Urban Research and Architecture: Beyond Henri Lefebvre

ETH Zurich
Campus Hönggerberg

Nov 24–26, 2009

Program and Abstracts
All talks will take place in the HIT building at the Campus Hönggerberg.

**Tuesday, 24.10.2009**

**HIT E51**

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Operationalizing Henri Lefebvre’s Theory of Production of Space: An Analysis of Everyday Life in Dhaka, Bangladesh

11.25 – 11.50 Tijana Stevanovic
Underground Passages in New Belgrade – Possible Heterotopias Allowing Formation of a New Urban Praxis

11.50 – 12.15 Timon Beyes & Zhongyuan Zhang
The Everyday Production of Space: Snapshots from Spatial Configurations in Chinese Bureaucracy

12.15 – 13.00 Discussion

Panel 6: Theoretical Frontiers
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11.00 – 11.25 Constance Carr
Induced Minimal Difference and Post-structural Difference: Are They Categorically Exclusive?

11.25 – 11.50 Michael Guggenheim
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11.50 – 12.15 Gregory Seigworth
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14.00 – 14.25 Jan Lilliendahl Larsen, Martin Frandsen and Jens Brandt (Supertanker)
“What’s Beautiful is the Voice of Small Groups Having Influence”

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Applying Spatiology to the Scale of Urban Projects – Oeuvre and Atmosphere as Generative Concepts

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Neoliberal Representations of Space: The New Economic Geography and the Plan Puebla Panama

15.15 – 16.00 Discussion
Elisa Bertuzzo
Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies / Germany
Speaker: Panel 5

Operationalizing Henri Lefebvre’s Theory of Production of Space: An Analysis of Everyday Life in Dhaka, Bangladesh

Can urbanization processes, typically handled by planners and demographers, be analyzed from a cultural point of view to cause profit for practitioners themselves? Do socio-cultural aspects influence urban life? To what extent should they be kept into consideration by planning institutions?

My lecture starts from the insight that, in order to (possibly) plan increasingly complex and steadily changing cities, practice urgently needs to be accompanied and supported by consistent studies of cultural nature. While asserting that space is not only a physical, but also a mental as well as social instance, I formulate a call for researchers and practitioners to work together on the basis of reciprocal respect. Not only do urban studies need to re-focus on people, urban administrations and planning institutions should develop an eye for this most sensible level of urban life. For this “programmatic” call, I can draw upon my empirical work in Dhaka.

Object of interest is Dhaka’s space, understood as the result of three continuously interacting production processes. In particular, space is physically, mentally and socially produced by means of practices of everyday life. In the presentation, material features characterizing the production of physical space – architecture, urban fabric, infrastructure as well as routines and mobility in six different urban structural types within Dhaka City Corporation’s area – are approached as much as mental, or cultural, and social aspects. Beside a series of other methods (in particular interviews with 100 dwellers), mental maps show the inhabitants’ representations of space and places in Dhaka, demonstrating that emotional and symbolic features have primary relevance compared to architecture and urban design. In other words: space is not only ‘perceived’ on a sensual or physical level, but full of symbolic meanings and actively interpreted according to personal and cultural values. This allows the statement that mental or cultural factors, and not only the actual congestion and lack of space itself in Dhaka City, are determinant for the dwellers’ spatial behavior and use. Coming to the social production of space, I will show that the chronic lack of planning that characterizes broad sectors of social life in Dhaka can potentially make flexible and democratic mixed forms of urban management emerge that consider dwellers’ adaptation and appropriation practices in everyday life.
The Everyday Production of Space: Snapshots from Spatial Configurations in Chinese Bureaucracy

The paper applies and ventures to develop Lefebvre’s theory of ‘the socially produced space’ (1991/1974) in the studies of the day-to-day reality of organizational life. Following the Lefebvrian triad of conceived/perceived/lived spaces, it examines the ‘production’ of organizational space on the basis of a one-year ethnographic study in a Chinese bureaucratic organization.

The paper finds the moments of conceived, perceived and lived spaces to be intertwined processes in the production of spatial reality of this particular organization. Any spatial snapshot – be it a piece of organizational furniture, an architectural configuration, or a pattern of spatially located human bodies – is the result of the interactions among conceived, perceived and lived spaces. As an illustration the paper extracts from the ethnographic study four examples of such snapshots – the architectural appearance of the organizational building, the stairway, the office chair in use and green plants in employees’ office – and traces their ‘productions’ through the organization’s everyday life. As Lefebvre has already noted in his book on ‘Dialectical Materialism’, “the most trivial object is the bearer of countless suggestions and relationships; it refers to all sorts of activities not immediately present in it. (...) Traditions (technical, social, spiritual) and the most complex qualities are present in the humblest of objects, conferring on them a symbolic value or ‘style’” (Lefebvre, 1968/1940, p. 128).

Drawing together the notion of the social production of space and Lefebvre’s longstanding interest in the complexities of everyday life, the paper concludes by sketching a basic framework for further research into the production of organizational spaces as a hermeneutics of the everyday (Roberts, 1999). This framework, on the one hand, cautions against the over-romantic notion of ‘lived space’ as an unfailing source of resistance and change, as some researchers hold, and on the other hand, against some scholars’ tendency to separate conceived, perceived and lived spaces as distant and distinct ‘empirical’ moments in spatial realities. It invites researchers to focus on the delicate and unfinished dialectical interplay between alienation and dis-alienation (Lefebvre, 2008/1961, p. 62) and thus on important nuances inherent in Lefebvre’s theory when carrying out further field studies.

Timon Beyes is a Senior Lecturer at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland. His research and teaching addresses processes of organizing in nonprofit organizations, the organizing of space and the spaces of organizing, the production/organization of urban space, the aesthetics and politics of urban artistic interventions as well as forms of experimental and aesthetical learning. From 02/2008 to 09/2008 he was a Leverhulme Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Urban Theory, Swansea University, UK. While being engaged in the organization of the University of St. Gallen’s Contextual Studies Program, he is working on his postdoctoral thesis, “Aesthetics and the Spatial Production of Organization”, With Sophie Krempl and Amelie Deuflhard he is currently editing a book on artistic interventions and urban space.

Zhongyuan Zhang got his PhD in organizational studies from Warwick Business School, UK in 2009. Currently he is working as a post-doctoral researcher at St. Gallen University. His topics of interest in organizational studies include space, imagination and Husserl’s phenomenological project. He has related Lefebvre’s spatial theory to literature in a previous journal publication.
I’ll begin with the following hypothesis: Society has been completely urbanized. This hypothesis implies a definition: An urban society is a society that results from a process of complete urbanization. This urbanization is virtual today, but will become real in the future.” [Henri Lefebvre The Urban Revolution (1970):1]

Henri Lefebvre wrote this opening statement in The Urban Revolution (1970) at a time when 1/3rd of the world’s population lived in cities or metropolitan regions; today more than ½ of the world’s population is urbanized. Lefebvre’s ‘complete urbanization’ or the ‘global city’ has arrived but not without major dislocations and surmounted obstacles. Cities, mainly in the so-called 3rd world, are the major crisis points of the planet: thwarted by wars, famines, water shortages, extreme weather conditions, rising seas, lack of housing, unemployment, health problems, illiteracy and other maladies. ‘Human security’ is an emerging paradigm for studying these global vulnerabilities, it supplants national security with a people-centered view. The UN’s Human Development Report (1994) argued that to secure ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ for all persons is the base on which human security must rest. Conflict and deprivation are interconnected; violence and inequality the root causes of insecurity – things spin out of control, the urban problematic explodes.

This paper will re-examine Henri Lefebvre’s critique of urban society and his utopian hopes of dialectical transformation as elucidated in The Urban Revolution (1970). It will question what the urban problematic in Lefebvre’s terms might be in the 21st century. Drawing on his insights as well as his blind spots this paper will critique urban dilemmas and urban practices of the 21st century with the hope of transforming them in the future.
Neil Brenner

New York University / United States of America
Keynote Speaker

Henri Lefebvre and the Urbanization Question

Over three decades after Manuel Castells’ (1972) classic intervention, the nature of the “urban question” remains a matter of considerable confusion in the social sciences. Although some contemporary scholars continue to grapple directly with this question in the context of contemporary global trends, much of urban research is still grounded upon a relatively concretistic understanding in which the urban is equated with “cities,” their populations, their neighborhoods, their regions and their hinterlands. I argue that this “Wirthian epistemology” – the tendency to define the empirical object of urban studies with reference to particular types of settlement space – pervades otherwise quite disparate research traditions within contemporary urban studies. Against this background, this contribution revisits Henri Lefebvre’s (1970) concept of “generalized urbanization” as well as subsequent interventions that have been inspired by that concept (e.g., Gottdiener 1985; Diener, Herzog, Meili, de Meuron and Schmid 2006). Building on these approaches, I argue that the Wirthian epistemology, along with the 19th century urban/rural distinction with which it is intertwined, is today historically obsolete and theoretically indefensible.

