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Report

Souths of the World

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Introduction

We need to establish a shared vision over the historical making, current transformation and future development of the "South", a conceptual creation of the West in colonial and post-colonial times which needs to be fully redefined. Such redefinition starts from the acknowledgment that plurality and diversity of the "Souths" are an asset for the entire World.

Urbanization, population, resources, energy, creativity will be more and more located in the Souths. The focus will be on Cities: a trans-disciplinary research and training project on the borders of the disciplines that deal with the construction (epistemological, physical, political) of the contemporary World.

Scientific Committee

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Giulio Sapelli, (Turin, 11 March 1947) is an Italian economist, historian and academic.
Graduated in Economics with a thesis in Economic History at the University of Turin in 1971, he obtained a specialization in Ergonomics in 1972. He taught and carried out research at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1992-1993 and in 1995-1996, as well as at the Autonomous University of Barcelona in 1988-1989 and the University of Buenos Aires. He was professor of economic history at the University of Milan, where he also taught political economy and cultural analysis of organizational processes.
He has worked with research, training and consulting tasks at Olivetti and Eni. He has carried out consultancy assignments at numerous other companies. From 1996 to 2002 he was member of the Board of Directors of Eni. From 2000 to 2001 he was President of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena Foundation. From 2002 to 2009 he was member of the Board of Directors of Unicredit Banca d'Impresa. He has been a member of several scientific committees of companies, foundations and institutes. From 1993 to 1995 he was the Italian representative of Transparency International,

an organization that fights economic corruption. Since 2002 he is among the members of the World Petroleum Council, an international non-governmental organization with the aim of promoting the use and sustainable management of world oil resources. Since 2003 he is a member of the OECD International Board for Non-Profit. He is a contributor to Corriere della Sera and IlSussidiario.net.
In May 2018 his name was included in the media among the potential candidates for the office of Prime Minister of the 5 Star Movement and Lega party, at that time engaged in negotiations to form the first government of the XVIII legislature of the Italian Republic.

Veronica Ronchi, is Senior Researcher and Project Manager at Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei.
For 12 years she has been Researcher in Economic History and Professor of Economic History, Political Economy and History of Globalization at the Department of Historical Studies, University of Milan. She has been Visiting Professor and Researcher at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City, the Universidad de Buenos Aires and the Meiji University in Tokyo. She is a member of SISE (Italian Historical Economics Society) and of the scientific committee of Jouvance and Milieu editions.
Her research interests focus on Latin America's economic history with particular reference to Mexico and Argentina. She also deals with business history and enterprise systems (multinationals, cooperatives, small and medium-sized enterprises) and economic links between Italy and Argentina. She has also been involved in ethnographic research for large entrepreneurial groups (Barilla, Avio, Federazione trentina della Cooperazione, etc.)

02
A new vision of the souths of the world

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I. The Conceptual Framework

§ 1. North/South
"Men identified two forms to name their points of view, their impressions". Parmenides (Perì Physeos, fr. 7/8) refers to the two forms of light and darkness: these forms allow men to name things and to orient reality. They are semantic areas that express the internal form of language and that attribute meanings through language. This dualistic approach of Western thought, oppositional and dialectical, is the starting point for understanding how the West has built the East, and even more so how the North has built the South of the world.

There have been exchanges and interactions, of course, between West and East, and between North and South. The whole of cosmopolitanism testifies to this. Yet history has certainly not gone in the direction desired by cosmopolitanism: "the recognition of our responsibility for every human being"[1].

The two significant categories North and South represent the polarity of the world; the two poles of the world, North/South, are perhaps even more fundamental than the West/East

Gordian knot. As the philosopher Simone Weil (whose thought unites the Greek, Jewish-Christian and Indian traditions) suggested, "the earth is an embroidered fabric on the axis of the world which joins the two poles"[2]. At the beginning, this image of the world reflected the first navigations: the fabric swayed, but is fixed to the axis of the poles. It is an image that combines limit and limitless, the dynamic principle of becoming in both Norse and Mediterranean mythologies. The geographical-geostrategic category of the South (the direction given by the "discoveries" to world thought after the 16th century) would go hand in hand with a political category of domination and subjugation only at a later date.

The position of opposite signs: developed North/backward South, which is also a position of values and non-values, continues to the present age. When did this construct begin? Did Greek, Latin, Arab, Persian and Chinese historians know it?

The South Pole has not always been in an inferior position. In *Perì Uranoù*, the cosmogonic treatise on the sky that dominated the ancient and medieval thought, Aristotle

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1   K.A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism. Ethics in a world of strangers*, New York-London 2006.
2   S. Weil, *Quaderni*, IV, p. 324, Milano 1993.

referred to the celestial South Pole as "the one above"; the Chinese compasses were originally oriented to the South; the first Arab maps were oriented to the South, and influenced the maps produced in Italy, such as that of Friar Mauro, which was also oriented to the South[3].

Herodotus, the first ancient historian of the West, places Asia to the East, Libya to the South, Europe at the center - the three female names of the Earth; but Europe is the Greek world, while the North of the Scythians, the Celts and beyond is a fabulous and unknown, foreign land. The East is Babylon that, Herodotus observes, "has no rivals among the other cities known to us"[4]. A vision that made Plutarch describe him as a pro-Barbarian.

At the beginning, and for a long time after that, the Mediterranean South is therefore the rational and refined, mathematical and artistic Hellenistic Greek and then Arabic culture, as opposed to the unknown, uncultivated North. This view holds until the year 1000[5]. When was this vision reversed?

§ 2. Capitalism enters the scene
Capitalism is certainly (as Weber and Braudel amply show) a North European and American phenomenon: the South becomes a pure appendix to it, a territory to be exploited and kept out of the circuit of valorisation. Albert Hirschman[6] explains that the underdeveloped countries "are set apart, through a number of specific economic characteristics common to them, from the advanced industrial countries".

This has actually happened by imposing distinct social and proprietary "extractive" structures (such as landed estates and the exploitation of raw materials) along a belt that extends from Southern Europe to Africa, Latin America, South-East and South Asia. Their entry into capitalism (as defined by Weber "the satisfaction of daily wants through capitalism") is recent and partial. The ability to transform near and far territories into markets would only emerge much later in Africa, Asia and South America. Global history[7] traces this process: the true hallmark of leading countries is a State capable of protecting its domestic markets, guaranteeing access to distant markets and creating infrastructures.

A century ago, the entire South-East area of the world was still under Western colonial rule: India, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Malaysia, the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, the Philippines, Timor, New Guinea, and other smaller territories. Colonial Africa stretched from the Mediterranean to South Africa. Today the presence of the West in the South-East of the world is limited, while that of China and other emerging countries is advancing. The gears of capitalism turn faster in the South-East. Here decolonization has left wide gaps that capitalism has not yet filled (i.e. where the economy and society are still based on simple reproduction, survival, non-market circuits) and the weight of the informal economy is very high. The informal economy accounts for 85% of jobs in Africa, 68% in Asia and the Emirates, 40% in America and 25% in Europe (source: ILO).

According to the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, the explosion of extra-legal activities in the cities of emerging countries is due to the lack of property rights that do not allow the poor population to enter the capitalist circuits[8]. This is particularly true in cases such as South Africa, where racial apartheid has deprived the black population of all title to land. Today, 25 years after the end of apartheid and the new constitution, land ownership rights are more uncertain and weaker than they were in 1994[9]. Property rights remain closed in a glass bell and do not extend to the poor. The actors of extra-legal activities (illegal construction, occupation of space, etc.) are locked up in circuits that cannot be adapted to transactions, as are legal property rights, in which every fragment of land is a property title that can be traded on the markets. Yet these anti-legal behaviors are rarely anti-social or violent. They have become illegal organizations that provide goods such as water, roads, transport and against which legal governments retreat. In the absence of public urban management, demand for housing, transport, water and sanitation is in the hands of citizens' initiatives, in Mumbai[10] as in African cities[11], in a context of deteriorating urban ecosystems. Even those who have spoken of extra-legal activities in Naples have defined them as a form of contemporary capitalism based on money and violence, a criminal entrepreneurial "sequence".

