the surrounding communities.[29] In summer 2018, the DEVE had closed the *iconic pedestrian bridge* and adapted their maintenance practices to these shifting patterns of inhabitation and use.[30] Nevertheless, although the park has become unkempt, and is now shunned by tourists, it still hosts local programs dedicated to its original mission of building cultural diversity and environmental awareness.

Figure 7: Undocumented immigrants, *prairie sauvage*, southern end of *Jardins d'Eole*

Source: author's photograph, 2017

CONCLUDING COMMENTS: TOWARDS A MULTI-TEMPORAL 'ENVIRONMENTALITY'?

Jardins d'Eole's short, turbulent and incomplete history suggests that despite informed, sustained efforts to ensure social equity, the urban landscape's governmentality – i.e. its ability to encourage 'environmental citizenship'– is outmatched by the multiple, translocal fluxes that course through metropolises like Paris. Indeed, one could use the park's history to argue that the very notion of landscape governmentality, and the belief that landscape 'improvement' brings about a cognate transformation of the citizenry, is no longer possible in the globalized, post-historical city, where heterogeneous publics undermine the very possibility of a true urban commons, and the state's retreat from managing the commons (however rationalized) undermines 'access for all and appropriation by none'.

However, a less aesthetic, more bio-political reading of the park might recognize a more redemptive, or at least, ambiguous potential in this seemingly failed landscape. While conditions in *Jardins d'Eole* are continually evolving, its robust basic design– a spatial and topographic ordering based on a sophisticated understanding of how diverse groups claim space, and the functioning of urban environmental systems – has allowed much of it to survive, even if parts have failed under pressure from unanticipated uses. No doubt, some of this stems from the social ecology that has been generated by the park, thanks to the surrounding communities' engagement in its creation and management, a process which, interestingly, revealed that some of se (non-French) Parisians were not only familiar with the principles of republicanism, but embraced a more rigorous version of it than their (native) neighbors (Newman, 2015, 65-99). Arguably, this has been manifested in the way local residents have accommodated homeless immigrants' appropriation of parts of the park. From this perspective at least, the *Jardins d'Eole* has strengthened previously-marginalized urbanites' appreciation of the ideals of liberal secularism.

But is this the same as transforming the *Jardins d'Eole*'s users into 'French citizen/ subjects'? This question returns one to the notion that 'environmental citizenship' stems from the affective understandings associated with landscape as a space of becoming. In unpacking these kinds of 'event-ual' affects, it is useful to think of the urban landscape as an environmental assemblage,[31] an Actor-Network of actants (including human subjects) as well as the transient, performative interactions that link them.[32] Seen this way, the heterogeneous 'forms (and scales) of life' at work in the park are structured by a multiplicity of embodied interactions replete with rising and falling potentialities to act. As Stéphane Tonnelat, a sociologist involved in *Jardins d'Eole*'s creation, has pointed out, users of a park like this often appropriate design features in inventive ways, and develop a civic ability to share space, an ability which, because it involves negotiating with rather than accepting directives from the authorities about the park's functioning, cultivates skills in self-governance and conflict resolution (Tonnelat, 2010).[33] Furthermore, at *Jardins d'Eole*, since this appropriation occurs in, and in relation to, urban nature, it interweaves not only more diverse subjects than originally intended, but also subjects and environment, with biking teenagers and train commuters, basketball players and gendarmes, hijab-wearing women and drug-dealers, community gardeners weeding alongside DEVE workers tending aquatic habitats alongside sans-papiéres (undocumented migrants) dozing in the prairie sauvage (wild meadow). This creates an unsettled bio-political force field of co-existence, a locally-negotiated 'third form of ownership' in which different actors – mostly new citizens—m participate with/in power, and experience new kinds of agency vis-a-vis the environment as well as the state.

It is possible, then to see *Jardins d'Eole* as an urban landscape that is not only evolving a unique social, but also an affective ecology, in which questions of difference are subsumed by the convivial re-valorization of past teleological articulations of state, citizen and the bio-physical world.[34] Implicit here is the expansion of the potential temporalities involved in landscape governmentality made possible by post-historical time-consciousness. Structuring a public landscape around participatory, informational and affective human-nonhuman interactions mediates a lived, temporal orientation that cuts across the competing histories introduced by social, political, and economic displacement. Moreover, because these interactions always have a bio-physical component, they also enact notions of 'resilience' – that is, a system's ability to absorb shifting external forces without changing its basic function – thus supporting (bio-) politically-charged affects of care, improvement and futurity. Mobilized in part by the designer' spatio-material orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal, the anatamo-affectivity of *Jardins d'Eole* arises out of everyday articulations of human and nonhuman that integrates local experience and know-how, and bypass 'the nation', even as they rely on the agential certainty of the state. Paradoxically, as some theorists have pointed out, while it is ultimately through the embodied space of the quartier that the trans-national becomes integrated into everyday life, such spaces can still (performatively) awaken 'national feeling' without the active cultivation of a collective 'we' (Low, 2011; Closs-Stephens, 2015).[35]

These are optimistic claims to make about the urban commons' affective potential, at a time of when geographies of displacement, whether economic, environmental or political in origin, are problematizing the viability of the urban commons, and encouraging a resurgence of xenophobic nationalism. In the face of this reality, *Jardins d'Eole* offers contradictory messages. It suggests the classic historicist linkage between the state, citizenship and the 'natural world' might be recuperated through ongoing and performative interactions with biophysical processes. By foregrounding emergent material processes and bodies of knowledge, such a post-historical interpretation of governmentality increases the imagined pasts and futures the designed landscape can encompass and convey. On the other hand *Jardins d'Eole* also suggests this assemblage-like landscape condition cannot escape 'history'. It depends not only on managing and tuning, but also anticipating and redressing the impact of unforeseen flows on these interactions, through nested scales of monitoring and material control in time. In a city of such refractory im/mobilities as Paris, the state's continuing support for such multi-temporality may be critical to the urban commons' survival, and the ongoing transformation on which cultural continuity (or tradition) depends.

NOTES

1. The urban commons is a semi-tangible manifestation of Jürgen Habermas' ideal of the 'public sphere': a realm in which individuals come together to identify and discuss societal problems and shape political action. At a time when much that has traditionally been conceived of as public is in retreat, it offers an alternative to visions of the city as a battle between 'public' and 'private'.
2. Few authors have explicitly applied bio-politic thinking to a specific constructed landscape, though see Hutchinson 2017.
3. Understood as forms of pre-reflective emotional intensity, Deleuzian affect has been described as the dynamic, syncretic *constitution of the sense of self in relation to context*. As Payne's terminology underscores, this rising and falling of the 'power or potential to act' arises from the lived, non-discursive, interactions between bodies, as well as bodies and environments. See Park, Davidson & Shields (2011).
4. The process whereby individuals become self-disciplining environmental subjects. The term is sometimes also used to describe "an awareness of the importance of the environment in everyday life".
5. Urbanist Kevin Lynch argued that the patterning of the urban field's various components creates a particular co-existence of 'futures' and 'pasts', a heterochrony that not only mediates a particular time-consciousness, but contributes to the city's functioning as a source of hope and 'a life yet to be' (Lynch 1995, 90 -116).
6. As some theorists have noted, under the impact of globalization, non-western, and non-linear, visions of history, long overshadowed by colonial rule, are re-staking their claim to relevance.
7. This of course encourages many to cling to the consolations of persistence; atavistic attachments to abstract, discursive places have if anything increased amongst those in the global North who feel left behind by globalization.
8. On the distinction between nationalism and national feeling see Closs-Stephens, 2015.
9. *Dirgisme* is a political economy in which the state directs private economic initiative through tight control of credit, taxation, foreign trade policy, social security, wages and investments. Often this control extends into the legal, social and cultural sphere as well.
10. It is hard to overemphasize how rare this has become today, globally.
11. The principles of assimilationist republicanism do not allow French censuses to

record ethnicity or religion, but they do gather information concerning country of birth.

12. This governmentality is especially visible contested in the ritual of opening and closing of these parks each day according to seasonally-prescribed times that vary according to the social dynamics of each neighborhood (Newman, 2015: 75).
13. By introducing a sense of temporal juxtaposition, Alphand's orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal in urban parks engaged rather than denied time, thus 'historicizing' the new urban fabric. See Grumbach, 1977.
14. A uniquely French development model, in which public and private sectors work as partners to transform an entire sector of the city.
15. Examples include the *Paris Plages* and *Berges de Seines*; the *Place del Republique*; the *parc Martin Luther King*; the reconstructed park at the *Forum les Halles*, and the new tramways along the boulevards *de Marechaux*.
16. See for instance Whatmore & Hinchliffe, 2010, 450-456.
17. The quartier has been home to three generations of Maghrebi residents, two generations of West Africans and more recently, arrivals from Sri Lanka and China. Newman, 2015, 195.
18. The DEVE remains the chief actor managing the park.
19. Called *manif-festives*.
20. According to the designers, the linkage between the gravel garden and the plant-filled canal was meant to "evoke links between earth, water, and plants, *evoking the scarcity of resources*". Newman, 2015, 130 & Newman, 2011, 200
21. The initial 'working title', *Parc de la Cour du Maroc*, gave way to *Jardins d'Éole*, a name that evokes the Greek god of wind, but is also an acronym for the RER line that passes the site. The name thus avoids reference to the quartier's multi-ethnic makeup, and projects references *to sustainable energy, neighborhood history, and Greek mythology*.
22. I.e rather than the elegantly-refined historic elements found in most Parisian parks.
23. See footnote 13.
24. This involved reducing the species diversity, as well as the naturalistic maintenance practices preferred by the community (Newman, 2015, 84 - 85)
25. This semi-privatization has not been very effective. In 2015 the manager of the temporary theater on the esplanade was brutally attacked by a deranged drug addict.
26. The most serious of these, in 2016, involved a massive tent city, and removing its occupants took 35 buses.
27. It is unclear whether this is because of sympathy towards the insurgents based on local residents own multi-ethnic, non-local origins, they were less disturbed by the resulting 'chaotic' environment than the authorities, or because the open space was too valuable to abandon entirely.
28. Notably, the *jardins de gravier* and its associated canal system.

29. See for instance //quefaire.paris.fr/32009/fete-des-jardins-et-de-l-agriculture-urbaine; and www.sortiraparis.com/arts-culture/balades/articles/125280-fete-des-jardins-2017-le-village-dans-les-jardins-d-eole
30. Spending less time on landscape management (mowing, watering, pruning, replanting), and more on basic material repair and trash removal.
31. 'Assemblage' is Deleuzian term used to describe constellations of objects, bodies, and territories that come together in productive ways *for a while*, creating new means of expression and 'realities' by making unexpected and productive connections. Livesey, 2010.
32. Actor-Networks gather, enroll and connect human and nonhuman actors in ways that develop their own momentum. From this perspective, a 'built environment' becomes a temporary (and temporal) stabilization of all the varying actors in place --an 'achievement'. In this analysis, agency lies not in the properties of actors but in the relationship between them. Rather than being formed separately, each actor's identity emerges through its relations to the others. This relational con-figuration downplays the importance of specific actors and emphasizes the multiplicity of mutually constitutive actants' which together serve to hybridize agency (McFarlane, 2011).
33. Sometimes using horticultural knowledge from other parts of the world brought by immigrants living in the neighbourhood. (Newman, 2015, 85-89).
34. 'Conviviality' describes a condition of 'being-with-others', a practical inter-corporeality of civic association in which nonhuman kinds and human individuals thrive in combination with each other. It draws on a feminist ethic of social living in which individual becoming in the world is unavoidably conditioned through affective associations with others, and construes the knowing, learning and construction of the built environment as an education of attention. See Whatmore & Hinchliffe, 2010, 452-3.
35. Not incidental here is how the park has opened up to *all* Parisians a previously-unseen panorama of the metropolis, dominated by that problematic icon of national identity, the Sacré Coeur.

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Automobility, Walking and Territory

Driven by fear? Commuting and Fear of Terrorism in the West Bank

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This study examines perceived safety of individuals driving through politically contested territories. Using on-line surveys, residents of Israeli settlements in the West-Bank were asked to report on their perceived safety from terrorism while commuting. The research identified and controlled for three sets of variables, namely, personal, environmental and situational. The results show that while level of perceived safety from terrorism among driving settlers is high, it is affected by gender, by the situational setting as well as by environmental factors such as proximity to Jewish localities and road openness and curvedness.

Keywords: *Perceived Safety, Fear of Terrorism, Commuting, West Bank, Settlers*

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed a great deal of research on perceived fear of crime. Studies have shown that personal characteristics (e.g., gender, age and ethnicity), social factors (e.g., the presence of others, cultural heterogeneity), and environmental features (e.g., lighting, time of day, openness, curvatures, and street widths) significantly impact the extent to which individuals feel safe, or endangered (Andrews & Gatersleben, 2010; Bjornstrom & Ralston, 2014; Blobaum & Hunecke, 2005; Boomsma & Steg, 2014; Herzog & Chernick, 2000; L. J. Jorgensen, Ellis, & Ruddell, 2013; Toet & van Schaik, 2012).

Despite offering a greater understanding of how fear is shaped, studies have been limited in two ways. Thematically, perceived fear has been examined primarily with respect to crime, thereby ignoring other fear-invoking phenomena, notably terrorism (see Nellis, 2009; Nellis & Savage, 2012; Wilcox et al., 2009). Methodologically, studies often examined the experience of persons walking individually through unsafe settings, largely ignoring other travel means and situations (e.g., group travel). Given the ubiquity of car travel (Urry, 2004), it is important to understand behaviors, reactions and feelings that occur in vehicular space (Merriman, 2009).

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Driving, for example, may evoke a lower sense of fear from external threats, terrorism included, due to the vehicle's tenability and potential for speedy escapes from some unsafe environments. However, the size and ungainliness of most cars, which make them extremely vulnerable targets, could possibly enhance drivers' fear, especially when accompanied by minors. This may be particularly true in conflict-ridden areas, where cars are often targeted by perpetrators. Either way, it is important to attend to the determinants of fear while driving.

This article examines perceived fear of terrorism among drivers in contested spaces. Two hundred and forty-nine Israeli settlers living in the West Bank[1] were asked to report on their perceived safety while commuting. Perceived safety was analyzed against: (I) socio-demographic factors, including gender, age, marital status, education, political orientation and level of religiosity; and (II) environmental factors, including road curvature, and proximity to Israeli or Palestinian localities. These factors were tested against three driving situations, namely alone, accompanied by adult (18 years of age) passengers, and accompanied by minor passengers. Findings suggest that while the overall level of perceived safety among driving settlers is high, it is variably impacted by all three factors.

The paper begins by surveying the literature on fear of crime and terrorism. It then contextualizes the West Bank, the field of study, elaborating on the pervasiveness of terrorism in it. The third section presents findings and interprets the effects of different factors on the perceived safety of driving settlers. The conclusion discusses the broader implications of the study.

DETERMINANTS OF FEAR OF CRIME

Fear of crime is an emotional response of anxiety associated with victimization (Ferraro, 1995). Appleton's (1975) prospect-refuge model was probably the first to theorize links between fear and space, positing that humans prefer landscapes that provide an open view (prospect) together with protection (refuge). The ability to see without being exposed to or seen by others enhances perceived safety and increases the aesthetic pleasure offered by the physical landscape. Prospect and refuge do not necessarily have to be experienced first-hand since people are capable of indirectly judging the qualities specific places offer them. Fisher and Nasar (1992) introduced the term 'escape' as a third dimension in the analysis of safety. Taking into consideration both the victim's prospect and the potential offender's refuge, they suggest that individuals feel safest at sites that both enable them open prospect and allow offenders low refuge, and least safe in those that afford them limited prospects and provide offenders with multiple hiding places (high refuge).

Subsequent studies examined features of the landscape that feed into fear of crime, linking lighting (Blobaum & Hunecke, 2005; Boomsma & Steg, 2014), cues of setting care (Herzog & Chernick, 2000), and non-curved streets (Herzog &

Flynn-Smith, 2001; Herzog & Miller, 1998), to lower fear levels. Wang & Taylor (2006) argue that in addition to landscape features, three fear-enhancing physical factors dominate the literature, namely physical incivilities like litter, vacant lots and sprayed graffiti (LaGrange et al.1992; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Taylor, 2001; Toet & van Schaik, 2012), signs of social cohesion and residential involvement (Hunter, 1978; Hunter & Baumer, 1982; Taylor & Hale, 1986; Wilson & Kelling, 1982), and neighborhood design and planning attributes (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993; Brown, 1982).

Links between urban planning and design features, including proximity to commercial and mixed land uses, and higher rates of property crime are well-established. Explanations underscore the breakdown of socio-territorial controls within non-residential environments by virtue of undermining social guardianship (e.g., absence of designated individuals who maintain and control the specific territory) and the attraction of strangers who are indistinguishable from local residents (Kurtz, Koons, & Taylor, 1998). However, studies examining the impact of similar features on fear of crime have not always yielded conclusive results (McCrea, et al. 2005; Schweitzer et al. 1999). Similarly, though some studies associated well-kept vegetation and reduced fear of crime among urban residents (Jorgensen & Anthopoulou, 2007; Shaffer & Anderson, 1985), others found vegetation to increase fear as it offers potential perpetrator concealment (Nasar & Jones, 1997). As Foster, Giles-Corti & Knuiman (2014) concluded in a recent study, it 'is not simply one or two characteristics that contribute to feeling safe, but the cumulative effect of several planning and land-use elements' (p. 1160).

Fear of crime is also correlated with socio-demographic characteristics, primarily gender (Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Jorgensen et al., 2013; Stanko, 1995). Several explanations have been offered to explain women's heightened fear of crime. Ferraro (1995) famously revealed that rather than a generalized fear of crime, women experience a heightened fear of sexual assault. A significant proportion of women's fear is therefore tied to a range of potential harmful incidents that may not apply to men (Warr, 1984). Vulnerability may also explain fear among the elderly, poor and ethnic minorities (Liska et al. 1988), since they typically feel unable to protect themselves – physically or economically - from crime. Fear is elevated when members of vulnerable groups sense that their neighborhood is declining or changing, leaving them with no local social network to draw on (Warr, 1984).

Unlike crime, scholarship on responses to terrorism is embryonic. However, responses to crime and terrorism share key characteristics; both may invoke cognitive (risk), emotional (fear) and behavioral (avoidance) reactions. Fear of terrorism is affected by individuals' exposure to relevant information (Rubin et al. 2003; Slone, 2000) as well as the extent to which they could accumulate 'skills' necessary to control it. As Becker & Rubinstein (2004) argue in their work about the effect of fear on economic behavior, people who face similar probabilities to be harmed may differ in the ways they react to fear in accordance with their subjective incentives. Using the case of suicide bomber attacks on Israeli buses, they show that while they have a negative effect on bus rides (and positive effects on the use of taxis), reactions vary according to the likelihood of using buses, such that the effect is greatest for those who were at the margins of using them in the first place and non-existing for 'heavy' users. Drawing on the rational choice model, they conclude that fear does not pay back the same to everyone, hence 'those who are more likely to benefit from the risky activity will invest and overcome their fears, while others will substitute the risky activity by other…plans' (p. 45). This shall be returned to in the discussion of settlers' fear (or lack thereof) of driving in the West Bank.

Fear of terrorism also correlates with socio-demographic attributes and previous exposure to incidents. Studies show that fear of terrorism is higher among women (Huddy et al. 2002; Sjöberg, 2005) and ethnic minorities (Boscarino et al., 2003). It also correlates with class, as wealthier individuals were less likely to report fear of terrorism compared with those with lower incomes (Boscarino et al., 2003).

Like crime, scholarship about terrorism has typically followed a stationary logic, based on individuals' reports of fear at particular sites. From dimly-lit alleys to densely-planted areas of urban parks, most attempted to capture the immobile sense of fear among pedestrians. This 'sedentary bias' (Ghorashi, 2017) has long been critiqued by social scientists (Malkki, 1992; Tölölyan, 2000) who called for a more mobile theorization of people's everyday lives. As Elliot and Urry (2010,3) noted, 'the rise of an intensively mobile society reshapes the self – its everyday activities, interpersonal relations with others, as well as connections with the wider world'.

In the context of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006), greater attention was paid to emotions, sensations and feelings which unfold en route. Cars received particular attention, as their essential role in 'the privatization, individualization and emotionalization of consumer society' (Gilroy, 2001, 89) made them a salient object of inquiry. Cars were re-problematized as hybrid spaces in which automated materiality and human subjects create new forms of emotional agency (Michael, 1998) and driving was shown to elicit a range of feelings, from happiness and excitement to fear and anxiety. These automotive emotions, Sheller (2004) suggests, 'occur as a circulation of affects between (different) persons, (different) cars, and historically situated car cultures and geographies of automobility' (p. 227). From the thrill of driving through open-ended highways to the rampant rage directed towards fellow drivers, 'we not only feel the car, but we feel through the car and with the car' (Ibid).

The main concern in this paper is feelings of fear among Israeli settlers who drive through the West Bank (WB). Drivers face a unique challenge as they move through the area. On the one hand, since commuting is a routine practice, it re-orients the body such that 'the rest of the material world ceases to be remarkable…in itself' (Dant, 2004, 73). On the other hand, given the unpredictability of terrorism, drivers need to be alert in these areas. Additionally, driving involves passengers whose experience could be quite different (see Katz, 2000). As Laurier et al. (2008, 20) argue, 'against the conceptualization of the driver as a lone Cartesian self, contemplating an external road, driving can also be understood as a socially ordered activity with passengers as legitimate and illegitimate participants in particular tasks'. How fear is impacted by the driver's own identity, the presence of others, and exogenous environmental cues must be understood.

Contextualizing Terrorism in the West Bank

The Middle East remains a hotspot of terrorism, being home to over one fifth (22.12%) of global terrorist activity (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), 2013). Over 80% of terrorist activities took place in war-torn Iraq, Yemen and Syria, yet attacks were perpetrated in nearly every Middle Eastern country, including Israel and the West Bank, where militant Palestinian groups continue to target Israeli civilians and soldiers alike. Between 2010 and 2013, roughly 3% of regional terrorism occurred in Israel and the occupied territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip), and of the 27,664 terrorist acts by the region between 1970 and 2013, a total of 12% took place in these locations. While some of these attacks were carried out by Jewish extremists, settlers and others, the majority have been perpetrated by militant Palestinian groups (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), 2013).

Since the first Intifada (1987-1991), Israeli settlers increasingly have been the target of terrorism. In 2013 alone, more than 1200 attacks occurred in the area, including firearm shooting, bombing, stabbing, and grenade throwing, leaving two dead settlers and dozens wounded.[2] Beyond causing physical harm, terrorism adversely affects Israel's economy. The second Intifada, for example, was responsible for a 10% reduction in the country's per capita production output (Eckstein & Tsiddon (2004) and a real income loss of 12% (Persitz 2007).

These findings suggest that terrorism in Israel (and WB) is a pervasive phenomenon with far-reaching, costly and disruptive societal effects (Spilerman & Stecklov, 2009). Terrorism in Israel, we contend, like crime in the US and Europe, is a key fear-producing phenomenon, and constitutes a major social, economic and political problem. Despite recent assertions that 'Israelis have come to accept some level of terrorism as a fact of life, much as they do road accidents' (Spilerman & Stecklov, 2009:183), fear of terrorism clearly plays a role in changing cognitive and behavioral practices (Stecklov & Goldstein, 2004). Yet, save some notable exceptions, which examined its effects on behavior in the housing market (Arbel et al., 2010; Hazam & Felsenstein, 2007), fear of terrorism in Israel and settlements of the WB remains largely unexplored. The latter, demographically diverse and exposed daily to multiple forms of terrorism make an ideal case for studying the subject.

METHODOLOGY

Study Area and Population

The West Bank, measuring approximately 5800 square kilometers, is a largely mountainous area stretching from the Jordan River to the Green Line (the 1949 armistice line between Israel and Jordan). The area was occupied by Israel in 1967 and has since remained the subject of political dispute. The second Oslo Accord (1995) between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) divided the WB into three sub-areas; Areas A and B, and C. Areas A and B, together constitute 40% of the West Bank (18% and 22%, respectively). These areas are made up of 165 loosely-connected enclaves and are home to some 2.8 million Palestinians. Area A, controlled fully by the PA, includes the cities of Nablus, Bethlehem, Jericho, Qalqilya, Jenin, Ramallah, Tulkarm, and (80% of) Hebron. Area B, under PA civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian security control, includes over 400 Palestinians villages. Area C, in which *all* Jewish settlements are located, comprises 60% of the WB and is under full Israeli control. In 2013, Area C was also populated by 300,000 Palestinians living in over 500 locations (Figure 1).

Throughout the West Bank Israeli settlers and Palestinians lead separate lives; not only do they typically work, shop and socialize in discrete locations, but they also reside in strictly segregated communities, often accessed by separated road systems. These communities, sometimes only several hundred yards apart, are overseen and managed by different authorities. Palestinian localities in all areas are administered by eleven regional governorates (Arabic Muhafazat) that report to the PA's Interior Ministry and are responsible for the provision of public services (e.g., policing, health and education) within their jurisdiction. The Israeli-controlled Area C is overseen by the Judea and Samaria District whose total Jewish population of 377,900 resides in more than 150 localities (CBS Israel, 2016). While all localities are considered settlements, they vary significantly, both administratively and socio-demographically.

Administratively, there exist three forms of local administrations, which vary by population size. Municipalities administer urban centers exceeding 20,000. Their total population is estimated at 170,000. Local councils oversee urban centers whose population ranges from 1,000 to 20,000 people. Their total population is currently 80,000. The remainder (130,000 people) lives in 120 predominantly rural settlements whose population rarely exceeds 1,000. Settlements are generally self-administered through secretariats or similar administrative bodies. However, due to their small size they are also clustered into the six regional councils, which provide settlements with communal services (Figure 2).[3]

Figure 1: Israeli Settlements of the West Bank

Figure 2: Administrative Divisions of the West Bank

Settlements are also socially heterogeneous. It is estimated that 100,000 settlers live in national-religious communities, 164,000 in mixed (religious-traditional-secular) communities, and the remainder (roughly 120,000) in strictly Ultra-Orthodox

(Haredi) communities.[4] These social distinctions have two important implications for this study. First, while the majority of secular and national-religious settlers (both men and women) are wage-earners and therefore required to commute to workplaces located primarily outside the region, most Haredi men study at local religious institutions (Yeshivot) and therefore do not commute. Their women too do not commute much. Second, national religious and ultra-orthodox Jews – who are the majority among the settler population – often perceive of their WB residence in theological terms of settling the biblical Land of Israel. Following the argument of Becker & Rubinstein (2004) noted above, they may have greater incentives for taking measures to overcome fear and engage in the risky activity of driving through the West Bank than either non-religious settlers, or non-settler Israeli Jews more generally.

Survey and Measures

This research is based on a cross-sectional survey conducted in 2013 and administered as an online questionnaire. The target population was adult (>18 years) Israeli settlers who commute daily to destinations west of the Green Line. A link to the questionnaire was sent to secretariats of all 149 settlements who were asked to forward it, along with an introductory text, to e-mail accounts registered in their respective databases. To increase the response rate, a follow-up message was sent to secretariats a month later. Messages were also posted on social networks to elicit greater response from the research population. The survey resulted in 249 returned questionnaires (from 51 settlements), of which 50 were omitted, either because respondents failed to meet the selection criteria,[5] or they were incomplete. The study resulted in 199 complete questionnaires filled out by individuals from 36 settlements.[6] Though relatively small, the sample size is sufficient to illuminate key perceptions of fear among the settler population. Future studies will undoubtedly draw on larger samples.

The questionnaire uses stated preferences rather than revealed behavior, since terror attacks are spatio-temporally sporadic. The resulted stated travel behavior expresses the general tendency of the individual and is not a direct consequence of a specific attack. Respondents were first asked to answer questions concerning their commuting pattern, including means of transportation used, time and duration of travel. They were then asked to report on their sense of safety in each of the situations studied (unaccompanied driver, driver accompanied by adult passengers and driver accompanied by minor passengers). Perceived safety was measured on a five point Likert-type scale: 1 - lowest; 5 - highest. Subsequently, they were asked to rate the effect of various physical and environmental attributes on their perceived safety in the same three situations. Environmental factors tested for included road curvature and openness (Figure 3), lighting, areas of slow(ing) traffic (Figure 4), proximity to border crossings and sites of previous terrorist attacks (Figure 5). Also included was proximity to IDF military bases, Jewish/Palestinian localities (Figure 6) and the separation wall. Respondents were requested to rate the effect of these factors on their safety in each situation. Their ratings were coded into a binary variable (0: does not effect my perceived safety; 1: effects my perceived safety). Respondents were asked about their religious beliefs, political views and other personal factors, which were previously found to be correlated with fear of terrorism (e.g., gender, education). Finally, GIS and Google maps were used to calculate distance and travel time from the Green Line by measuring the minimum driving distance from each settlement to the nearest border crossing along it.