Under late modern capitalism, I argue, the proper object of urban studies is the geohistorical process of (capitalist) urbanization, which has underpinned a restless “churning” of settlement types, variegated sociospatial forms and patterns of uneven spatial development for over two centuries. The central purpose of contemporary urban theory, therefore, is not to investigate cities or any other singular type of settlement, but rather to grasp the nature of (generalized) urbanization processes and their implications for the uneven (re)differentiation of social space across places, territories and scales. This proposition has significant implications, I argue, for contemporary urban theory and research, and more generally, for our understanding of the contemporary urban condition. In light of these arguments, I conclude by revisiting the classic debates between Manuel Castells (1972) and Peter Saunders (1979) regarding the status of “space” in demarcating the urban question. A contemporary reappropriation of Lefebvre’s concept of “generalized urbanization” explodes both positions in that debate and points towards a research agenda on the restlessly evolving historical geographies of capitalist urbanization.
Constance Carr
Humboldt University / Berlin / Germany
Speaker: Panel 6

Induced Minimal Difference and Post-Structural Difference: Are They Categorically Exclusive?

This paper looks at the tension between Lefebvre’s concept of minimal induced difference, on the one hand, and difference as conceptualized in poststructuralist feminism (e.g. Butler, Massey, Pratt) on the other. The former is heavily based in Marxism, and reliant on a notion of totality and centrality, the latter is a post-Marxist-feminist discourse based on infinite fragmentation, individuality, radical multiplicity. Are these discourses on difference, then, mutually exclusive? Or, can they be brought together? If so, under what conditions? This paper explores the limitations and possibilities of these theoretical lenses when they are projected on real spaces of difference in Berlin.
Within the international policy community, the ‘Barcelona Model’ is considered a paradigmatic case of successful urban policy and planning reform – the city having experienced profound regeneration in the run up to, and immediately after, the 1992 Olympic Games. Regeneration is still ongoing, albeit in a changed global political-economic context in which cities are increasingly being seen as the principle drivers of economic growth and competitiveness in the ‘new’ or ‘knowledge’ economy. The paper examines regeneration currently in process in Poblenou, once the industrial heartland of the city and more recently re-branded by the city council as 22@barcelona – ‘a new space for knowledge and people’ and a ‘new form of urban spatiality’. The paper begins by briefly reaffirming the argument, which we introduced at the Delft conference in 2008, that Lefebvre’s writings on urbanization today retain their critical potential but only if they are more rigorously anchored in a Marxian critique of contemporary international political economy. The paper outlines the broad contours of our research, which probes the continuing potential of Lefebvre’s work on the production of space and the politics of difference in this contemporary context. The remainder of the paper then focuses in upon a particular aspect of the production of 22@barcelona – namely, those functionalist and reductive representations of the 22@ district which, from a Marxian-Lefebvrean perspective, betray an overriding concern with the concretization of globally competitive abstract space, the reduction of differences, and the closing of the circuit of everyday life in Poblenou. The paper concludes by highlighting the contradictions inherent to the production of such a space.
It is a commonplace of contemporary theories, histories and practices of architecture and urbanism to view 1968 as something of Utopia’s last stand. Ever since then, the trajectory has been toward architectural productions characterized by irony, autonomy or acquiescence. Perhaps not surprisingly, this shift toward so-called reality (and resistance to it by discontents) has coincided with, or is perhaps characterized by the ‘theory explosion’ from the 1970s onward, manifested by a resurgence of eclectic and ironic historical allusion on the one hand and the ‘autonomy project’ of architecture on the other. However, once done with Utopia, architecture and urbanism since 1968 have mostly become progressively more rudderless, perhaps even irrelevant, save for limited exceptions occurring further and further apart in space and time. The cultural dominant of architectural production – including regeneration of the city – is a comingling of spectacle and positivist reductionism.

With the present condition in mind – as outlined above – this paper explores the degree to which any general theoretical framework for researching (and inventing) architecture and the city based on the work of Lefebvre must come to terms with his utopianism. Moreover, Utopia is examined as the lynchpin of Lefebvre’s enterprise. In short, attempting to understand architecture and the city with Lefebvre without Utopia, especially the social potential of both, can only succeed in impoverishing his theoretical construct. More explicitly, this paper argues that Lefebvre’s ethics, his ideas on practice and the methods he elaborated on are all fundamentally utopian. Thus, although it might well seem as though there is no place for Utopia in the present, Lefebvre helps to reveal this as little more than a self-serving affirmation that ‘there is no alternative’, and so anything goes so long as it is socially and politically neutral. Demanding the impossible must perhaps always end in failure but – as this paper argues – it is the first step towards other possibilities nevertheless.
Moments and Situations

One of Henri Lefebvre’s most suggestive, yet somewhat evasive concepts is that of the ‘moment’, essential to his understanding of time, marked by discontinuities which were defined as moments – a particular mode of presence and communication. Beyond Lefebvre’s writings, the theory of moments found a special resonance in the work of the International Situationniste, more particularly in Guy Debord’s, who was interested in the concept of moment, yet considered it excessively abstract. Debord thus created the concept of ‘situation’, a key notion incorporated in the very naming of the Situationist group in 1957.

An unsigned article “The Theory of Moments and Construction of Situations” was published in the International Situationniste journal’s fourth issue, in June 1960. It starts with a quotation of Henri Lefebvre’s *La Somme et le Reste*, outlining his theory of moments, then proceeds to define the concept of situation and its derivation from the former: “The situation as a created, organized moment… includes perishable instants – ephemeral and unique”, adding that “like the moment, the situation can be extended in time or be condensed, but it seeks to found itself on the objectivity of artistic production…It is inseparable from its immediate consumption as a use value essentially foreign to its conservation as a commodity.”

According to the unidentified author of the article, moments may be constructed into situations, which are not only temporal, but also spatial and rather unrepeatable. An urbanism that would correspond to Lefebvre’s moments is described in the pre-Situationist text “Formulary for a New Urbanism”, signed by Gilles Ivain – alias of Ivan Chtcheglov - in 1953.

By looking in detail at the transition from ‘moments’ to ‘situations’, it is possible to shed some light on the significant relationship between Lefebvre, Debord, and the Situationist group, as well as to follow the fortune of the concept of situation in the work of some artists and architects in the 1960s and early 1970s, such as Constant, Coop Himmelblau and Bernard Tschumi, among others.
Thomas Doerfler
University of Bayreuth / Germany
Speaker: Panel 2

Delving Deeper with Lefebvre: the Lost Subjects of New Urban Agendas

New Urbanism is a key issue in current debates on urban revival. It involves the conviction that we face a “renaissance of the city”, which was considered not long ago “dead” and “sprawling out” towards suburbia.

Representative projects like waterfront developments are especially decisive to understand the strategies, images, politics and last but not least social consequences these undertakings yield. I will argue that Lefebvre’s urban theory could be a decisive instrument to analyze these dynamics in a critical way, which I would like to exemplify through the project HafenCity Hamburg, giving also some insight into the empirical work I did there.

Unlike former times, newer projects seem to follow a different strategy than the ones in the 1980s or 1990s. Most of them gave up the idea of following a master plan that runs through the whole project. At HafenCity Hamburg they promote an “embedded” approach, inviting people, companies and even media take part in the critical debate on the project, so that for instance inhabitants get part of the making of HafenCity and their environment by taking their needs seriously. This should attract so-called “high potential” and “creative people” to the new quarter, to give it a progressive image and the involved groups a sense of identity.

With Lefebvre we could analyze the threefold aspects of this production of space, referring to the registers of imagery and latent phantasmagoria, socio-economical ideologies of the elites, and the kind of “lived experience” this produces in a paradoxical way: to planfully establish the unplanful effect of urbanity.

This leads – with this I would like to conclude – to the exclusion of groups that do not fit into these new urban landscapes and seem to be the losers of New Urbanism: migrants, workers, lower classes, students, i.e. the classical mixture that once characterized post-war German inner cities.