§ 3. The "rest of the world" advances
Much has changed since the 1980s. The "rest of the world"[12] has developed faster than the West, first through "developmentalist" states and national banks that have supported the growth of infrastructures and industry, then through a growth in exports. The turning point took place in the 1980 - 1990 decade: the growth rate of exports (a significant but not exclusive indicator of the economic development of a country) was 12.9% in China, 15% in Korea, 14.8% in Taiwan, 14% in Thailand and Turkey. India was 7.3% behind the other emerging countries. But North Africa is at -3.8% and the whole of Africa at -1.3% (an aggregate figure that does not, however, take into account the great differences between the 54 African countries). The Souths of the world are divided: on the one hand Asia and on the other Africa. In the same years, export growth was only 5.7% in the United States, reversing the previous trend. Brazil and Argentina are at 5.1% and 2.1%, losing speed compared to the "rest of the world".

The process intensified over the next three decades. The industrialization-urbanization-social mobility trigger already experienced in the West worked once again, this time in the East. The world's factory moved to China and created a new global middle class. The data are known but they have not been interpreted from the development theory angle. According to a historical interpretation[13], starting in 2008, the long economic expansion of the neoliberal era shows that it is not the result of savings and investments but of the massive

3   Elizabeth Leane, *South Pole. Nature and Culture*, Reaktion Books 2016
4   Herodotus, *Istoriai*, I
5   See David Abulafia, *Il Grande Mare. Storia del Mediterraneo*, Milan 2016 on the historical changes of the role of the great sea.
6   A. O. Hirschman, *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond*, Cambridge-Mass., 1981.
7   As the one by Sven Beckert, historian and economist, in *L'impero del contone. Una storia globale*, Torino 2016.

8   Hernando De Soto, *The Mystery of Capital*, New York 2000.
9   W. Beinart, P. Delius and M. Hay, *Rights to Land*, Johannesburg 2017.
10   Arjun Appadurai, *Deep Democracy: Urban Governamentality and the Horizon of Politics, Environmnet § Urbanization*, 13,2, 2001.
11   Philippe Hugon, *L'economnie de l'Afrique*, Paris 2013
12   Alice H. Amsden, *The Rise of "the Rest": Challenges to the West from Late-Industralizing Economies*, Oxford 2001
13   Victoria De Grazia, The Crisis of Hyper-Consumerism: Capitalism's Latest Forward Lurch, in J. Kocka, M. van der Linden (eds.), Capitalism: The Reemrgence of a Historical Concept, New York 2016.

relocations of the global manufacturing economy that coincide with the take-off of Asia and the decline of the West. These relocations have been accompanied in the West by unsustainable development, increased inequalities, excess financial capacity, increased sovereign debt and private consumer debt. In the emerging countries, certain stages have been skipped (leapfrogging) in a very short period of time. This also does not fit in with the standard theories of capitalist development.

In the last two to three decades the divergence between poverty in China (where capitalism has made a breach, albeit with forms of legality different from those of the West) and in Africa (where capitalism is still a partial presence or in any case has manifested itself in forms very different from those known so far) is in fact very clear. In China poverty has drastically decreased (3% of the population), while it concerns - albeit with significant differences between countries - 43% of the pºpulation in Africa (it was 54% in 1990). The World Bank[14] has criticised the measurement of poverty in US dollars (1,9 dollars a day), and this is part of the problem not only of how poverty is measured, but of how the categories elaborated by the North are applied to the Souths of the world. This has led to the "poverty" entry in the UN Sustainable Development Goals: "Recommendation 1: The global extreme poverty standard should be cited in general terms as "the International Poverty Line," and expressed in each country in terms of the currency of that country."

But poverty is paradoxical. Africa is one of the most unequal continents, with the highest Gini index in the world in some southern or oil countries[15]. In Latin America, on the other hand, poverty has been reduced from 41% to 26% in the last twenty years, the result of a period of relative prosperity, albeit with strong inequalities. This is the result of a model based on the export of raw materials and semi-finished goods in the primary sector that has been defined as the " re-evaluation of the primary sector" of the Latin American economy[16]. But Africa itself is not only a differentiated continent (today Ethiopia and Ghana grow more than China in terms of GDP growth). Each country is also internally stratified (in South Africa, the most industrialized country in Africa with a per capita GDP of over 6,000 dollars, chronic poverty affects the black and coloured population, while the middle class includes a portion of both the white and black population, whereas the elite is only white with a small number of Asian Indians.

Africa remains a rent economy (over land and subsoil) despite the diversification of the economic partners and the resumption of growth from the beginning of the 21st century. Extensive agriculture, mining for export, fragile industry, insufficient services (distribution, transport, telecommunications, finance) are the main causes. In the meantime, the increase in GDP per capita in China and India has been spectacular in the last three decades[17]:

this explains why global inequality (localized, between countries) has decreased while (class) inequality within countries has grown. From Marx to Fanon and now back to Marx: this was the trajectory[18]. Yet inequality has certainly increased among the emerging countries: Africa - for weaknesses in production, distribution and international marketing - is subject to strong competition from Asian countries whose production and export capacity for manufactured goods has literally exploded, and to competition from both Asia and Latin America for export products.

§ 4. Changing the interpretative framework

We have seen that many distinctive economic, political, legal and social characteristics of Western capitalism are not present in the capitalist experiences in the East and Souths of the world. Does Weber's explanation stand up to this test? In other words: have transformations occurred outside the West (in China, India, the United Arab Emirates, etc.) in terms of the presence of institutional and cultural factors in favour of capitalism understood as a system based on wage labour relations within market regimes? And which ones? According to the Weberian model, it would be a non-dualistic ethic favourable to the market, the first introduction of a rule of law to guarantee contracts, an entrepreneurial State, the role of free cities and the impulse of urban migration to development, etc. If these processes have happened, what effects have they produced on modernization, or rather on new forms of modernization based on cultural diversity? Taking other forms than the

liberal democratic one, the recent capitalist development in the emerging countries of Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa has never taken the form of liberal democracy except in some cases in Latin America. This challenges the entire interpretative framework available so far and opens up new suggestions: in the East and in many of the Souths of the world capitalism and authority have evolved for the first time outside the scheme of liberal democracies. Global value chains, industrial clusters, cities, new entrepreneurs have followed a different path, which is still to be reconstructed analytically in an exhaustive way.

§ 5. The reaction of the South

Does the current reaction of the nationalist-indigenist-populist South, which is now also a "developer" South, justify the emerging theoretical category of Global South as opposed to Global North? It is a very questionable, heterogeneous category. Its nature is based on the "opposites", as stated by an important post-colonial author such as Kwame Anthony Appiah[19]: "The opposite here is a non-Western world in Africa, Asia, and Latin America - now dubbed 'the Global South'- though many people in Latin America will claim a Western inheritance, too. This way of speaking considers the whole world, but lumps a whole lot of extremely different societies together". Of course, this is not only a theoretical category, but also a political one: think of the role attributed to the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in the last two decades, a questionable conceptual construct that has assembled different countries that have experienced

14   World Bank, *Monitoring Global Poverty*, Washington 2017.

15   Hugon 2013

16   REDEUS , *El camino de Latinoamérica y el Caribe hacia la sustentabilidad urbana*, eds. Margarita Greene, Juan de Dios Ortùnaz, Santiago de Chile s.d.