Figure 3: Junction in the West Bank, near the settlements of P'duel and Aley Zahav (Photo: Maor Rozenberg)

Figure 4: Military checkpoint near the settlement of Tapuach (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

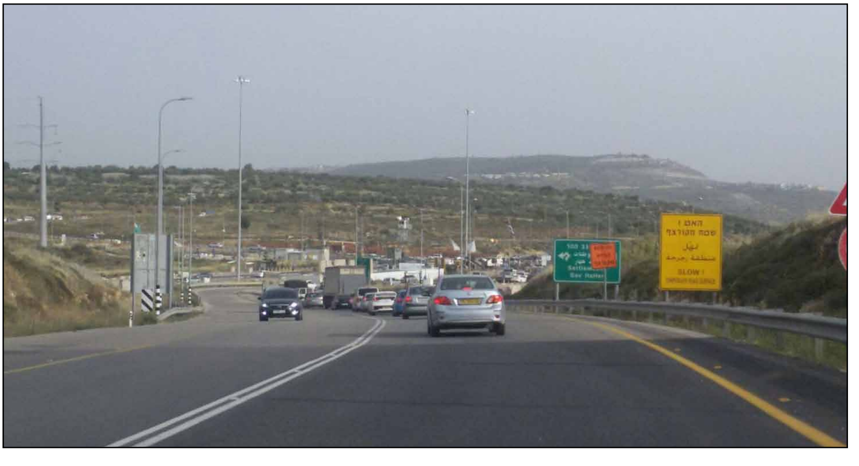

Figure 5: IDF-secured bus stop on Highway #5, near the settlement of Revava (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

Figure 6: A two-lane road near the Palestinian villages of Mardam, Zeita and Ja'main (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

Data analysis methods

Data were analyzed using SPSS version 20. Testing was first completed for univariate correlations between two categories of independent variables and a dependent variable (perceived safety from terrorism). The first category included personal factors, namely age, gender, education and religious beliefs. The second category included environmental factors, including lighting, road curvedness/limited openness and proximity to Palestinian/Jewish localities. Three situational factors were tested for perceived safety against: (I) Unaccompanied driver; (II) Accompanied driver - adult passengers, and (III) Accompanied driver – minor passengers. Each situational factor was examined separately as it was assumed that unaccompanied drivers may perceive their own safety differently compared with accompanied drivers (Keane, 1998). Only significant personal factors as well as significant environmental factors were selected for subsequent multivariate analysis. Multiple linear regression models tested drivers' perceived safety at all situations. Model 1 examined variables affecting perceived safety of an unaccompanied driver whereas models 2 and 3 examined drivers accompanied by adult and minor passengers, respectively. In what follows descriptive data is provided about the sample population and compare it to 2008 census data about Israelis in general. The results of the univariate correlations are then elaborated with perceived safety and, finally, interpret the multiple linear regression models.

RESULTS

As per Table 1, the majority of our sample population were female (56.8%), married (88.9%) and academically educated (69.8%). It was also characterized by an average household size of 5.35 persons, which is somewhat higher than the national average (4.58). Most respondents self-identified as national religious holding right-wing political views (66.8% and 83.9%, respectively). These figures correspond to Israel's social survey in which 57.6 % of adults in the settlements were identified as national religious (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015) as well as to the results in the 2015 national elections in which 88.9% of voters in this district supported right-wing political parties. More than 70% of the respondents commuted to work by private cars, a higher rate than that reported by district residents (52.4%) in the most recent census (CBS Israel, 2009). It should be noted, however, that census data is based upon individuals over the age of 15, while the sample was limited to those who are 18 years or older. Participants reported commuting five times a week on average to destinations located west of the Green Line. Their mean travel distance to the Green Line was approximately 27 kilometers and lasted an average of 28 minutes.

Table 1: Personal factors and travel variables - Descriptive information

Variable (n=199)	Categories	Percentage
H-W*[1] Mode of transportation	Bus	1.5
	Taxi/Share taxi	0.5
	Driver private car	73.9
	Passenger / known driver	8.5
	Combination	8.5
	Passenger / unknown driver	7.0
W-H*[2] Mode of transportation	Bus	3.5
	Driver private car	72.4
	Passenger / know driver	8.5
	Combination	6.0
	Passenger / unknown driver	9.5
H-W Travel time of day	19:00-06:00	6
	06:00-19:00	94
W-H Travel time of day	19:00-06:00	22.6
	06:00-19:00	77.4
Gender	Male	43.2
	Female	56.8
Marital status	Single	9
	Divorced/Widow	2
	Married	88.9
Number of cars in HH	None	4
	1	47.7
	2	46.7
	3 or more	1.5
Education	Partial high school	0.5
	Complete high school	12.6
	Vocational Education	8.5
	Students	8.5
	Academic	69.8
Religious belief	Secular	15.1
	Traditional[1]	12.1
	National Religious	66.8
	National Haredi	6
Political Affiliation (n=197)	Right	83.9
	Center	14.1
	Left	1

Variable	N	Mean	Mode	Std. Deviation
Age	199	39.28	31	13.1
Number of children	174	3.94	4	2.0
Number of children under 18	133	2.95	3	2.0
Years in settlement	198	15.56	2	11.2
Travel frequency to destination(times per week)	197	4.02	5	1.6
Travel time to Green Line (minutes)	199	27.70	8	17.4
Travel distance from Green Line	199	26.97	22	6.0
Perceived safety as a single driver	191	3.80	4	1.01
Perceived safety as driver accompanied by adults	155	3.90	4	1.01
Perceived safety as driver accompanied by minors	160	3.43	4	1.23

*[1] H-W: Home-Work, *[2] W-H: Work-Home

After testing for perceived safety against the three situations the significant factors (gender, age, education and number of cars) were included in the multiple linear regression. Interestingly, while distance from the Green Line was not significantly correlated with perceived safety, travel time had a positive correlation. Physical variables that were significantly correlated with perceived safety in all three situations included Road-Curvature/Limited-Openness (RCLO), lighting, proximity to sites where terrorist attacks previously occurred and areas of slow(ing) traffic. Driving in proximity to the separation wall was significantly correlated with perceived safety only for unaccompanied drivers. Driving in proximity to Palestinian localities was significantly correlated with perceived safety for all three situations.

Table 2 presents the regression results for estimated perceived safety of drivers in the three situations studied. For each, a multiple linear regression model was performed to predict perceived safety based on the variables found to have a significant univariate correlation. These were modeled for unaccompanied drivers, and drivers accompanied by adults as well as minors.

As can be seen in Table 2, respondents' overall level of perceived safety is relatively high. It is exceptionally high when the driver is accompanied by adults (4.39) and slightly lower when accompanied by minors or as a single driver (3.99 and 3.89 respectively). In line with previous research, gender was negatively correlated with perceived safety in all three situations. Specifically, perceived safety among unaccompanied female drivers as well as those accompanied by other adults or minors was lower than males'. However, the magnitude of the effect was somewhat different. Gender had the greatest effect on perceived safety among unaccompanied drivers as well as those accompanied by minors, but was less pronounced among those accompanied by adults. Age similarly had minor effects on perceived safety in models 1 and 3 (B=0.01 and 0.03, respectively) and no effect in Model 2. Education was negatively correlated with perceived safety in model 3, meaning that the level of perceived safety decreased with rising levels of education, but only among drivers accompanied by minors. Other personal factors were found across models.

Table 2: Multiple linear regression models examining perceived safety of drivers in different situational settings

Situational Setting	Variable	B	Std. Error	t	ρ
Model 1: A single driver	Constant	3.89	.26	15.00	.00
	In proximity to Palestinian locality (people are in sight)	-.73	.15	-4.85	.00
	Gender (female)	-.58	.15	-4.04	.00
	Age	.01	.01	2.25	.03
Sample N=191; R square 0.231; F 18.752; ρ value <0.01					
Model 2: A driver accompanied by adults	Constant	4.34	.12	35.59	.000
	Driving through a Palestinian locality	-.74	.16	-4.71	.000
	Gender (female)	-.30	.15	-1.99	.049
Sample N=155 R square 0.164; F 14.923; ρ value <0.01					
Model 3: A driver accompanied by minors	Constant	3.99	.451	8.858	.000
	Age	.03	.007	3.468	.001
	Gender (female)	-.55	.176	-3.126	.002
	Education	-.19	.079	-2.435	.016
	In proximity to a Palestinian locality (people are in sight)	-.33	.198	-1.665	.098
	Proximity to a Jewish settlement	.98	.362	2.714	.007
	Road curvature/limited openness	-.52	.194	-2.669	.008
Sample N=160; R square 0.312; F 11.552; ρ value <0.01					

In contrast to previous research findings, some environmental variables did not impact drivers' perceived safety. Lighting, for example, had a direct relationship with safety, which weakened once we controlled for other variables in the regression equation, resulting in no significant effect in all three models. Driving near sites of previous terror attacks and areas of slow traffic as well as in proximity to the Separation Wall were also insignificant. Moreover, only Model 3, which represents drivers accompanied by minors, was influenced by multiple environmental variables, namely proximity to a Palestinian locality, proximity to a Jewish settlement, and road curvature/limited openness. Proximity to a Jewish settlement had a large positive effect on perceived safety of drivers accompanied by minors, while proximity to a Palestinian locality and RCLO was negatively correlated to one's level of perceived safety. In Models 1 and 2, only driving through a Palestinian locality had a significant negative effect on the perceived safety of drivers.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Focusing on Israeli settlers in the West Bank, this article examined the effects of personal, environmental and situational factors upon fear of terrorism among Israeli drivers in the politically contested area. Results show that although the overall level of perceived safety was high, it was impacted by all sets of factors. It should be noted that although tested, distance – and travel time - to the Green Line were insignificant. However, gender, education and age were correlated with lower perceived safety. Road curvature/limited openness and proximity to Palestinian localities had a negative effect on drivers' safety whereas proximity to Jewish localities had a positive effect. Finally, driving situation was important, with drivers accompanied by minors showing lower safety levels compared with the other situations.

High level of safety from terrorism may seem surprising in light of the area's geopolitical volatility. Yet, it seems to be on par with previous findings concerning settlers' high levels of personal safety (CBS Israel, 2015). *Fear routinization* and *transportation as refuge* are proposed as plausible explanations for these seemingly counterintuitive findings. Routinization, 'the development [of something] into a regular procedure' (Webster Dictionary) was shown to reduce levels of fear because it allows 'people to live in a chronic state of fear with a façade of normalcy' (Green 1994: 131). In psychology, the process of adapting to sustained exposure to traumatic events is referred to as *habituation* (Bouton, 2007). A similar mechanism may be at play among our informants. Faced with a continuous threat of deadly attacks, settlers have routinized their fear, treating terrorism as an adverse phenomenon that comes, literally, with the (contested) territory. While routinization of fear does not preclude taking measures of precaution (e.g., carrying a handgun or avoiding certain roads after dark), it may involve a high degree of self-conviction that the propensity of terror is indeed low. This mechanism of self-conviction may be particularly pronounced among religious individuals -- the majority among the settler population. Their ideological zeal and extensive backing of the political right, which voices unyieldingly strong support for the expansion of settlements in general and as a response to terrorist attacks in particular,[7] could possibly intensify (reported) fear levels. This explanation is also in line with Becker & Rubinstein (2004) who found differential effects of fear of terrorism among persons facing the same objective probabilities (i.e., risk). Greater engagement with risky behaviors (e.g., bus riding at a time of suicide bomber attacks carried out in Israeli public buses) was found among those who could expect higher benefits from it. Therefore, in this case, low levels of fear among settlers is not the result of undervaluing objective risks but rather the outcome of a rational fear-reducing strategy intended to maximize subjective – material and ideological – gains. While deciphering this rational strategy is beyond the scope of this paper, future research could well determine its cognitive underpinnings, operational mechanisms and scope.

An alternative explanation is what could be termed transportation as refuge. Specifically, settlers' safety could be attributed to their driving – rather than walking – in contested areas. It is plausible that the car itself contributes to their safety. Thus, from the settlers' point of view as potential victims, the car may be considered both a 'refuge' and facilitator of 'escape'. Unlike the exposed pedestrian, the car may be considered by drivers a safer micro-environment, which could shield them from potential offence. Similarly, it is plausible that some settlers believe that cars are reliable facilitators of 'escape'. Confronted with potential aggressors, cars allow drivers a speedy flight, which could reduce their chances of being harmed.

With respect to personal factors, female drivers experienced lower levels of safety compared with men in all three situations. Their driving situation, however, was also significant, with women accompanied by adult passengers reporting higher levels of safety than those accompanied by minors or driving alone. While research has shown that co-travelling with a (adult) companion is a common fear-reducing strategy among women, the impact of children as co-travelers was rarely discussed. It is proposed that the presence of minors in cars that effects women's safety from terrorism could be explained through altruistic fear (Warr, 1992). Unlike fear for personal safety, altruistic fear is experienced in respect to others (e.g., parental fear for children). In this case, the vulnerability of women drivers, which elicits low levels of safety already, is compounded by the presence of minors, presumably their children, further decreasing safety levels.

Education had a negative effect on safety only among drivers with minors. This implies that when accompanied by children, more educated individuals perceive lower safety than the less educated. This is rather counterintuitive, since education has often been positively correlated with safety from crime. While a lower degree of safety among those who travel with children is to be expected given their heightened sense of responsibility to vulnerable minors who often outnumber them, its existence among the better educated is less so. Educated individuals' compromised levels of perceived safety when travelling with children could be possibly attributed to their greater awareness of the multiple forms terrorist attacks may take. This explanation is congruent with studies showing that greater information about - and awareness of - crime may lead to higher levels of perceived fear (Rohe & Burby, 1988).

Concerning physical cues, all situations included environmental factors with high coefficients. RCLO was significant, showing high and negative correlation with safety among drivers accompanied by minors only. This is in line with previous studies in which fear was higher in or near areas with limited prospects and high refuge. Here, too, drivers accompanied by minors stood out, indicating that settlers' perceived safety is compromised primarily because of altruistic fear for children. Proximity to Jewish/Palestinian localities, which was significant in Model 3, is attributed to greater (or lesser) access to refuge and prospect, respectively.

Excluding proximity to localities (Palestinian or Jewish), which had high coefficients in all models, the meager effects of environmental factors solidify our initial finding concerning settlers' high level of safety. Despite living in contested territories, settlers display little concern over their physical qualities. In line with fear routinization, it is suggested that these environmental blind spots could be merely the cognitive and emotional responses to the tediousness of the everyday. When travelling through familiar spaces, settlers may not always pay attention to changes in their physical background. Preoccupied with nuisances of the ordinary and accustomed to their mundane routes, settlers are only marginally affected by the potential threats that surround them. This is not to suggest that they are oblivious to threats; indeed, they take precautionary measures to improve their safety (e.g., carry a handgun). Yet, these blind spots may also relate to the bifurcated environment of the West Bank. Since settlers show little concern with the environment, they also fail to see those with which they share it, namely Palestinians. While determining which mechanism better accounts for environmental blind spots is beyond this paper, future research should examine this matter to uncover the complexity of fear of terrorism in contested territories.

NOTES

1. Traditional (Hebrew Masorti) is a term describing Israeli Jews who self-identify as neither 'Religious' nor 'Secular'. Estimated at 40% of the total Jewish population in Israel, members of this group follow selected parts of Jewish Law (Halacha) only.
2. Naming the territory and its Jewish inhabitants is a politically contested issue. While Israeli authorities use the term Judea and Samaria, the generally accepted term outside Israel is The West Bank. Similarly, within Israel, Jews who live in the area are referred to as Residents (Mityashvim), whereas the internationally accepted term is Settlers (Mitnachalim). Our survey used the neutral term 'Israeli citizens residing east of the Green Line'. The Green line bounds the country's pre-1967 territory. In this paper we use the internationally accepted terms 'West Bank' and 'Settlers'/'Settlements'.
3. Between 2010 and March 2018 a total of 51 Israeli civilians (of whom 37

settlers) were murdered in terror attacks carried out in the WB and East Jerusalem (B'tselem, 2018). 2013 was a relatively quiet year; although the absolute number of incidents in these areas has risen significantly in comparison with the previous year (1271 and 678, respectively), a 40% drop in the number of casualties was recorded (General Security Services, 2014). Of the two settlers murdered by terrorists in 2013, one was killed in a travel-related attack.

4. Participants were drawn from all regional councils (Mateh Binyamin, 109; Gush Etzion, 22; Bikat-Ha'Yarden, 35; Har-Hevron, 2; Shomron, 27), except Megilot, which constitutes only 0.3% of the district's population,
5. National religious (Hebrew Dati Leumi) is a population segment whose members fully observe Jewish Law (Halacha) while being integrated into mainstream secular society, while Ultra-Orthodox (Hebrew Haredi) Jews reject modern secular culture and retain strictly segregated communal life.
6. The main reasons for omission were under age or out-of-district respondents and insufficient commuting frequency.
7. These settlements are marked by starred blue circles in Map 2.
8. An example of this can be found in the words of the Minister of Agriculture at the funeral of Adiel Kolman who was recently murdered in a terror attack. Minister Ariel, a settler and parliament member from the rightist Jewish Home (Ha-Bait Ha-Yehudi) party claimed, 'No one will move us from here [Judea and Samaria]. From this heroism we draw our strength to move forward…Our revenge is… settlement. I hope we are successful in promoting construction [of settlements] in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria…This land is ours' (Berger & Hasson, 2018).

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Mobility along Socio-cultural Borders: Brisk-walking in Bedouin Towns

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Substantial changes in contemporary Bedouin society are reflected in the rise of 'affluence morbidities' which suggest that there is an increasing need to engage in physical activity. Brisk-walking, recently practiced by several dozen residents in the Bedouin towns of Hura and Tel-Sheva reflects the adoption of a new life-style that has generated tension when practiced in the public sphere. Based on the qualitative methodology of in-depth interviews and walking participation events, this paper presents both the pioneering brisk-walker's experience and the tensions that have arisen between this activity and the cultural, behavioral and performance constraints that shape Bedouin current urbanity. Taking a space and place approach, the 'legitimate spaces' of brisk-walking are outlined vis-a-vis gender, tribal affiliation, inter-group relationships and the meanings of the preferred type of space for brisk-walking – within the town, in its outlying spaces or in the neighboring Jewish suburbs. In understanding leisure walking spaces as a field of socio-cultural and spatial negotiation within the context of mobile/immobile spaces, the manner in which this unique and complex mobility experience affects walker's sense of place is interpreted.

Keywords: *Bedouin, brisk-walking, socio-cultural borders, urbanity, constructing mobile third-place, borrowing space.*

INTRODUCTION

The Israeli Bedouin have only recently joined the urban realm as a result of forced settlement and uprooting by the state. They are now subject to urbanized consumerism along with its effects and mental and physical implications. One of the key tools in coping with these negative aspects of urbanity and consumerism is leisure-time physical activity (LPA) which in the present global urban age has become a universal vital need. On the face of it, LPA is a ubiquitously available social resource. However, it seems that awareness of its importance, accessibility to proper physical infrastructure, and particularly socio-cultural capacity are not equal. Among socio-

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ethnically disadvantaged groups such as the Bedouin, this capacity may be considerably lower.

This article focuses on LPA brisk-walking as a form of mobility practiced by Israeli Bedouin residents of the Bedouin towns of Hura and Tel-Sheva in metropolitan Beer Sheva. We will review critically some of the constraints such as social boundaries, cultural obstacles and poor physical infrastructure in their towns, along with their spatial creativity in finding pathways to implement this novel leisure physical activity despite these constraints. Relying on qualitative research tools which involved also participant observation at the individual practitioner level, there is an analysis of contemporary nature and boundaries of social legitimacy of brisk-walking in the Bedouin semi-urban space as a possible indicator in understanding the unique contemporary nature of Bedouin urbanity.

RETURNING TO WALKING – A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The interest in walking reflects an understanding of its growing significance worldwide. In various fields such as ecology, urban planning and architecture and public health, researchers have been positioning walking at the heart of their research interests, describing its various benefits for both humans and cities and encouraging its increased practice. The interest in urban performance has recently led Karrholm et. al. (2017) in an attempt to develop a meta-language for urban walking by taking a relational approach. One of the terms they propose is 'walking assemblage', that is the relationships between different sorts of urban walking. This paper focuses on a single sort of walking, brisk walking, and highlights two dimensions of this form of mobility: first, it examines the background, the main trends and processes of 'brisk-walking' as a growing leisure time practice of physical exercise, and second, it situates walking within the context of inter-group power relations by analyzing its socio-cultural meaning in a culture where mobility in the public sphere is severely constrained socially and spatially.

Walking as LPA – A global overview

It is widely accepted that the 'disease of affluence' has become widespread as a result of urbanization and economic growth (Janssen et al., 2005; Novotny, 2005; Galal, 2003). However, at the top of the global income pyramid, rates of some risk factors of morbidity stabilize and even decline (Ezzati et al., 2005). This shift can be partially explained by a higher awareness of the importance of physical exercise and higher participation rates in LPA by more privileged social groups, notably the Western white urban population (Parks et al., 2003; Craig et al., 2004). It is also generally accepted that sustained and consistent exercise of LPA has proven beneficial for the prevention of various diseases or their therapy, prolonging life expectancy and improving some components of mental well-being (Biddle & Mutrie, 2008; Abbott et al, 2004).

Nevertheless, similar to any other social good, these benefits are not evenly distributed. Studies show that differences in social power and culture play important roles in affecting LPA (Wardle & Steptoe, 2003). In developed countries, rates of physical activity associated with daily work are declining but physical activity associated with leisure is increasing. In contrast, societies at earlier stages of urbanization and development are particularly vulnerable due to reduced work-related physical activity without yet becoming accustomed to LPA habits and lifestyle (Moore et al, 2010; Reichert et al., 2007; Ellis et al., 2007; Wardle and Steptoe, 2003; Sallis et al., 1999). A reflection of social power associated with LPA is manifested also at the regional and urban scales, where local minorities and other relatively marginalized groups tend to exercise LPA less compared to stronger neighboring socio-cultural groups (Parks et al., 2003; Marshall et al., 2007).

Outdoor brisk-walking is considered an effective LPA for reducing health-risk factors (Murphy et al., 2002; Tully et al., 2005) and perhaps the easiest exercise to perform. As a social practice requiring minor expenditure and only a personal decision, brisk-walking is apparently a highly accessible social resource for all social groups. However, cultural and ethnicity factors add considerable complexity. It is for this reason that some observers attempt to place brisk-walking by vulnerable and marginalized social groups at the forefront of the social study of LPA (Brownson et al., 2000; Berrigan & Troiano, 2002; Owen et al., 2004).

The cultural meanings of walking

It is generally assumed that the practice of brisk-walking has cultural and social dimensions, yet the explicit focus in the literature on the cultural aspects of walking, let alone brisk-walking, is quite limited. Only a handful studies have dealt with the multiplicity of cultural meanings of walking. Walking has been discussed in relation to creative activity and art creation, political protest and military performances (Amato, 2004; Jarvis, 1997; Wallace, 1993); and it is typically regarded as a bodily performance embedded in social, cultural and political conditions. As suggested by Ingold (2004), walking is a profoundly social activity embedded in one's life-journey. At the same time, it constitutes a unique social existence that, according to the phenomenologist's understanding of the human condition as rich, holistic, interactive and reflective (Pink, 2008; Heidegger, 1988) is considered a highly vulnerable mode of being-in-the-world.

Whether ordinary functional walking (such as to work) or intentional and routine brisk-walking, the decision to walk outdoors means choosing a less private and less protected spatial experience than staying at home or driving a vehicle. Consequently, outdoor walking is engaged with a rich array of emotions connected to the physical and social qualities of the environment, such as weather, various level of risk or safety, exclusivity or inclusivity, the sense of home or alienation, to name but a few (Edensor, 2000; Waitt et al., 2009). It also involves vision and visibility, or more precisely vision in motion, as part of the comprehensive sensorialized social experience: the various vistas encountered "exceed territorial fixations...(producing) social territories through subsequent chains of deterritorializations and reterritorializations of the urban environment" (Brighenti, 2010, 130-1). Therefore, walking may generate a distinct interaction with the environment, or the public sphere, creating a unique experience of the self and place compared to other social modes of action and mobility such as vehicular commuting (Ingold, 2004).

In light of these qualities, it seems clear that the practice of walking has cultural and spatial meaning. Anthropological studies of non-Western walking reveal that it interweaves with processes of knowledge production and with transferring geographical and cultural wisdom both by direct experience and by story-telling (Tuckpo, 2008; Basso, 1996). Furthermore, outdoor walking is capable of constructing social cohesion and cultural continuity as well as a sense of surprise, change and revivification, which are integral to other forms of out-of-home journeys (Casey, 1993; Cuba & Hummon, 1993). These qualities suggest that walking is a dialogical practice (Lee and Ingold, 2006) and that walking routes can be understood a series of dialogical spaces: inter-personal in cases of transferring cultural knowledge (Legat, 2008; Carabelli, 2014), human-animal in cases of transhumance and hunters-gatherers' experience (Gooch, 2008), and human-environment in many other cases (Rodaway, 1994; Birkeland, 2005; Wylie, 2005).

These insights suggest that outdoor walking may influence processes of constructing place which is humankind's ongoing construction of spatial meaning. Recently framed under the 'new mobility paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2014) it is now well-established in the literature that people tend to load spaces and places with meaning not just as a reflection of their stationarity, but rather also with regard to their mobility (Cresswell, 1996; Manzo, 2005). Indeed, development of relationships between walking and place-construction were found in studies of pilgrimage, travel and tourism (Birkeland, 2005; Bouman, 1996). Furthermore, greater attention has been given recently to everyday walking within residential spaces as a crucial generator of the sense of place (Degen, 2010; Dobson, 2011; Ramsden, 2017). However, the specific role of LPA and especially brisk-walking in the construction of place has not yet been sufficiently addressed. The interrelated social, cultural and spatial dimensions of brisk-walking among the Bedouin are the focus of this research.

BEDOUIN BRISK-WALKING IN THE ISRAELI CONTEXT

The profile of Israeli LPA follows the socio-spatial dimensions outlined above. Results of a recent multi-year survey conducted by the Israeli Popular Sport Association among the Jewish Hebrew-speaking population in Israel demonstrate a steady and significant increase in the recent decade in number of individuals exercising LPA (Igud HaSport HaAmami, 2016). Since the mid-1990s, the most popular physical exercise, practiced regularly by more than two-thirds of adults, is a twice-weekly 30-minute walk. The data indicate that slightly more women than men walk, and that the average age of brisk-walkers is older compared to other LPA fields.

However, culture, class and ethnicity create wide social margins of sub-activity in Israel. For example, ultra-orthodox Jews are significantly less active in LPA[1] (Paz & Almog, 2009). The Arab citizens of Israel, in accordance with their low social status as an ethnic-religious-national minority display similar patterns. Their rate of LPA activity is considered significantly lower than in the general population (Mabat, 2003; Daoud, 2007). The Bedouin, who mainly inhabit the southern semi-desert Negev region, are more rural, conservative and socio-economically marginalized. The LPA profile of the Bedouin has not yet been studied quantitatively. Educational and public health officials in Bedouin towns report, on the basis of personal knowledge, that the Bedouin are less LPA active than the northern Arabs, and that adult LPA activity is a novel trend emerging only in the last decade. This new performance is part of wider cultural changes which the Bedouin have been undergoing during the last decades.

The Negev Bedouin - Socio-spatial and cultural transformations

The Negev Bedouin number about 250,000 (CBS, 2017); close to half are descendants of semi-nomadic pastoral- tribes who inhabited vast areas of the Negev desert for several centuries. The rest are primarily descendants of Egyptian peasants who immigrated to Palestine during the nineteenth century and were annexed to the Bedouin tribes. In the late nineteenth century the Bedouin began to abandon their pastoral and dry-farming subsistence and semi-nomadic lifestyle and settle in more permanent villages. This process marked the beginning of a profound cultural change that is increasingly becoming more intensified (Meir, 1997; Ben David, 2004).

The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 marked a critical turning point in the modern history of the Negev Bedouin. This geopolitical event and the ensuing Jewish War of Independence caused the escape and expulsion of most of the Arab population of Palestine (The Palestinian *Naqba*). In the Negev region, most of the approximately 11,000 Bedouin who had remained were relocated into an enclave zone administered by the Israeli military, where they stayed until the mid-1960s at which time they gained full citizenship. However, the majority of the lands for which the Bedouin claimed ownership by virtue of their traditional tribal land law (Meir & Marx, 2005) had already been appropriated by the Israel Land Authority under a new land law established in 1958 (Ben David, 2004).

Wishing to gain maximum control over land in the Negev, the State implemented a policy of further uprooting and concentrating the Bedouin into seven semi-suburban multi-tribe towns built by the government between the 1960s and 1980s.

However, more than half of the Bedouin population refused this semi-urban life and remained in tens of unrecognized squatter hamlets and villages. These localities are amongst the most neglected and deprived places in Israel. They have been denied legal statutory status and suffer from a lack of basic infrastructural services such as running water, electricity, sewage, roads and municipal services. Formal public services in the unrecognized villages such as health, welfare and education are also very poor (Svirsky & Hasson, 2005).

In contrast, the seven Bedouin towns built by the State enjoy modern physical and social infrastructure, yet they are still ranked lowest on Israel's socio-economic scale (Abu-Saad & Lithwick, 2000). These towns are characterized by deep poverty, under-development, nepotism/tribalism and inter-tribal tensions. Their neighborhoods are organized along strict tribal-kinship segregating principles, in which bitter and often bloody struggles over public municipal goods occur frequently among the various groups. Consequently, mobility outside their kinship group territory, especially by women, is highly regulated by family and sub-tribal members to accommodate socially-determined customs (Ben-David, 1994).

The limited research that has been done on the subject of place-construction in these semi-urban contexts reveals that the social and spatial complexity of Bedouin towns is manifested by and large in the absence of a clear positive sense of place and place-identity among their residents (Ben-Israel, 2009; Abu Rabia, 2013). In particular, the imposition of urban patterns on multi-tribal blue-collar population has increased social tensions and restricted the evolution of free, open-to-all, urban casual leisure spaces (Fenster, 1999). This urban element, defined in the literature as the *third-place*, is crucial for structuring urban sense of community and sense of place (Oldenburg, 1999).

As a result of cultural changes which the Bedouin have been undergoing in recent decades, they have adopted various components of a Western lifestyle and its cultural attributes while still maintaining many traditional social and cultural structures, institutions and values (Ben David, 2004). The structural changes to their economic base due to accelerated urbanization and proletarization has given rise to dramatic growth in all kinds of consumption, including changes to their diet. This change has taken place alongside a considerable decline in physical activity which previously had been very intensive due to their being pastoralists-tillers (Kedem-Friedrich & Al-Atawneh, 2004). Consequently, new symptoms of Western morbidity have emerged, such as diabetes, overweight and even obesity, high blood pressure and heart disease (Abu-Rabia & Weitzman, 2002; Abu-Rabia, 2010; Abu-Saad et al., 2001; Fraser., 1990; Fraser et al., 2008; Groen et al., 1964). Many adult Bedouin report having been explicitly advised by medical clinic staff to increase their physical activity during their leisure time (Al-A'asam, 2010; Abu el-Qian, 2010; Abu-Rabia, 2010).