Thomas Doerfler got his PhD in 2007 from the University of Bayreuth. His doctoral dissertation focused on the environmental and socio-spatial change in Prenzlauer Berg/Berlin since 1989. He is a scientific associate in the Department of Social Geography at the University of Bayreuth. Currently, he is working on a project about the Fürther Südstadt which investigates the forms and effects of new urbanity.
Stating that every social system produces its own space, Henri Lefebvre argues that the exchange value of capitalism produces its abstract space. According to Lefebvre, this space can also be called contradictory space. On the one hand capitalism has generated a world in harmony with its own appearance and on the other it has attributed importance to the expression of local differences in order to make use of the opportunities of unequal special development. It indicates that the space has a contradictory relationship with capitalism. The subject matter that further makes the space production process contradictory derives essentially from the contradiction between use value and exchange value hidden in the meta level, a concrete abstractness, according to Lefebvre.

In present-day Turkey, Islamists are the representatives of conservatism with neo-liberalism, as Aristotle’s saying goes, as the “golden means” (aurea mediocritas) at national and local levels. The special social reproduction framework they adopt servers as provider. It is the “socialization of neo-liberalism with conservative values and statement” that is indicated by aurea mediocritas which can be associated with the conservative development model that is referred to as progressive modernization in tradition. This new rightist model is a new production model beyond the borders of the Islamist Wealth Party, the Justice and Development Party line and of Turkey.

When considered from Lefebvre’s point of view, the aurea mediocritas itself has generated a contradictory space production process in the cities under the Islamist municipal administrations, particularly those that have metropolitan characteristics since 1994 owing to factors associated with use value and exchange value. That is to say, the new rightist reconciliation of financial liberalism and socio-cultural conservatism works properly with its conservative concept while the underdevelopment of the local is being exploited. Conservative stable time and daily life rhythm are worn out by the phenomenon of neo-liberalism time as long as the local needs to assimilate into the global as it makes its business develop (adopting a saving mentality).

In this paper, I will try to reveal this contradictory type of development through a case study analysis beyond the changes at Kayseri Republican Square. A mid-sized city with a conservative social structure, Kayseri has been considered successfully representative of the new Islamist local government that came to power after the 1994 elections.
In the context of current dynamics of global economy and growing urbanization, one can notice a trend in urban studies, mainly in sociology, to conceptually focus on what is or is tending to become common within and among cities. In view of this current academic debate my paper aims at pointing out the theoretical and methodological possibilities that Lefebvre’s “science of space” (1974) – which for him was the “science of use” – offers for conceptualizing the socio-cultural specificities of contemporary São Paulo that emerge from everyday use of its downtown streets and squares. My empirical counterpoints are the cities explicitly or implicitly referred to by Lefebvre when dealing with the concept of use in La production de l’espace. This paper’s hypothesis is that the major methodological tool of Lefebvre’s “science of space – of use” for theorizing difference is his regressive-progressive method, although this connection is not explicitly addressed in La production de l’espace. Indeed, the method underpins the whole study, and particularly the theoretical elaboration of the analytical “space triad” (perceived-lived-conceived space), which is so fruitful for dialectically conceptualizing difference (amid the “urban”) that stands out from spatial practice. After demonstrating the – so far little emphasized – presence of the regressive-progressive method in Lefebvre’s science of space, the paper sharpens the latter for a conceptualization of difference amid today’s processes of urbanization by analytically submitting the “space triad” to the method. The empirical data for this conceptual exercise are provided by my ethnographic study on the everyday uses of present São Paulo downtown squares. It will thus be possible to disclose the major analytical role of time for conceptualizing difference. This theoretical gain, for its part, discloses the specially striking role of the Lefebvrian emphasis on urban centers for contemporary theory and practice of the city.
In Thomas Pynchon’s 1967 book, *The Crying of Lot 49*, heroine Oedipa Mass scans the area where she lives, the endless suburbia of high tech Silicon Valley, and then remarks how very similar it looks to a silicon computer circuit board. Here Pynchon creates a literary homology between the novel’s setting and its content. What’s more interesting is the way Pynchon, unintentionally, echoes Henri Lefebvre’s concept of the “production of space.” We live in an environment that is produced for us by social forces pursuing profit. At the very same time, however, Lefebvre asserts that this space, in turn, helps produce our mode of living and consciousness. The two aspects are dialectically related, rather than homologous, in the more static conception of Pynchon.

Contemporary capitalism is the general subject of its material manifestation as the built environment, just as the practices of “urban planning” and government regulation constitute the more specific institutional subjects of the production of space. A free market in land and the exploitation of location require a rationalization process of government planning and regulation to avoid the negative effects of real estate development. It is for this reason that patterns like regional sprawl are considered “irrational” while zoning tools that clump like functions with like are the major rationalizing means of institutional practice that are the subject of urban planning. Implosion and aggregation embodied as the compact city form, therefore, is and always has been the theoretical ideal of modernist urbanism even if its roots are in classical Greece and Rome.

Now, however, under the contemporary form of global capitalism, there is no society, even including the most strictly planned Nordic formations, which does not exhibit evidence of functional and spatial deconcentration away from the historical city center, i.e., the appearance of a new and deconstructed spatial form that is regional in scope and multi-centered. There is also no social formation birthing this new form of space that does not perceive it as problematic. Given this observation, one that I made over 20 years ago in a book applying Lefebvre’s ideas for the case of the US, I would like to raise several questions:

If there is in fact, an emergent new urban form that is not the city, might not current planning, architectural, and public policy ideas be counterproductive to rationalizing or managing this new space because they are based on an antiquated privileging of “the city” conception? Are there realms of “non-space” being produced that are generic to this new form – the airport, the highway, the mall, the hotel – that doom our global culture and ourselves to an eternal sameness, or, conversely, as I believe, what are the urban planning and architectural practices that can create a sense of place and interaction which negate the negative forces of generic experience?
Arie Graafland

I will address the problem of urban design from the theoretical problem of ‘grounding’, and the necessity of a spatio-temporal ‘re-framing’ of urban thought in terms of everyday life and oppose the contemporary digital technology as in Zaha Hadid’s latest urban plans which I see as a new megalomania. It will take more than a definition to explain what I mean by these terms, it might help here to explain that I am not only referring to either ‘context’ or a connectedness to the earth.

‘Grounding’ also has to do with notions on permanence, with pluralism, the collective, and communication on a local level. I believe Scott Lash’ interpretation of Walter Benjamin’s “Talking Things”, or the “Symbolic in Fragments” could be helpful here. It would mean a redefining of action and agency, and finding other urban forms, other urban theories, procedures and arguments for a contemporary context. ‘Grounding’ picks up – partially, I have to admit – on the more recent American debates on ‘Everyday Urbanism’ as initiated by Margaret Crawford and John Kaliski in the 1990s. Crawford’s reference to Henri Lefebvre is of course understandable, but the problem is that Crawford does not really relate to Lefebvre’s theory, and, more importantly, we can no longer simply make that reference since Lefebvre’s ideas on the everyday cannot be isolated from Marxism, a doctrine which has not brought us much good in the everyday life of ‘real existing socialism’. We might be able to develop Lefebvre’s intentions like Ed Soja does in his trialectic of spatiality, but the embedding theory will have to change.
In my paper I will start from a critique of Lefebvre that posits that the Lefebvrian theory of society and space suffers from two problems, related to the two main terms. First, Lefebvre’s understanding of space is too general. His (justly praised) innovation consists in stating that space is both productive and produced, both material and social, but he does not develop how to go beyond this statement in empirical research. Second, Lefebvre’s understanding of society is too general as well. Society is dominated by the economy, and more specifically, capitalist accumulation, as driving force for the course of societies. Because he posits that space is productive, he can avoid an economic determinism, but this does not relate to a more fine-grained view of society as functionally differentiated into functional system or fields or cités. With Lefebvrian theory it is thus difficult to understand debates about churches and mosques, about school buildings or brothels or about listed buildings.

In my talk I wish to enrich Levebvre’s theory and attempt a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between society and space. To solve the first problem I introduce the methodological concepts of actor network theory. To solve the second problem, I introduce the theory of functional differentiation by Niklas Luhmann.

Actor network theory was developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and others to describe and explain the working of science and technology. What ANT developed over the past years however is a vocabulary and a method to describe how actors make use of things (and not space!) to accomplish tasks, a vocabulary that allows for a methodology to describe (spatial) conflicts in detail. In my talk I introduce the most common terms such as enrolment, translation and black box and explain how they relate to space and buildings.