17   Between 6-7% per year, although India's growth is estimated at 4.5%.

18   B. Milanovic, *Global Inequality*, Cambridge-Mass. 2016

19   K.A. Appiah, *The Lies that Bind. Rethinking Identity*, London 2018, p. 191.

different evolutions. But which, for the first time, has embodied the idea of a new "leading group" of the world economy that excludes the West, inverting, in some way, the relationship between superordination and subordination which has characterized the history of the world up to now[20]. And which still represents an important player for the development of the emerging countries, as demonstrated by the meeting of the 5 leaders of the BRICS countries in Johannesburg (July 2018).

Or should we not rather differentiate between the "Souths" (where we can find populism and neoliberalism – e.g. populist Argentina and neoliberal Chile -, and dependence and autonomy – e.g. Africa's formally independent regimes subjected to neocolonial pressures)?

A key theme is demographic growth and the prospects for migration. Does the demographic variable push the world to the South, which is preparing to "invade" the North? This is a questionable interpretation.

By 2050, three African states, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia, will have 800 million inhabitants. Today, the migration rates of these countries are irrelevant. The Congo has a per capita annual income of 400 dollars, 42% lower than that of 1990: it comes out of a civil war that lasted from 1998 to 2003 and is governed by parties that on international observation (a point of view summarized by the Economist) appear corrupt and protagonists of rigged elections. Ethiopia, with a per capita income of 800 dollars, growing also because of its strong Chinese presence, has emerged from the long war with Eritrea but remains at permanent risk

of inter-ethnic civil war. In Nigeria, even with an annual per capita income of 2,000 dollars, the portion of poor people has increased and today it exceeds 50%,. Nigeria is also characterized by corruption and violence. These countries are destined to play an increasingly important role in global and, above all, demographic dynamics.

Capitalism, seen as a regime of market and wage labour relations, remains fragile in the South, from Mediterranean Europe to Brazil, Africa, and India. A new form of capitalism is developing only in the East, which is perhaps an "imperial" frontier that will end up transforming "the Souths" (Africa, India, Latin America) along new directions and reversing the relationship between East and West?

II. The Historical Framework

§ 6. The construction of the South as a category
Our research begins first by questioning the classics, following the conceptual construct of the South through books and symbol-authors such as Antonio Pigafetta (*Il viaggio intorno al mondo*, 1519-1521). Pigafetta illustrates his meeting with the South American natives that Captain General Magellan called Patagoni (with large feet). "Most of them wear the skins of the above mentioned animal, and have no stable home, they use the animal skins to make themselves a hut, and move from one place to another; they eat raw meat and a sweet root, which they call capar. This giant of ours would eat a piece of biscuit instead, and drink half a bucket of water at a stroke". The approach to the South of the world, even at the highest levels, was henceforth dominated by the image

of the deformed native. Shakespeare (*The Tempest*, 1611) sets the story on the island at the heart of the Mediterranean - the king of Naples is shipwrecked there. The island, however, is both the Caribbean and Patagonia, and the native Caliban, a wild and deformed slave taken from Pigafetta's *Viaggio* evokes an image of diversity. The island is both a utopian place and a frightening land; it is a labyrinth but at the same time a heavenly place; it includes all the building blocks of the Souths of the world; the deformed and wild native conveys the need of the dominant culture to "lie" when representing the "other". This is the thesis of the Anglo-Ghanian philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, who in the cited text proposes a culture of differences and mixtures where belief, country, colour, class and culture are the result of hybridizations, and are thus based on a lie.

This idea is present in classical Western thought: Plato already defined the idea that the inhabitants had a common origin as a 'noble lie' with regard to the polis. In actual fact, it is a founding myth, useful but unfounded. Our civilization has always been based on mixing, as Titus Livius shows about the first inhabitants of Rome.

By updating these concepts, Appiah shows that ties such as religion are not only based on beliefs but on shared social practices and rituals; that the nation is an artificial construct and the fruit of an invention, as evidenced by today's Singapore or Ghana, where different religions and languages coexist; and that race is a scheme written by successive generations; class, on the contrary, is a stronger bond than the alleged meritocratic social mobility; and

culture is the result of a project, which can bind different peoples, the values of European humanism can belong to an African or an Asian who assumes them with enthusiasm as much as to a European, who might neither assume nor absorb them - as could happen in the current era. Appiah relativizes the formation of an idea of Western culture, fixing its birth in the early twentieth century with Spengler (*The Decline of the West*, 1918) and then with the Cold War that opposed the West to the East. But it is a reductive vision that largely ignores the long previous historical link, which goes from Humanism to Modernity. Authors such as Appiah lack sufficient knowledge of modern Western thought, especially as an Anglo-Saxon (a colonial product of post-colonial thought?), while it was mainly French and German (the opposition between Kultur and Civilization seems unknown to Appiah). In short, however, despite these weaknesses, post-colonial thinking - as will be said later - rightly relativizes the West, it "provincializes" Europe within an intercultural vision of the mixing.

§ 7. Colonialism
Colonialism, on the other hand, has pursued a strategy of incorporation of the other, depriving it of a part of its own: the Muslim, the Indian, forced to say a Christian truth, must lie to themselves, the dominant culture encourages imitation and identification,(") maintains Homi Bhabha[21]. Only Montaigne, in the middle of the 1500s[22], will argue that there is nothing barbaric and wild about that people, simply everyone calls barbaric what is not in our customs: but it remains an isolated voice. Up to Vico, who at the beginning of the 1700s criticized the Greeks who «believed

20   Adele Bianco, *Sovraordinazione>subordinazione*, in P. Perulli, a cura di, Terra Mobile, Einaudi 2014.

21   H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London-New York 1994.
22   M. de Montaigne, *Dei cannibali*, in Saggi, Roma 1953, p. 209 ss.

themselves to be so superior to other peoples, as to ask the question full of pride: "Are you Greek, or barbarian?" as if they themselves were half and the best part of all the peoples of the earth[23]» . But all eighteenth-century "progressivism" goes in a completely different direction: Douglass, Turgot, Voltaire, Kames, Smith, Ferguson, de Pauw, Millar, Robertson identify a theory of the stages of development of humanity against a wild and primitive condition. In addition to justifying slavery, this vision has a precise, Eurocentric geographical and anthropological component. "The peoples living beyond the polar circles and in the tropics are inferior to the rest of the human species", Hume will sustain; and Saint-Simon will affirm the indisputable gap between the Europeans ("sons of Abel") and the inhabitants of Asia and Africa ("descendants of Cain")[24]. Alexander von Humboldt (Kosmos, 1843-4) was the first proponent of a unitary vision of the distribution of varieties of the human species. Humboldt defines language as "the mysterious labyrinth in which the connection of physical powers and intellectual forces manifests itself in many different forms" and affirms that nations "are to the same degree destined to freedom, a freedom which in the harshest social conditions belongs only to the individual, but in social states which enjoy political institutions belongs by right to the entire body of the community". In his thought there are already elements of a comparative sociology of development based on the amalgamation of nations. "Alexander, Rome, the Mexicans and the Incas have caused the end of many tribes and independent nations in the two hemispheres, and have

led to the creation of the most extensive international combinations. The idea of civilization has given rise to the desire to extend national relations: even selfishness is learning that this course will serve its interests more than a violent and forced isolation."

This prepares the reversal of colonialist perspective by Joseph Conrad (*Heart of Darkness*, 1902). It is the first criticism of every civilization, starting with that of the Romans: the Mediterranean seaman who is ordered to leave for the North, the wild Britannia, "nothing better than armed robbery, manslaughter on a large scale," observes Conrad through the words of Marlow, the protagonist of Conrad's masterpiece. Until the denunciation of colonialism in Africa, against the darkness of civilization and the conscience of civilized man, no longer against the wild 'demons' but against the civilized 'monsters'[25]. The light-darkness opposition of colonialist ideology, e.g. in Stanley, is overturned in the denunciation of the "rapacious and ruthless madness" of the massacres and robberies against the Congolese tribes carried out by the agents of the Belgian King Leopold II: civilization produces "an inhabited devastation" in the "magnificent dependency" of the colonized territories.