Another kind of modern consumption essential to the understanding of the current cultural processes affecting the Bedouin is the fast-growing exposure to the electronic media (Abu-Bader & Gradus, 2010; Garbia, 2004). The sedentary behavioral pattern of television watching has become one of the most common leisure 'activities'. Furthermore, under the influence of the global media, the bodily beauty ideal has been changing too. The aesthetic of fatness, once highly valued in many Muslim societies, especially concerning women's bodies (Popenoe, 2004), has been challenged by the aesthetic of thinness worshiped in Western culture.

These trends highlight the relevance of studying LPA in general and brisk-walking in particular among the Bedouin, both as a novel cultural practice and as an acute social and health necessity. In the following sections the extent of brisk-walking phenomena is investigated and the forces that socially regulate, constrain and shape it are then portrayed. The main analysis focuses on the willingness and motivation to perform brisk-walking and its local problematic practice under the socio-cultural constraints prevailing within the newly evolved semi-urban Bedouin environment.

METHODOLOGY

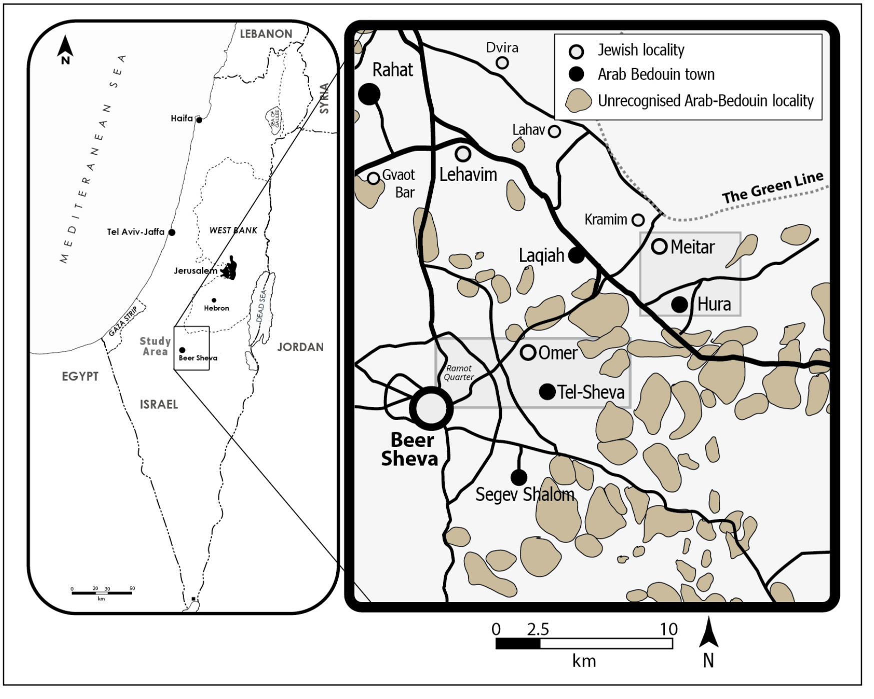
The research focuses on two Bedouin towns – Tel-Sheva (1966) and Hura (1989). The former is the oldest and the latter is the newest among the seven planned Bedouin towns established by the State. The population of each town is approximately 20,000. Both towns are located only few kilometers north-east of Beer-Sheva. The neighboring Jewish Ramot Quarter of Beer Sheva and the suburbs of Meitar and Omer the are located only few driving minutes away (see Figure 1).

Given that brisk-walkers' experience is at the core of this paper, and since only few dozen are actually exercising brisk-walking, the research questions were approached with qualitative tools. In-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with twenty participants, including twelve men and eight women who have practiced brisk-walking regularly for two years prior to the fieldwork. Some of these interviews were conducted through participant observation to explore the nature of their experience during and following the walks. Due to the scarcity of brisk-walkers some of the participants were reached via a networking process, relying on the authors' contacts with residents and referrals from municipal sports officials.

Participant ages range from 20 to 50. Male educational background ranged from elementary school experience (n=1), through high-school (n=3), tertiary education as teachers (n=4), to university (n=4). Female educational background ranged from elementary school (n=2), through high-school (n=3), teachers college (n=2), to university (n=1). Interview locations were chosen by the participants: 4 were conducted in the university campus in Beer Sheva, 6 in the local gymnasium, 6 at work places, 4 during outdoor brisk-walking.

The interviews followed the semi-structured procedure (see Avrahami; 2001; Berry, 1999; Patton, 1987), composed of a series of open-ended questions covering the following themes: the background to initiation of brisk-walking; the motivation versus obstacles on brisk-walking; preferred routes and sites; response of the social environment; and the actual experience of walking. In addition, seven further interviews were conducted with sports professionals and municipal officials of both towns, including local and regional health service staff (n=2), local educational leaders (n=2), municipal leaders (n=2) and local Islamic religious spokesmen (n=1). All interviews were conducted in Hebrew. A translator assisted in interviews with two women not fluent in Hebrew. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 2 hours. In addition, relevant data and information were collected from various local publications related to leisure and sports at the community level. Fieldwork was conducted during 2009-2010.

Figure 1: The study area-Tel-Sheva and Hura in metropolitan Beer Sheva



CONSTRAINTS TO BRISK-WALKING IN HURA AND TEL-SHEVA: WALKING VERSUS TRADITIONAL LEISURE

The stratified society of the Bedouin is circumscribed by strictly defined socio-spatial boundaries, which fragment Bedouin space into sub-tribal spaces. All are highly gendered spaces, in which women are either permitted or forbidden (Ben-

Israel, 2009; Fenster, 1998). Consequently, the space available for all, men and women alike, for brisk-walking is constrained. In order to perform outdoor physical activity, the Bedouin brisk-walker has to overcome deeply rooted norms which restrict behavior in public spaces[2]. Therefore, only a small number of residents actually practice it. Based on estimates by walkers and local officials, 50-100 brisk-walkers practice this activity regularly (twice a week or more) in both locales. The active group represents a considerably lower percentage of brisk-walkers of the total population of Hura and Tel Sheva than the average percentage of brisk-walker found in Israel's overall population.

In the early 2000s, when the first Bedouin brisk-walkers began to exercise in the public sphere, responses by the community were often negative. In most cases, the local milieu expressed disparagement and contempt towards this new 'strange' conduct. The following quotes from walkers' narratives express the negative attitude of the social environment towards early brisk-walkers:

> Those who are over 50, they have the old customs. They say: 'it is not acceptable! It's a shame! And you in this age'… there is a certain age that you ought to sit with the other men. People say: are you insane? (E'[3], male, Hura)
>
> In the beginning responses were not encouraging, people said: are you crazy?! Go and till your land! Go clean your house! I say to them that I walk instead of swallowing pills. That's how I'm persuading them! (M', male, Tel-Sheva).

In addition to the alien nature of brisk-walking as a new and unfamiliar behavior, the reasons for the negative feedback are rooted in the perception that brisk-walking is a non-utilitarian practice, a waste of energy with no tangible benefits. Aside from the common harassing response of passers-by, other spectators reacted in a more positive, although not less disturbing manner. Ongoing offers for a ride by drivers who were acquainted with the walker, a very common and highly cherished gesture in this society (Ben-Israel & Meir, 2010), brought one of the early brisk-walkers in Tel-Sheva to cross the street and walk against the direction the traffic. Later, he tried to distinguish himself from other pedestrians by wearing sport clothes so as to make it clear that he was not a hitchhiker. When this did not work he decided to wake up early and walk before the morning rush-hour. Eventually, he refrained from walking along Tel-Sheva's main streets and rerouted his practice.

Negative external reactions reinforced the walkers' perceptions that this conduct was foreign to their culture and identity. This feeling was articulated for example by M: "*In the beginning it was very frustrating, I felt that I'm doing something I was not raised or educated to do! It's like a fault in our education. Even riding a bike was considered folly"* (M'. male, Hura).

One of the major obstacles is the traditional leisure norms which do not encourage adult LPA. Traditional Bedouin culture has rigorously cultivated a dichotomy between childhood and adulthood (Meir & Ben-David, 1992). Participants indicated that in the past, physical-sport activity was perceived as an immature behavior. Adult men were expected to maintain leisure behavior in a 'dignified' manner, which means among others, in a settled and calm manner. Children were supposed to perform physical activity by mischievously playing, scampering, running etc. Therefore, novel adult performance of active leisure in public sphere has not yet been accepted, leading eventually to the exclusion of brisk-walking from public open spaces of Bedouin towns.

According to brisk-walkers, one of the most powerful forces preventing higher participation in LPA is a subjective feeling of lack of time for exercise. This problem is common for men and women alike, although in Bedouin patriarchal society the reasons are primarily gender-dependent. 'Feminine' duties include frequent pregnancies, multi-child care, cooking and laundry and other domestic maintenance and duties. To these are added 'masculine' demands of long working hours and endless social obligations common too in this traditional community, such as mutual home visits, sitting daily in the *shig* (men's hospitality tent) and participation in numerous family events. All these were raised by the interviewees as constant heavy demands on time resources and a serious challenge to their wish to maintain their LPA once initiated.

Another fundamental problem is poor LPA-supportive infrastructures in Bedouin towns' public sphere compared to that in neighboring Jewish suburbs. In particular, the walkers noted a lack of street lighting and designated paved trails as well as the generally poor condition of the roads and sidewalk pavement:

> *In my settlement, there is no help for people who want to exercise sports; the settlement does not encourage it. There is only one gymnasium, the road margins are not well maintained, the road isn't tidy, lighting – if I am not doing it during the day… then at night I won't do it...* (K', male, Tel-Sheva).

However, socio-cultural constraints exclude outdoor LPA from the public open spaces of Bedouin towns even when infrastructure is adequate. Solutions were found in alternative spaces, such as in the neighboring Jewish settlements and neighborhoods which have become preferred locationally for Bedouin brisk-walkers, not just due to their superior physical conditions, but also because they offer a culturally neutral space. Part of this explanation is rooted in clothing modesty codes in public space, which are considerably stricter in Bedouin Islamic culture towns than in the Jewish secular suburbs. In Bedouin public spaces, Bedouin men and women are obliged to wear long sleeve clothes, and women must wear a long skirt and *hijab*. Brisk-walking or other outdoor LPA offer no exception. During the long, hot summer days in the desert such norms make outdoor brisk-walking more inconvenient and difficult:

> When you are wearing short pants, you don't feel free to walk within a traditional society. You feel that you are hampering other people's freedom. I don't want anyone to have a problem with it. (A', male, Hura)
>
> What really prevents this is comments and hooting. If I'm walking with short trousers and get into Hura they will do to me a Haq-el-Arab[4]. In order to avoid this I drive to the center of Meitar, and there I walk on the main road to the entrance and back to the commercial center, 4 kilometers in total. (S', male, Hura).

> Hot weather or no hot weather, I have to wear long trousers! Short trousers? Oh no, this is trouble... (M', male, Tel-Sheva).

Aside from modesty norms, walkers prefer Jewish suburban spaces because Bedouin space is highly territorialized along kinship and tribal affiliation lines. Territorialization among the Bedouin, as among many pastoralist groups, has grown tremendously with sedentarization, particularly in towns, enhancing and radicalizing the above-noted behavioral codes (Rapoport, 1983; Meir, 1996). Such spatiality pertains also to some areas outside Bedouin towns where space is in fact divided into tribal-or sub-tribal-controlled areas barred for Bedouin of other tribal affiliations. Crossing kin group territories is possible only for a socially accepted reason, such as a well-intended encounter, economic interaction, social obligation (such as participating in wedding ceremonies, consoling the bereaved, praying in a mosque, etc). Brisk-walking does not fit these criteria:

> *We are accustomed to this since there were tribes and till today in the villages - one who doesn't have something to do there would not dare to enter. To walk around without a good reason? Oh, no, he can't get in there…*(M', male, Tel-Sheva)

Limited mobility due to socio-spatial restrictions is enhanced in periods of heightened inter-group tension and conflicts which are quite common. Two brisk-walkers from Hura, using trails adjacent to town were forced to stop their routine walking within their neighborhood due to a conflict between two related kin groups. This conflict continued to boil over for several months and eventually terminated these walkers' LPA routine. One of them explained the situation by ironically using a well-known cliché from the Jewish national security jargon prevalent in the media: "*Me and K' stopped walking, 'the security situation' does not allow it'… You know what's going on lately in our neighborhood*"... (J'. male, Hura).

"*I am walking, it is good for me!*" – The motivation to walk

There are forces that push people to initiate and maintain brisk-walking despite the considerable difficulties described above. Brisk-walking is connected to walkers' wish to lose weight and improve their physical appearance. Another major motivation is the belief that brisk-walking is essentially a physical and mental therapeutic tool which can prevent and even help recuperate from illness. Less conventional motivations are the belief by two women that brisk-walking can increase their fertility due to strengthened uterus muscles, and one woman actually felt that brisk-walking fulfilled her expectations in this regard. The supreme importance of reproduction to women's status in Bedouin patriarchal society gives this belief extra socio-cultural significance.

Since mobility of women in the semi-urban Bedouin spaces is extremely constrained (Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2007) the fact that there are women who actually practice brisk-walking is quite striking. According to the Bedouin socio-cultural code, women represent the kinship group's collective morality, dignity and honor (Tal, 1995; Fenster, 1999), and thus have to ask for permission by their husband or his male-relative to practice brisk-walking outside kinship space. In addition, they are required to avoid any provocative appearance or conduct during practice. In some cases, violating proper conduct moral codes in public sphere could even endanger their lives.

Thus, brisk-walking by women requires unique social and spatial conditions. The option of brisk-walking in neighboring Jewish suburbs practiced by Bedouin men is not commonly accepted by Bedouin women or their husbands[5]. A negative experience of several Bedouin women trying to brisk-walk on sidewalks of Tel-Sheva led them to self-relocate their exercise from the public sphere into the publicly administered local gymnasium. Encouraged by the local municipal sports coordinator who hired a female Jewish trainer from nearby Beer Sheva specifically for this purpose, a group of ten women started to exercise together twice a week in a brisk-walk class. The rumor spread around in town and soon more women decided to participate and the size of the group doubled. Each session started only after the sports coordinator made sure that all windows were shut, shades were lowered and the main entrance was locked from inside.

Along with health and aesthetic benefits, these women articulated their experience in terms of self-realization. Exercise meant a lot to them; those who managed to maintain brisk-walking for more than several months felt they succeeded in putting themselves first. Brisk-walking was an empowering behavior which had been barred from them in the past:

> *I'm forgetting the obstacles at home. When I return home* [from the brisk-walking class], *I start my second job full of energy. A lot of children in the house, what can I do? All of the domestic work is women's work. It is a must; I need one hour for myself! Who will care for me? I am walking, it is good for me! The laundry won't run away, also the dishwashing and cooking … this is an hour for myself!* (S', female, Tel-Sheva)

The routine of the brisk-walking class became a significant part of a daily and weekly schedule for the participants. Their ability to put aside domestic obligations as wives and mothers for a pre-determined time span and fulfill their most personal needs as individuals was highly cherished. The monthly tuition paid by each participant was regarded by the Municipality's sports coordinator as means of increasing the women's commitment to the class and their will to keep exercising. The women also highly valued the opportunity for encounter with women from different family origins during brisk-walking classes. Under the segregative conditions of Bedouin society, for the ordinary female residents of Tel-Sheva such a multi-tribal encounter is uncommon and thus carries extra value:

> *It has become a part of our life. It is the everyday of us. Sport is good to the soul and to the body. It is like going to women's club. The connections between the women are very good. We are women from different families* [tribes] *so how else can we get to know each other? We even think about going on a big trip together, yes*! (M', female, Tel-Sheva).

The socially positive atmosphere usually experienced by the participants during brisk-walking class is also an important motivating power. The Jewish woman trainer from Beer-Sheva said that feelings of cohesiveness among the participants and her own warm relationship with them are unique to this Bedouin class compared to other classes she has been running with Jewish women. In this context, all that is 'normal' and self-evident in Beer-Sheva does not appear as such in Tel-Sheva. The exclusive experience of the brisk-walking women class can be explained by a pioneer sense combined with exceptional inter-tribal social interactions.

A unique social experience is also part of men's informal walking experience, especially in cases of walking with a partner[6]. The decision to brisk-walk with a partner or partners has distinct advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages include the interdependence that evolves between the walkers regarding timing and duration of exercise, choice of routes, pace and more. However, collective brisk-walking has many benefits. Aside from the sense of confidence that collective walking generates, which is highly important especially in Bedouin town-adjacent trails, in most cases collective walking creates a unique social dynamic. A' articulated his brisk-walking experience which he practiced regularly with his cousin:

> *It so happens that things have been opened up and we even shared our secrets with each other. When you are walking you are looking for something to talk about, and it so happens that one talks openly with the other, also on personal matters. And then the other 'owes' him, and that's how dialogues evolve. If we had not walked, these experiences wouldn't have been opened up***.** (A', male, Hura).

The conversations among walkers who exercise together over a significant period of time have qualities that are distinct from conversations that develop in other social encounters. Participants indicated that various topics are discussed during brisk-walking, some of which are so sensitive that they can be brought up only in this kind of face-to-face, intimate and active interaction, free from any interference, and away from the noisy, crowded town and socially demanding Bedouin culture:

> *In the tribal areas, there is no special place for walking, everyone stops you – How are you? Ahalan! We have decided that we need to look for another place for walking, where nobody will bother us. So we chose a grove, a special place, no interferences… it has strengthened our relationship, we talk freely about a lot of things, about work and family, about life… in the end of the walk, we sit and drink tea or coffee. Each of us has a coffee-kit in the car, and we talk, and then I am relieved, I feel the day has gone well.* (M', male, Tel-Sheva)

The potential of brisk-walking to stimulate a unique social atmosphere and intimate conversations among walkers has been demonstrated here in relation to cases of collective walking. Somewhat surprisingly, similar 'dialogical tracks' have also been created during cases of solo-walking:

> *More than once a new idea is born, and then I write it down on a piece of paper. Sometimes I walk alone in Ramot* [in the Jewish city of Beer-Sheva]. *While walking I'm listening to music and I'm running a dialogue with myself about life. It is a kind of self-examination. This solitariness is a very significant feeling for me*. (M', male, Hura).

Brisk-walking and construction of place

The issue of place is of special interest in the analysis of brisk-walking in Bedouin semi-urban space. Spatial perspectives, including the more sensual-emotional 'sense of place', reflect people's experienced mobility with regards to knowledge, emotions and practices (Hannam et al., 2006). With some caution, several insights may be noted about the relationship between this fairly new and rather tense LPA activity and the construction of the Bedouin 'semi-urban place'. The group of women who lock themselves inside the gymnasium for a walking class, or the men who walk in the open fields or on the sidewalks of the neighboring suburb, are all expanding the legitimate social space of action and experience. This expanded social space gives the walkers a new comparative perspective, leading them to perceive their own towns as underdeveloped, closed and conservative:

> I was used to jogging in Ramle and since I moved to Hura I have stopped... It is inconceivable and will evoke malicious thoughts ... Now my husband has to buy me a treadmill. I want to plant tall, tall, green trees all year so that the neighbors do not look into the yard and criticize my behavior... (R', female, Hura).

Social surveillance and control, conceived by this walker as communal criticism of her preferred life style, lead to her desire to physically withdraw from the town, and reflect a negative sense of place in Hura.

A second consequence of this newly acquired comparative perspective is the increased awareness of the inequalities that exist in the level of infrastructure provided for different communities. In this case, feelings of underdevelopment and discrimination, directed both at Bedouin society internally and externally to state institutions, add a negative dimension to sense of place: *"So I get into Meitar and walk and I become jealous, this town cares about the people who do sports*" (K', male, Tel Sheva).

An interesting experience is shared by those who walk to open spaces outside of the town. In some of the walks which were based on participant observation, the experience of encountering nature aroused longing for childhood and intensified the sense of loss of local knowledge as a result of settling in town:

> When I walk outside I feel connected to the open space, connected to nature. And I'm less connected to the town and to the fact that this man has a land lot here, and that man has a land lot there, and here there is Neighborhood 10 and there is Neighborhood 9 and all this territoriality… For me that thing is in the genes. If an entrepreneur comes to make a walking or riding route, I believe that this route will be lively. It should be in an open area that does not belong to anyone. When you walk in this area, it gives you an idea of how densely populated the town is, and there are many more negative sides (A', male, Hura).

Similar feelings were expressed by another walker:

> For me walking is something bountiful that I like, it's part of my daily schedule, no doubt that I like it! These walks have connected me to nature, so I

> bought a Jeep! Now I have another option to travel in nature… (M', male, Hura)

Re-routing LPA from town to the open natural field regenerates sense of place constructed through nature-culture relationships lost during first Bedouin encounter with urbanity.

A positive social dynamic is created through new forms of time-space experienced by walkers. Based on an understanding of place as an accumulation of meanings and significance in time and space (Cresswell, 1996; Massey, 1994) the Bedouin brisk-walkers' production of this alternative space can be interpreted as a practice of producing place. From the perspective of time, brisk-walking is a distinctive and delineated behavior in time, a kind of pause from a demanding daily schedule, a pause that is dedicated to the walker's self-realization. Self-realization is obtained by the interlacing of the following universal elements: increasing physical fitness, improving bodily shape, gaining mental focus and experiencing social interactions and sense of capability. From a spatial perspective, brisk-walking takes place within or via routes which are culturally distinctive and delineated spaces. Indoor gymnasiums, out-of-town spaces (such as open fields or parks) and the neighboring Jewish suburban parks, streets and sidewalks are all alternative spaces immune from Bedouin social criticism. In fact, by using these neighborhoods the Bedouin are importing spaces into their town space. It is only within these spaces that the culturally imported behavior is socially accepted since the visibility of walking is limited and therefore does not threaten the social-public order. It is there that visibility in walking, so deeply embedded in modern-Western urbanity (Brighenti, 2010), does not constitute an obstacle to the Bedouin. In these 'protected' spaces and 'borrowed' spaces, a unique social atmosphere is created that enables a distinctive personal or inter-personal communication to evolve during exercise. These include a wide-range of topics, from conventional social chatting, to discussion of professional issues, to confidential, highly personal matters. While such topics seem reasonable and characteristic of any group's experience, they have an extra meaning in the semi-urban Bedouin contexts. These qualities are characteristic of what is known as "third-place": a space which is open to everyone without strict social roles of hospitality, encourages small talk, creates an atmosphere of togetherness, contributes to the expansion of social networking and creates a sense of place (Oldenburg, 1999).

A MOBILE 'THIRD-PLACE': DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although brisk-walking has been commonly analyzed in terms of physical health benefits, Bedouin brisk-walking is read here primarily through a socio-cultural lens. The main insight of the research is that as brisk-walking rituals become established, their social and psychological benefits become more prominent in the participants' narratives than those of physical health which were the initial motives for the activity. Given the socio-spatial conditions of Bedouin public space, brisk-walking is not a self-evident practice. Because of its lack of legitimacy, there are no 'conventional' spaces for this exercise such as those in Western localities, and therefore Bedouin walkers are compelled to find alternative spaces for this practice. Observing these elements allows us to propose a definition for Bedouin walking spaces as a mobile third-place. This is the space that is not home or work space; yet it is a significant urban space which offers an open daily meeting space and encourages good-natured discourse while walking. Since a multi-tribal third-place open to all is not available in the public space of the town, it is in fact produced by the walkers in their various walks at several extra-town spaces and trails. By walking the third-place, the Bedouin bypass norms and restrictions that prevent them from doing what they deem important.

But there is also another level of movement to consider: the 'cultural movement' (Kisch, 2009), experienced by each walker when s/he moves back and forth from the daily sphere to the alternative spaces of LPA. For the individual Bedouin, who is part of an ethnic minority in a multi-ethnic social space, getting out of the extended family territory usually means crossing cultural boundaries, whether entering other Bedouin group's territories or a Jewish social space.

Although approaching different cultural spaces within an uneven frame of power relations is known as having a complex effect on identity matters (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Hetherington, 1998), it is a skill worth developing for many Bedouin individuals. For women, whose mobility is limited and participation in the Israeli labor market is close to nil, the interaction with people outside their own immediate familial social circle is most significant. The process of crossing cultural boundaries for women is simultaneously difficult and meaningful (Abu-Saad et al., 2007; Abu-Rabia Queder & Karplus, 2013)[7].

In this sense, one may refer to Karrholm et.al.'s (2017) concept of walking identities within walking assemblages that are produced relationally within given situations. One might go from a more privileged and uncontested position of a walker to pursue a certain daily function, say shopping, to that of an unwelcome brisk walker desperately trying to pursue his/her exercise in the public sphere or elsewhere. In each of these performances one's identity changes accordingly allowing the full range of walking sorts within the assemblage.

This quality among others, may explain the good atmosphere and spirits that characterized the entire fieldwork during which the interviewees were all happy to share their experiences. Accordingly, positive feelings were part of participant walking methodology. Most walkers perceive themselves as cultural pioneers and believe that the trend of brisk-walking in Bedouin society will grow in the future.

Several issues remain for further research. First, as outlined, are the links between brisk-walking and the construction of place and sense of place. Among the different meanings that underlie the notion of sense of place, an outdoor experience of urbanized Bedouin has hardly been explored in the literature. Given a problematical construction of sense of place of this marginalized indigenous-ethnic minority in the planned Bedouin towns (Ben-Israel, 2009), the potential influence of outdoor leisure-time brisk-walking in reconstructing the links with varied environments is an important issue for further research.

The second issue is the role of gender in shaping overall spatiality of Bedouin brisk-walking. There is need to add and refine the gender similarities and differences regarding the needs, constraints and patterns of using urban and non-urban space in order to deepen the understanding of the challenges facing each of the social groups.

The final question concerns the maturing urbanity in Bedouin society. Hura and Tel Sheva have different urban histories, which might be reflected in different attitudes to brisk-walking. The research revealed that in the specific context of outdoor LPA, the free and unconstrained walking and walkability (Hutabarat, 2009), that in Western culture have become major components of contemporary urbanity, is not acceptable to either community, causing their brisk-walkers to avoid their own spaces and cross cultural borders. Further research on additional Bedouin towns, perhaps including Rahat, the largest one (pop. ~62,000) would shed more light on this issue. It would be particularly interesting to examine the new 'Rahat-South' neighborhood which represents a new Bedouin urban model of tribally-mixed neighborhoods. The question still remains whether third-place and particularly mobile third-place, through brisk-walking and other forms, is a proper criterion to appreciate urbanity among the Bedouin as a distinct ethnic group. Answers to these questions, anchored in the research described in this article, can establish better theoretical understanding of the role of ethnicity and socio-economic and gender gaps in shaping urban walkability and mobility, as well as the nature of the evolving urbanity among the Bedouin that is significant from an urban planning perspective among such a unique ethnic minority.

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NOTES

1. Recently, gaps have begun to narrow as more gyms have opened that accommodate cultural unique requirements. Yet, this contemporary growth characterizes especially the economic elite of the orthodox religious groups (Paz & Almog, 2009).

2. As a social construct, the meaning of the term 'public space' differs according to time, space and culture. It is commonly accepted to portray an abstract spectrum of public space in which its typical poles are the "open-modern-Western" vis-à-vis the "traditional-non-Western". Any point along this spectrum represents a set of values and norms as well as technologies, ideologies and social relations, which regulate people's behavior and performance and their accessibility to the public sphere, according to social dissimilarities like age, sex or status etc. These sets are the phenomenon's collective cultural boundaries only within which individual distinctiveness and creativity can be attended (Fraser 1990; Zukin, 1995; Atkinson, 2003; Göle, 2002).
3. In order to protect participant anonymity we use first initials.
4. In Bedouin customary law Haq-el-Arab is a trial procedure. Public performance of Bedouin with short trousers is liable of violating the modesty and honor codes of the wider kin group.
5. However one of the authors of this article has encountered himself several occasions of small groups of 2-3 Bedouin women (never in single) practicing brisk-walking in dark-hours (perhaps the best time from their desired non-visibility perspective) in one of these Jewish suburbs.
6. For a Bedouin male walker, the only legitimate option is a male partner. A female partner, even one's wife, is obviously inconceivable.
7. Relevant to this is the positive impression and encouraging response that Jewish passers-by usually express towards the Bedouin groups walking through the neighboring Jewish suburbs. However, as our field data suggests, alongside many cases of encouragement, a single case of exclusion was reported. The incident was reported by a group of Bedouin walkers during a period of security unrest in Meitar who were asked by the local security team to leave.

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The Mobile Imagination: Walking-mapping-narrating Landscape Futures

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This article considers the continued agency of the body in movement as an active means of reading and reimagining the urban landscape. Using a design study, which reconsiders the gridded island of Manhattan through a walk down Broadway, the article introduces an activist landscape design methodology where field-walking as exploratory mapping yields multilinear narratives to generate landscape futures. The article begins with a description of this study, then transitions into its broader situation within and implications for landscape architectural methodology.