To address conflicts about buildings as cities, we need a theory that explains the relative independence of different levels in society from the economy. Such a theory is Niklas Luhmann’s theory of functional differentiation. Importantly, this theory does not align persons to systems – the manager to the economy, the artists to the system of art –, but communications. Each functional system is defined by communication that operates by using a binary code. Like this, it becomes possible to understand conflicts about buildings as conflicts in which buildings are related to functional systems, both as forms and as communicative acts about these buildings.

Dr. Michael Guggenheim is a sociologist working at the department of Anthropology at the University of Zürich. He is currently doing a research project on the history, theory and ethnography of change of use of sacred buildings. Forthcoming is an edited volume Re-shaping Cities. How Global Mobility Transforms Architecture and Urban Form. He previously published an ethnography on environmental expertise firms, Organisierte Umwelt (transcript 2005), among others. He was also one of the curators of the exhibition „die wahr/falsch inc.” in Vienna.
Jeanne Haffner
University of Virginia / United States of America
Speaker: Panel 8
Historicizing “Social Space”: Aerial Photography and the Emergence of a Social Conception of Space in Postwar France.

Most famously espoused by the French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre in his influential 1974 work, *The Production of Space*, the idea of “social space” (l’espace social) remains a key concept for those working in the social sciences, architecture, and urban planning today. Although the term defies any single definition, “social space” can generally be understood as the notion that urban space is not simply an inert framework in which social life merely takes place. On the contrary, Lefebvre argued, the spaces in which people live and work are socially “produced” in everyday life. Throughout the postwar era, he and his colleagues, who were mostly situated on the political left, aimed for this novel, socially oriented way of analyzing urban space to provide an antidote to the repressiveness of the consumer capitalist urban planning practices of the French state. The spatial segregation that appeared to be worsening in large French cities as a consequence of the widespread construction of the grands ensembles or large, publicly funded housing complexes on the outskirts (banlieues) of urban areas across France, could only be addressed with the emergence of a new and socially oriented approach to space in the social sciences, urban planning, and French society more generally.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the contribution of aerial photography, a top-down technique closely linked to the French colonial state and military, to the emergence of a social conception of space in postwar France. Specifically, I contend that aerial photography offered French social scientists working in multiple academic disciplines a new way of seeing the spaces of human habitation in French colonies such as West Africa and Vietnam in the 1920s and 1930s. After World War II, this new way of seeing, and the cross-disciplinary collaboration that it inspired, led to the development of a novel approach to space in urban planning. By examining the history of the conception of “social space” as it emerged in postwar France, therefore, we will see that top-down urban planning and its bottom-up critique emerged out of the same intellectual and institutional sources.

The final part of this paper will attempt to compare “social space” in postwar France with a similar concept in postwar U.S., “systems theory.” As the historian of science Jennifer S. Light has explained in her recent book, *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003), “systems theory” was an interdisciplinary method for analyzing urban space scientifically and holistically. As Light points out, it emerged, in part, out of the totalizing way of seeing offered by an airplane. A comparison of these two concepts – and, more importantly, how they functioned within various intellectual circles in postwar France and the U.S. – will offer not only a closer look at how government officials, social scientists, and urban planners alike responded to postwar urban problems. It will also provide an historical glimpse at two ideas which continue to fascinate us today.

Jeanne Haffner is a historian specializing in the social, political, and urban history of twentieth-century France. Her forthcoming book (MIT Press) examines the role of visual techniques in the evolution of the “new urbanism” in postwar France. Other interests include contemporary issues in urban planning both within and outside of France, such as housing and gentrification. She is also a freelance writer for urban planning and architecture magazines such as *The Next American City*, the Center for Urban and Regional Policy at Northeastern University, and ArchitectureBoston. Currently, she is a fellow at Harvard University.
Theorizing Space of Risk: An Empirical Application of Lefebvre’s Theory of Space Production in Nazareth

This paper presents a new conceptualization of Space of Risk based on Lefebvre’s tripartite conceptualization of space. Space of Risk is defined as a perceived, conceived, and lived space that has low levels of trust, where people feel defenseless, and socially, and/or politically, and/or culturally, and/or economically, and/or environmentally vulnerable. This space is a dialectical product. It is produced by the contention between the conceived space as presented by planners and policy makers and the lived spaces as experienced by the users. The concept was applied to analyze the urban conflict in Nazareth regarding a contested plan for the central square in the city. The data was collected based on 250 personal interviews using questionnaires and conducted in different neighborhoods in Nazareth. The findings show that, following the Central Square Plan, Nazareth has become a space of risk for its residents. The paper concludes that planning policies and plans have the power of creating urban spaces of risk. In addition, it illuminates methods that planners can adopt in order to avoid creating spaces of risk. The article concludes that the reasons that may strongly contribute to the production of spaces of risk are: lack of the right to the city for urban inhabitants; the hegemony of the state over the city through ‘ethnocratic’ urban policies; the hegemony of global forces and neo-liberal agendas over the locale; deficient local politics; absence of communicative planning procedures; and contradictions between planners conception of the place and the way inhabitants conceive and experience it in their daily life practices.

At present Yosef Jabareen is a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning and holds the Landau Fellow Leader of Science and Technology Cathedral at the Technion Israel Institute of Technology. Jabareen graduated from the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University and received his PhD in Urban Planning from the Technion. Jabareen was a visiting scholar and a lecturer in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Recently, one of his articles was the most read article (2007/March 2008) in the Journal of Planning Education and Research. His article “Space of Risk: The Contribution of Planning Policies to Conflicts in Cities, Lessons from Nazareth,” was nominated by the Journal of Planning Theory and Practice as the best article published in 2007. Jabareen focuses on planning and urban culture, urban ethnic relations and conflict in diverse cities, culture and sustainable urban communities.
How can ideas of everyday life developed by Lefebvre at the birth of postwar consumerism in response to the European urban experience be adapted to make sense of current political culture of ethno-national struggles?

The paper develops the idea of state-constructed everyday, relating everyday life as discussed by Lefebvre to the ethno-national politics of the nation-state in the contested context of the Middle East. Through the discussion of public housing and its role in the production of the everyday, the paper explores the home as a political arena, exposing the space of the everyday as a battlefield where both national and personal struggles take place. It considers a residential quarter built as part of the Israelization process of Jerusalem subsequent to the 1967 war, in which the everyday life produced has become the protector of national territory and hence, the focus of geopolitical struggles. This case study exposes the state’s intense involvement in the everyday, suggesting a need to re-evaluate the concept of the everyday.

Two main questions arise from the discussion of state-constructed everyday in post-1967 Jerusalem: the construction of the other through market and political mechanisms and how the construction of these discriminatory everyday environments could be challenged and resisted. In his *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre makes the case for analyzing moments of the quotidian to see how they are colonized by capitalism and how, as a result, people are alienated from each other. His analysis can be extended to the spatial production of the other as framed by the residential environment and its consequences. Lefebvre’s guide to the seemingly trivial details of quotidian experience – an experience controlled by commodity fetishism and a mechanical existence and pervaded by inauthenticity – shows them also to be the only remaining sources of resistance and change. Conversing with his ideas, the paper explores the ways in which an understanding of the quotidian can help make sense of contemporary political culture of the nascent nation-state and the particular relationship between state apparatus, private and public spheres, and “ordinary people”. The notion of the everyday will be considered as an analytical category and a conceptual instrument to uncover both a *way of understanding* and a *way of reading* in which “critical knowledge and action…work together” (*Critique of Everyday Life I*, p. 189).