In those same years Max Weber defined the capitalist colonies as a «robbery economy»[26] not oriented by the rational organization of work, which is typical of Western modernity, i.e. where profitability is the basis of market opportunities. The point is essential to understand the lack

of development of the South: it remains a collateral economy, colonized and devoid of relations with modernity and the market. Capitalism emerges in a primordial dimension, which cannot be traced back to the original Marxian accumulation which characterized the West and then, for example, the emerging countries such as Russia and China. In this way, the social classes themselves, and the future local élites after decolonization, will take on the contours of patrimonialism, tribalism and familism. All of these are "Western" terms, and their applicability to the Souths of the world is under discussion.

§ 8. Literary anthropology of the South
In the twentieth century, the Souths of the world are described in the literature, up to the literary anthropology of the South by Jorge L. Borges[27]: "As in the other regions of the American continent, from Oregon and Texas to the opposite border of the continent, the countryside was inhabited by a particular type of knightly shepherds. Here, in the South of Brazil and in the Uruguayan highlands, they were called gauchos. They were not ethnically characterized; Indian or non Indian blood could flow in their veins. » The etymology of gaucho is huacho: orphan, bastard. The same unawareness of the origin of the peoples of the South appears in Borges' pages[28]: "The gauchos, how could they know that their ancestors had come by sea …, mestizos of the white man, they esteemed him little, mestizos of the red man, they were his enemies". This revaluation continues until the last classic of the journey, Bruce Chatwin (*In Patagonia*, 1977), in which the passion for the nomadism

of the South American Indios is taken as a sign of the nomadic nature of man - what Chatwin calls the "nomadic alternative" as a reaction, an instinct to escape from the technicalization of the contemporary world. We will also have to read Chatwin's *The Viceroy of Ouidah*, the story of the famous Brazilian slave trader Francisco de Souza, who exchanged slaves for cauri, the shells-currency of the Indian Ocean that had been valued as gold for centuries until the United States outlawed them: 11 million slaves in four centuries, hundreds of ethnic groups of West Africa to the plantations of Brazil and the South of the United States.

The progressive construction of the North/South polarity was thus realized between 1500 and 2000. A spatial-territorial and therefore political polarity. Its genealogy can be traced back to Stuart Elden[29], a British critical political geographer. He underlines that his approach is "an approach derived from, and directed toward, Western political thought. The problematic term West is of course open to question… other traditions would have very different histories, geographies, and conceptual lineages - and cites Chakrabarty-…against generalization and pretensions to universalism".

§ 9. The school of underdevelopment
Our research, after the construction by the classics, continues to analyze the subsequent dismantling of the construction of the South by the critical thought of underdevelopment (the school that appears to be the most influential in the Souths of the world), and therefore of the post-colonial school (which seems less present but still deserves respect and recognition). Both

23   G. Vico, *Il metodo degli studi del nostro tempo*, in id, Metafisica e metodo, Milano 2008, p. 155.
24   Cfr. A. Burgio, *Tra utopia e rimozione: considerazioni sulla storia del progresso*, in C. Altini, a cura di, *Utopia. Storia e teoria di un'esperienza filosofica e politica*, Bologna 2013.
25   G. Sertoli, *Introduzione, in J. Conrad, Cuore di Tenebra, Torino 1974*, p. XXXI.
26   M. Weber, *Storia economica*, Roma 1993, p. 211.

27   J. L. Borges, *Tutte le opere*, Milano 1985, p.890.
28   here, p. 319.
29   S. Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, Chicago-London 2013, p. 15.

schools reflected on the subject, the first from a "third world" point of view on the North-South relationship, the second from a "post-colonial" point of view on the East-West relationship. This dual direction is not accidental, reflecting and interpreting the shift of the centre of gravity that is taking place in the world's equilibrium.

The term underdevelopment was coined in the 1960s within an area of critical economists and sociologists, including authors ranging from the German Andrè Gunder Frank, to the Italian Giovanni Arrighi, to the American Immanuel Wallerstein. Their holistic readings of capitalist development, in cycles and phases, are at least partly indebted to the theory of Walt Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (1960): a "non-communist manifesto" aimed at creating for people in the initial take-off phase "a consortium to help them emerge". An influential theory (also on White House politics in the 60s and 70s), but spoiled by an approach to modernization as an "obligatory" way to inspire countries in the take-off phase following the Western model. Criticisms from Gunder Frank and others have highlighted the historical simplification of Rostow's theory, which claims that all countries have gone through the same stages of development. The theories of economic development ignore many non-economic aspects that are crucial (social, cultural, anthropological). The economist Albert Hirschman has highlighted these dynamic aspects as an alternative to the static theory of comparative advantages: the development process depends on economies in their capacity to take decisions and on incentives for political action (*The Strategy of Economic Development*, 1958). There are also backward and forward linkages, backward and forward connections that explain the economic

development of companies and countries. When are imitative and cumulative effects triggered? Post-Keynesian economic theory is at this stage interested in establishing a stage of take-off for poor countries, the nature of which is associated with technical progress: exceeding a critical value, the latter allows per capita income to grow at a higher rate than population growth (Nicholas Kaldor, *A Model of Economic Growth*, 1957).

Other more critical authors place underdevelopment and underdeveloped countries within a system of interdependencies created and dominated by the leading countries of the West, and the United States in particular. This thought of underdevelopment is therefore intertwined with the reading of Marxist imperialism (the financial capitalism of Rudolf Hilferding, the accumulation of capital of Rosa Luxemburg, etc.).

The critical economy of development of Albert Hirschman, and today of Dani Rodrik, moves on another level. They reread the development models of underdeveloped countries in the light of the policies and institutions assumed as decisive variables. Critics of the neoclassical and neoliberal economy, these authors highlighted (yesterday Hirschman in *Development Projects Observed*, today Rodrik in *The Globalization Paradox*) the role of local knowledge, collective goods and democracy in promoting underdeveloped countries, and national industrial policies in explaining the success of emerging countries such as China and Southeast Asia as an alternative to the liberal recipes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (the so-called "Washington consensus"). These theories have very effectively criticized the vision of

modernization as an exclusively Western recipe, admitting a variety of paths that skip the stages and modify the phases and cycles in a "creative" way (a not pre-determinable concept typical of Hirschman).

Andrè Gunder Frank in *ReORIENT* (1998) rejected the Eurocentrism of all Western thought on Asia starting with Marx and Weber. Gunder Frank's thesis is that the superiority of the West over the East has no historical basis at least for the period from the 14th to the 18th century. In these centuries Asia would have surpassed the West in economic, technological and urban terms. Only from 1750 would Asia have experienced a widespread decline and would have been surpassed by the West, at the same time as the industrial revolution. But, according to Gunder Frank, West and East should be considered within a mutual global relationship: Western development itself would be based not only on internal factors but on the accumulation of capital extracted from its colonies. Although the reconsideration of the Asian economy conducted by Gunder Frank in a comparative key is useful, the explanatory theoretical framework is completely disappointing. The role of institutions in the development of capitalism is denied at its root: they would not be decisive, but only derived from economic processes. In this way, the categories of state, market, law institutions, but also of institutions of the bourgeoisie, accumulation, profit, wage labour and capital simply disappear from the scene. The same category of capitalism is rejected. Gunder Frank writes[30]: "it is much better to cut the Gordian knot of 'capitalism'… modern

historians' endless search for the origins and roots of capitalism is not much better than the alchemists' search for the philosopher's stone. This is true not only of the origins and roots, but of the very existence and meaning of 'capitalism'. Better to forget it, and to continue our research within the reality of universal history".