Keywords: *Walking, mapping, narrative, design, urban landscape, Broadway, mobile fieldwork*

An investigation of the so-called "new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller and Urry 2006) warrants significant scholarship on the digitally-mediated condition of contemporary life and its intersections with other forms of mobility – embodied and/or mediated. This article considers the persistent agency of the body in movement as an active form of constructing and imagining the urban landscape. It is not intended to be a nostalgic or reactionary insistence on physicality in the face of technological "alienation," but rather a recognition of the peripatetic explorer as still relevant in a world that is evermore virtual. Recognizing the history of walking as a symbolic, aesthetic and political practice, one particular design study provides a framework through which to investigate issues that Sheller and Urry might refer to as a "material and sociable dwelling-in-motion" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 214). As a study of the *map* as representation and *mapping* as embodied practice (Wiley 2010), the article additionally explores the dialectical relationship between mediation and embodiment in landscape architecture. Finally and most specifically, this project provides a vehicle through which to introduce an activist landscape design methodology where

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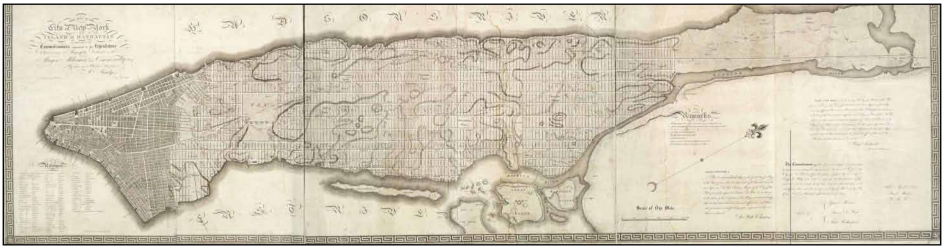
fieldwalking as exploratory *mapping* yields *maps* that open up multilinear narratives to generate new ways of navigating and experiencing the urban landscape. The study is described first in depth and then contextualized within literature related to the discourses of walking (the city), mapping, narrating (as a spatial operation). The introduction of this tripartite process aims to productively contribute to landscape architectural methods.

The design study was initiated as a proposal for "The Greatest Grid: A Call for Ideas," co-organized by the Museum of the City of New York and the New York Architectural League. Our submission, titled "Transgressing the Grid," served as an investigation into the everyday experience of the physical structure of Manhattan conducted through the lens of its famous rogue street – Broadway. It situates Broadway as a key agent in shaping our lived experience of Manhattan's grid and provides a means to critically explore contested modes of apprehending and structuring the city. The competition brief, which celebrates the transformative 1811 Commissioner's Plan for New York (Figure 1), requested that entrants "propose new ways for thinking about how the street grid shapes life in New York" (Greatest Grid).

Figure 1: The Commissioners' Plan, 1811.



Source: John Randel, Jr., "A Map of the city of New York by the commissioners appointed by an act of the legislature passed April 3rd 1807." New York Municipal Archives.

The winning entries offered "visionary" proposals, which adopted the totalizing and distanced view of the New York Commissioners. The design process adopted here began instead with direct physical engagement with the city and its mobility infrastructures. Through the aesthetic practice of walking, the dying medium through which the city was once perceived and enjoyed, the authors (Hirsch and Gabrielian, herein referred to as "the authors") explored and reframed the symbiosis that exists between the grid and the resilient street that predated and transgressed it. As then inhabitants of the city and devoted peripatetic explorers, the authors recognized that the 1811 grid plan offers comfort through reliable orientation, while its relentless uniformity also allows the appreciation of its rare discontinuities. Conversely, it is only through the idiosyncrasies created by Broadway that the true nature of the measured grid becomes visible to the inhabitants on the street. The performative and interpretive method yielded four new ways of conceiving the dynamic relationship between Broadway and the grid, focusing not just on spatial structure but on the durational experience of that structure.

BROADWAY

A brief history of the mobility infrastructures that shaped the surface of Manhattan provides a foundation for the revelations of this case study. Through the eighteenth century, settlement in the southern tip of Manhattan Island densified according to local circumstance rather than formal plans. Upon the appointment of the Commissioners in 1807, the remainder of the island still consisted of farms, meadows, woods, ponds and marshes situated amongst hills shaped by stream valleys and meandering country roads (Figure 2). Before the grid, the road network developed incrementally, taking advantage of topographic opportunities. For instance, Lower Broadway, the main axis of the colonial city, followed the island's natural ridgeline, while in the northwest, Bloomingdale Road (which constitutes the majority of today's Broadway), ran along the crest of the rise above the Hudson River.

Figure 2: British Headquarters Map, plans 1 and 2 [joined] of New York, Long Island, Hudson River, East River, showing British and American fortifications, c. 1782.

Note: The map was drawn by military cartographers toward the end of the American Revolution. Source: The National Archives, United Kingdom, MR 1/463.

The Commissioners' grid tamed the wildness and unpredictability of the island's former self (Sanderson, 2009). It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that the idea of "wilderness" – which had embodied the "antithesis of all that was orderly and good" (Cronon 1996, 71) – was deemed sacred by the American public (Cronon 1996). Thoreau's catalytic declaration in his essay on "Walking," published after his death in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1863) exemplifies this transformation: "In Wildness is the preservation of the World" (2012). Between today's 14th and 155th Streets, the great topographic variety of "Mannahatta," or the "Island of Many Hills" (named by the island's pre-colonial inhabitants), was surveyed and divided into a neutralizing grid of coordinates for ease of surveillance, access, and land speculation. The grid has since come to define the spatial and temporal experience of the island. By the 1860s, however, Central Park Commissioner Andrew Haswell Green, with Central Park's landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, led efforts to ensure the preservation of the dramatically varied terrain in the upper portions of the island by situating the extension of Broadway ("The Boulevard") above 155th Street on the highlands, rather than on the western shore, in order to provide scenic views (Ballon, 2012).

In the 1811 Plan, the Commissioners retained Broadway only until 23rd Street, where it met up with a planned "Parade." Further north, the timeless abstraction of the grid was intended to erase the street that had embodied an earlier past. However, Bloomingdale and Kingsbridge Roads appear on the Commissioners' Plan as dotted lines to (ironically) orient and locate citizens within the "disorienting" grid for the new city. The meandering Bloomingdale Road remained in use and was thus gradually reinstated on the map during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1899 these sections were consolidated under the name Broadway. However, while Broadway became a continuous street that subverted the order of the grid, its structure reflected a compromise – as each section (of Bloomingdale Road) "was officially incorporated in the city map, it was also retraced as a straight line, whether angled or aligned with the grid… Broadway is [thus] both a relic of the past and a new artifact designed to work with the grid" (Ballon 2012, 155).

While the island's hills are clearly recognizable on the British Headquarters Map of New York (Figure 2), so are the "country roads" stretching northward, many of which had begun as precolonial footpaths. Rather than a prescribed route, footpaths emerge over time through immediacy of everyday need and use. Broadway persists as an indelible reminder – a trace of the pre-grid geography. As the island's anchor to a pre-grid past and as Manhattan's longest street, Broadway thus supports the grid and makes visible its persistent structure.

CASE STUDY: "TRANSGRESSING THE GRID"

In 1868, Broadway above 59th Street was widened and made verdant. "The Boulevard," as it was known after the great European precedents, became the site of promenading, a theatrical ritual based on the pleasures of movement while seeing and being seen. Using walking as an initial design medium – traversing the length of Broadway in a single day equipped with cameras and sketchbooks – the city was registered in a similar timeless way. While laying out the grid required fourteen years of surveyor John Randel Jr.'s laborious precision, in this study footsteps acted as the surveyor's compass with the enticements of today's Broadway incentivizing forward movement. This kinesthetic appropriation of arguably the most dynamic street in

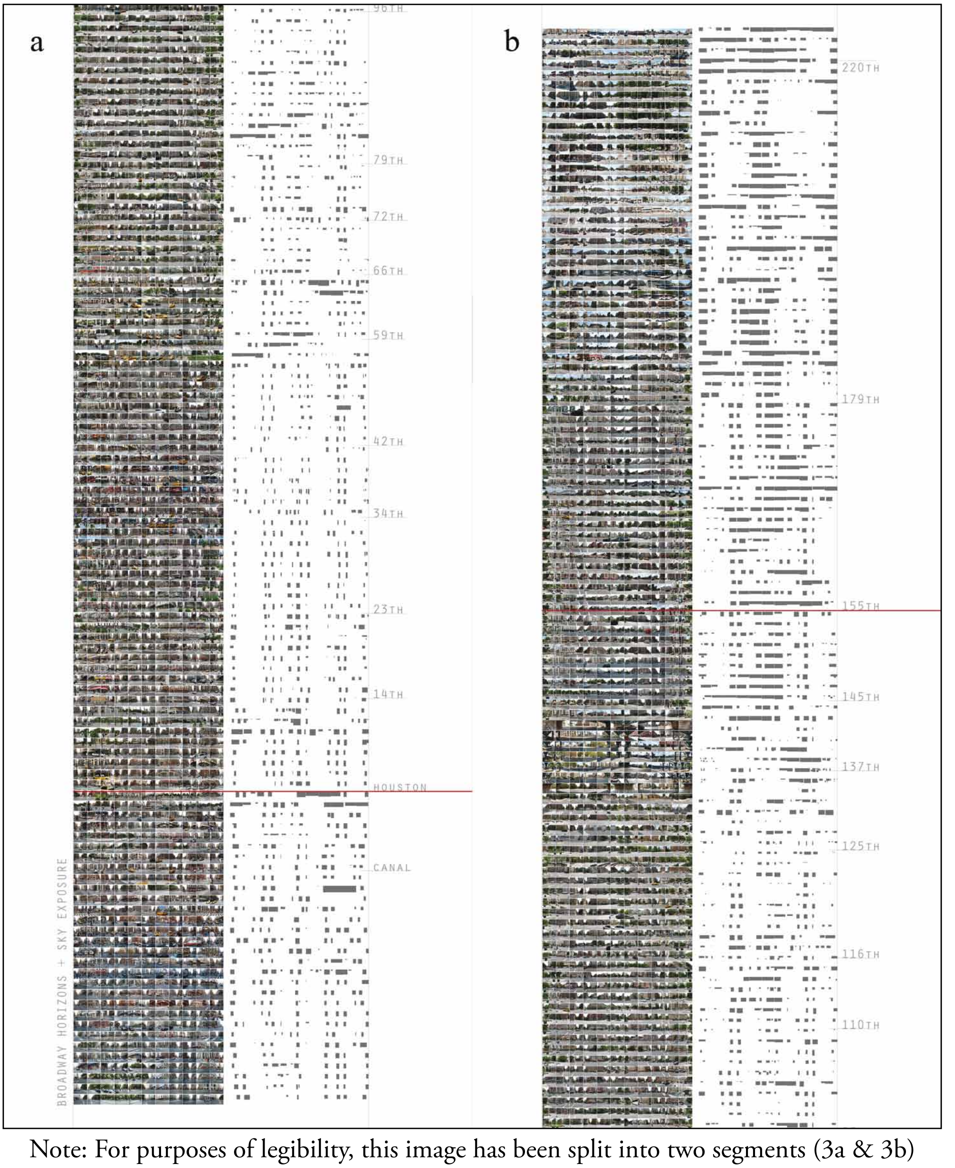
Manhattan – the quintessential embodiment of spectacle and movement – revealed tactical opportunities for spatial reinvention.

The exploratory fieldwalking-as-mapping process ultimately yielded four design tactics that provoke multiple narratives for the city's possible futures. The study began at Broadway's northernmost point on Manhattan Island (just before it bridges the Harlem River connecting the Bronx) and continued south to Houston Street where the grid breaks down. The walk was highly disciplined, stopping each time the grid intersected with Broadway to gather "data" – drawn sections, sightlines and 360-degree photographic panoramas. This "data" was ultimately interpreted back in the studio through remapping and revisioning the city otherwise. The following four speculations are titled with the predominant themes that emerged to inform four urban revisions. These themes are particularly related to *walking and/as mapping* as an activist practice, or how bodies measure territory through mobile fieldwork and how the interpretation of that fieldwork in maps facilitates new ways of seeing and understanding urban space. The *narrating* component of the tripartite method emerges out of the perspectival views that both provide one possible storyline (of many) and act as prompts for further imaginings (to be addressed in the subsequent sections):

(1) Horizon (Topography)

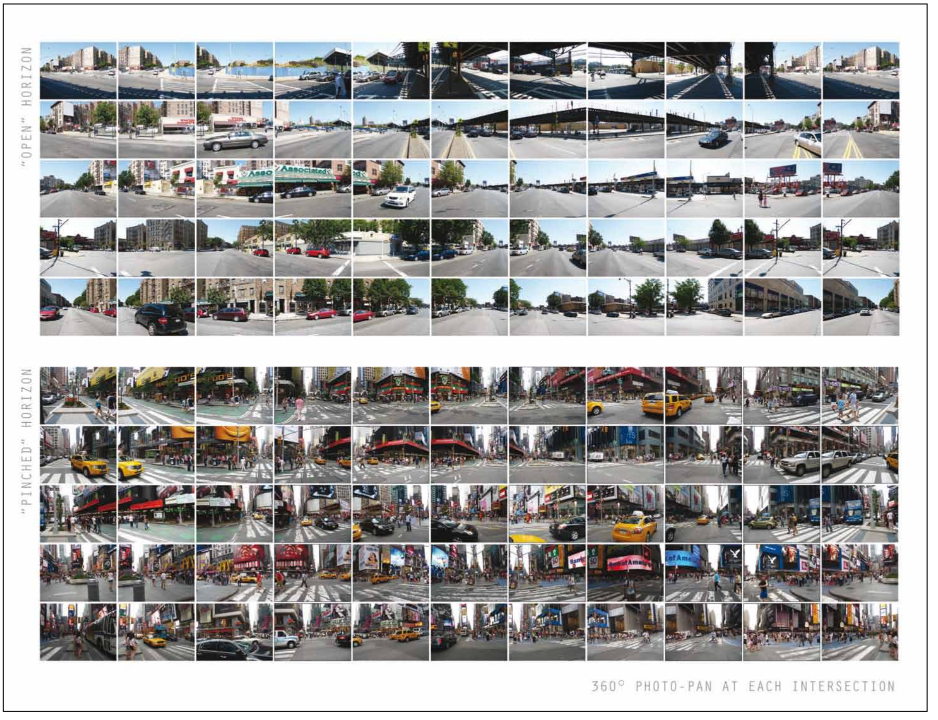
The horizon orients the body in relation to its greater territory. A 360-degree photographic sequence taken each time the grid crosses Broadway, stretches Broadway's horizon, unrolling it into a gridded field (Figures 3-4). When Broadway transforms from a line to a field, it is reframed as a place rather than a means to get from one point to another. The relentless linear perspective of the grid makes the walk along other avenues a redundant pinching of the horizon. Because of Broadway's transgressive nature, the walker experiences a multiplicity of unpredicted perspectives and varied relationships to the sky, which were extracted from the panoramic sequence (see notation to right of photographs in Figure 3, where grey indicates the sky where visible). The resulting notation reveals this latent rhythm and serves as the framework from which we propose a topographic intervention that diversifies the body's relationship with both the ground and sky (Figure 5). This elevational idea opened up multiple narrative threads – the beginnings of one pictured here (Figure 6).

Figure 3: The 360-degree photographic sequence taken each time the grid crosses Broadway (left), with the extracted notation of the expanding and contracting horizon (right).



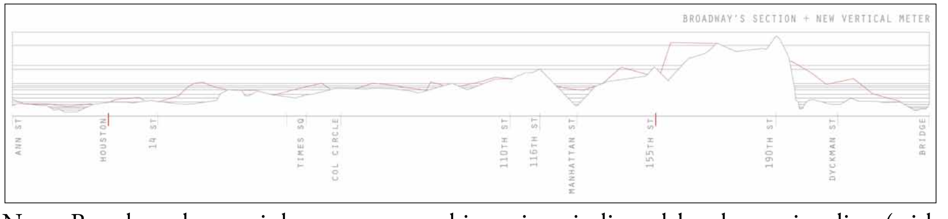
Note: For purposes of legibility, this image has been split into two segments (3a & 3b)

Figure 4: Details from the photographic sequence taken along Broadway (top is north; bottom is south).



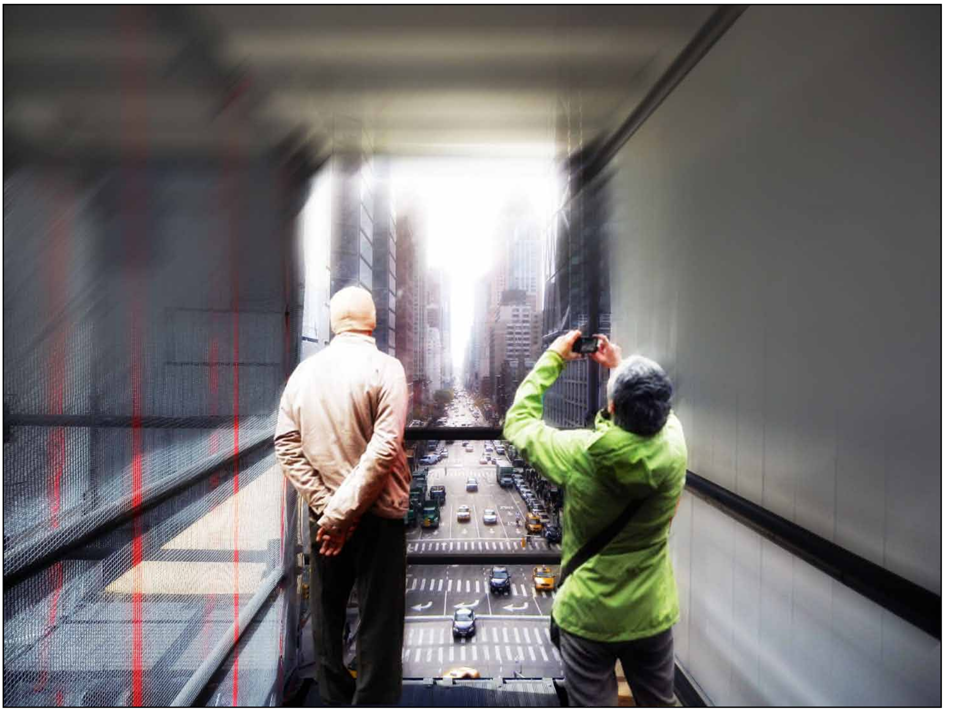
Note: Rather than a monotonous compressed glimpse of the sky through the vertical frame of buildings, Broadway offers a more varied horizon.

Figure 5: Broadway's topographic variety



Note: Broadway has an inherent topographic variety, indicated by the section line (with obvious exaggeration to the vertical scale). By shifting the body above Broadway at opportune moments (red line), we amplify this already distinct relationship to the horizon.

Figure 6: New urban scaffolding.



Note: Broadway is constantly remaking itself (like much of Manhattan but arguably more). New signs and billboards are erected, grand facades are updated, storefronts change in efforts to outdo the neighbors. Supporting this activity is an endlessly shifting landscape (and horizon) of scaffolding intended for protection and access to the upper limits of the street wall. This emergent narrative introduces a new urban scaffolding that invites the city's inhabitants to participate in these new perspectives of the street and relationships with the sky.

(2) Depth (Infrastructure)

Despite the leveling of Manhattan while implementing the grid, Broadway retains a sectional thickness, which was mapped through a series of sequential sections drawn at each Broadway intersection with the grid (Figure 7). The length of the section line implies the visual depth of field for each of the cross-streets. The fieldwalk drawing thus notates vertical and horizontal depth. Broadway's topographic variety in the north and south is enhanced by its subgrade network of subways and aqueducts (Figure 8), which presented opportunities for new forms of appropriating and exploring the city (Figures 9-10).[1]

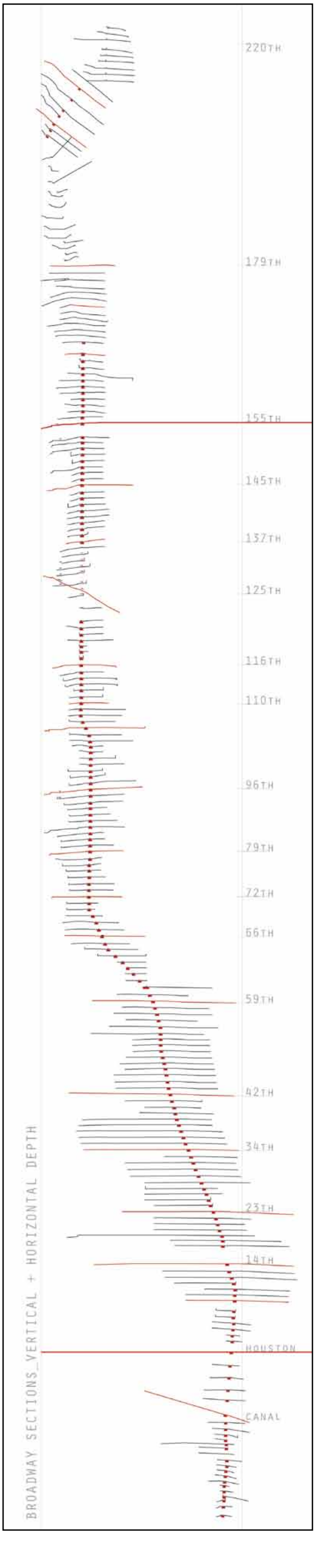
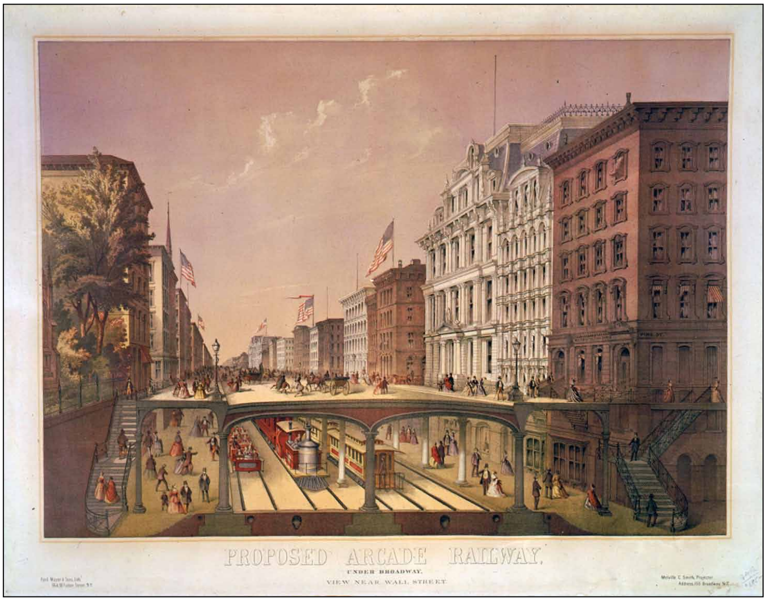


Figure 7: Sequential sections taken at each of Broadway's crossings.

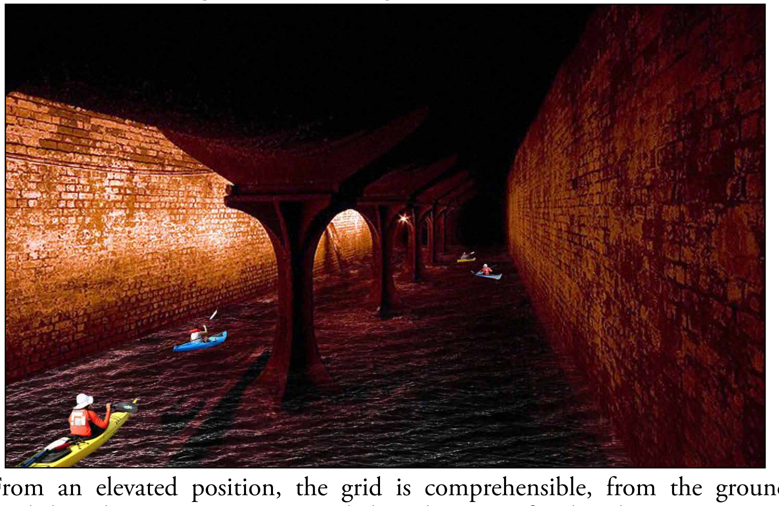
Note: The length of the section line implies the depth of visual field down each of the cross-streets. The fieldwalk drawing thus notates vertical and horizontal depth.

Figure 8: "Proposed Arcade Railway Under Broadway" lithograph (New York: Ferdinand Mayer & Sons, lithographers, and Melville C. Smith, projector, c. 1868).



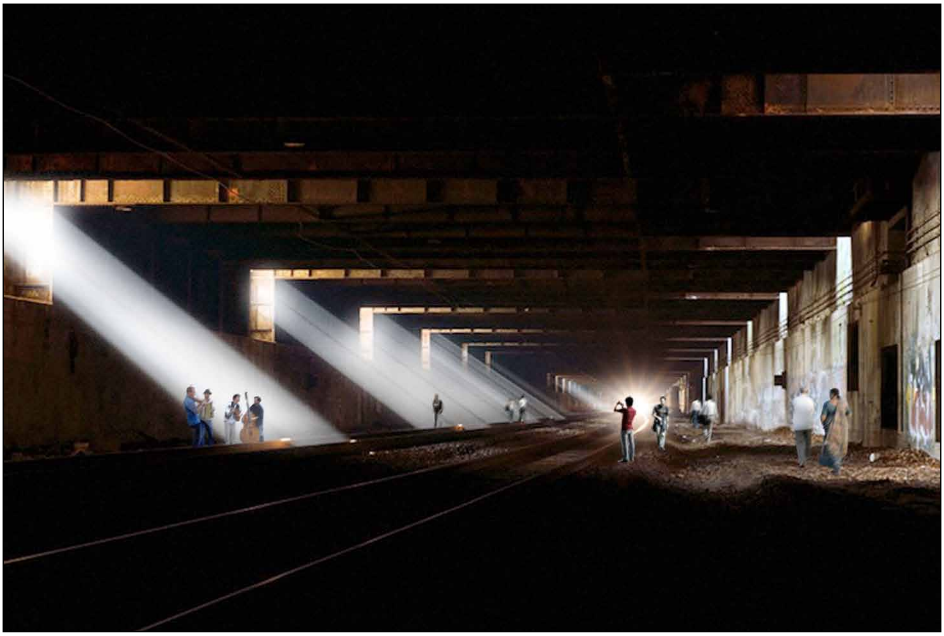
Note: This proposal for a depressed Arcade Railway along Lower Broadway called for the conversion of cellars of street-levels buildings into new subterranean shops. It provided imaginative fodder for our subgrade proposals. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA (LC-DIG-pga-02127).

Figure 9: Kayaking in the aqueducts.



Note: From an elevated position, the grid is comprehensible, from the ground, it is understood, but the transgressive spaces below the city offer the ultimate opportunity to get lost.

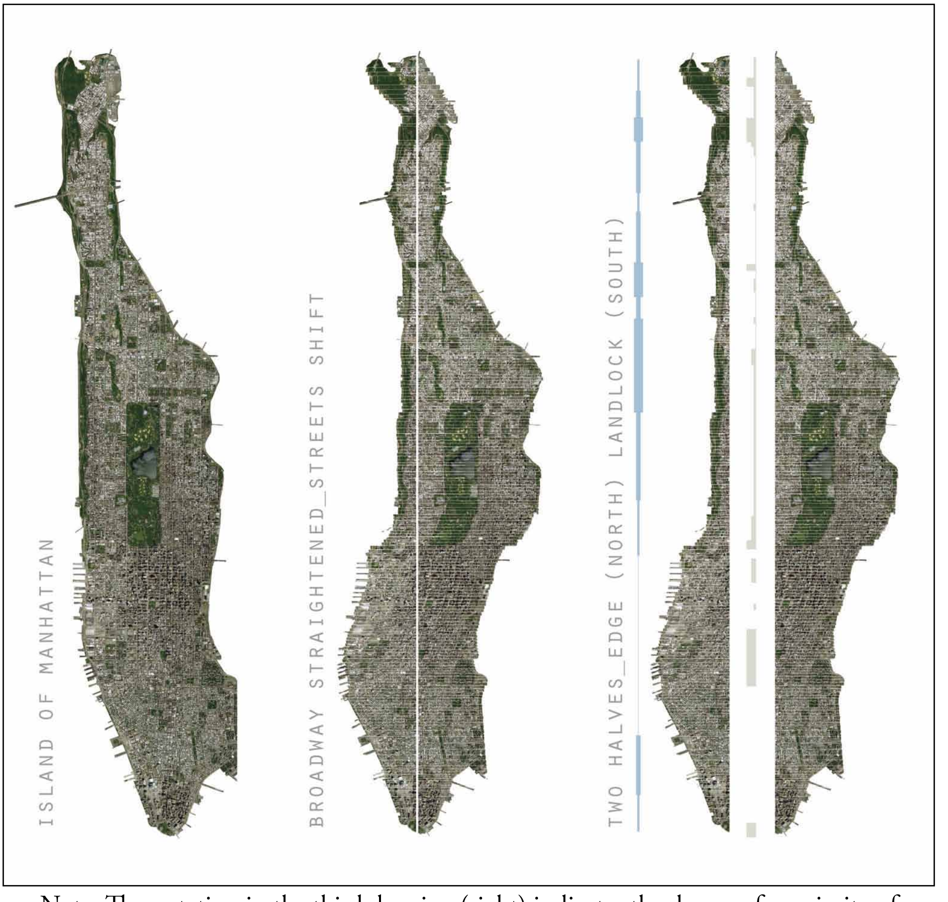
Figure 10: Promenading in the subway tunnels.