Rachel Kallus is an associate professor of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, where she teaches Architecture, Urban Design, and Town Planning. She is an architect and a planner holding an M.Arch. from MIT and a PhD from the Technion. Her professional work in the field of housing and urban design is mostly with grassroots organizations and NGOs. Her academic work concentrates on the sociopolitical production of the built environment and the formation of urban culture, focusing on ethno-nationally contested spaces and considering the interplay between policy measures (planning) and physical-spatial manipulations (architecture). She is the author of numerous texts in books and in architecture and planning journals on the socio-cultural aspects of the built environment and its production. Her co-authored book *Architecture Culture: Place, Representation, Body* (Resling, 2005) featured for the first time excerpts from Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* in Hebrew.
Urban Marxism and the Postcolonial Challenge: Henri Lefebvre and ‘Colonization’

For a considerable length of time, the postcolonial has functioned as a code word for a transposed form of French post-theory. More recently, efforts have been made to reconstruct linkages between metropolitan Marxist and anti- or counter-colonial traditions. In these efforts, the postcolonial refers to an open-ended research field to investigate the present weight of colonial histories. But even in these materialist reformulations, postcolonial research presents formidable challenges to the Eurocentric currents that have converged in what Merrifield calls ‘metromarxism’. This paper explores the possibility of redirecting elements of Henri Lefebvre’s work to analyze postcolonial situations. For this purpose, it will trace the notion of colonization from Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life (which signaled a controversial extension of his critique of alienation) to his work on the state (where the notion appears in the midst of discussions of theories of imperialism). It will suggest that Lefebvre’s notion of colonization (which refers to multi-scalar state strategies of organizing territorial relations of domination) provides a promising opening for comparative research on the ‘colonial’ aspects of urbanization today. Still, for this promise to be realized, Lefebvre’s notion needs to be refracted more decisively with insights from dialectical and humanist counter-colonial traditions.

Stefan Kipfer teaches urbanization, urban politics and urban planning in the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada. Above all influenced by Henri Lefebvre, Frantz Fanon, and Antonio Gramsci, his contributions to urban social theory and comparative research on urban politics have appeared in various book volumes and journals, including *Antipode*, *Studies in Political Economy*, *Theory and Event*, *New Formations*, *Society and Space*, *Capitalism, Nature and Socialism*, and the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. He is co-editor of *Space, Difference, and Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (2008). He is currently writing a book on ‘colonization’ and urbanization in Paris, Toronto and Mumbai (with Kanishka Goonewardena) and preparing an edited volume on Antonio Gramsci’s geographies (with Mike Ekers, Gillian Hart, and Alex Loftus).
Sabine Knierbein was born in Lippetal, Germany, in 1977. Having passed her A-levels in 1997, she realized an apprenticeship as landscape gardener before she started to study Landscape Architecture in 1999. She passed her diploma thesis at the University of Applied Sciences Osnabrück with distinction in 2004. Since 2008, she holds a position as head post-doctoral coordinator and assistant professor at the newly founded Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban Culture and Public Space (SKuOR) at the Vienna University of Technology, Austria. In June 2009, she was awarded a PhD (s.c.l., Dr. phil.) at the Institute for European Urban Studies at Bauhaus-University Weimar.

The Production of Central Public Spaces in Berlin since 1980: The State, the Market and the Rise of the Economy of Attention

German theoretical discourses on architecture and planning often show a lack of spatial theory regarding a relational conception of public spaces and their *built arrangements* e.g. urban squares, streets and airport halls. Lefebvre’s approach to understand space not just as product, but to rather grasp the implicit dynamics and hegemonies between different social spheres and their acting *sujets* during space production processes offers an indispensable theoretical link between analytical urban governance frameworks based in political science and space and design analyses taking into account relational conceptions of public spaces.

Yet how exactly have public spaces – understood from an analytical descriptive and non-normative perspective as places showing social centrality – been produced in a city like Berlin that has faced an extreme series of institutional restructuring recently? A compensation-deal-based model made its way into urban development processes as a series of tolerated ‘exceptions’ or ‘institutional compromises’ (Jessop 2007). Basic legal frameworks were deregulated by state actors in 2005/6.

This can be taken as empirical evidence of the formal institutionalization of a new accumulation strategy in public spaces organized around the economy of attention. This concept has only gained importance during the last decade in media and communication studies and is deeply connected to the rise of the new media (Goldhaber (1997), Thorngate (1998), Franck (1998), Davenport und Beck (2001), Siegert (2001)). Its basic assumption is that attention is one of the new scarce resources in the information society (Proksch 2002).

This paper reveals that the production of central public spaces in Berlin since 1980 can be interpreted as an institutionalization process for a new territorial accumulation strategy following the premises of the economy of attention.
Applying Spatiology to the Scale of Urban Projects – Oeuvre and Atmosphere as Generative Concepts

It seems that we as planners and designers have lost touch with the constituents of our practice, the public and the urban. The profession’s structures of thinking are an important reason behind the production of life-less, sterile urban space(s). In order to operate, planners have to conceptualize urban space in a manner appropriate to their goals. Lefebvre (1991, 361) uses the term ‘true space’ to refer to the substitute of the lived reality. The ‘reality of planning’ has three interlinked constituents: 1) space can be represented; 2) space can be seen; and, as a derivative of the first two, 3) space can be designed (Lehtovuori 2005).

One way to formulate the problem of the conceptualization of space in architecture is the difficulty to really understand in what way the small everyday events and tiny details of spatial practice – gestures, voices, trajectories of walking, graffiti, temporary alterations, decay – partake in the production of public urban space. Lefebvre’s work provides a general framework to grasp the complexity of producing public urban space. However, when aiming to use his ideas when analyzing concrete spaces or projects, the intriguing notion of ‘the other’ remains elusive.

I wish to start off from Lefebvre’s ideas and continue them in two directions that make his theoretical scheme more applicable in architecture and design of public urban space. Firstly, I suggest that physical urban artifacts can take the role of the ‘other’ in the spatial dialectic of trinity. This brings distinctively architectural understanding of form, type and spatial configuration at the heart of the theory of social space. Secondly, I develop a link between Lefebvre’s notion of oeuvre (city as art-like work) and Gernot Böhme’s (1995; 1998) concept of atmosphere, which helps bridge the societal and historical concern of Lefebvre and architects’ interest in experiential space. The primary cases of the paper are from Helsinki and Lisbon.
Jan Lilliendahl Larsen, Martin Frandsen and Jens Brandt (Supertanker)
Roskilde University / Denmark
Speaker: Panel 7

“What’s Beautiful is the Voice of Small Groups Having Influence”

Henri Lefebvre has argued that we need a new perspective on modern life and society. Both in order to critique the contemporary order, but even more so to emancipate new tendencies hidden not in the least in the urbanity of the city. According to him, the dominant ‘industrial’, i.e. economic and administrative, perspective of modern society, make us blind towards the potential of the ‘urban’, that is a phenomenon in contact with the body, everyday life, ‘lived’ culture and the city, is hidden. In our presentation, we will show how several decades of more or less temporary re-appropriations of abandoned spaces in post-industrial cities have opened new windows on empirical facets of the ‘urban’.

For more than five years, Supertanker, which started as a grassroots urban laboratory, has been studying and participating in informal and ‘creative’ diversions of industrial wastelands in the harbor of Copenhagen, creating an original culture of ‘political urbanity’ in the midst of an otherwise ‘antagonizing’ field of politics. With reference to Lefebvre, Supertanker has thus studied and unfolded some of the potentials in concepts as the ‘lived’, the ‘urban’, the ‘moment’, the ‘possible’, ‘auto-gestion’ and ‘understanding’. Maybe most importantly, Supertanker has cultivated the small but essential seed Lefebvre laid down for understanding the possibilities of lived appropriation of the city: ‘diverted space’.

By experimenting with variegated arenas of urban action research, dialogue and practice, Supertanker has advanced a concept of ‘vague space’, which expresses the varying conditions of possibility for appropriation in an unevenly developed urban space. In this way, Lefebvre’s work plays an essential part in giving the contemporary discourse of temporary and creative spaces of redevelopment an urban grounding, thus dodging the perils of the ‘industrial’ blindness.

Jan Lilliendahl Larsen has studied and participated in Urban Politics and Development in the past two decades. He completed his master’s degree in Human Geography at Copenhagen University in 1999 and got his PhD in Social Science at Roskilde University in 2008) with dissertations based primarily on the thought of Henri Lefebvre. In the latter, his empirical study took the form of an urban action research project, which gradually contributed to the creation of the urban laboratory Supertanker in a former warehouse in the harbor of Copenhagen (2003). With Supertanker, Jan Lilliendahl Larsen has developed and executed a string of original urban dialogue and development processes, workshops and conferences, authored several reports and articles on the current state of urban development, life, culture and politics in Copenhagen and internationally. He is currently associated with Roskilde University, Technical University of Denmark and Supertanker.
The antinomies of India’s neo-liberal urbanism have raised considerable attention among scholars from various disciplines. In fact ever since India succumbed to the LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization) bandwagon, post-fordist forces of production have infused significant changes into the ‘interstitial’ spaces of urban India. The quantum growth of the Services sector and its multiplier effects have on their part reconfigured the tone and tenor of ‘differential spaces’ of ‘everyday life’ in urban India. The proposed paper shall hereupon strive to unravel the broad facets of such a spatio-temporal restructuring of urban spaces through the Lefebvrian notion of the ‘implosion-explosion’ syndrome.