On another level, the English historian and anthropologist Jack Goody spoke in his works[31] about the alternation between Asia and Europe. Fruit of the same origin, and always strongly interrelated, Asia and Europe have alternated their roles. Asia was the first to dominate, followed by Europe that dominated during the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, and today we are at a new 'Asian' turning point. According to Goody, it was a "theft of history" (*The Theft of History*) of non-Western civilizations and nations by Western Eurocentric culture: a discussion involving authors such as Marx, Weber and Norbert Elias.

The shift of the centre of gravity towards Asia is also central in Giovanni Arrighi's latest text[32], which supports the nature of a market regime (Smith style) of contemporary Chinese expansion, which does not coincide with that of capitalism (Marx style). Marx in Detroit, Smith in Beijing: these, according to Arrighi, are the two trends of the 20th and 21st centuries, which could prelude to a more balanced relationship between the great nations of the world.

§ 10. The post-colonial school
Postcolonial thinking moves in clear discontinuity with the previous traditions of

30   A. G. Frank, *ReORIENT*, Oakland 1998, p. 332.
31   J. Goody, *The Eurasian Miracle*, Cambridge-UK 2010.
32   G. Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing*, London 2007.

colonialist and Eurocentric thinking.

In all post-colonial authors the geographical, geohistorical and geophilosophical reference is fundamental. The Palestinian-American literary historian Edward Said[33] was the first to write that the East is not an inert material made of nature, a there- just as the West is not. Based on Vico's view that men make their own history and what they know is what they have done extended to geography, Said argues that geographical entities such as localities, regions, geographical sectors etc. such as East and West are made by man, and East is nothing more than the idea - with a tradition of thought, image and vocabulary - that gave it reality and presence *in* and *for* the *West*.

The Indian American historian Dipesh Chakrabarty[34] argues that it is necessary to lead Europe back to the role of province among other provinces in the world. Chakrabarty puts into perspective the concepts of Western modernity such as citizenship, state, self-government, human rights, the individual, popular sovereignty. It criticises any "abstract human occluding questions of belonging and diversity" and any tendency to "evacuate the local by assimilating it to some abstract universal" (p. 17). He criticises Marx but forgets that he maintained that even the most abstract categories, although applicable to each period, are nevertheless the product of historical conditions and only apply within such conditions. Chakrabarty returns to the categories of disenchanted space, secular time, sovereignty and the association of modernity

and secularisation in Western thought, and wonders how the Western model can be applied to a region like South Asia (India in particular) where the population works for religious reasons. But he overlooks the fact that this root is well present in the Weberian explanation - via Protestant sects - of capitalism in the West. Weber[35] also points out that in China and India the needs of the court and the army were covered through "forced liturgical services" by the peasants.

Chakrabarty's thought is one of the most original, he is now dealing with global history in the Anthropocene era.

Indian-American philosopher Homi Bhabha[36] has argued that "increasingly, 'national' cultures are being produced from the perspective of disenfranchised minorities". He therefore takes the point of view of minorities deprived of their rights in an original path that seeks the interconnection and not the cultural isolation of subordinates. "The most significant effect of this process is not the proliferation of 'alternative histories of the excluded' producing, as some would have it, a pluralist anarchy. What my examples show is the changed basis for making international connections. The currency of critical comparativism, or aesthetic judgement, is no longer the sovereignty of the national culture conceived as Benedict Anderson proposes as an 'imagined community' rooted in a 'homogeneous empty time' of modernity and progress. The great connective narratives of capitalism and class drive the engines of social reproduction, but

do not, in themselves, provide a foundational frame for those modes of cultural identification and political affect that form around issues of sexuality, race, feminism, the lifeworld of refugees or migrants".

Bhabha provides a definition of post-colonial that sounds like this: "Postcoloniality, for its part, is a salutary reminder of the persistent 'neo-colonial' relations within the 'new' world order and the multinational division of labour. Such a perspective enables the authentication of histories of exploitation and the evolution of strategies of resistance. Beyond this, however, postcolonial critique bears witness to those countries and communities - in the North and the South, urban and rural - constituted, if I may coin a phrase, 'otherwise than modernity'. Such cultures of a postcolonial contra-modernity may be contingent to modernity, discontinuous or in contention with it, resistant to its oppressive, assimilationist technologies; but they also deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to 'translate', and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity".

Bhabha therefore encourages the cultural hybridization between the North and South of the world and is therefore extremely stimulating.

Bahbha states that "despite the claims to a spurious rhetoric of 'internationalism' on the part of the established multinationals and the networks of the new communications technology industries, such circulations of signs and commodities as there are, are caught in the vicious circuits of surplus value that link First World capital to Third World labour

markets through the chains of the international division of labour, and national comprador classes". He mentions Gayatri Spivak (another important postcolonial scholar), who "is right to conclude that it is in the interest of capital to preserve the comprador theatre in a state of relatively primitive labour legislation and environmental regulation".

This is a key point: the role of the compradora class (a term introduced by Paul Sweezy as early as 1957), that is, the local élites of the so-called underdeveloped countries that mediate between the multinational economy and the local system, that has represented the linkage of extractive policies in all the Souths of the world, that have "extracted" local resources for the benefit of restricted local oligarchies and powerful external groups.

An important theory is that of the German sociologist Karl Wittfogel (1962). He had proposed to interpret Eastern despotism in this same key: extraction and control of water resources as a basis for imposing despotic political regimes and full control of human resources completely dependent on the authorities, in China, India, etc.: with the possibility of extending this theory of despotism in societies based on water resources to the current meeting between Eastern regimes and modern capitalism.

More recently, the explanation of why nations fail[37] or develop has been entrusted - by two North American scholars, the economist Daron Acemoglu and the political scientist James Robinson (2012) - to the role of "extractive" policies: the explanation of why sub-Saharan Africa, some Latin American and

33   E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.

34   D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Though and Historical Difference*, Princeton 2007.

35   M. Weber, op. cit., p. 218.

36   *The Location of Culture*,1994.

37   D. Acemoglu, J.A.Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: the Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, London 2012.

Asian countries remain among the poorest in the world could be due to the extractive institutions (of resources, of semi-slavery work, of raw materials) that govern them. While the nations that develop do so thanks to the "inclusive" policies that, through the market and pluralist democracy, involve the population in the creation and distribution of wealth. The explanation does not take into account the evidence that the countries that are growing the most are China, the Emirates, India, which cannot easily be defined as "inclusive".

But to return to Bahbha, he develops a much more articulated discourse on the very concept of nation, understood as a homogeneous entity by Acemoglu and Robinson, but also by the anthropologist of "imagined communities" Benedict Anderson. Instead, Bhabha opposes the community of minorities to the nation built on a homogeneous basis, a discourse that he draws from Partha Chatterjee, an Indian scholar of subalternity, who "articulates a cultural temporality of contingency and indeterminacy at the heart of the discourse of civil society. This 'minority' reading is built on the occluded, partial presence of the idea of community that haunts or doubles the concept of civil society, leading 'a subterranean, potentially subversive life within it because it refuses to go away'. As a category, community enables a division between the private and the public, the civil and the familial; but as a performative discourse it enacts the impossibility of drawing an objective line between the two. The agency of the community-concept 'seeps through the interstices of the objectively constructed, contractually regulated structure of civil society', class relations and national

identities. Community disturbs the grand globalizing narrative of capital, displaces the emphasis on production in 'class' collectivity, and disrupts the homogeneity of the imagined community of the nation. The narrative of community substantializes cultural difference, and constitutes a 'split-and-double' form of group identification which Chatterjee illustrates through a specifically 'anti-colonialist' contradiction of the public sphere. The colonized refuse to accept membership in the civil society of subjects; consequently they create a cultural domain 'marked by the distinctions of the material and the spiritual, the outer and the inner'."

It is a revival of the category of community, a key concept of Western thought[38] on which a fruitful transcultural dialogue and hybridization could be established.