(3) Datum (Ecology)

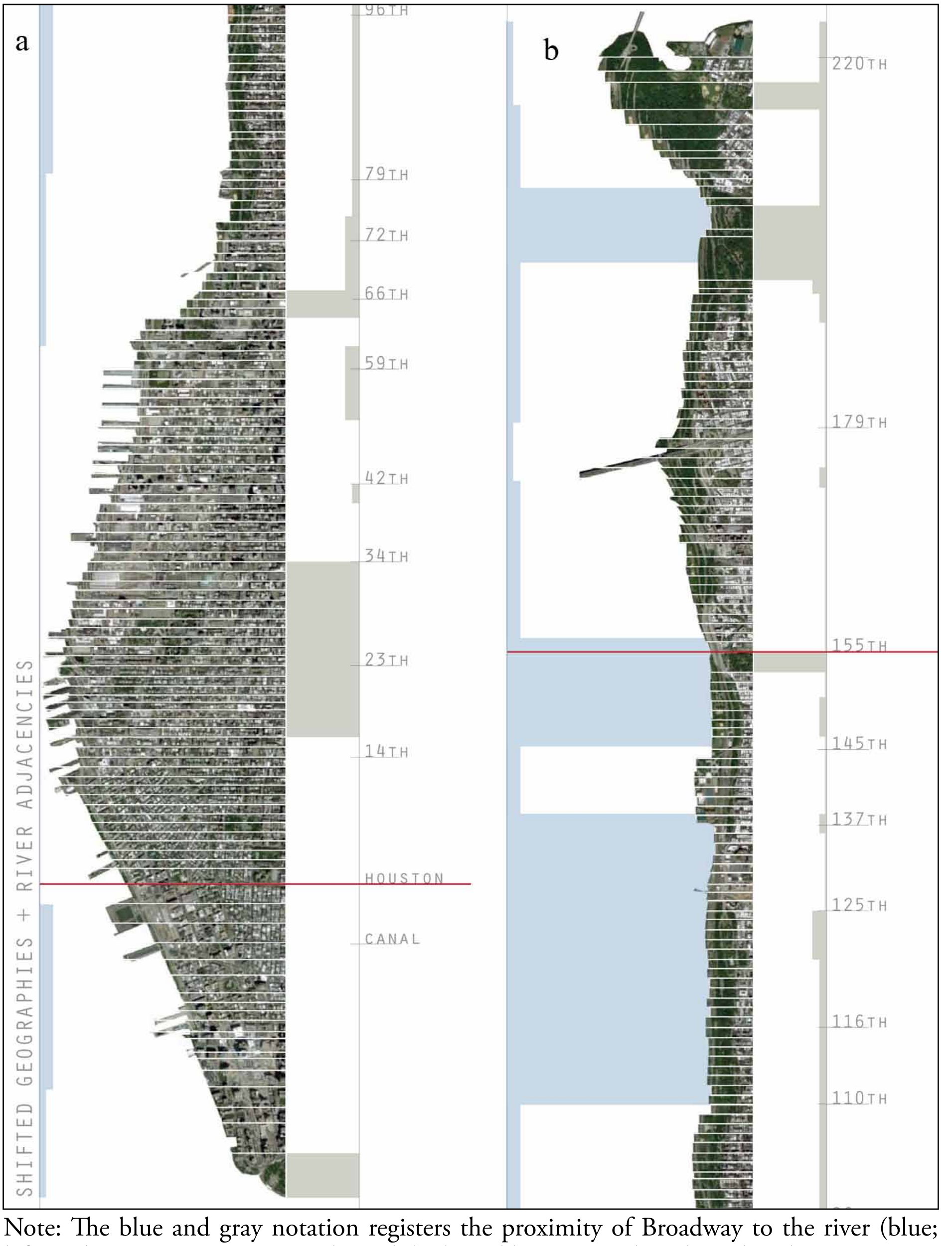
Connecting the grid in physical extent to its territorial surrounds (Broadway stretches north and south of the grid) and historical depth to its foundational substrate, Broadway is the grid's backbone; it "holds" the grid. When Broadway is drawn as a straight line, to reinforce its significance as the island's consistent datum, the grid transforms its unforgiving rigidity to a fluid system of shifting geographies that reveal latent relationships (Figure 11). Just as the walk down Broadway – peering into the grid's east-west streets – reveals shifting relationships to the island's aqueous edges (as do the walking sections), the drawing of the straightened Broadway accentuates its adjacency to the Hudson River in the north and its tightly landlocked condition in the south (Figure 12). This inspired a strengthened exchange between Broadway at the crest of the rise and the river at its base through a physical weaving of ecologies from each system (Figure 13). In the south, the proposal introduces an "edge ecology" on Broadway – a "wild" riparian character made possible by rain catchment from the streets (Figure 14).

Figure 11: Revelatory map(ping).



Note: The notation in the third drawing (right) indicates the degree of proximity of Broadway to the Hudson River (blue) and to open space (green).

Figure 12: Broadway straightened and the island's resulting edge.



Note: The blue and gray notation registers the proximity of Broadway to the river (blue; left) and to open space (gray; right), while the red lines in south and north indicate Houston (south) to 155th Street (the northern reach of the 1811 Commissioners' Plan).

Figure 13: North Broadway reimagined through a physical weaving of ecologies from each system. Along the Hudson River.

Figure 14: Lower Broadway.

Note: Because lower Broadway is deep in the interior of the island, awareness of the city's geography and ecology diminishes. Here a performative edge ecology is integrated into the experience of Broadway.

(4) Meter (Program)

Although the grid offers a reliable metric to our peripatetic experience, one can easily become habituated to its predictable structure (one minute per block; 20 blocks per mile, etc.). Broadway increases duration. Around the street's bends, the rhythm shifts, stretching time. In contrast to the repetitive structure of the east-west crossings over the north-south avenues, with footsteps the authors recorded the transgressive reprises of the street crossings over Broadway (Figure 15). Through this interjection of "difference" (Lefebvre 2004), the walker is awakened from habituated or routinized movement and forced to confront the environment with fuller kinesthetic awareness. Yet because of the subtleties of its kinks, the experience of Broadway is of walking a straight line with the grid coming at it obliquely (rather than vice versa). Therefore, taking the original walking survey of the crossings over Broadway, it is again straightened on paper, this time sustaining its angular relationship to its cross-streets. Through this revelatory drawing, the grid ceases to be a grid and, instead, becomes a complex web of overlapping relationships (Figure 16). By identifying the "nodes" of the most significant points of convergence, a new urban network emerges (see Figure 16), which is transposed back onto the existing street plan. The location of these nodes offers opportunities for a new matrix of related spaces introduced into the physical fabric of the city (Figures 17-18).

While critical of the generalizations of the synoptic view, the authors switch comfortably between plan, section and perspective drawings, emphasizing, when appropriate, the latter two as the true horizon of the walker. The authors oscillate between mapping (verb) as an embodied practice and "the map" (noun) as representation – where each informs the other. In addition, the perspectival views – though more "complete" and singular or static than exploratory mappings – intend to stimulate the imagination to envision new realities or spatial narratives. They are only a small number of possible narratives the mappings have the capacity to yield. This design study serves as a platform to discuss the methodological potentials of walking-mapping-narrating landscape futures more generally.

Figure 15: The regularized meter of the Commissioners' Plan of 1811 (left); the crossings over Broadway as we recorded on our walk (middle); the meter (of repetition and difference) experienced down Broadway (right).

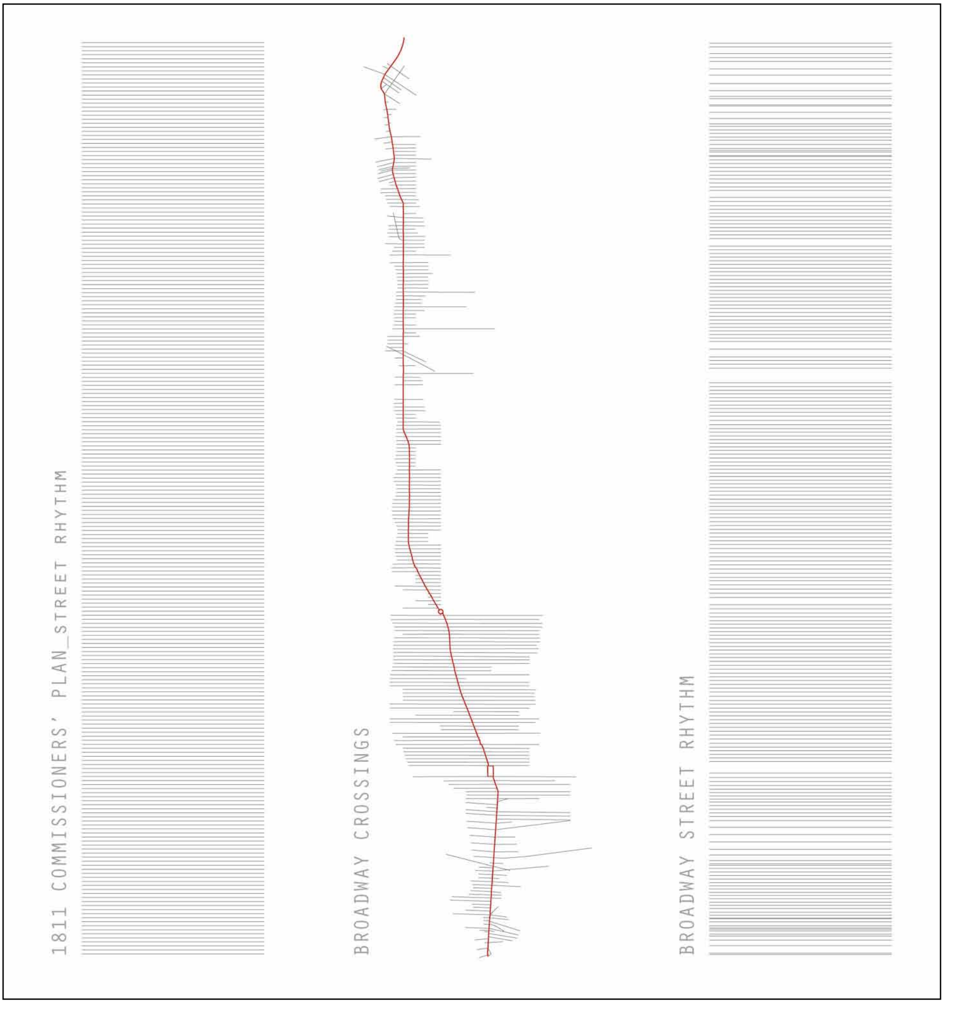


Figure 16: The revelatory process of mapping beginning with straightened Broadway in relationship with its cross-streets (left); crossings extended (middle) with densest points of convergence identified; and points of convergence ("nodes") extracted from the "mapping" of extended crossings (right).

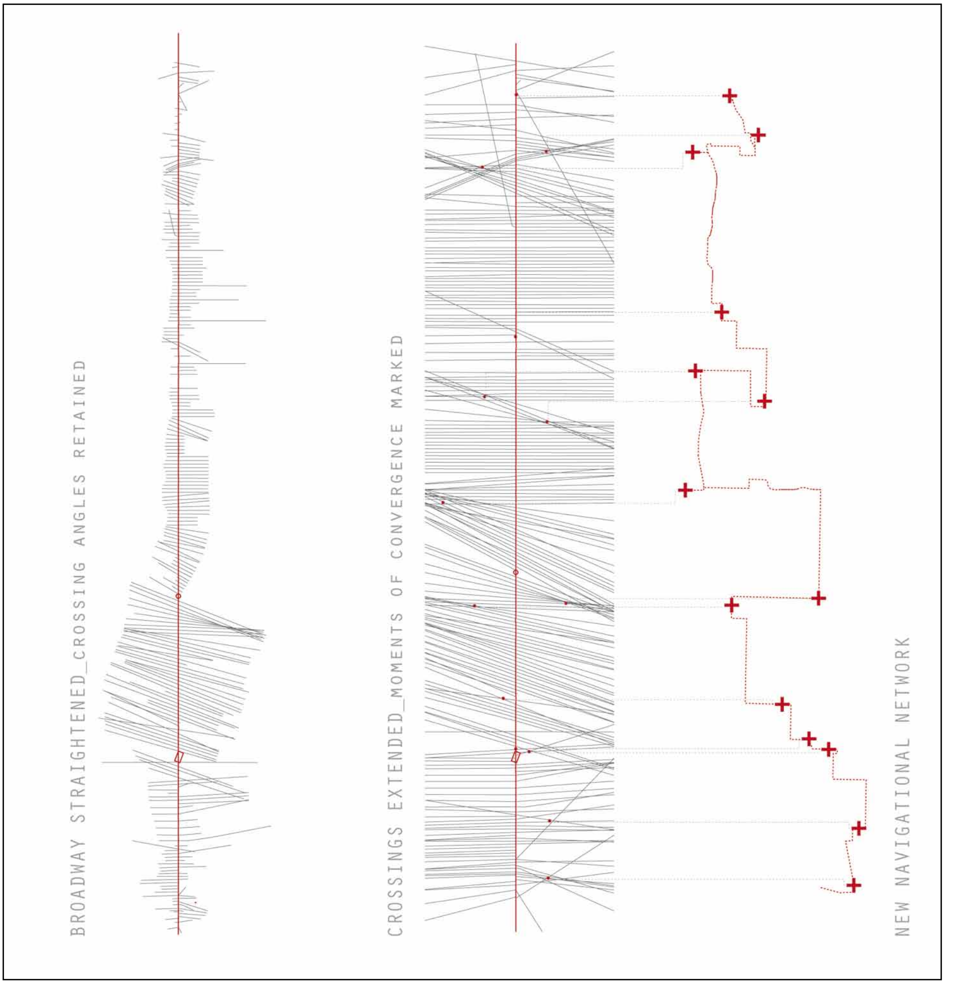
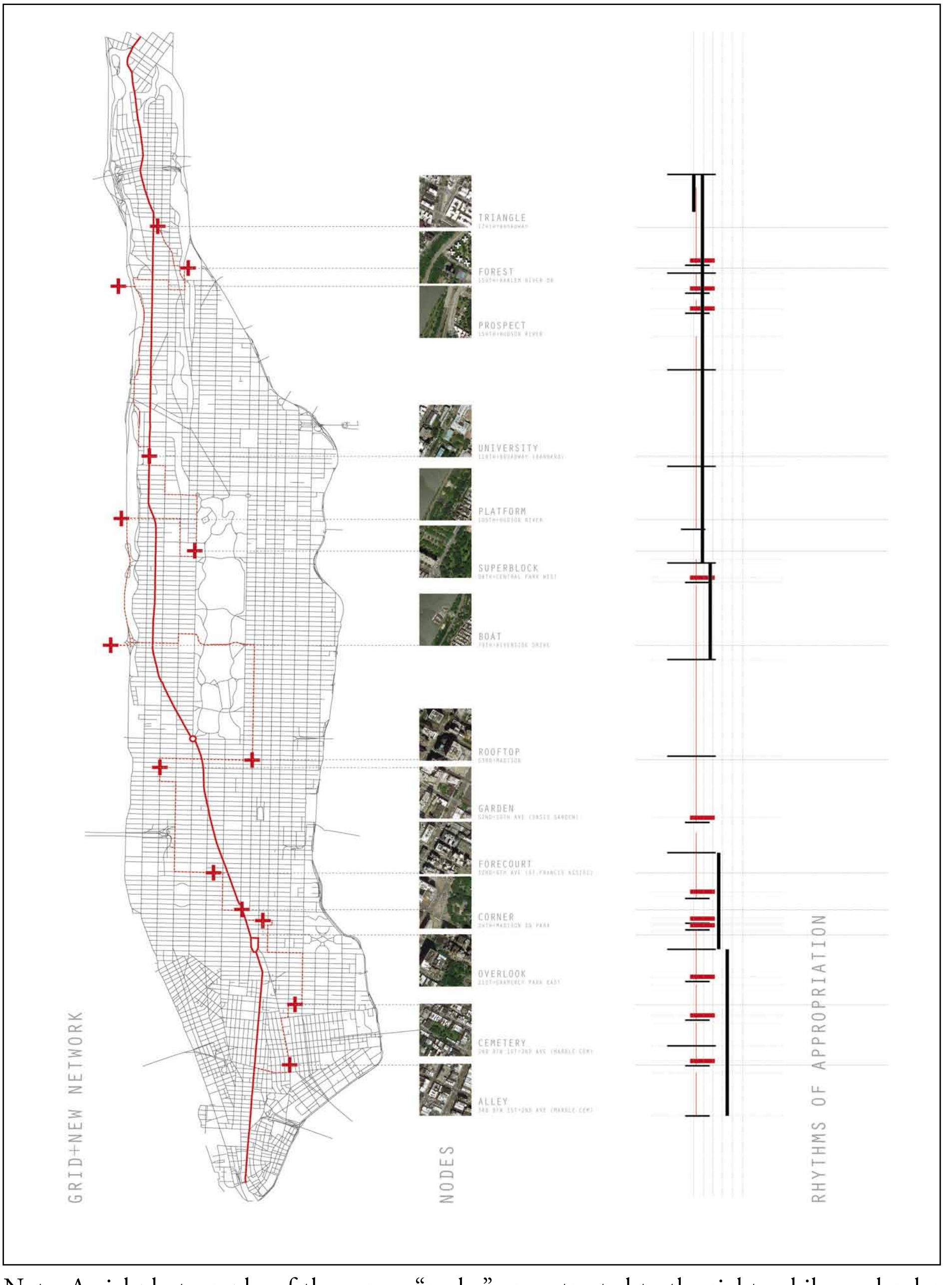


Figure 17: The new network of public convergence transposed onto the street grid.



Note: Aerial photographs of those new "nodes" are extracted to the right, while a calendar of programmatic occupation is projected in the drawing to the far right. While much attention is given the triangular lots created by the diagonals of Broadway – as unsuitable for development and thus providing opportunities for public space – this network resituates those opportunities for public gathering back into the grid at unexpected moments.

Figure 18: A hidden cemetery adapted for alterative use.

WALKING

> “You’ve got to get out and walk.”
> (Jane Jacobs, *Downtown is for People,* 1958)
>
> “Walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc., the trajectories it ‘speaks.’”
> (Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1984)
>
> “When I go out of the house for a walk, uncertain as yet whither I will bend my steps, [I] submit myself to my instinct to decide for me…”
> (Henri David Thoreau, “Walking,” 1863)

Mobile fieldwork is, of course, not a “new paradigm.” Active fieldwork and “fieldwalking” are practices long common to land surveying, ecology and archaeology (among many other disciplines increasingly in the social sciences). As a medium that is itself in constant flux, landscape is best understood moving through time across space and landscape designers have sought to optimize this “experience of motion” throughout the ages with particular deliberateness (in Western traditions) in the eighteenth century Picturesque practice of garden-making and its impact on the design of cities (Conan, 2003; Bergdoll, 2000). In other words, the centuries-old understanding that landscape is a spatio-temporal medium challenges the "newness" of such a paradigm as applied to landscape architecture.[2]

Ancient land surveying techniques, which served as a precedent to this study, synthesized the body with instruments of measure to construct space and layout towns. In *The Idea of a Town,* Joseph Rykwert (1976) describes an Etruscan and Roman ritual of walking the bounds in the laying out or "constituting" towns (Jacks 2004). In addition, the medieval practice of "beating the bounds" or perambulations were annual Rogation rites (according to the Christian liturgical calendar) where inhabitants of a parish gathered to walk, mark and verify its bounds (Bonaventura, 2007; Stilgoe, 1976). The social performance of these land surveying techniques, which claim and construct territory, provide a foundation for an activist design methodology in the context of mobility studies.

Walking as a critical medium is often associated with the Situationists, the European avant-garde group founded in 1957, and their psychogeographic "drifts" (*dérives*) through the city.[3] Yet the Situationists attempted to subvert the rational order and consumer expressions of the "Society of the Spectacle" (Debord, 1970) through radical acts of *détournement* (or strategic disruption), while our walk – though also critical – became the instrument for a more transgressive (than subversive) commentary. According to George Bataille, "Transgression opens the door into what lies beyond the limits usually observed, but it maintains those limits just the same" (1987, 67). Rather than a radical break with the given framework, we found inspiration in the spatio-temporal tensions between these two mobility systems – the grid and Broadway. As Michel de Certeau (1984) claims, walking "transgresses," providing curious access to idiosyncrasies incomprehensible in scale when the city is viewed from above.

Broadway could be deemed a relic of the "authentic" city the Situationists hoped to unearth through their drifts, as it survived the rationalization of the city by the grid. However, while Broadway might not fit into the singular imageability of the grid, it is far from untouched by the the spaces of capitalist consumption as defined by the Situationists. Simultaneously, its rogue disobedience creates residual spaces that are hard to synthesize into the wholeness of the Commissioners' Plan. Many of these tensions became the impetus for our ambulatory study.

Yet unlike the Situationists' *dérives* and the detached observation of the nineteenth century *flâneur*, who was similarly critical of the anonymity of modern life in the city, our walk was not a "wander" but an active "taking to the streets." Adopting the deliberateness of Jane Jacobs and even Thoreau, both quoted above (despite the latter's so-declared "submission"), the authors embarked on the walk, seeking to uncover previously unforeseen connections between the two grounds of Manhattan: the inherited (Broadway) and the imposed (grid). Like "walking the line" of Broadway (Long, 2005), walking artist Richard Long begins with a prescribed route and uses this as a path of open-ended discovery along its length. Using his body as measure, his ambulatory work reveals environmental relationships by focusing on the relativity of his moving body to the speed of natural phenomena around him (Long, 2005). Similarly, the walk here is structured, almost algorhythmic – as a form of measure – with the disciplined rhythm of our walk providing a point of reference (the "control") to measure episodes of difference.

Finally, de Certeau's oft-cited focus on pedestrian movement (1984) is one of the number of everyday practices that he uses as examples to describe the underconsidered acts of "consumer production" – what the powerless "make" or "do" with the products of institutional systems, in this case, urban development. His chapter on walking begins at the top of the World Trade Center, as the "most monumental figure of Western urban development," where the synoptic view makes legible the "text" being written below. The reader quickly takes an "Icarian fall" to the streets below – "below the threshold at which visibility begins" – and where the city's "ordinary practitioners… walk. They are walkers, *Wandersmanner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it" (1984, 91-93). While the authors cite de Certeau's post-modern critique, the approach here is less about supporting or sustaining the practices of everyday life that spatialize the city and more about critically challenging "consumers" to be active citizens – to re-envision their city through a close and imaginative reading of the text they vigorously write.

MAPPING

> "Like a nomadic grazer, the exploratory mapper detours around the obvious so as to engage what remains hidden (Corner 1999, 225)."

> "No rhythm without repetition in time and in space, without reprises, without returns, in short without measure. But there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely… When it concerns the everyday, rites, ceremonies, fêtes, rules and laws, there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference" (Lefebvre 2004, 6).

In the Broadway study, the city is interpreted through walking as survey, which is then translated into drawings that oscillate between the synoptic view (the plan or aerial) and the view from "down below" (the section, elevation and perspective). Drawing – as mediation - becomes an alternative means of seeing. When Broadway is drawn as a straight line in the proposals above, for instance, the authors are not proposing that this be actualized, but use this revisualization to unearth previously unseen geographic relationships, which then inform new possibilities for design of urban space.

These drawings can be situated within the discourse of "mapping" in the fields of geography and landscape architecture. Mapping is exploratory and investigative, as well as projective and imaginative, endowing landscape with structure and measure. In his book *Mappings*, geographer Denis Cosgrove states, "The map is both the spatial embodiment of knowledge and a stimulus to further cognitive engagements" (1999, 2). The process of translation here – from walking to representation, likewise, does not end with a "final" set of drawings, but provides a series of projections that provoke further interpretation and inquiry and hints at new narratives for urban space.

This interpretive practice focuses on the durational - the dynamic relationship of the mobile body with the mobile environment. The grid became an Enlightenment map made physically manifest – the totalized and fixed vision of the Cartesian system – neutralizing the contingencies of history and circumstance. The process of mapping here actively exploits the durational aspects of a temporal medium (walking) made particularly palpable through the measure provided by the regularized grid, which, when in dialog with Broadway, introduces that "something new and unforeseen" that Lefebvre describes as "difference" (2004, 6).

The mappings opened up multiple scenarios for re-imagining the city and the perspectival images (Figures 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18) are intended as one of many possible narrative seeds or prompts to instigate these multilinear threads.

NARRATING LANDSCAPE FUTURES

In his chapter on "Spatial Stories," de Certeau (1984) makes a distinction between the "map" and the "story" or "itinerary" (he equates the latter two terms). He defines the map as a strategic and totalizing projection that is reductive and erases the infinite itineraries that spatialize the city. In contrast, he states, "In Greek, narration is called 'diagesis': it establishes an itinerary (it 'guides') and it passes through (it 'transgresses'). The space of operations it travels in is made of movements: it is *topological*, concerning the deformation of figures, rather than *topical*, defining places" (1984, 129). Rather than the map, which delimits boundaries and fixes place, the narrative connotes spatial navigation, itineraries that transgress the "Concept City," or the strategically planned city. Yet the authors use the view from above not as an instrument of control or conquest, but as a mediated (generalized) understanding of urban structure and its patterns and possibilities, not as a means to see more but as a way to see differently (Di Palma 2008). The authors do not propose totalizing interventions at this scale but explore how the reconfigured aerial view (the mediated mediation) might open up new ways of understanding the lived horizon and prompt new narratives about the city as lived.

Narratives emerging through movement has been the topic of inquiry in new media studies for at least two decades. Digital media theorist Lev Manovich (2001) cites de Certeau's evocation of *diagesis* as a means to argue that exploratory movement through the virtual space of games, specifically *Doom* and *Myst*, yields emergent narratives. To Manovich, it is movement through this "space" that constructs narrative, not the predetermined characters and events within the game. Similarly, in her discussion about locative media, media scholar Rita Raley argues, "the urban environment [is] a narrative space, with hidden layers to be discovered and explored" (2015, 306). Clearly these ideas of unearthing stories through exploratory movement are not new. "Travelers' tales" or "travel writing" as a genre of mobile storytelling that imaginatively mixed fact and fiction can be traced to the Middle Ages through the Renaissance and beyond (Wolf 2012).

The perspectival images (see Figures 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18) generated as the third component of the walking-mapping-narrating method are both intended as one of many responses the mapping process has the capacity to yield and as prompts to imagine new narratives for landscape's many possible futures. Rather than closed and finished presentation drawings perhaps reflective of eighteenth century landscape designer Humphry Repton's before-and-after views presented in his *Red Books* (1976), they are intended as stimuli for the unfolding of multiple narrative possibilities.

CONCLUSION

This design study provides a platform to present a means of exploring the imaginative potential of itinerant research. The Broadway case clearly does not address the ethnographic agency of walking, yet borrowing from social sciences methods of itinerant or mobile ethnography has much to offer the shaping and design of urban space (Sheller and Urry 2006). Grounded and dynamic fieldwork that involves measuring or mapping patterns of movement, use and creative appropriation of marginal and institutionalized space at the local and territorial scale is another part of our practice – applying what the authors call "critical ethnography" (Hirsch 2016). The "critical ethnographer" uses extensive fieldwalking techniques and interprets observations of the local and, particularly, "the localization of globalized forces" (Holston and Appadurai 1998, 3), as an integral part of the design process.[4]

Rather, the Broadway study combines the dynamic medium of walking with exploratory mapping, to generate narrative provocations through which to imagine possible futures for the urban landscape. The method introduced here, which integrates and synthesizes these walking-mapping-narrating discourses, aims to contribute to landscape architectural methodologies and their expanding complexity. While this particular walk focused most on the structure of Manhattan rather than those infinite spatial stories written by the city's inhabitants, the walk opened up the imaginative possibilities for the inscription of new urban narratives. Geographer Doreen Massey critiques the oppositional model set up by Michel de Certeau, particularly his dichotomous thinking between maps and itineraries, strategies and tactics, the latter of which he associates with space and time, respectively. She quotes him, "A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* (*propre*)... The 'proper' is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time - it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'" (de Certeau, xix; in Massey 2005, 45). She finds the dichotomized relation set up between space and time as highly problematic, continuing:

> To escape from an imagination of space as a surface is to abandon also that view of place…If space is rather simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories… Places not as points or areas on maps, but as integrations of space and time as spatio-temporal events… This is an understanding of place - as open…as woven together out of ongoing stories, as a moment within power-geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space, and as in process, as unfinished business… (Massey 2005, 130-131).

Such "unfinished business" reinforces the idea that the urban landscape can be traversed in endless narratives that tell new stories about the city and its futures. The mobile imagination, put into practice through such a walking-mapping-narrating method, has the potential to mine the spatio-temporal dimension of places and generate genuine alternatives to current realities.

NOTES

1. These proposals were generated before the Low Line which is a plan for opening the Williamsburg Bridge Trolley Terminal on the Lower East Side of New York as an underground park.
2. This said, of course, "sedentarist" methods – as Urry and Sheller spell out – are pervasive in the study of landscape as discrete place – or "bounded and authentic… regions or nations as the fundamental basis of human identity and experience" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 208-209; citing Cresswell 2002, 12-15).
3. The walking practice of the dérive was preceded by Dada's "excursions" and succeeded by a number of psychogeographic practices such as the Italian group, Stalker (see Careri 2002, for instance).
4. Clearly we are not the only practice that uses a kind of ambulatory ethnography when it comes to reimagining the city otherwise. Stalker, for instance, the Italian architectural collective, has long been using the walk as a medium through which to remap the sociospatial dimensions of the city (see Wiley 2010; Lang 2007). While itinerancy is not essential their approach, practitioners aligned with "Everyday Urbanism" (Chase et al, 1999/2008) additionally use grounded fieldwork to study everyday acts – that appropriate and spatialize the city in creative ways. It would thus also fit within the framework of mobility studies as defined very broadly by Sheller and Urry (2006).

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Coda

"Each night put Kashmir in your dreams"

Nilima Sheikh
Baroda, India

Nilima Sheikh's series "Each night put Kashmir in your dreams" reveals her continuing exploration of the historical fate of Kashmir through the past decade, through a set of nine scrolls (casein, tempera on canvas sized 10 by 6 feet each).

Her painted scrolls reveal an informed palimpsest presentation of material that one had come to associate with Sheikh's work with all of Kashmir's contradictory and multicultural histories erupting through the artist's reverie about the land as Paradise. The magical and the marvelous, the mythic and the fabulous and ritual and fantasy pass through the photographic, the performative, the textual, the uttered and the art historical as well as through the artisanal habitual and the ecological. Multiple cultural sensibilities from all over the world from various strata of history make up the Kashmir of today. Textual references from Kalhana rub shoulder with the poetry of Lal Ded, folktales jostle with the poetry of Agha Shahid Ali or the prose of Salman Rushdie and the work of historian Chitralekha Zutshi while visual references range from pre-Renaissance Italian art to famed Persian master Bihzad to the magnificent demonography of the Siyah Qalam and Thangka art amongst others.