The first section of the paper shall initiate a discussion on the interlinkages between the conceptual underpinnings of the issue, i.e., ‘Knowledge Economy’ and ‘Urban Spaces’, especially the neo-marxist strand. The second section shall then take recourse to a socio-historical analysis of the patterns of urbanization in the post-LPG era. The penultimate section thereupon deals with the crux of the issue. It suggests that though the ‘tradition-modernity dichotomy’ did initiate the processes of ‘fragmentation’ of urban spaces in India, yet the mushrooming of professional institutes since the late 1990s has further accentuated the ‘dualism’ of cities in India. Adopting a comparative analysis of one case study each from a Tier I, II and III city, viz., Bangalore, Hyderabad and Bhubaneswar respectively, this section attempts at a Lefebvrian diagnosis of the problem at hand. In conclusion, the paper strives to draw home the point that the emerging ‘Knowledge Economy’ of India is fast encroaching upon the cultural distinctiveness of urban centers in India. The ostentatious commercialization of Higher Education seems to have seduced the ‘conceived’, ‘perceived’ and ‘representational’ spaces of Urban India. The surreal juggernaut of real estate projects, retail marts, shopping malls and gated enclaves seems to be the homogenized idiom of urbanization in India. The paper therefore calls for a radical rethinking of the path that India’s Knowledge Economy seems to be treading upon, lest the ongoing processes of urbanization in India may soon metamorphose into nothing more than a cacophonous urban sprawl.
Suzanne Paquet is Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History and Film Studies at Université de Montréal. She obtained her PhD in Art History in 2005 at Université de Montréal (her doctoral studies in Art History were jointly supervised by the School of Landscape Architecture). In 2007–2008, she was a postdoctoral fellow in Geography at CELAT (Université Laval, Québec City) and at the Laboratoire Société environnement, territoires (SET) of the Université de Pau et des Pays de l’Adour (France). Her postdoctoral research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. She is currently working on two research projects entitled “The Stakes of Landscape in the Contemporary World: The Public Spaces of Québec City and Montreal” and “Resistant Artistic Expressions: Urban Forms and Spatial Practices.”

The Intelligibility of Contemporary Urban Space: Some Figures and Practices

Henri Lefebvre’s notion of the production of space remains highly pertinent when it comes to describing the way in which both the experience and intelligibility of the city are configured by means of interactions of instances of figuration, transmissibility and concrete geographical realities. Lefebvre’s theory can be revisited with the aid of the complementary notion of mobility—of persons and images. Mobility is not unrelated to Lefebvre’s theses, moreover, insofar as his work addresses various types of networks that link locations to one another.

I contend that two kinds of circulation, both physical and electronic, increasingly condition spatial/social practices. As a result, the visible and the tangible infinitely mirror one another to such a degree that both terms become indistinguishable. Such a relation transforms sites into destinations. Each geographical site possesses a replica that circulates continuously within digital networks, and such replicas are visible at any time from all other geographical vantage points. Ultimately, such a phenomenon determines actual modes of the production of space. Thus, if the representations of space correspond to conceived space, the former can be regarded simultaneously as an imagistic staging of sites—a mise en image that can operate prior to, coincidently, or subsequently to the material shaping of a given location. Moreover, it appears likely that representations of space increasingly determine spatial practices, for the former entail physical displacement.

Spatial/social practices that entail displacement and the temporality of displacement; representations of space whose use value includes a summons for their own circulation; and the spaces of representation understood as spaces of resistance and of dissidence, these three terms presuppose reflexive forms of coexistence that shape users’ relations to the city. I thus seek to examine how urban experiences, in reciprocity with the multiple imaginaries of the city, take shape according to a set of interactions between mobility and the three terms the result of which is the production of space.
Cláudia Rodrigues

University of Coimbra / Portugal
Speaker: Panel 4

Urban Rhythms and the Nocturnal City:
An Approach to a Party District Edification on the Porto Urban Centre

This communication is a reflection based on my PhD that has as general aim the comprehension of the production of a ‘Night-Party City’ in the historical center of Porto, where the challenge is to explore the social-spatial ‘productions’, ‘designs’ and ‘expressions’ of that city.

Lefebvre’s conception of ‘everyday life’ (the everyday night-life in the present work); Lefebvre’s rhythmanalyses and Lefebvre’s approach to the ‘production of space’ are the main frameworks of this project that in its turn is crossing both conceptual and methodological issues.

The purpose here is also the exposition of my Work in Progress attempt to recreation Henri Lefebvre’s rhythmanalyses project, on his facet of form and attitude of entrance, errance and the exploration of the city and the urban cultures, taking into account the diversity urban rhythmicity - that may be visible in gestures, choreographies, sounds, noise, hesitations, movement, pauses, accelerations, silences and breaks on the urban scenario. Henri Lefebvre points out that the rhythmanalyses project brings together issues usually treated separately: time and space; public and private; intimacy and policy. Therefore, Henri Lefebvre takes into account the unity, here considered essential, between place, time and space, form and context.

The actual edification and life of this party district and its emergence conditions – viz. the recent urban re-design of this part of the city of Porto and the urban marketing strategies – will be emphasized. Therefore, we consider here, following the suggestion of Hughes (1999), which assumes that the marketing of the nighttime reveals the city engagement into social configuration or, using Lefebvre’s conceptualization, the city temporalization of its center.

Rhythmanalyses embedded in the broad Lefebvre’s work is considered here as a research method and as a transactional world with high significance in both comprehensive and applicability terms namely due to its translating potential of urban life.
The process of urbanization has changed fundamentally in recent years: All over the world, new patterns of urbanization are evolving. Existing urban forms are dissolving, and polymorphous urban regions are taking shape. Extremely heterogeneous in structure, they include old city centres as well as formerly peripheral areas. At the same time, extremely rapid urbanization has led to the emergence of completely new urban forms in the megacities of the global South: Informal modes of urbanization, which were long regarded as temporary aberrations, are increasingly becoming core elements of urban expansion that can no longer be ignored.

Starting from Henri Lefebvre's famous thesis of complete urbanization of society, this contribution explores what happens in today's urban universe that is constantly bringing forth new developments. “The city” can no longer be considered a general category. Rather, it is a concrete, historical category that is constantly being redefined. The general trends of urbanization are materialized in various different ways in concrete locations. Urbanization is always a concrete process shaped by specific local conditions, structures, and constellations. Therefore, the process of global urbanization does not at all imply that the urban space becomes homogenous. Quite on the contrary, differences within the urban are increasing. A great variety of urban cultures are developing, resulting in different models of urbanization. It is decisive to understand their origins, their pathways of development, and their possible impacts, in order to detect and explore the specific urban potentials that they contain.

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, conceived more than 30 years ago, provides decisive elements to analyze contemporary urbanization processes. Nevertheless, we have to go beyond this theory, to confront it with actual urban developments and new theoretical approaches and to develop it further in order to understand the contemporary urban society.
Gregory Seigworth
Miller University / United States of America
Speaker: Panel 6

Traversing Lefebvrian Cities / Deleuzian Architecture: Rhythms, Folds & Immanences

This paper will explore the subtle (and oft-times subterranean) influence that the more far-flung monadological speculations of Gottfried Leibniz played in both the urbanist & ‘everyday life’ writings of Henri Lefebvre and in the supple ‘architectures’ of Gilles Deleuze’s philosophy (especially as developed in The Fold). Of particular interest is Leibniz’s concept of the vinculum substantiale: the substantial linkage or bond between monads, what Leibniz – departing from his pre-established harmonies of God – considered ‘the divine will’ of matter itself. Lefebvre briefly references his own interpretation of Leibniz’s vinculum substantiale as a key philosophical source for his ‘theory of moments’ (Vol.2 Critique of Everyday Life, p.370) while Deleuze discusses this notion at length in ‘The Two Floors’ chapter of The Fold.

My talk will focus on how this seldom-discussed, even scandalous, conceptualization from Leibniz provides a critical passageway back and forth between Lefebvre’s analyses of cities with their singularizing spatial architectonics and extra-daily polyrhythms (in open totality) and Deleuze’s architectural flourishes concerning the nature of pleats, folds, surfaces, and marblings (of the organic/corporeal and inorganic/incorporeal).