Indian-American anthropologist Arjun Appadurai[39] criticizes the theories of modernization that have not been able to predict the developments of the contemporary world. Religion's refusal to give way to development and science (one point to be developed); the paradox of new information technologies multiplying cultural differences instead of producing an identical entity (another critical point); the recourse of peoples to violence and ethnocide instead of the institutions of democracy (the current creeping world war) would represent some of the predictive failures of the theories of modernization. For Appadurai, Weber was unable to adequately develop an association that would connect great civilizations, religions and economies without falling into the vision

of an exclusively Western trajectory ("the great narrative of the West"). Weber, however, as studied by the European sociology and philosophy of the last thirty years, is instead -as opposed to Appadurai - a theorist of the permanent tension between different forces, internal autonomy of the different spheres - religious rational ethics, politics, art, erotic sphere etc.-, is polytheism of values and polymorphism of forms, never a *homologating convergence* of social changes at world level.

The Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos[40] proposes an epistemology of the South, or rather in the plural form: "the epistemologies of the South. First, the understanding of the world is much broader than the Western understanding of the world. This means that the progressive transformation of the world may also occur in ways not foreseen by Western thinking, including critical Western thinking (and that includes Marxism). Second, the diversity of the world is infinite. It is a diversity that encompasses very distinct modes of being, thinking and feeling; ways of conceiving time and the relations among human beings and between humans and non-humans, ways of facing the past and the future and of collectively organising life, the production of goods and services, as well as leisure. This immensity of alternatives of life, conviviality and interaction with the world is largely wasted because the theories and concepts developed in the global North and employed in the entire academic world do not identify such alternatives".

Therefore, different epistemologies have to confront each other without a sense of superiority of one over the other, in a sort of

polytheism of epistemological values. Sousa Santos continues: "If I want to go to the moon, I need scientific knowledge. If I want to preserve the biodiversity of the Amazon region, I need indigenous knowledge. For different purposes I need different kinds of knowledge." This post-colonial approach has strong political, not just cognitive, effects. Suosa Santos concludes: "I recently chaired an ethical tribunal to protect the Amazon, particularly a national park in Ecuador, the Yasuní ITT project, a highly disputed venture. The Yasuní ITT Project by the then Minister of Energy and Mines, Alberto Acosta was an alternative to the developmental-extraction model of development that is today prevalent in Latin America and Africa, and actually in most of the global South. It called for an international co-responsibility of a new type, a new relation among more and less developed countries, and it aimed at a new model of development: a post-oil model."

Postcolonial thought - whose actual follow-up in the countries of the Souths of the world will have to be carefully verified, is certainly the direct interlocutor of Western thought -, despite its strong polemical approach, is nevertheless indebted to Western critical thought: the idea of Walter Benjamin (in *Theses on the Philosophy of History*) of the present, the Messianic standstill as a chance to crystallize a monad that interrupts historical time and rewrites the history of the defeated, is continuously cited and resumed (e.g., "the history of the defeated" in postcolonial urban studies by Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong); as well as Michel Foucault on language as the basis of the exercise of power, Jacques Derrida on deconstruction, etc. The strong debt to Western critical thinking is both

38   G. Sapelli, *Comunità e mercato*, Soveria Mannelli 1996.

39   A. Appadurai, *The Future as Cultural Fact*, London 2013.

40   B. Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, Boulder 2014.

the limit of 'other' thinking and an opportunity for intercultural dialogue, but on what basis is this dialogue possible? Or is this debt nothing more than the acknowledgement that post-colonial thinking is out of place (the title of Edward Said's autobiography), out of place both with respect to Western thinking and with respect to the indigenous (Palestinian, Indian, African, Caribbean, etc.) thinking to which it no longer belongs?

The Italian sociologist Franco Cassano (*Il pensiero meridiano*, 1996) was one of the few who had initiated a dialogue with post-colonial thought, arguing that Edward Said remained far from "the criticism of the way in which the category of progress and the consequent crushing of all civilizations on a single temporal scale offered a normative and homologating model". According to Cassano, the difference between lands, North and South, is not a temporal gap - between "advanced" and "backward" - but a spatial gap, which should not be overcome with the linear transition from one to the other, but needs to be translated: these realities live at the same time and have equal dignity. And in the Mediterranean (but also elsewhere, from the Caribbean to the Indian Ocean) the North-West meets the South-East of the world, and this meeting needs translations.

§11. Moving the center of the world
"Moving the center of the world" is a theme that Cassano took up twenty years ago from contemporary African authors - but this shift is now really underway. Knowing that every will for power implies not only rewriting one's own history, but reconstructing the whole history,

even that of the other. This reconstruction is what is happening today. Our research must therefore analyze the recent developments of the ancient North-South, East-West oppositions in the contemporary hegemonic competition between economic and political regimes. Seen from China, the vertical map of the world recently elaborated by the Chinese Academy of Sciences "changes" the world geography: a phenomenon that has deeply characterized world geography, always built according to the hegemonic points of view assumed from time to time by the protagonists, as shown by the so-called critical geography and the studies of *Critical Legal Geographies*[41], as well as on another level the geo-juridical studies that have highlighted the problematic relationship between law and places[42]. In the new Chinese map, the USA is north of China, Eurasia has its pillar in China, imposing Africa stands to the left of Eurasia, which is today the land of greatest Chinese influence, while South America is at the bottom left, separated from North America (*People's Daily*, 20/5/2016). Everything is moving again in the representation of the world.

The major reversals of secular trends concern:
a) **urbanization**. Completely marginal until a few decades ago, the next urban expansion will be in the South-East of the world (China, India, Africa, where the largest cities in the world are already located in terms of number of inhabitants) while urbanization in the West is slowing down; the decisive game of natural resources is being played in the cities of the Souths of the world (in the words of UNEP, the United Nations Environment Program: "the city as a societal 'node' in which much of the current

unsustainable use of natural resources is socially and institutionally embedded"[43]). The perspective can be approached from several points of view. One of them is the cost associated with urban development in terms of infrastructure, and sustainability linked to the consumption of natural resources. An indicator such as the land development multipier[44] measures this cost and shows its very high values in the Souths of the world. "The land development multiplier simply measured the ratio of the serviced-land price and the raw-land price, and hence the premium (and indirectly the cost) associated with servicing land. The multiplier was lower in the industrialized countries (2.4) than in the developing countries as a whole (4.0) and therefore exhibited a negative correlation with the Development Index (-0.39). Among developing-country regions, it was higher than the median value in Southern Africa (5.6) and in the Middle East and North Africa (5.0). Among the five countries that reported raw-land prices above $300, four had low multiplier values: 1.3 for Korea, 1.3 for Singapore, 1.2 for Hong Kong, and 1.1 for Germany. This suggests that in these land markets, the multiplier largely reflected the actual cost of providing infrastructure rather than any premium associated with servicing land. It was 2.0 for Japan, however, suggesting that in this case there was still a substantial premium associated with servicing land, which was much higher than the expected cost of servicing it. The land development multiplier reached very high values, attaining a maximum of 16.6 in Malawi. Altogether, nine other countries

(Mexico, South Africa, the Philippines, Kenya, Egypt, Turkey, Spain, Ghana, and Zimbabwe) reported values of 6.0 or more for this indicator. Surely, these high values reflect, in part, the cost of providing infrastructure, in Africa for example. But they may also reflect artificial land shortages created by lags, rationing, budgetary limits, or regulatory barriers in infrastructure provision."

b) **the extraction of added value**. In the South-East of the world we are only passing now from the extraction of absolute surplus value to that of relative surplus value, and there are huge margins in Asia, Africa, Latin America. In Volume I of his *Capital*, Marx notes that "For the production of absolute surplus value it is only a matter of the length of the working day; the production of relative surplus value revolutionizes from top to bottom the technical processes of work and social groupings."
Postcolonial thinking has warned that dominant capitalism in emerging countries does not necessarily accompany the emergence of a hegemonic bourgeois class. Chakrabarty, with reference to the development of capitalism in India, warns that "this was capitalism indeed, but without bourgeois relations that attain a position of unchallenged hegemony; it was a capitalist dominance without a hegemonic bourgeois culture". Is a capitalist domination without bourgeois hegemony possible? In this perspective, social groupings may be different from those of Western modernity, and concepts such as élite, middle class, working class etc. will have to deal with

41   Paola Pasquali, *Recinto>Spazio Globale*, in P. Perulli, a cura di, Terra Mobile, Torino 2014.
42   Natalino Irti, *Norma e luoghi: problemi di geo-diritto*, Bari 2001.