As evinced in Sheikh's work, it is not a simple lament for the destruction of Paradise by political violence. Instead she unravels in various directions the multiple layers of forces of history at play in Kashmir today, the outcome of which is yet to be seen.*

* Based on Chemould Prescott Road Gallery text by Kaushik Bhaumik, *Each night put Kashmir in your dreams*: Nilima Sheikh, 2010.

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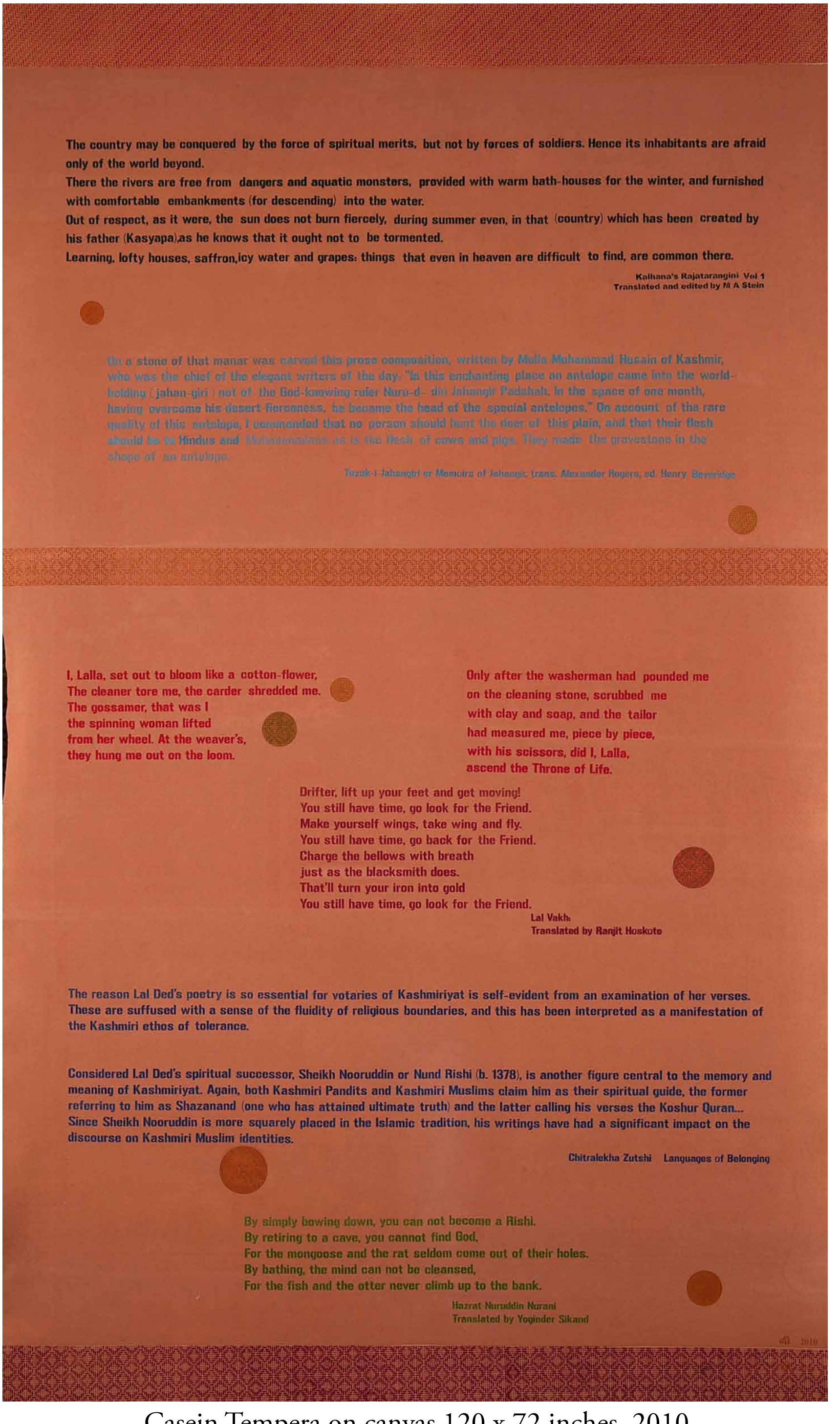
Construction Site

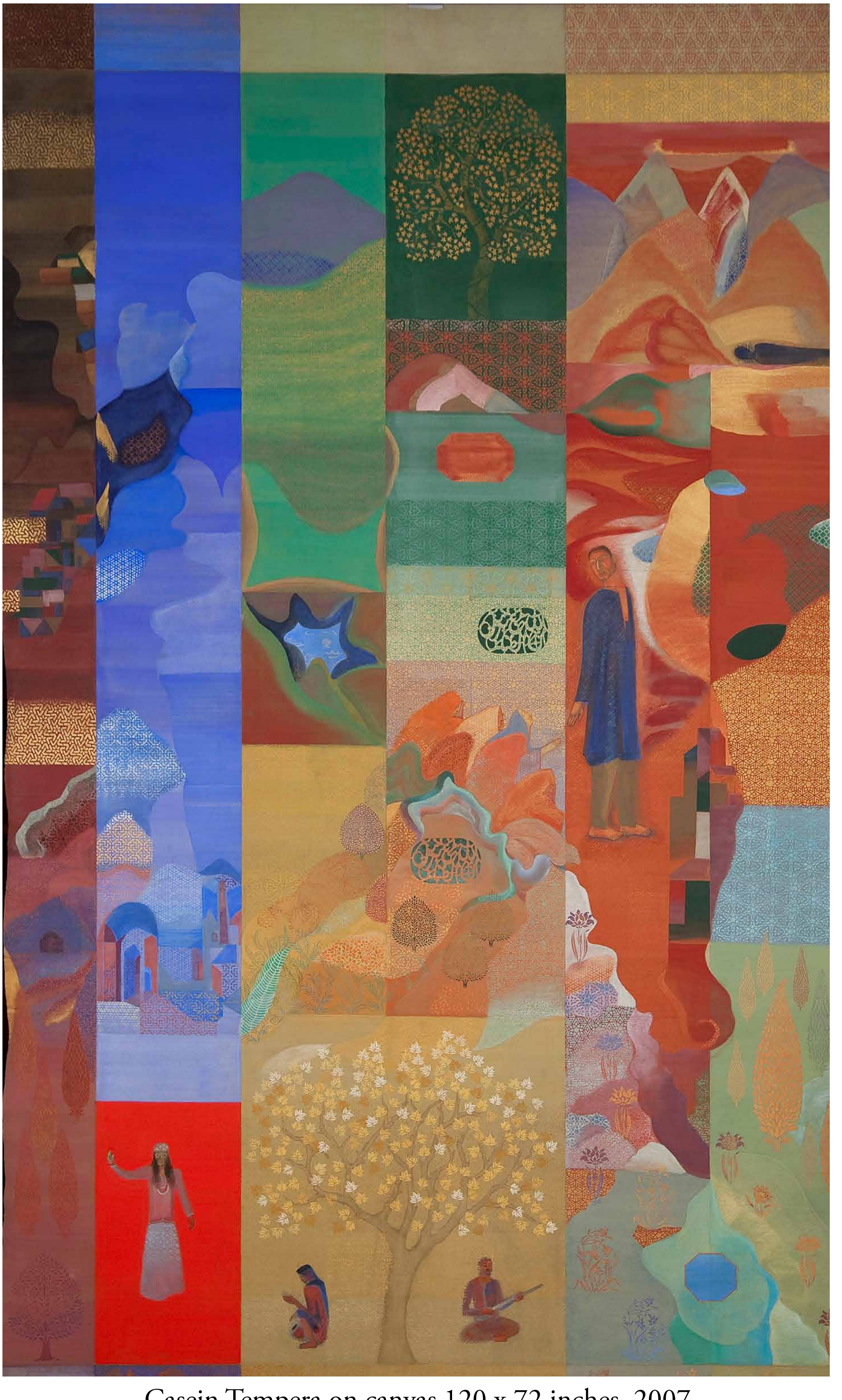
Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

Construction Site



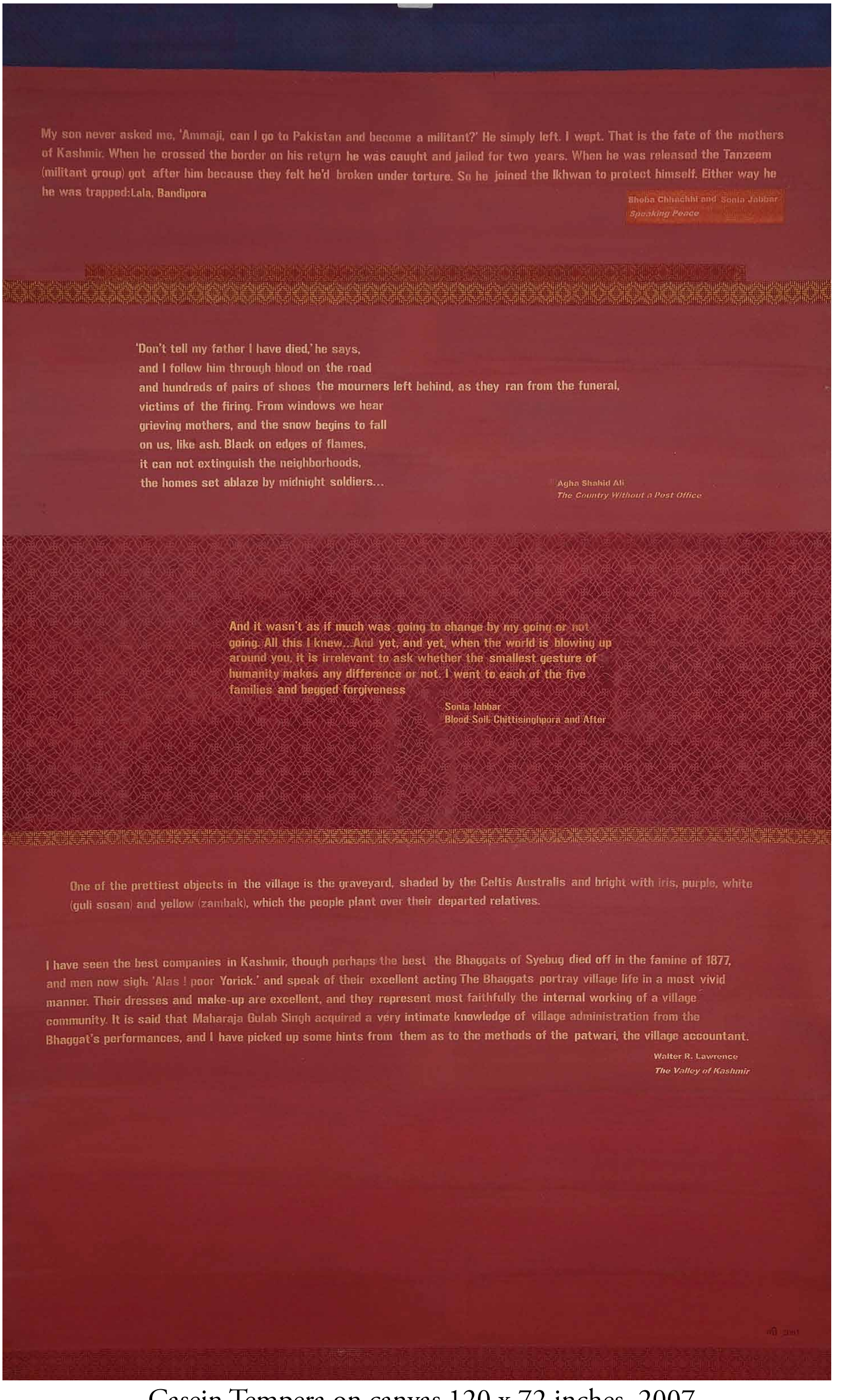
Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

Each night put Kashmir in your dreams



Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2007

Each night put Kashmir in your dreams

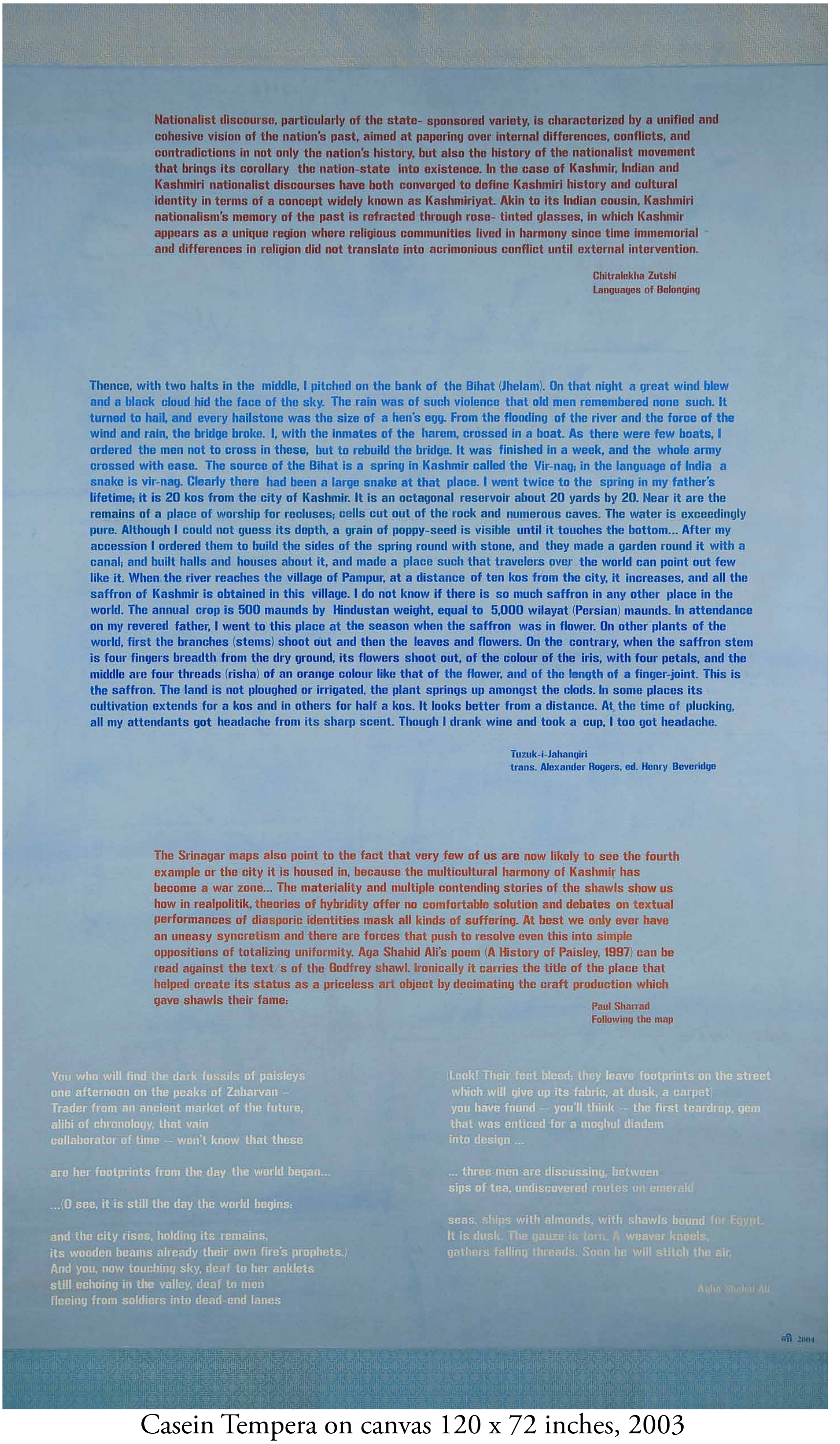


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2007

Gathering Threads

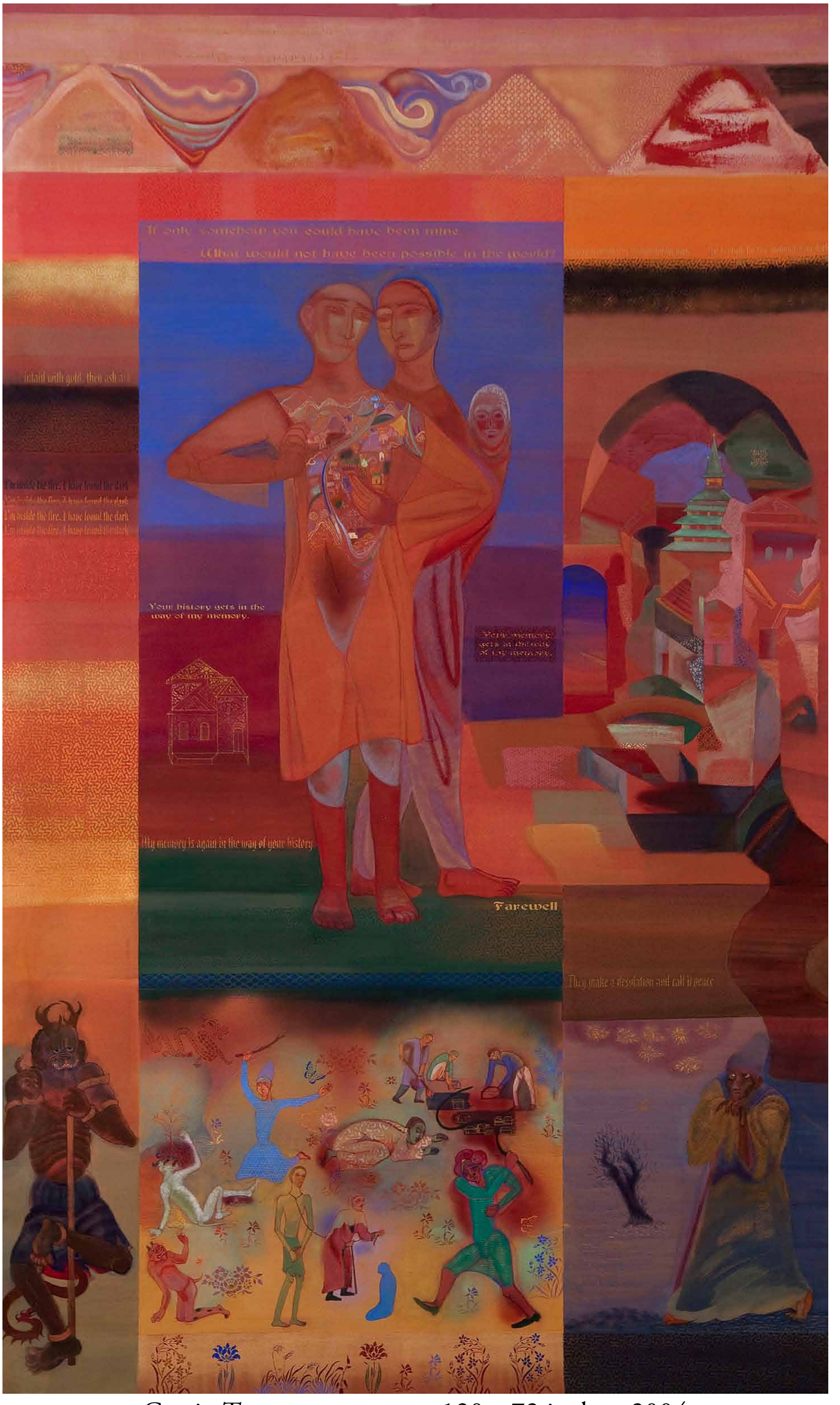
Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2003

Gathering Threads



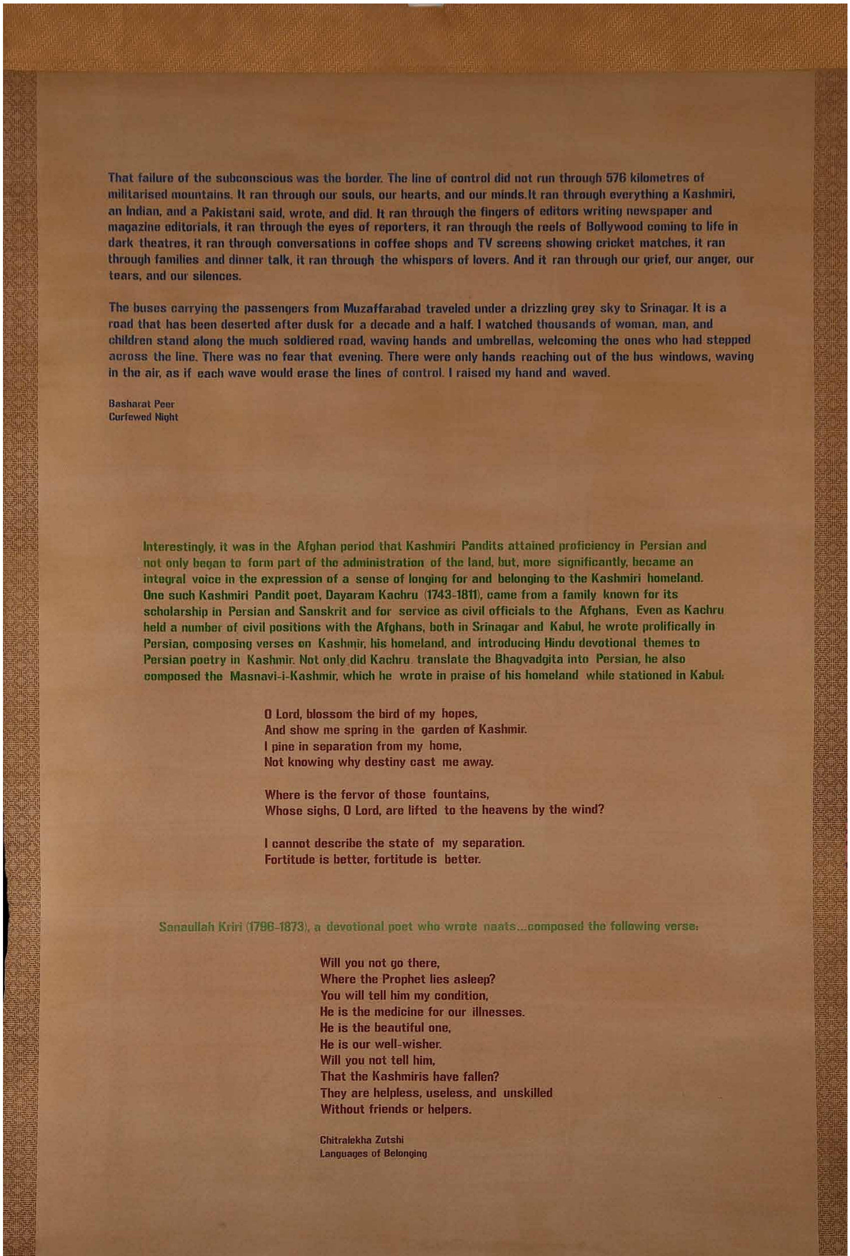
Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2003