Giving careful attention to the vinculum substantiale is, as I hope to show, a matter not only of the production of space but is at least as much concerned with the production of time. Or, better perhaps to think of this production of time as kairos (the immanently between-moments of chance, grace, and accident): simultaneously differential and durational, qualitative, affective, perpetually running along the cusp of the indiscernible, time on its side. Passing between Lefebvre and Deleuze then, Leibniz’ vinculum substantiale becomes a means to imagine the potentials for building (in) kairos, for catalyzing the living emergence traversing urban environs. Finally, the paper will conclude by examining what Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis and theory of moments has to offer the already Deleuzian-inspired architectural musings of Brian Massumi (forthcoming Architectures of the Unforeseen, MIT Press, 2009).
Henri Lefebvre: Within and Beyond Architecture

Some of Henri Lefebvre’s books earned him the reputation of a bitter critic of architects, lambasting the profession for every imaginable crime, from the death of the cities to the victory of postwar capitalism. And yet a more careful reading of his texts which pays attention to occasional writings, such as reviews of architectural designs, introductions to exhibitions, minutes of discussions and seminars, or contributions to conferences, conveys a sense of urgency to propose an architecture of a different kind, defined by means of a variety of concepts, such as centrality, difference, social interchange, and desire. Drawing inspiration from the studies on habitation he carried out or supervised since the late 1950s, and from his exchanges with architects and urbanists, Lefebvre investigated architecture in two perspectives: as a study of its overdetermination by its position within the general division of labor among the practices producing space; and an account of the practice of habitation. It is from a research about the interdependences between these two perspectives and their generalizations, that Lefebvre’s thinking about architecture is developed. This account comes close to what he understood as a “project”: neither a prediction, nor a prophecy, nor a fantasy, but a research about tendencies which emerge within the current society and, when generalized, allow for conceiving a different space and a different society.
Tijana Stevanovic
University of Belgrade / Serbia
Speaker: Panel 5

Underground Passages in New Belgrade – Possible Heterotopias Allowing the Formation of a New Urban Praxis

New Belgrade, initially conceived as a functionalist, modern city (after the World War II), has been facing during the last decade – in a state of transition – urban upheaval. What once was designed to be an open radiant city, now transgresses into a highly commercial quarter, with privatized corporate properties, shopping malls and physical fences.

Starting from Jane Jacob’s statement that the street is the safest place to escape possible violence in the city, in a “car city”, with wide boulevards separating open blocks with high-rise buildings, as New Belgrade is, can underground passages be perceived as an architectural assignment for collective social interaction? They are like intruders, which belong to some other kind of urban organization (dense urban nucleus), installed in the open block structure, the only spaces positioned underground in an open city). They were originally not used in full capacity and as such uninteresting for the corporate investors as locations to be occupied lately. Furthermore, they seem to be the safest places, secluded from outer influences and rare examples of public space open to absolutely everyone, without obstacles, entrance control, etcetera. However, these are the places that also wake in our inner selves the feelings of estrangement, and anxiety, as they are half-open places, therefore also half-visible, half-secure. Being the margin between the two, which allows trespassing to both sides, as some kind of heterotopia – mirroring both the real and the Other situation of the urban upheaval – can they be starting design potential points for claiming back the right to the city? To what extent can they be points of departure for the new urban praxis, which is to secure the background for the horizon of possibilities of human interaction?

Although Lefebvre suggests that the street loses all its potential power once it has succumbed to its primal, basic function of the passing through itself, is there any place for urban reform within their bare walls? If, as Lefebvre claims, the only possible way to be utopian is to be left, and the only way to form the New Urban is to follow the utopian idea(1)s, what is the perspective of states and cities in transitions, such as Serbia and New Belgrade?

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Erik Swyngedouw  
Manchester University / United Kingdom  
Keynote Speaker

Whose Right to the City?  
The Antinomies of the Post-Political City

“Well, my dear Adeimantus, what is the nature of tyranny? It’s obvious, I suppose, that it arises out of democracy” (Plato, The Republic)

The polis is dead. Long live the creative city! Cities as spectacular phantasmagoric assemblages and heterogeneously disjointed collages of amalgamated techno-natural configurations constitute, according to authors as diverse as Saskia Sassen, David Harvey, Manuel Castells, Maria Kaika, Rem Koolhaas, or Richard Florida, the condensed materialization of a global cosmopolitan order, the apex of the 21st century condition, and the hubs of rhizomatic worldwide networks. They have become the diverse, heterotopian, and ‘glocal’ sites that harbor all manner of possibilities and emancipatory promises, while expressing often the most radical and oppressive forms of exclusion and uneven development. This century will be, much more than the previous one, the century of the city; cities that no longer have an outside, a border. No matter how far one travels, as in Calvino’s Penthesilea, one will never be able to leave the city.

Ironically, of course, while the city is alive and thriving (at least in some of its spaces), the polis, conceived in the traditional Greek sense of the site of public political encounter and negotiation, the spacing of (often radical) dissent, disagreement and dissensus, the space where political subjectivization literally takes place, seems moribund. Both the cosmopolitan cynics of a latter-day self-styled leftist persuasion for whom the only form of politics resides in a deconstructionist critique of the impossibility of a genuine radical politics and who embrace a neo-liberal cosmopolitan identity politics while clinging to the privileges their institutionalized urban settings generously provide on the one hand as well as the neo-liberal elites that assert the impossibility of an urban world different from the one they created in their own image on the other have radically evacuated proper politics from the urban, reducing the polis to a mere city.

This figure of the Post-Political City will be leitmotiv of this contribution. Taking our cue from Jacques Rancière, Slavoj Žižek, Chantal Mouffe, Mustafa Dikeç, Alain Badiou and assorted other critics of the cynical radicalism that has rendered critical theory and radical political praxis impotent and infertile in the face of the rapidly de-politicizing gestures that pass for urban policy and politics in the contemporary neo-liberalizing police order, we shall attempt to re-centre the political in contemporary debates on the urban. While taking the environment as our point of entry, we shall develop the argument in four steps. The first part recovers the notion of the political and of the political polis from the debris of contemporary obsessions with governing, management, and urban polic(y)ing. A theoretical, yet eminently practical, position of what constitutes a proper urban political space will be enunciated. In the second section, the depoliticized condition of the late capitalist urban will be explored, arguing that the urban frame has been thoroughly, and perhaps fatally, infested by an ordering that is thoroughly post-political and post-democratic. This evacuation of the political from the plane of immanence that defines the very possibility of the polis and the concomitant consolidation of an urban post-political arrangement runs, so we argue, parallel to the rise of a neo-liberal governmentality that has replaced
debate, disagreement and dissensus with a series of technologies of governing that fuse around consensus, agreement, and technocratic environmental management. In the third part, we maintain that this post-political consensual police order revolves decidedly around embracing a populist gesture, one that annuls democracy and must, of necessity, lead to an ultra-politics of violent disavowal, radical closure and, ultimately, to the tyrannies of violence and of foreclosure of any real spaces of engagement. However, the incoherencies of the contemporary urban ordering, the excess and the gaps that are left in the interstices of the post-political urban order permits thinking through if not materially widening and occupying genuine political urban spaces. This will be the theme of the final section. While the city as polis may be dead, spaces of political engagement occur within the cracks, in-between the meshes and the strange inter-locations that shape places that contest the police order. It is here that utopias as concrete political interventions germinate. The sort of utopia that Žižek argues is urgently needed today: “[t]he true utopia is when the situation is so without issue, without a way to resolve it within the coordinates of the possible that out of the pure urge of survival you have to invent a new space. Utopia is not kind of a free imagination; utopia is a matter of innermost urgency. You are forced to imagine it as the only way out, and this is what we need today” (Žižek, 2005 #59).

Erik Swyngedouw is Professor of Geography at Manchester University. He was professor of Geography at Oxford University and Fellow of St. Peter’s College until 2006. He holds a Ph.D. in Geography and Environmental Engineering from the Johns Hopkins University and Masters in Urban Planning and in Agricultural Engineering from the University of Leuven, Belgium. He has held visiting professorships at the Universities of Seville, Spain, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, the University of Washington, Seattle, and York University, Toronto. His research interests include political-ecology, urban governance, democracy and political power, water and water resources, the political-economy of capitalist societies, the dynamics of urban and regional change, and the politics of globalization. He has published over 50 papers on these themes. Recent books include Urbanising Globalisation (co-edited, OUP 2003), Social Power and the Urbanization of Water - Flows of Power (OUP 2004) and In the Nature of Cities (co-edited, Routledge, 2006).
Central to the Lefebvrian discussion of the production of space are the roles of commodified capitalism and state planning and management. Yet, most of the elaborations in the literature have been concentrated on the developed world. While Lefebvre has been criticized for his inability to address the urbanizing world as well as the more complex interwoven of capital and the state in the present day, it is surprising to see the paucity of research on redressing this imbalance. It is the objective of this research to make a modest contribution by investigating the recent redevelopment proposal in Hong Kong.