43   UNEP, *Food systems and natural resources*, Nairobi 2016
44   Shlomo Angel, *Housing Policy matters. A Global Analysis*, Oxford 2000.

the immense diversity of the "subordinate" social world in emerging countries. It will be necessary to see, thanks also to the so-called *subaltern studies*, if the models of the emerging countries are actually alternative to the Western ones[45].

§12. Neoliberal thought

Neoliberal thinking in favour of globalization, such as that of the Indian-American economist Jagdish Bhagwati (In *Defence of Globalization*, 2004), argues that **free trade** in goods can be the optimal solution for the growth of emerging countries. Naturally, this poses the problem of asymmetries and unequal exchange between strong and weak countries.

Liberal thought itself also allows for variations and exceptions[46]. More recently, this is demonstrated by the opposition of Bhagwati et al.[47] to the inclusion in the Uruguay Round of the WTO of the TRIPs, trade-related intellectual property rights, which privilege the position rents of the multinational companies at the expense of the emerging countries, as is increasingly happening. Dani Rodrik[48] acknowledges that the free movement of capital can be harmful, as many economists and the IMF itself now claim. In fact, the bilateral agreements, e.g. USA-Singapore and USA-Chile (2003), include the full circulation of capital flows without any restrictions. So do ISDS clauses, investor-state dispute settlements that allow foreign investors to sue host states before arbitration courts if

states introduce regulations, taxes etc. that damage foreign investors' profits. Procedures that are accepted by developing countries because of their weak legal framework, thus assigning all power to extra-legal arbitrations. Moreover, many regulations in favour of the free movement of capital lead to a sub-optimal Nash balance as countries offer expensive conditions for them to attract mobile capital (as Rodrick shows: "In a world with mobile capital, governments are tempted to offer better terms to globally mobile corporations in order to compete for investment. This results in a sub-optimal Nash equilibrium with larger transfers to corporations and their shareholders than is globally desirable.").

There are, however, corrective measures. According to Bhagwati (2004), "it is the companies themselves that set higher standards for production for the domestic market, so that foreign competition is forced to adapt or lose its market share" (p. 205). In other cases, the 'Dracula effect' emerges: "evil is exposed to sunlight and this will be reduced to the point of disappearing" (p. 340), since "embarrassment, and even more shame and guilt, are instruments with which one can exert tremendous pressure". (p. 330). If this is not the case, "the only possibility is to counterbalance private disinterest by channelling [to developing countries] public aid, technical assistance and the altruism of corporations" (p. 223). And "to mitigate the dark side that globalization sometimes shows, an institutional change at

the international level may be appropriate" (p. 46): with much criticism of the World Bank and the IMF (pp. 349-356) and the WTO (pp. 114, 142-144, 250-255). "As the integration of world capital markets becomes more marked, it is counterbalanced by a series of strong institutions, which also includes trade unions and social democratic parties" (p. 138); "the development of technological innovations that are more respectful of the environment is urged by anti-pollution regulations [...] because there is a greater awareness of environmental problems, [and] due credit must be given to environmental organisations" (p. 197). This point of view is important, as it attributes the task of correcting the dark side of globalization a) to the emergence of a moral point of view in the economy and b) to the birth of a civil society in the emerging countries.

III. THE NEW CHALLENGES

§ 13. New digital technologies and global value chains

An emerging theme is that of new technologies in developing countries, which today is decisive for the strategic-competitive relations between the USA and China[49]. They can favour the growth of a local society in the absence of public investments in fixed networks or fixed capital. As noted by Dani Rodrik[50] "a well-known study has documented how the spread of mobile phones in the Indian state of Kerala enabled fishermen to arbitrage price differences across local markets, increasing their profits by 8 percent on average as a result (Jensen 2007). Kenya's ubiquitous

mobile banking service M-Pesa appears to have enabled poor women to move out of subsistence agriculture into non-farm businesses, providing a significant bump up the income ladder at the very bottom (Suri and Jack, 2016)". "Big data, GPS, drones, and high-speed communication have enabled improved extension services; optimized irrigation, pesticide and fertilizer use; provided early-warning systems; and enabled better quality control and more efficient logistics and supply-chain management (Deichmann et al., 2016)".

At the same time, the development of digital technology-driven global value chains (GVCs) in fragmenting and disseminating activities in many countries is not delivering the expected positive results in emerging countries (except partly in Asia where mobile phone production is concentrated). A study conducted in 20 countries (7 in Asia, 4 in Latin America, 3 in the Middle East and North Africa, 6 in Sub-Saharan Africa) confirms this. Since 2011, GVC has spread at a lower rate than in the past, and their contribution to job growth in emerging countries has decreased. This is due to the fact that GVCs require types of skilled work that are scarcely present in developing countries, whereas in the past export-led manufacturing activities may have resulted in the employment of unskilled (or low-skilled) workers. Today, additive manufacturing and GVC reduce the opportunities for replacing factors that allow the use of low-cost, low-skilled labour in developing countries. High quality standards are required as a result of the needs of the rich markets served by GVC. This also applies to non-manufacturing sectors, such as agriculture, horticulture and

45   Ian Taylor is skeptical in, *Global Governance and Transnationalizing Capitalist Hegemony. The Myth of the 'Emerging Powers'*, Abiigdon 2016
46   J. Bhagwati, *La teoria pura del commercio internazionale*, in F. Caffè, (ed.), *Il pensiero economico contemporaneo*, Milano 1969, vol. II: *Lo sviluppo economico*.
47   Bhagwati, J. N., Pravin K., Arvind P., *The World Trade System: Trends and Challenges*, 2014, May, Unpublished paper, Department of Economics, Columbia University.
48   *What Do Trade Agreements Really Do*, in "Journal of Economic Perspectives", Spring 2018, 32, 2

49   v. Kai-Fu Lee, *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon valley and the new World order*, Boston 2018.
50   in Oxford *Pathways to Prosperity Commission*, 2018.

African floriculture. "Adherence to supermarket horticulture standards is often a double-edged sword – especially in Africa.… On the one hand, it offers substantial opportunity for producer upgrading into higher value added activities (examples of product, process, cold chain, and functional upgrading can be found in Kenyan FFV fresh fruit and vegetables chains), and in some cases, social upgrading for workers through increased social protections (examples of more permanent employment contracts, unionization and collective bargaining can be found in Ugandan floral cuttings chains). On the other hand, it limits participation to only those producers with the necessary investments needed for compliance"[51]. But it is especially true for manufacturing, which in Africa remains at around 10% of GDP and is declining in some countries, while the window of opportunity to develop manufacturing in Africa could remain open in the next two decades.

The trends emerging from the study of three different sectors (horticulture, clothing, tourism) concern the following aspects: regionalisation of value chains, further push towards the infomalisation of labour and consolidation of the dominant position of leading companies:

Regionalization – Trade liberalization, local labor market conditions, and the retail revolution in Africa have contributed to a growing trend of regional economic integration, particularly in SSA countries that participate in regional free trade agreements. In turn, this has led to the expansion of Regional VCs. Of the countries studied, South Africa and Kenya emerged as host countries for emerging regional lead firms across all three sectors:

horticulture, apparel and tourism.