Farewell



Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2004

Farewell

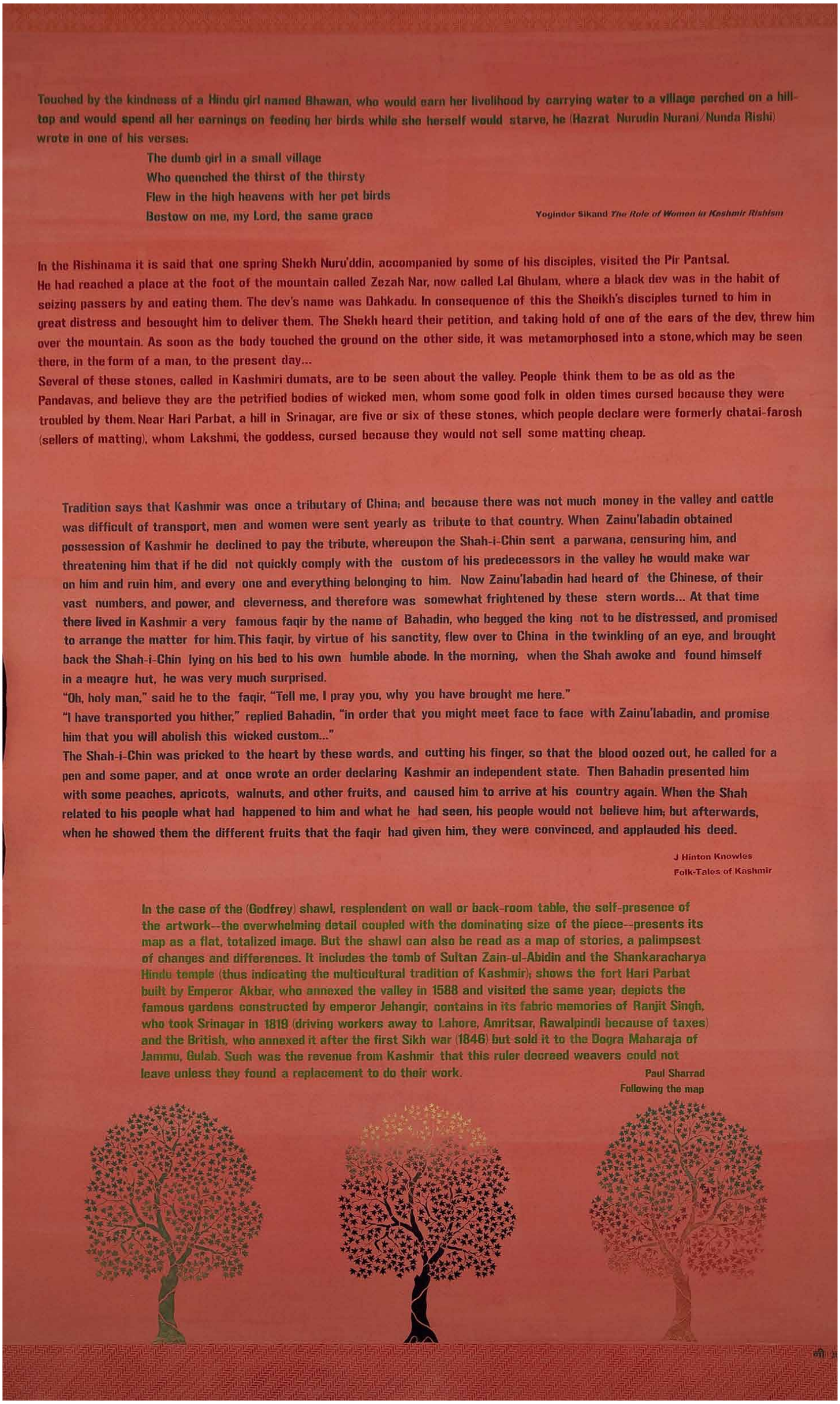


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2004

Dying Dreaming

Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2004

Dying Dreaming

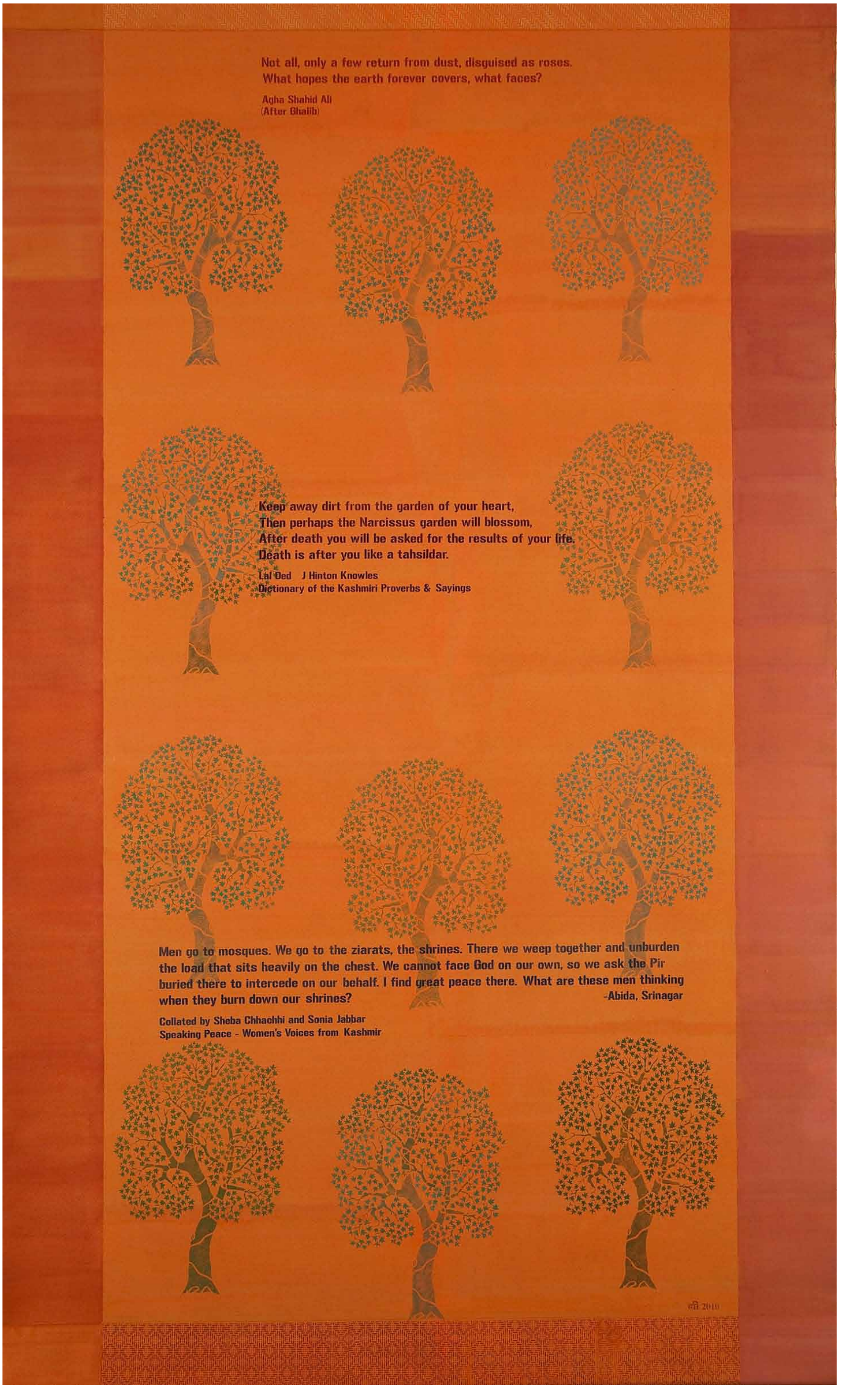


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2004

Going Away

Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

Going Away

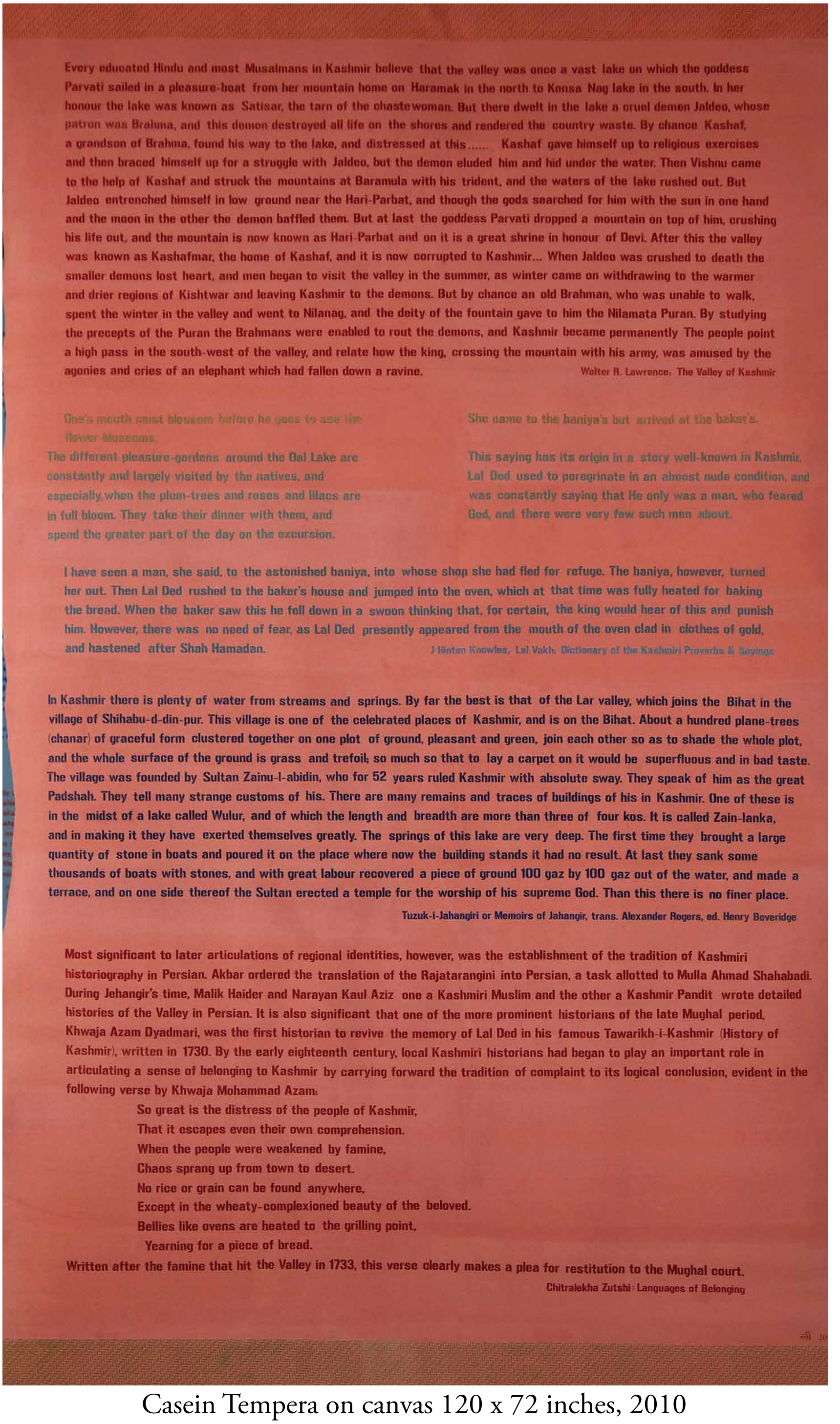


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

Son et Lumiere

Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

Son et Lumiere

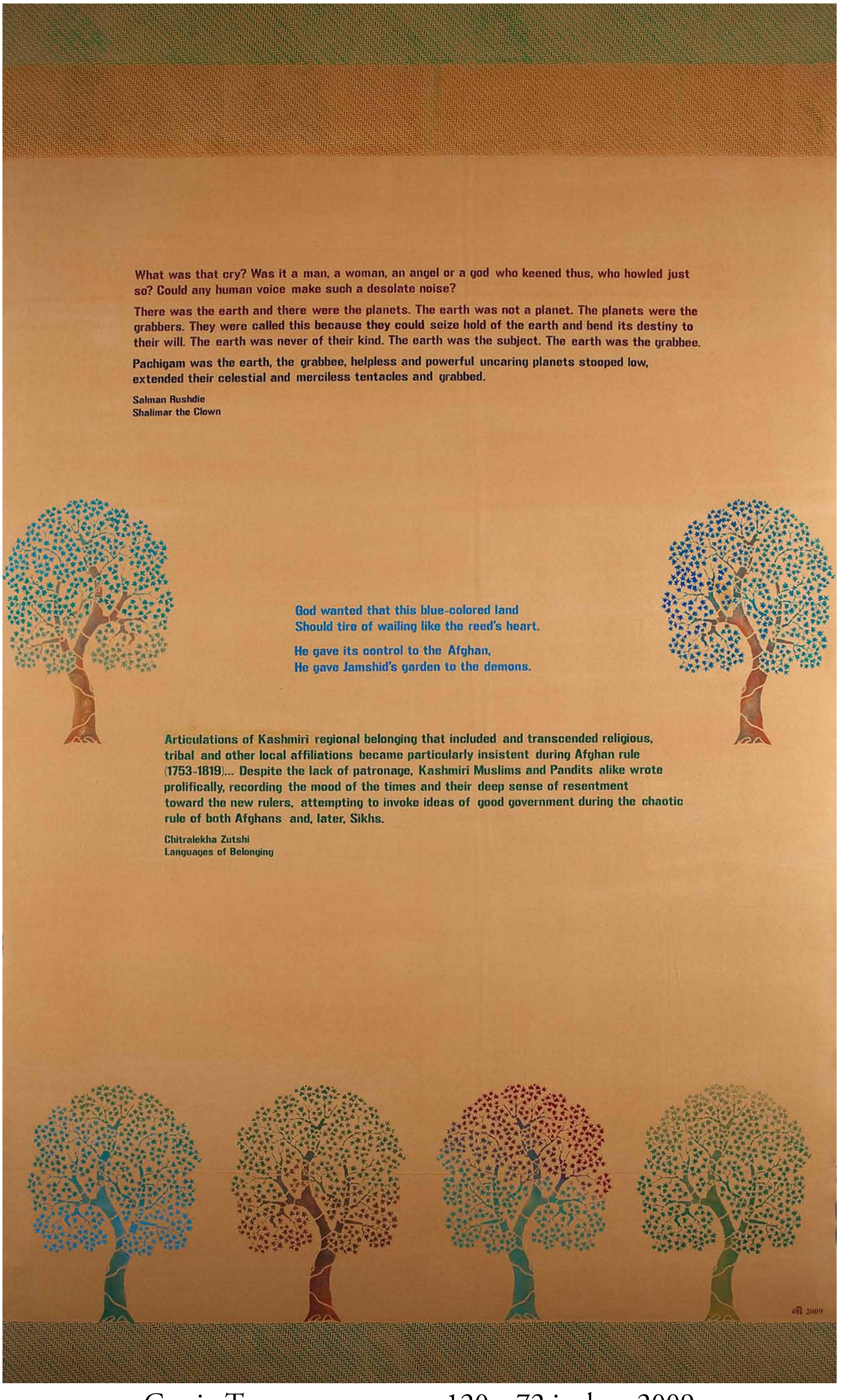


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2010

The beautiful village of Pachigam still exists

Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2009

The beautiful village of Pachigam still exists

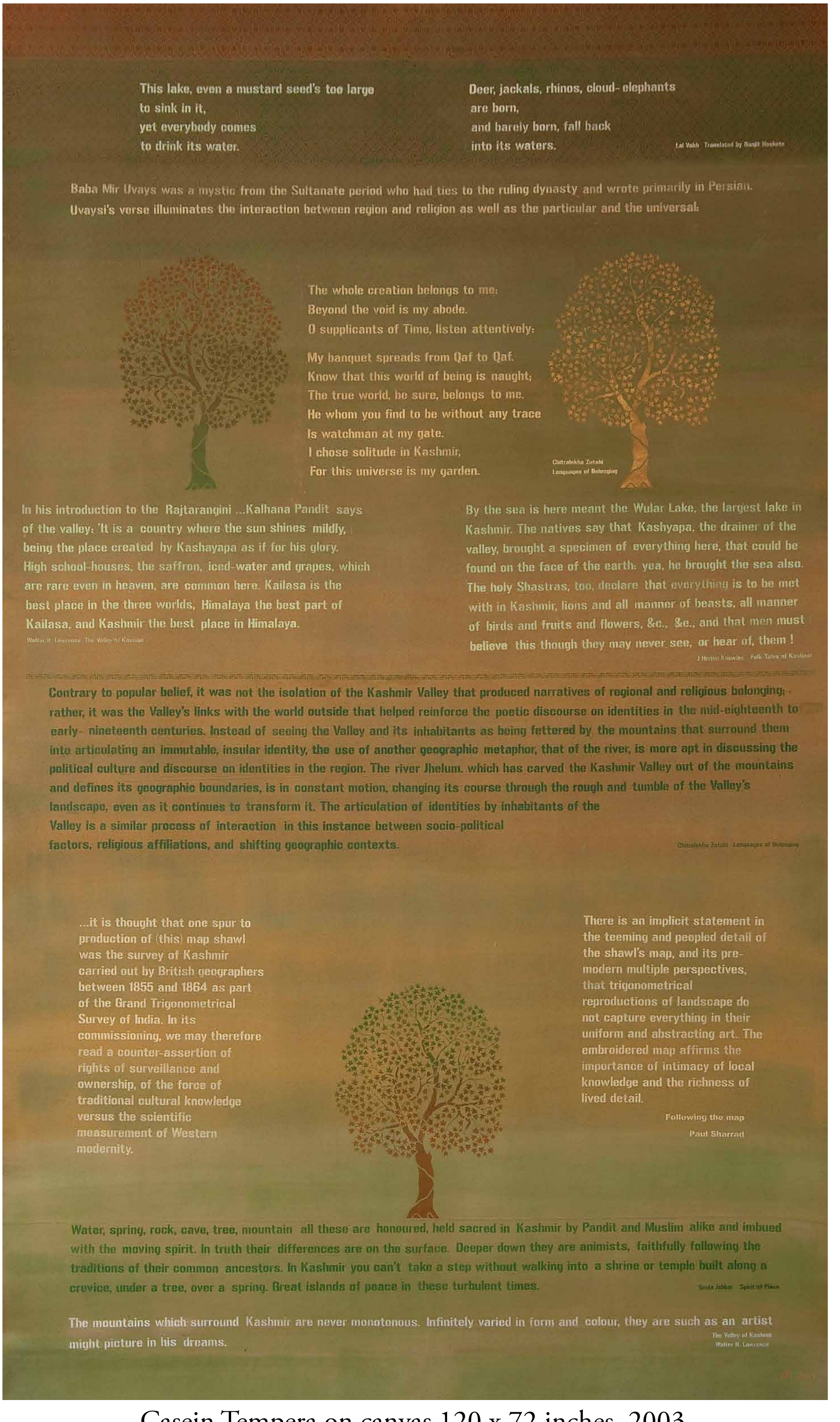


Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2009

Valley

Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2003

Valley



Casein Tempera on canvas 120 x 72 inches, 2003

NILIMA SHEIKH was born in New Delhi in 1945 and after graduating in history, she studied painting at the MS University of Baroda (1965-71). She has exhibited her paintings since 1969, and in 2017 she participated in Documenta 14 in Kassel and Athens. Her solo exhibitions include Each night put Kashmir in your dreams at the Art Institute of Chicago in 2014. She has illustrated and designed children's books since 1986 and between 1989 and 2000 created the scenography and visual design for theater productions. She writes on art and has published essays in books, journals and artists' catalogues.

BOOK REVIEWS

ENTREPRENEURIAL NEIGHBORHOODS. Edited by Maarten van Ham, Darja Reuschke, Reinout Kleinhans, Colin Mason and Stephen Syrett, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017

Entrepreneurship research and neighbourhoods and community studies have long been separate academic disciplines, which rarely interacted with each other. The ambition of the editors of Entrepreneurial Neighbourhoods is to bring these topics together.

The book has two sections. The first part of the book zooms in on the neighbourhood as a context for enterprises. The relation between entrepreneurship and community is the 'next true frontier for entrepreneurship research', as the editors quote Ronald Coase, winner of the 1991 Nobel Prize for economy. Researchers view entrepreneurship more and more as a community-based effort, instead of an individualistic affair. Part two of the book has as main question what community enterprises, that pursue partly non-profit goals and are based on community participation, can do for neighbourhoods. The claim of several initiators and policymakers across Europe is that this type of enterprise can serve as an alternative to urban regeneration policies and state-based welfare provision. This claim poses an interesting challenge for the researchers. The editors have collected a broad kaleidoscope of studies that address these questions and challenges.

The 23 authors investigate how entrepreneurship, neighbourhoods and communities interact in several mainly western countries, with a special focus on the United States of America, the United Kingdom and The Netherlands. They use a diversity of research methods: case studies, anthropological field studies, interviews, network analysis, surveys, literature review and economic modelling. Most chapters are more socio-geographically than economically oriented.

Nick Williams and Colin Williams point in part I to the 'hidden enterprise culture' in deprived areas. A household survey examining informal work in English deprived and affluent areas shows that in deprived areas 84 to 87 per cent of the entrepreneurs operate (partly) in the informal economy, against 58 to 62 per cent in affluent areas. Their activity is mostly hidden from the authorities for tax and social security purposes. Entrepreneurs in deprived areas face a number of barriers, including a lack of business skills, reduced access to finance, and an absence of role models and mentoring. Therefore they often enter trades with low entry barriers for which there is highly localised demand. They draw on local social capital: friends, relatives and fellow residents.

This also goes for female entrepreneurs in The Netherlands, Beate Volker finds. She investigated the networks of female and male entrepreneurs. For both, local ties form a considerable and vital part of their network. But only women profit from their neighbourhood social capital. Their connections within the community are much more beneficial to them than their individual social network.

Marianne de Beer en Veronique Schutjens point out that in The Netherlands this important local social capital hardly consists of other firms. The entrepreneurs they researched have close connections to the local community, but these are mainly part of social and private networks. Only a small proportion of their business relations are located in their own neighbourhood or municipality.

Jenny Lendrum and Sarah Swider studied gendered networks and informal entrepreneurial activities in Dtown, a Detroit neighbourhood where many African Americans live. They claim that in research on entrepreneurship in US neighbourhoods the focus is mostly on the ethnic dimension; gender issues are mostly overlooked. This is a recognisable comment, yet in this book the opposite seems the case since in all other contributions authors hardly pay special attention to ethnic minority entrepreneurship. Lendrum and Swider observe that public space in Dtown is 'highly gendered': men dominate the streets and the parks, women can be found in more closed spaces like churches and the domestic surrounding of the own house. This is also reflected in economic activities. Men hustle on the street, while women do interior work such as baby-sitting or renting rooms. This economy in the domestic sphere remains mostly invisible for the outside world.

In part II on Community-Based Enterprises, Evan Casper-Futterman and James DeFilippis state that Community Development Corporations (CDC's) are the most common form of US community organizations. Community Development Corporations are not-for-profit corporations that build houses, provide social and legal services, organise job training, create community facilities, etc. Due to strong decentralisations and cutbacks in welfare programs they play a central role in local service provision in some areas, and sometimes even act de facto as a kind of local government and as a 'shadow state'. Futterman and DeFilippis demonstrate that CDC's seek causes of social problems in dysfunctional behaviour in poor communities and limited participation in the market economy. Therefore they focus on restoration of societal norms and reintegration in markets by trying to attract external capital and credit (including government finances). A third option: countering injustice is not part of their repertoire. CDC's in deprived areas for instance hardly pay attention to countering residential displacement due to gentrification.

David Varady, Reinout Kleinhans and Maarten van Ham also point out that CDCs hardly have a record for creating stable mixed-income communities. Furthermore they show that prospects for CDC-success in the UK and in the US are better in areas in early stages of decline, with interesting assets and magnets for external capital and with high-capacity communities. CDCs don't flourish in the most deprived areas. The authors raise the question whether governments should develop 'safety net' policies for communities with the least capacity to solve problems themselves.

Community-Based Enterprise is also about owning certain assets such as sites and buildings in trusts. Nick Bailey states that owning these income-generating assets is essential for reasons of continuity, and to decrease dependency of changing urban generation policies. Bailey states that community trusts 'offer some hope to local communities that the decline in local services can at least in part, and in some areas, be moderated'. If policy makers wish to adopt this approach more widely, they would have to provide support, including technical assistance and access to finance.

Dutch data show that interactions of community enterprise start-ups and local governments are hardly easy-going forms of co-production. In his study Reinout Kleinhans finds ambivalent attitudes among professionals and civil servants. On the one hand they hope and say that community enterprises will replace some of the welfare state arrangements. At the same time local governments are reserved due to a range of fears, doubts, legal restrictions and power issues. Kleinhans concludes that local governments have a long way to go to facilitate active citizenship. This is especially a topic for communities with low capacities.

Emiel Rijshouwer and Justus Uitermark illustrate in their analysis of Amsterdam's community centres another tension between rhetoric's and practise. These centres are structurally dependent on financial support of government agencies and housing associations. They lack own resources to pay the high market-led rental prices in Amsterdam. However it is a taboo to openly discuss this, leading to the curious situation of 'citizens, social entrepreneurs and policymakers acting out autonomous action and independent entrepreneurship'.

In sum, this book keeps up its promise and integrates economic and community perspectives on neighbourhoods. It offers a broad scope of studies and raises important questions. In line with the presented results the editors state in the conclusion of the book that entrepreneurs and community enterprises in income-poor communities lack access to the formal economy, and therefore extra 'area-specific strategies' are needed compared to affluent areas. It is not stated openly in the book, but the findings presented to the reader suggest that particularly in poorer areas community enterprises are unlikely to serve as a full-grown alternative to urban regeneration policies and state-based welfare provision.

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HOW GREAT CITIES HAPPEN: INTEGRATING PEOPLE, LAND USE AND TRANSPORT, by John Stanley, Janet Stanley, and Roslynne Hansen, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2017.

It is often said that successful planning is more of an art than a science. Perhaps the moto should be changed to "planning makes perfect". *How Great Cities Happen* is an ode to successful integrative planning of people land use and transportation in the developed world. It brings the reader a series of case studies, from different cities across the globe, which can be considered as bench marks of good practice. It provides the reader a holistic and comprehensive view of how good practice in integrative planning can be achieved. The main idea coming out of the book is that looking at land use and transport in a narrow fashion is insufficient to resolve many of the challenges facing cities. The book contains 10 chapters.

The first chapter of the book is a wide canvas on the motivations to bridge the knowledge gaps emerging in land use -transport policy. Cities that have been long dominated by the motor vehicle are searching for sustainable solutions. Sustainability largely defined as meeting the needs of future generations without compromising their ability to meet their own future needs is a main goal of integrative planning. To achieve this strategic goal cities like Vancouver, London, Freiburg (Germany) are setting high standards for a 'common good' for their citizens, well beyond just cost-benefit analysis of alternatives. The common good includes adopting compact settlement patterns (following the New Urbanism and Transit Orientated Development schools); a strong focus on local and regional economic productivity and land use transportation policy (namely accessibility); built form and travel; the importance of neighborhoods aimed at creating complete communities; governance and funding.

The second chapter, based on case studies of successful integrative planning, asks what constitutes a good city. Being more sustainable over time is based on key generic goals: increased economic productivity, reduction in the environmental footprint, increasing social inclusion and reducing inequality, improving health and safety, promoting intergenerational equity, wide community engagement and implant of governance arrangements. These goals are analyzed in more detail for several successful citys' visions: Vancouver (BC, Canada), Melbourne (Australia), London (UK), Malmo (Sweden), Freiburg (Germany), Portland (OR, USA).

Chapter 3 elucidates to the reader the economic influences on strategic policy and planning. An important issue is the impacts on local/regional GDP where many cities are concerned with sluggish productivity growth. Melbourne is a main case study with its changing economic geography and in particular stimulating growth through urban land use transport policy and planning. Another case study is London. Other issues include urban innovation districts and microeconomic challenges (mainly how to deal with road traffic congestion).

The fourth chapter moves to the connections between land use and transport designed to meet social needs. Social goals are harder to quantify compared to economic or environmental ones and are defined as those that provide wellbeing and satisfaction of human needs and human rights (borrowing from the continuums of Maslow and Nussbaum). A key issue is the absence of social goals in planning and policy resulting in poor social outcomes for cities. The creation of good social outcomes is based on evidence for increasing social capital (bonding capital with family and friends and bridging capital with work colleagues and community groups). Transport and land use have an important role in increasing social capital and reducing social exclusion. A novel contribution is the 20-minute neighborhood concept offering both a range of local activities and local mobility choices. Other topics discussed are open spaces, meeting the needs of special groups and the social needs around climate change. The chapter concludes with participation in planning and ways to facilitate it.

Chapter 5 centers on the neighborhood for children and young people, mapping the needs of children and meeting psychological and social needs through infrastructure and land use as well as safety and security. Important issues discussed are the interaction needs and meeting needs for self-esteem and self-actualization as higher end needs and rights of children including the participation of youth.

The sixth chapter is devoted to a main problem in many cities, that of affordable housing. Rising housing prices contributes to both economic and social disparities. Two cases are described in depth: The London Plan focusing on intensive development of public transport aimed at increasing accessibility and the Berlin "socially integrative city" program for neighborhood level management of social housing. Another topic discussed is the boundaries of urban growth and housing in the urban fringe. The chapter also describes in depth the financial models and planning reforms for increasing supply of affordable housing and social housing as seen through the case studies of Berlin, London and New York.

Chapter 7 discusses the environment and the communities impacted by land use transport planning. Starting with tracing the environmental priorities of integrative city planning (GHG emissions, freshwater use, ecological footprint), the discussion moves to the impacts of climate change on people, biodiversity loss and the policies to address these threats. The impact of transport on the environment is described in detail and in particular barriers in transport thinking and models for reduction in emissions. A following section is devoted to the changes in land use, densification, efficient energy, building design and waste management. The rest of the chapter is devoted to the natural landscape and polices to reduce ecological footprints, valuation of the environment and governance. Two examples of good practice are provided – Freiburg and Seoul.

Following the development of strategic land use transport policy, governance is the focus of chapter 8. Governance implies processes for making and implementing decisions. It is a network form of decision making rather than a hierarchical one.

The chapter describes the keys to good governance: cooperation, coordination and integration. Local government is both responsible and accountable for integrative land use transport planning. However the state and national/federal governments may also be involved. Tactical integration requires generating partnerships with the private sector (e.g. public transport operators). In addition the neighborhood level is important to engage communities. Who speaks for the city? This section describes lessons from several case studies: single local authority (Stockholm, Malmo, Freiburg); multiple local authorities (London, Leeds, Vancouver). The chapter concludes with a discussion of horizontal and vertical integration of governance.

Funding of implementation plans of the strategic policies is the focus of the ninth chapter. Funding sources and valuation is discussed in the beginning of the chapter: funding categories (government, users or other beneficiaries), benefit valuation and land value valuation. Funding public transport is discussed in the second half with description of funding measures and criteria for their selection (fares, fuel and carbon taxes, road tolls, parking levies, property and sales taxes). The chapter concludes with bundling of measures.

Chapter 10 and last chapter tries to put the strategy of integrated planning together based on the previous chapters. The challenge is to develop community goals, mapping opportunities and threats, and tying together the land use transport policy process. The first lesson is to start at the end i.e. goal setting and the long term land use plan. The second lesson is to develop compact urban structures designed for walking, cycling and public transport. The third lesson is targets and monitoring at the implementation plans. The fourth lesson is to aim for transformational change not just incrementalism that maintains the status quo. The fifth lesson is to put in place governance and funding measures. The chapter concludes with the main take outs for success.

I found the book very informative and full of useful insights and tools. However, for a recent publication focusing on integrative sustainable planning in the developed world, I found the lack of attention to two fundamental trends a real drawback. Namely: the aging society and the digital socio-technical revolution. I would have appreciated a chapter devoted to the older generation given that in the future the elderly will be a major part of urban society and integrated planning should also look at their needs and rights and engage with them. I also was surprised that the growing role of digital mobilities (information and communication technologies); the opportunities and threats of autonomous vehicles; and the smart city paradigm (the big data trend in city management) have been largely overlooked. It seems that in some ways the general view of this book remains stuck in debates that were common 10-20 years ago (the sustainability discourse) but without evolving onwards to embrace the newer challenges of post-industrial urbanism. Another issue is that the entire scope is dedicated to process and trends of cities in developed countries. Very little is relevant for contending with the complex problems of the ever growing megalopolises in the developing and transition economies.

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HANDBOOK OF TERRITORIAL POLITICS, Edited by Klaus Detterbeck and Eve Hepburn, Cheltenham, UK: Elgar Publishers, 2018

The edited volume by Detterbeck and Hepburn is one of a number of Companions style books relating to territory, political geography and the spatial dimension of politics which has been published in the past few years. Unlike many of the geopolitics and political geography texts, the focus is on the rescaling of territorial politics to the meso and micro levels of analysis, below the level of the State and the international system.

The editors argue for an inter-disciplinary perspective on the multi layered topic of territory, although in essence most of the chapters are drawn from the fields of Political Science and Public Governance. The contribution of geographers, for whom spatiality and territoriality lie at the heart of their discipline, is sorely missing both in the number of contributors and, glaringly, in the lack of references or citations to the vast geographical knowledge which has evolved around this topic during the past three decades. That said, the perspectives on territory which emerge from beyond the disciplinary border are refreshing and, in turn, complement much recent research in this area. Notwithstanding, the labelling of the final section of the book as "Geographical perspectives", inferring that this is but an additional component of territorial understanding, is less than helpful and this, in turn , is reflected in a series of chapters which are little more than regional comparative case studies , encompassing Europe, Africa, South Asia and Australia.

This is perhaps indicative of cross-disciplinary studies as a whole, wherein scholars cross the previously sealed disciplinary borders which separated them from their "territorial" neighbours, but rarely engaged with the literature or the concepts of the "other", thus creating a parallel series of scientific discourses, as contrasted with an integrative attempt to fuse diverse ideas together beyond a common glossary of terminologies and semantics. Thus, what we have is a collection of essays on Territorial Politics which complements existing geographical studies on territory and which allows us to better understand how the concept of territory is understood by those for whom power and politics form the core of their territorial thinking.

The first section of the book deals with Institutions, Actors and Ideas looking at the ways in which power is negotiated through different forms of spatial arrangements, from decentralization, federal systems and the territorial architecture of power, along with the obligatory chapter on the gendering of territorial politics. The State figures prominently in these essays, as the authors rescale the State into its power hierarchies at a number of spatial levels, but where classic notions of territory are sorely missing from their respective analyses. Too much of the analysis in this and other sections of the book, are rooted in empirical analyses and comparisons of the internal territorial organization of States, in which it could be argued the concept of territory is somehow separated from the notion of "space", which this reviewer finds difficult to comprehend.

The second and third sections of the book, focusing on elections and public policy respectively have, as their focal point, issues of governmentality and the ways in which these are managed through the agency of territory. Again, the lack of non-political science sources from a vast range of literature is disappointing, but it also clearly reflects the ways in which the disciplinary borders continue to be rigid and binary, with few scholars reading the research of others, while at the same time it introduces those who have traditionally believed that territoriality and spatiality is within their own hegemony to new and alternative understandings of the territorial concept within political and social behavior.

The book draws on many empirical and statistical studies, but there is not a single map or "spatial diagram", not even in the section on Geographical Perspectives. While this may be dismissed as being of little methodological importance in an era when we have instant access to big data, it demonstrates the fact that the visual dimension of both national and intra-state politics is not perceived as being anything other than a static reflection of changing power structures, rather than as a dynamic input in its own right. The past two decades has also been replete with a critical analysis of cartographic politics and the way in which power uses maps to further political policies and to change both public and professional understandings of the role of territory in our everyday life.

The individual contributions, each in their own right, advance our understanding of governmentality, public policy and electoral behavior. They all try, not always successfully, to hinge their arguments around the concept of territory, while the enforcing element of any territorial analysis, boundaries and borders (which themselves have been subject to a cross disciplinary scientific renaissance in recent years) is virtually non-existent.

In summary, for a geographer reading a book entitled *Territorial Politics*, this is disappointing. Perhaps it would have been better to have called the book "Political Perspectives on the Territorial Organization of States" (after Soja's famous seminal working paper back in the 1970's which marked the return of political geographical analysis within the social sciences after three decades of blackballing due to its association with the Geopolitics of the 1930's and 1940's). This would have more adequately reflected the complementary contribution of the book and the informative chapters to an ongoing and truly cross-disciplinary understanding of the changing role of territory within political behavioral processes.

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CITIZENSHIP, ACTIVISM AND THE CITY: THE INVISIBLE AND THE IMPOSSIBLE, by Patricia Burke Wood, London and New York: Routledge 2017

The activist politics that emerged in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008 have challenged expectations. 1500 urban social movements in 100 states have mobilized gradually; new movements formed in unpredictable ways and from unpredictable sources; and communities responded in highly individualized ways on a variety of scales that did not fit the schedules defined by theoretical scholarship. The ability of the marginalized, the exploited and the traumatized to shatter the frame of discussion through line-crossing may produce new possibilities in urban space.