What has characterized Hong Kong, and East Asian cities in general, is the prevalence of a land (re)development regime since the 1970s. Real estate development is the norm of the society. The concentration and centralization of capital centered on land capital in Hong Kong has reached a level unknown to the western world. The concomitant inequality gap has kept on widening, as evident in the ever-increasing Gini coefficient. Thus, the issue is far more complicated than commodification of everyday life per se. Monopoly or oligopoly excludes alternative spatial practices from springing up within the same space. Besides, there is an all-pervasive state, which, as practiced by the now and then colonial governments, has its own rationality, sometimes even responsive to the metropolis, most of the time intervenes to resolve spatial contradictions or, as a matter of fact, does not permit the emergence of contractions in the first place, less by merely coding representation than, sometimes, by coercive repression. The way production of space becomes hegemonic is much more complicated than the basically under-theorized spatial triad, the role of organic intellectuals and the generation of minimal difference can comprehend. Moreover, the opposition between town and countryside still prevails in Hong Kong, and its neighboring urban region. This means that the transformation into an urbanized society has never been completed. Accordingly, there is more than one substantive source of spatial contradiction. Not only is the dispossession of agricultural land an important component of spatial politics, but also is the rural interest a significant force of resistance. Explosion and implosion interact in a much more complicated way than that is found in a region without the countryside.

Redevelopment activities in Hong Kong have gained momentum since the late 1980s. The common practice was to bulldoze the existing buildings, erase the streets, displace the residents, disintegrate completely the tranquil neighborhood and, instead, erect new skyscrapers. Cracks started to emerge out of this practice lately, with demonstrations, rallies and alternative proposals centered around the call for ‘the people’s planning’, which began to query the decision-making mechanism. The government reacted promptly, and sharply too, by, on the one hand, repressing the resistance by suing demonstrators while seducing and inducing people to instead focus on ‘historical conservation'. Late last year, the government ‘discovered' that some, old Chinese-style buildings with verandah were worthy of conserving. Earlier this year, the government further proclaimed that there are 1,444 buildings in need of conservation. On the other, the government announced last year to revamp the decade-old urban renewal strategy. Discussion was
manipulated by selecting the research consultant to search for possible options and the public engagement consultant to restrict public discussion. By early this year, the majority of the resistance died down. This paper attempts to argue that while redevelopment activities in the past excluded alternative activities and discussions within affected sites, the cracks started to call forth the deployment of representation to dominate, and so the formation of a Lefebvrian problematique, but they had not led to the transformation of minimal difference into maximal difference due to Hong Kong’s socio-historical specificity. Informed by the above discussion on spatial politics in developing countries, however, this paper draws on Foucault’s governmentality (the clash between colonial and socialist governmenttalities), Harvey’s spatial matrix (abstract, relative and relational spaces), Allen’s modalities of power and Gramsci’s hegemony to extend an otherwise ‘mainstream’ Lefebvrian analysis.
Sampo Villanen

University of Helsinki / Finland
Speaker: Panel 3

The Spatio-Temporal Dynamics of Political Demonstrations in Helsinki

In the Finnish political tradition, protests in urban public space happen mostly in a regulated and moderate manner, and even acts of civil disobedience were for long mostly carefully controlled and limited in order to avoid clashes with the police. This paper utilizes first Michel de Certeau’s concepts strategy and tactics to show how state power is exerted on demonstrators in the form of spatial and temporal regulations derived from the Law on Assemblies. In Helsinki in 2002 it was typical to divide protest events to law-abiding ones and civil disobedience. Along these two categories Lefebvre’s spatial dialectics is then used to provide an analysis of the dynamics of the demonstration as an interplay of the police, the demonstrators and uses of urban space.

Based on ethnographic data collected in 2002, the paper depicts Helsinki demonstrations as a close interaction of demonstrators and the police, which produces spatially and temporally orchestrated events. This applies both to law-abiding demonstrations and to civil disobedience. The analysis concentrates especially on the demonstration on the Day of Independence of a rather innovative network of activists, then known as ‘The Disobedient’, who were able produce public outrage, and even a change in legislation. The paper shows, how discarding the juridical regulation of the event disrupts the spatial practice of the conventional demonstration and produces a space of representation, where increased opportunities for autonomous action combine with elements of anarchy. Radical action results in a space of representation where unpredictability rules. However, it has a natural tendency to be repeated and thus transformed into representations of space (rules of thumb, known practices) and spatial practice (routine-like repetition of well-known use of space). This situation forms an ambivalent element in the political thrust of Lefebvre’s theoretical work, which needs to be discussed.
The neighborhood of Exarcheia in Athens, Greece has been historically linked with subversive, anti-state protests and action, most notably with the 1973 anti-dictatorial student uprising. It was also in Exarcheia that 16-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos was killed in December 2008, which ignited a wave of protests across Athens. The purpose of this paper is to outline a way of examining event memory – specifically, memory of the 1973 revolt – through the juxtaposition of Lefebvre’s ‘spatial triad’ and his work on rhythmanalysis. The paper aims to examine how memories of the 1973 revolt is embodied, inscribed and contained within cultural practices grounded, in turn, within the Exarcheia area. Focusing on practices and articulations of musical performance and photographic evidence, we argue that cultural practices may have played a significant role in preserving a capacity for uprising in the area. In this way, we acknowledge cultural activity’s role in preserving, perpetuating – and at times, intensifying and igniting – a state of unrest within a nation’s citizenry, linked together through the process of Lefebvre’s concept of ‘rhythm’ and grounded in his concept of ‘lived space’. By suggesting that arrhythmia, as it builds momentum through time and specifically memory, occurs within the lived space of a bounded urban neighborhood (in this case Exarcheia) we aim to highlight the pulsating rhythms of discord. This would in turn contribute in mapping the geographical, spatial and eventually, social significance of combining Lefebvre’s work on rhythmanalysis and his better-known work on the ‘spatial triad’.

Tarek Virani is a PhD candidate at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His doctoral thesis revolves around examining the role of knowledge in creative communities. His main research interests include work on the cultural economy, sonic geographies of space and place, music geography, and the spatialization of the sociology of music.

Antonis Vradis is a PhD candidate at the London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Geography and Environment. His research focuses on the relationship between event, urban space and the articulation of histories and memories of uprisings and revolts in the present. Vradis is also an editor of the journal Occupied London.
Neoliberal Representations of Space: The New Economic Geography and the Plan Puebla Panama

The new economic geography (NEG) is arguably the most influential of recent innovations in mainstream economics, incorporating ‘space’ into neoclassical economic models, and claiming to provide an account for uneven development within the parameters of economic orthodoxy. Paul Krugman was awarded the 2008 Nobel Prize in Economics for his contribution to the NEG, and it provided the theoretical inspiration for the World Bank’s 2009 World Development Report – ‘Reshaping Economic Geography’.

While the NEG’s explanation of uneven development has been critiqued from a variety of theoretical perspectives, its deployment as a policy tool has yet to be critically examined. This paper draws on Henri Lefebvre’s distinction between technocratic representations of space and the representational spaces of lived experience, in exploring the processes through which the NEG has been incorporated into the development strategies of national states and multilateral institutions, and in revealing the contradictions that have emerged through its concrete implementation in the case of the Plan Puebla Panama.

The Plan Puebla Panama (PPP) is a regional development program for the integration of Mesoamerica (southern Mexico and Central America). Its strategy is derived from the NEG, and is based on the construction of transportation and communications infrastructures to reduce transport times between the region and major global markets. Since the launch of the PPP in 2001, the implementation of this abstract representation of space upon the representational spaces of the region’s peasant and indigenous populations has resulted in multiple conflicts, and has led to the emergence of a politics of resistance asserting the right to difference and territorial autogestion. The paper argues that the case of the PPP thus demonstrates both the problematic nature of the new economic geography as a policy tool, and the continued utility of Lefebvre’s theoretical approach as a tool for critique.