These events triggered Patricia, B. Wood to develop further a radical urbanist's framework for understanding activism and protest, the work it does or does not do, and what it means for the current state/future of politics and the city. It sets out to reorient the understanding of post-crisis activism, to contextualize Occupy differently and critique the privileged lens many have applied to it, to rethink the motivations and affects of activism and protest, and also to (re)ground them in suffering and the emotional, not purely the rational, collective and analytical.

"…I want to unpack current discourses of mass occupations and explore our expectations of citizenship, activism and politics, and the construction of their legitimacy and success/failure. I also seek to re-examine the city, to see it as an inhabited city, to grant its social geography some agency in the shape of the city and some autonomy from the city's economic geographies, to see the alternatives that already exist. Ultimately, this will enable us to rethink what we mean by politics, by social and political movements, and how we measure the success and failure of our actions…I want to argue that the idea of 'democracy' supported by 'the people' is one that can be institutionalized through the constituent 'documents' of citizenship" (p. 29).

The table of contents of the book sheds light on the theoretical issues that the Occupy movement draws off: the contemporary post political situation and the resisting citizen. The two theoretical bodies demand new orientation due to new processes and power relations which have been developed lately in the global arena webbed into multi-scalar networks.

The first chapter of the book: "What We Talk about When We Talk about Occupy" analyzes the discourse of Occupy, as widespread spontaneous social movement all over the world. It aims to understand the politics of protest and citizenship in the early 21st century city, not just as effective ways of protesting but also as ideas of democracy. The discourse has been analyzed and categorized into 4 subjects: politics, narrative, art and grammar. These categories are angles from which it will be considered the work that Occupy did: what were the origins, how it had been understood, what it reinforced and what it changed. Wood tries to evaluate how deep and wide the ideas that mobilized the people run, and how complicated this process is. She argues that the greatest value of Occupy is its failure to lead and to last. Therefore we need to find a politics that expresses and is more aware of the diversity of the urban inhabitants beyond Occupy – the city and its activism.

In the second chapter: "Radical Politics and the 'Post Political' Critique", Wood analyzes deeply the concepts that build the post political era by arguing that there is no such thing as consensus and that there has never been solidarity. She criticizes Frazer, Mouffe, Butler, Purcell, Young and others, which though they move towards more inclusive and radical democracy, their chronological frameworks are limited or problematic. She poses the question: who do we recognize and to whom are we willing to redistribute? Occupy shows that this is an ongoing debate on goals, strategies and tactics for revolutionary activists and what kind of change is needed. She urges for expanding the post-political analytically and temporally in order to allow for multiple, co-existing chronologies.

The third chapter: "Sad, Sick and Diva Citizens", is about articulation of politics out of suffering and pain. Instead of starting from positions of power, as most theories of resistance, citizenship and justice do, Wood asks: how can politics start from suffering and what politics arise from it? What can it achieve? She tries to explore through epistemology from the margins, how the city generate suffering and institutionalizes it in its social space. The idea of 'diva citizenship' creates contested relationship with those who govern. But the sufferers are creative, they are producers and product of society and space. They are present behind the structure and fragmentations of the city. Therefore, Wood claims, "we cannot create positive spaces without understanding and incorporating into our analyses the barriers to such spaces" (p. 84).

The forth and last chapter: "The Arc of Politics" concludes by asking: how we come to terms with early 21st Century urban activism and protest in all its diversity? This chapter reviews the strength and limitations of Marxian political economy approaches to critical urban theory compared to the possibilities that an anarchist approach presents. Wood finds that the anarchist theory may serve as an overarching frame for recognition of all oppression. It is proposed as a way into exploring oppression in more encompassed critique of power relationship and citizenship in diverse forms and details in the lived world. Its aim must be to disempower hierarchies, to decolonize. Even though, Wood emphasizes that there is no end point and no one potential outcome. Moreover, this work should be the basis for urban critical theory as a form of revolution and constitutionalism. The attempt to change the principles which we live by constitutes a non-coercive polity in favor of democratic governance that is constructed upon the plurality of these social movements. Wood ends her book by noting that "the politics of the invisible challenge the constitution of our cities and our polities, the principles by which we live…It must be intersectionalist, flexible and broader…not only to achieve justice but also to heal" (p. 105).

The brief review of the chapters of the book shows comprehensive and thorough critiques of the existing theories and approaches up-to-date. It widens the reader's scope on the conceptions of citizenship, activism and protest in the urban by opening the academic debate on the huge diverse types of citizens, challenges theories of justice, the city and politics in the framework of neo-liberal economy in the post politics era, connects the global and to the urban. She argues for an intersectional approach that actively dismantles hierarchies and embraces a wider range of acts of resistance in which we recognize these acts of citizenship as a form of constitutionalism. Wood reframes the theorization of protest and of the city, 'post-political' literature and the history of protest. She debates the Marxist and anarchist ideas about time and space of politics. Through this, she adopts a unique approach to provide new theoretical insights and challenges to post-political thinking. The book thus stimulates and enriches the reader's mind and is recommended for those interested in political, urban and social geography, in addition to political economy and progressive politics in the urban context.

Purcell (2017) agrees with Wood's approach and takes it a step forward while demanding to refuse the State, and engage in an active search for other forms of political community. He calls this political position "democracy" when people manage their affairs for themselves. Anarchism, understood that way, means the refusal of State domination and the search for an alternative political community in which people manage their affairs for themselves.

Yet, as Yiftachel claims (2015 p. 734), the nation-state, which is too often ignored or washed away in much urban scholarship, is ever-present and continues to be a most powerful—though far from hegemonic—shaper of society. States, which refuse to disappear in the neoliberal age, contend in the city with an increasingly powerful globalizing economy and an influx of peripheral populations. Parallelly, the foundational process of 'gray spacing', the emergence of 'defensive' forms of urban mobilizations, and the emergence of powerful metropolitan agglomerations, bring into play complications, conflicts and trajectories that were not predicted by the main body of research on the subject. In contrast to states, urban regimes are premised on the radical openness of cities, on their fluidity, porosity and informality.

We can see that the researchers agree that contemporary analyses of citizenship looks mainly at the global and local scales of the concept of citizenship, and emphasizes the social construction and everyday practices of citizenship, rather than the political or legal construction of it. Therefore it puts a strong emphasis on inclusion, meaning the tendency to define citizenship practices in normative terms, the multi-scalar, fluid, and cyclical construction and reconstruction of the everyday and formal meanings and implications of citizenship. Yet, international borders and territories do exist and are enforced, no matter how porous they may be (Guarnizo, 2012; Isin and Nyers, 2014).

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REIMAGINING HOME IN THE 21ST CENTURY Edited by Justine Lloyd & Ellie Vasta. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2017.

In the 21th century geographical mobility is changing the context of 'home' as a spatial, temporal and subjective concept. The traditional notions of places in general and 'home' in particular are changing and are in a state of flux. The approach to places is "not as fixed points on geopolitical maps, but as processes, continuously redefined and relocated within a particular social, political, historical and economic setting" (Bon and Repic, 2016, 2). Justine Lloyd and Ellie Vasta added in *Reimagining Home in the 21st Century* an understanding of changing contexts of home. Their editorial judgments and wise selections of the presenters were excellent. While not attempting to cover the complete range of geographies of home, it certainly evokes an opus that makes important connections between space, society and home by bringing together constituent parts in a credible and comprehensive way. The collection of studies was built on ongoing work in sociology, anthropology, as well as housing, migration and cultural studies. The variety of disciplines shows the interdisciplinary significance of the notions of home.*Reimagining home in the 21st century* is going beyond the notion of home as a stable, safe and secure anchor of identity. The book "question's hegemonic visions of family home, homogeneous national home and inquire the meaning and effects of home-making in contemporary society" (p.5). It contributes to national and international discussions about changing economic and social meanings of dwelling.

The book holds 14 studies (chapters), divided into four sections: The first is entitled "Home-making and belonging: the figure of the Stranger". That section focuses on home and identity and the migrant 'stranger' at home. The second section is entitled "Home-making and belonging: practices of dwelling". It deals with transnational home, different scales of home, and homelessness dwelling. The third section entitled "Conditions of homeliness/unhomeliness: Publicness". This section deals with a sense of home through practices in the public sphere, in a multi ethnic area and in the postindustrial society. The fourth section is entitled "Conditions and practices of homeliness/unhomeliness: Materialities". It deals with sense of homeliness/unhomeliness through materialities.

Many chapters in *Reimagining Home in the 21st Century* expose everyday forms of agency which are consequences of diverse practices of home and home-making. They provide an analysis of areas and locations that are rarely thought of as involved in 'homemaking', as in the case of public transport (Lloyd, Chapter 8). Lloyd uses home-making processes "as relating to physical sites and actual places… beyond the four walls…to understand continuities between feeling 'at home' in one's own home and in a public place" (p. 122-123). This is an important point of view, although the creation of a 'sense of home' in public places may not necessarily be considered as 'home-making'. Another example of locations that are rarely thought of as involved in 'homemaking' is the 'man caves' (Browitt, Chapter 14), which also contribute to the gender theories of looking at "the impact of feminism on changing masculine practices" (p. 208).

In previous literature (e.g. Chapman and Hockey, 1999), home was reconceptualized as highlighted disparities between ideals and realities. In many societies, home can refer to the family home, and by extension it can symbolize a place of warmth and security. The idyllic conception of home has become more complicated by the exposure of negative and ambivalent feelings to it (Brickell, 2012), such as fear, violence, alienation, as well as "the process of oppression and resistance" (Blunt & Dowling, 2006:22). Lloyd and Vasta draws on literature concerning ambivalent and unsettling dimensions of home. The unsettling and provocative framework that maintains the collection of *Reimagining Home in the 21st Century* is explored by Norbert Ebert (Chapter 2) and Evelyn Honeywill (Chapter 10). Ebert argues interestingly that what we have in common is our pluralized lives, characterized by the experiences of permanently being [both] stranger and home comer. This is pronounced mainly among marginalized groups, for whom home is far from being a safe and secure anchor of identity. It simultaneously is subject to the influence of neo-liberal market forces and state interventions (Musharbash, Chapter 5). The question of neo-liberal social policies' is also examined via homelessness in the policy context, by Adam Stebbing (Chapter 7): "A critical approach ensures that people experiencing homelessness are not represented as lacking agency in their struggles to be heard by policy-makers" (p. 7).

The process of making oneself at home in 'other' places was also investigated by Ann Deslandes and Justine Humphry (Chapter 11). They examined how unhomely, anonymous non-places of transit and commerce are temporarily occupied, and tactically transformed by mediated belongings, as well as by protest movements.

Several presenters in the book are dedicated to ways in which conditions of our everyday experiences are improved by political interventions. They expose forms of agency demanded by diverse practices of home. There are both local accommodation, resistance to power structures as well as to global conditions (Giuffrè, Chapter 4; Redshaw, Chapter 6; Ålund, Schierup and Kings, Chapter 9). Agency is not always about a reaction to powerful state, social groups or form of struggle but also a constructive subjectivity occurring which includes the construction of home (Vasta, Chapter 3; Hamilton, Chapter 12; Vanni Accarigi, Chapter 13; Supski, Chapter 15).

The 'materiality' part reflects the affective processes of home-making at home: feelings of home emerging through the senses of home symbolically defined through the material and sensory qualities of objects. The materials embodied experiences of transcultural home. Objects are also reflection of self-perception such as masculinity (gender). The changing kitchen designs reflect the changes in women's roles at home as well as the emergence of new technologies.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize that this book provides a broad and in-depth look into the geographies and politics of home in the 21st century. Being an edited volume *Reimagining Home in the 21st Century* prompts readers to think comparatively and so does the interesting connection created between the chapters. It is informative for contemporary debates – the study of everyday life, migration, motility, culture and policy. The presenters in the book agree that our psychical home worlds are necessarily social and political. The presence of 'others', are challenging the comfortable sense of belonging and at the same time many people are struggling collectively to imagine new ways of being at home. These are substantial contributions to increasing awareness of changing economic and social meanings about home.

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HANDBOOK ON THE GEOGRAPHIES OF ENERGY, Edited by Barry D. Solomon and Kirby E. Calvert, London: Edward Elgar, 2017

The collection of articles edited by Solomon and Calvert brings to the readers a wide range of expertise and perspectives on the changing geographies and landscapes of energy production, distribution, and use. Combining established and emerging scholarships from across disciplines, the authors' contributions provide a broad overview of research frontiers for the changing geographies of energy worldwide. Interdisciplinary in nature and broad in scope, it serves to answer a range of questions and provide the reader with conceptual and methodological foundations.

The collection covers a wide array of topics from smart grids to alternative fuels, discussed in a range of settings from India to Nigeria and from Brazil to North America, highlighting the ways in which new energy technologies and consumer dynamics are changing the way people, places, and the physical world are interconnected through energy systems. In addition to a compendium of regional case studies, the Handbook identifies emerging conceptual and methodological frameworks that help us better understand energy and energy transitions.

The book consists of six parts. The articles comprising the first part focus on the variety of fuel types used by humanity nowadays. This survey opens with the article about the role of biomass energy for cooking in developing countries which raises problems such as impacts of combustion on human health, deforestation and the role of gender in household use of energy. The second article deals with the history of coal use and discusses its future in light of the air pollution problems and the great amounts of CO_2 emissions. The next article deals with oil. In this framework questions such as climate change and the need to develop alternative energy sources, especially for transportation, are discussed. These articles are followed by a survey of gas supply in the world including the controversial topic of extraction of natural gas using fracking techniques. This part is concluded with two chapters about non-fossil energy. One article deals with issues connected to nuclear energy such as risks in the use of nuclear reactors and nuclear waste. The second article is about techno-economic problems of transition to using biomass as a fuel for transportation.

The second part of the collection focuses on renewable energy sources. An article dealing with hydroelectric energy, the most common renewable source of energy, is presented first. It states that the size of the facilities has a great influence on the extent of their environmental impact, and some believe that despite of their great advantage in relation to impact on climate change, they should not be built in areas rich in biodiversity or cultural values. The next article is about the use of wind energy and the fact that in many places the public opposes the establishment of these facilities. The following article deals with solar energy. Alongside a technological review, the authors also discuss the environmental effects of using this energy and the dilemmas involved. Next an overview of geothermal energy technologies is presented as well as the implications of using this energy on land use and its environmental impacts. This part ends with the presentation of a variety of innovative technologies for producing energy at sea such as offshore wind, waves, tidal stream/ ocean currents and tidal barrage/range.

Part III of the collection deals with energy consumption, sectors and end users. The topics include building, industry, transportation and electric power grid. The first article offers insights on residential energy consumption in Sweden from a time-geographic perspective. It examines household members` time diaries to detail what energy-related activities are used at what time of day or night. The next article analyzes energy efficiency programs in China and is followed by an article exploring energy use in the transportation sector considering alternative modes and the latest developments in mobility. The last article looks at the political and social processes that occur and are expected to occur with the transition to the use of renewable energies that cause the electricity collector to become more decentralized as a result of the entry of small or even domestic electricity producers.

In the fourth part, the editors compiled 11 articles dealing with energy in a regional approach. They deal with topics such as the geography of energy in Europe, understanding the energy landscape in Russia, changes in the geography of energy in North America, the energy market in Brazil as well as other regional energy topics in sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria and India.

Part V has four articles addressing policy issues. The first chapter brings up the need to address the issue of energy as part of a general approach in which policy is formulated with regard to other central resources such as water and food. The second article is about energy poverty and vulnerability. Energy poverty is the inability to attain a social and material level of basic domestic energy services such as heating, lighting and refrigeration. The authors argue that domestic energy deprivation is tied to ineffective operation of the socio-technical pathway that allows for the fulfillment of household energy needs. The third article considers a related topic while taking the UK energy policy as a starting point and exploring the different policy types of energy systems through the lens of environmental justice theory – specifically the notion of distributional and procedural justice – and makes explicit links across systems of energy production and consumption. Part V ends with an article that analyzes the occupational health issue in the US shale fuels industry. The article raises questions concerning the role of knowledge in how the state governs energy workplaces and energy workers' health.

Part VI explores creative conceptual and methodological frameworks that are sharpening the leading edge of energy geographies. The first article reviews the perspective of political ecology and social ecology towards energy research. The combined approaches of these perspectives are used to examine the geographies of energy. The next article also considers political ecology but positions it in a framework with industrial ecology while examining the aspects of promoting Jatropha biofuel in south India. Another article presents the concept of community energy which is an integrated approach to supplying a local community with its energy requirements from renewable energy or high-efficiency co-generation energy sources. In the last chapter the authors discuss distinctive characteristics of energy and review multiple perspectives for improving the management of energy resources.

In summary, the collection of articles is well edited and the articles are well written. The book also includes a useful index by which the various topics can be found in the articles written by the various authors. The book is definitely recommended to all those who are involved and interested in this important aspect of human activity.

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HANDBOOK ON THE GEOGRAPHIES OF POWER, Edited by Mat Coleman and John Agnew, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018.

Can we discuss geography without considering power? Can we think about, or conceptualise, the production of a given territory and its borders and boundaries as a neutral process, detached from interests, domination or violence? Following several decades of extensive research and writing located within critical geography, the obvious answer is negative, and as suggested at the very opening of the *Handbook on the Geographies of Power*, edited by Mat Coleman and John Agnew, the use of the term power should be understood as "… an agentic medium which has different effects depending on how it is deployed across space as well as how actors and things cooperate, or not, to give it effect" (p.4). Indeed, the discussion of power in social sciences in general, and in geography and its sub-disciplines (urban geography, human geography, political geography for instance) in particular, is not new. Rather, Marxist and neo-Marxist critique of the urban, postcolonial critique of the state, feminist theory of borders or queer geopolitics have already explored and analysed power mechanisms and their effect of multi-scaled geographies as "laboratories of power" (Foucault, 1977, 204).

The *Handbook on the Geographies of Power* is a good opportunity to map the current debate, as it presents a diverse scope of themes, ideas, locations and theoretical approaches towards power. The scope is impressive, ranging from Phil Hubbard's wonderful chapter, Sex and Sexuality: Exploring the Geographies of Prostitution (Chapter 3), in which he critically discusses the spatial dimension of governmentality and law in relation to prostitution, to Philip Steinberg's discussion in his chapter The Power of Water (Chapter 13) where he suggests a geneaological investigation of water as a subject and object of power; to Luca Muscara's intellectual discussion of political geography in his chapter Maps, Complexity and the Uncertainty of Power (Chapter 22).

The structure of this handbook follows a Foucauldian logic by suggesting a reading of power that goes far beyond the analysis of spatial or geographical form, and thus paving the road for understanding power as different mechanisms that reflect and symbolise the location of bodies in space and the hierarchical organisation of power whenever a particular form of behaviour is imposed (Foucault, 1977: 364). Accordingly, the book refers to different scales of geographies of power (such as "bodies" in Part II); different spheres of politics (economy in Part III or energy and environment in Part IV) as well as some obvious sites of power and violence (Part V on warfare). Each section opens with a detailed introduction by the editors, which locates the discussion within current theoretical debates. These introductions are highly important, as they offer the reader a deeper understanding of the theoretical foundations of contemporary critical geography and beyond.

Importantly, the discussion of geographies of power also pays attention to "bottom-up" counter- products and their potential effect in transforming social and spatial relations. This is well elaborated in Chapter 16, authored by Bruce Braun and Stephanie Wakefield, who are "reading Agamben in the Anthropocene" and highlighting a complementary side in Agamben's work "beyond the camp", as well as in Lisa Bhungalia's chapter on Governing Banishment: Settler Colonialism, Territory and Life in an Economy of Death, (Chapter 19) focused on Palestine. These chapters, I would suggest, are important since hegemonic power and oppression calls for a reaction: control is never completely hegemonic and "[t]here is always an element of resistance. Surveillence can be turned to 'counter surveillence', to a weapon for those who are oppressed" (Koskela, 2003: 306).

Further, the study of geographies of power also demands an "opening-up" of the discipline and methodologies of geography. In other words, power is also produced and reproduced through different modes of representation, which call for the visual, textual and ethnographic investigation. Based on this growing interest in critical geography, Ishan Ashutosh's chapter: When Ethnography Meets Space offers a fascinating postcolonial theoretical and methodological framework for studying geographies of power. Another example which is exterior to the discipline, yet crucial for understanding geography, is the chapter by Neve Gordon and Nicola Perugini on Human Shields and the Political Geography of International Humanitarian Law, in which the notion of space (rather than geography) becomes central in understanding contemporary violence and warfare.

I am certain that this *Handbook on the Geographies of Power* contributes to our empirical and theoretical understanding of geographies of power, and will be a valuable read for researchers and scholars in the field of geography as well as for other social scientists. However, I propose that discussing geographies of power without positioning it within the centres of power where knowledge about geography is produced, is highly problematic. The vast majority of the authors that have contributed to this book are males, based in universities located in the Global North (USA and the UK), where academic, economic, geopolitical and symbolic power is located, and where the knowledge produced dominates our understanding of geographies of power. This point is not an anecdote resulting from a politically correct attitude, but rather it re-confirms Jazeel's argument that "[l]ike all other disciplines in the modern university, Geography has a geography. And, like most other formations in late modernity, disciplinary Geography is implicated in globalization" (Jazeel, 2016: 649). To this I would add that Geography benefits from the distribution of global geographies of power\knowledge. In other words, the discussions of geographies of power throughout this book overlook structural-political mechanisms of domination (Roy, 2006), viewing geographical knowledge as detached from its origins in the global centers of power.

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GEOGRAPHIES OF GROWTH: INNOVATION, NETWORKS AND COLLABORATIONS. Edited by Charlie Karlsson, Martin Andersson and Lina Bjerke, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2017.

This edited collection of papers emanates from the 17th Uddevella Symposium held in 2014. It comprises 14 (mainly empirical) contributions all of which are dedicated in one form or another to unlocking the enigma of differential regional growth. As such, the region is the unit of analysis in nearly all the essays. The geographic focus is invariably Western Europe and given the genesis of the collection, Sweden in particular. The volume is organized around four themes central to the analysis of differential region growth: employment and productivity, entrepreneurship, innovation and knowledge centers such as universities. Obviously, there are serious endogeneity issues in positing these factors as drivers of regional growth and some of these are addressed in the individual chapters.

The first section on structural change, employment and productivity growth comprises four divergent essays in terms of topics, data and methods The papers by Cornett and Nystom & Ros describe broad regional employment patterns in Sweden using institutional data at different spatial scales. The chapter by Arvemo & Grasjo examines productivity differences on contiguous sides of the common Norwegian-Swedish border using cross sectional data and regression techniques. A broader perspective, both in terms of time and geography, is provided in the chapter by Naveed. Using regional and industry EU panel data for the period 1991-2008, he looks at speed of regional productivity convergence across with and without structural change. In this respect this last essay communicates with much of the classical regional growth literature (see for example Barro and Sala-i-Martin 1991, Quah 1996) which has been motivated by the "contracting universe" and "expanding universe" approaches to regional growth.

As the other contributions to this section are more diffuse they could have been contextualized by some reference to this wider discussion on the determinants of regional convergence and/or divergence. According to the contracting universe approach, productivity across regions should converge upon some common value as predicted by neoclassical growth theory. Regional inequalities are unlikely to persist due to self-correcting mechanisms in labor and capital markets. In contrast, the expanding universe perspective does not necessarily posit regional growth convergence. Divergence can equally be expected as predicted by the so-called New Growth Economics (Romer, 1986). Various reasons have been offered for this. Some argue that market forces tend towards spatial disequilibrium and that uneven regional development is self-entrenching rather than self-correcting (Myrdal 1957). Others claim that convergence between nations and regions can only be observed when attention is restricted to richer countries or regions and 'club convergence' is then observed (Chatterji 1992). This view has theoretical roots in Krugman's (1991) general model of spatial concentration in which multiple equilibria may exist. Poor regions may converge toward an inferior equilibrium as the gap between them and the leading regions is too wide to bridge. Invariably, most studies point to some form of slow convergence through the 1970's and 1980's but little evidence thereafter. This is true for regional convergence at the supra-national level such as the EU and also at the level of individual countries. The results reported in Naveed's chapter seem to support this contention and emphasize the role of structural change in this process.

The second section addresses the issue of entrepreneurship and new firm formation. This is probably the most cohesive section of the book and comprises five papers. (The final section of the book, comprising one essay on university spin-offs, could have been appendixed to this section). Two papers, the first by

Jienwatcharamongkhol & Tavassoli and the second by Schutjens et al, address new firm survival. The former uses micro-level data on a cohort of Swedish firms over a 21 year period (1990-2010) in order to estimate hazard functions relating to firm existence (shut-down) at the end of the study period. The authors test for the impact of both founder characteristics and regional business conditions such as level of urbanization and agglomeration. The Schutjens et al.'s paper looks at differences in survival rates between firms founded by immigrants and natives in Amsterdam, 2005-2008.They find that survival odds for new immigrants during the start-up up phase are no less than for natives when controlling for personal and sectoral attributes. However, over time the negative effects of ethnicity seem to kick in and are exacerbated by neighborhood or locational factors. Localization context therefore seems to matter especially for immigrant entrepreneurship.

Rather different approaches to firm performance are reflected in the other three chapter of this section. The paper by Stone comprehensively examines the way Swedish firms integrate into global value chains. It starts with an analysis of the trade behavior of leading Swedish industries using aggregate data from the world input-output database. This emphasizes the importance of factor endowments in Swedish trading patterns despite the presence of global value chains. Swedish firms are found to be located downstream in these chains specializing in high value added activities close to final use. The chapter then proceeds to a firm-level analysis of Swedish exports. It examines the growth of value added in Swedish firms using pooled cross-section data for the period 2002-2008. The results show that Swedish firm exports embody high value added imports, downstream in the value chain. Finally, the chapter analyses whether industry position in the value chain is distance-sensitive. Using a gravity based regression with country and industry fixed effects, Stone finds Swedish industries are sensitive to trade costs and are tied to factor endowments. A chapter by Parajuli and Haynes examines the provision of broadband access as a factor in new firm formation in the US. Using census bureau data at the country level (2006-2009) they test a series of OLS and GWR regressions for new firms births in Ohio and Florida in select industries. They find that communications infrastructure has a positive but generally insufficient effect on stimulating new firm birth. In a more qualitative analysis, Fredlin and Jogmark highlight the role of informal institutions in promoting local entrepreneurship. They use case study evidence from two Swedish industrial centers and emphasize the role of attitudes to entrepreneurship and economic development by local and bureaucratic institutions.

In the third section of this volume the key regional growth theme is innovation, broadly conceived. Using institutional data on Swedish firms 2001-2008, Warda and Johansson examine how firm capacity to absorb knowledge impacts their exports. They estimate a pooled cross-section regression model to tease out different aspects of firm knowledge intensity from internal and external sources. They then show these affect both the share of exports and the propensity to export. The chapter by Hjaladottir et al similarly uses (micro) survey data this time for Danish firms in order to examine cross-border innovation co-operation patterns with different partner firms in the EU, the USA and China/India. They use multivariate probit estimation to test whether the decision of choosing an innovation partner abroad is independent of the choice of local partners for co-operation. A further perspective on innovation impacting regional growth is provided in Alfken's study of creativity. Distinguishing between creative individuals and the creative class, this study adopts the approach used by psychologists when addressing the issue of creativity, i.e. as a part of personality analysis rather than conflating the issue with human capital. Using multilevel analysis and logistic estimation, Alfken tests hypotheses relating to creative individuals dependence on urban and regional environments. He finds that both soft location factors (such as tolerance and openness) and conventional factors such as occupation are related to the choices of creative individuals.

This section represents a concoction of different approaches to the ways in which innovation relates to regional growth. A key issue here would seem to relate to the role of the region in this process. Is it the passive context for growth or is it an active component in this growth? As is well known, knowledge is the bedrock of innovation. Two mechanisms underpin the process by which knowledge becomes a regional asset. The first relates to externality effects. A region embellishes its stock of knowledge based on contagion effects between workers in different places. Through the generation of externalities within a region, total factor productivity rises as will the average level of regional productivity. Similar workers will therefore be more productive and receive higher wages if they operate in regions with large stocks of human and physical capital externalities. The second mechanism relates to the human capital mobility effect and the way knowledge transfers to the region through the agency of individual decisions such as migration and household choice.

These ideas are grounded in three research traditions that are surprisingly missing in the contributions of this section. The Marshallian tradition assumes local knowledge spillovers to be a central factor in the formation of agglomeration in space, supplemented by local labor pooling and non-traded local inputs (Marshall 1920). The Jacobian tradition similarly sees knowledge transfer as an important input to local growth although its source is somewhat different, emanating from outside the local production environment and grounded in scope and diversified economic activity rather than scale and concentrated production (Jacobs 1969). Finally, the tradition associated with New Growth Theory (NGT) (Romer, 1994) highlights the internalization (endogenization) of technological progress and knowledge into regional growth. When individuals accumulate new skills and know-how they impact on the productivity and human capital levels of others. Increasing returns and spillovers from human and physical capital become the glue that holds cities and regions together. The ‘region’ thus progresses from being the context in which innovation takes place to a central component in this change.

As endemic to any edited collection, this volume presents a mix of methodological approaches and scales of analysis. The integrating theme of the set of papers is a quest for uncovering the drivers of regional growth. As such, the essays compiled here will be of interest to students and researchers in the areas of regional economics, entrepreneurship, regional development studies, industrial management and allied fields. Policy makers at the sub-national level will also be able to distill take-away messages from some of the contributions. However, as in all such cases, care needs to be taken when trying to transfer tools and guidelines from one context to another. As ever, one (policy) size does not necessarily fit all.

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Sala-i-Martin, X. (1996) Regional cohesion: Evidence and theories of regional growth and convergence. *European Economic Review*, 40, 1325-1352.

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