Informalization – Increasing consolidation, market trends (such as fast fashion and fruit), and rising competition from trade liberalization have led to downward pressure on retail prices. This has resulted in a growing pattern of informalization across industry sectors, which is problematic because informal workers have much lower access to decent work, secure employment, and social protections than formal workers. This stratification of the labor force has contributed in significant ways to the challenges of assessing whether social upgrading or downgrading has occurred, because the outcomes are highly dependent on worker status.

Consolidation of lead firms' market power – As competition and volatility have increased with trade liberalization, the market power of lead firms has increased. Large retailers and tour operators have expanded, while SMEs have struggled to stay competitive. This has exacerbated the uneven power dynamics within Global VCs and Regional VCs, resulting in a tendency of social downgrading due to lower bargaining positions for labor and smallholders.

On the impact of digitisation in Africa, it is argued that "African countries not only face a significant digital divide but also benefit less from increasing levels of digitalisation. To digitalise manufacturing, African countries need to increase access to the internet and other information and communications technologies (ICT). This can be achieved through implementation of effective policies that will alter country-specific conditions and

contribute towards improving the investment climate, firm capabilities, national innovation systems and ICT infrastructure, direct financing opportunities, and participation in global value chains (GVCs)"[52].

§ 14. Commons
The other great challenge remains in the background, i.e. the great theme of **common goods**, such as water and other natural resources. On the one hand, the right to water is proclaimed, as in the *UN Subcommittee on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights*, Guidelines on "*Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: the rights of the poor*" (24 August 2006): Point G-the right to drinking water. "People living in extreme poverty have the right to drinking water… If the State cannot do it alone, then it has an obligation to seek the help of the international community, which is bound to provide this assistance… The right to drinking water is directly linked to the right to life. Negligence, failure to provide or planning not to provide water distribution services must be considered as an action that threatens human life". This approach addresses the international community as ultimately responsible, even beyond the capabilities of states, by resorting to international aid. On the other hand, a different and more recent approach has emerged, that of resilience on the part of local communities. The United Nations Conference on Habitat III (Quito, 2016) stressed that urban resilience refers to the way in which individuals, communities, territories and local economies can cope with the multiple shocks and natural tensions that today threaten the supply of common goods. This different perspective refers to the provision of both rural and

urban ecosystem services, and the ecological footprint that characterizes contemporary urban development (65% of world energy consumption, 70% of anthropogenic coal emissions occur in cities).

§15. Urbanization
This vision, which is more attentive to the effective capacity of local communities (a recovery of Amartya Sen's capabilities) to face the global ecological crisis, refers above all to the **explosive process of urbanization** underway in the Souths of the world. Today, Latin America, with 80% of the population living in cities, is the most urbanized continent in the world after North America (82%) and more than Europe (74%). In the next few decades, this process will concern Asia (now 49%, but China is 59%) and Africa (now 42%).

The trends of the urbanization process will be decisive. Studying cases as diverse as Buenos Aires and Beijing, it has been indicated that the process of urbanization will follow models that go from centrality to dispersal. "The possibility that cities worldwide are now in a process of transformation from a monocentric to a polycentric spatial structure poses an interesting challenge. It suggests that if public transport is to be a viable option in areas of expansion to economize on the energy expended and to limit greenhouse gas emissions, then it cannot be limited to continued reliance on radial routes to the city center. The transport network must be two-dimensional, providing frequent and reliable service among suburban destinations over the entire metropolitan area, rather than a one-dimensional network of radial routes into the

51   A. Goger et al., *Capturing the gains in Africa: Making the most of global value chains participation*, Duke University, Center on Globalization, Governance and Competitiveness, 2014.

52   Karishma Banga, Dirk Willem te Velde, *Digitalisation and the Future of Manufacturing in Africa*, SET-Supporting Economic Transformation, Odi-Overseas Development Institute, London 2018.

center"[53]. In addition to circular and reticular, rather than traditionally radial models of transport and circulation, it will be important to develop models of integration between urbanized and cultivated land, both destined to grow, in order to feed the growing urban populations: a theme of circular economy as an alternative to the hitherto dominant geararchic-pyramidal models. "Once the connection between growing cities and their growing food needs is recognized - or rather, given its long history, brought into focus once more - then cities can begin again to shoulder the responsibility of ensuring their food supply. Rural development in the name of increasing the global food supply can be supported and financed by a share of the surplus value generated by the more intensive use of land in expanding urban areas."

§16. The intersections
These processes will take place (they are already happening) through new intersections between the South and East, and between the South-East and North-West of the world, which are only now about to develop, but whose outlines and directions are not clear at all. "China in Africa" is an example of this: the FOCAC, forum of cooperation between China and Africa, has established that "the two sides are of the view that, as China, the largest developing country, works to realize the two centenary goals and the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation, and as Africa, the continent with the highest number of developing countries, implements Agenda

2063 and is striving to build an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent, the two sides share similar philosophies, compatible strategies and complementary strengths in terms of development. The two sides will take the Belt and Road Initiative as an opportunity to strengthen multi-dimensional, wide-ranging and in-depth cooperation for mutual benefits and common development" (FOCAC Declaration in Beijing, September 2018, attended by 53 African states). The watchword is South-South cooperation (today Africa's trade with the countries of the South has already reached the level of Africa's trade with Europe), with Chinese investments in Africa and especially in the form of the provision of services and loans rather than in the form of classic FDI-foreign direct investments (foreign direct investments in Africa represent only 3% of the world total compared to more than 30% of the world total in Asia and 11% in Latin America[54]), and especially with exports of African oil and other raw materials to China (to pay for infrastructure projects or as collateral). In the background, the controversial issue of debt: through investments in infrastructure, there is a growing debt on the part of countries, and therefore a geopolitical dependence. China's priority in Africa is clearly political and strategic; but what mechanisms and hybridizations are underway in China's widespread presence on the African continent (about one million Chinese immigrants to Africa as owners of businesses, workers - in some cases forced labour? - and entrepreneurs; a less visible but widespread phenomenon alongside major infrastructure

projects, urbanization and industrialization) is part of a new intersection between the African and Asian continents.

Although the influence of the United States in Africa is still that of the main donor/creditor country and the military presence remains strong with 34 military bases on the continent, "quoi qu'il en soit, l'Afrique sera le centre de gravité d'un nouveau cycle de migrations planétaires. De nouveaux types de migrations se font en direction de l'Afrique - par exemple, celles des Chinois, des Turcs, des Brésiliens, etc., transformant ainsi les villes africaines en capitales mondiales d'une imagination à la fois baroque, créole et métisse"[55]. As well as African migrations, they also turn towards Europe, India and China.

"Europe in Africa" is our current problem, an ongoing regression in development cooperation, in the planning of a Euro-Mediterranean role, and in the same "sociology" of the Mediterranean. The "France in Africa" that dominates French-speaking Africa, the "Turkey in Africa" that involves Muslim countries, etc., are partners who play on their own, trying to face the Chinese advance and to create or maintain their own settlements, both of hard power (economy, military security) and of soft power (culture, knowledge, language, formation of the élites), according to Olivier Mbabia[56].

We can therefore imagine that the greatest novelties will come not only from the economic intersections (which is the most evident and important aspect) but between different civil,

religious, political and scientific cultures, which will organize in areas, regions, cities that will be the active actors of these intersections.

The 2030 Agenda of the United Nations Organization maintains that "infrastructures and technological innovations must be combined with the fight against poverty and inequalities, with gender equality, health, education, inclusiveness, and the rational use of natural resources". This can be interpreted as a new alliance between the North and South of the world on different bases from the past. Or it can be the new rhetoric, the only normative and prescriptive voice against irresponsible capitalism and opportunistic states.

§ 17. The Sustainable Development Goals
The 2018 SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) Index, which measures the degree of achievement of the 17 sustainable development goals of the UN 2030 Agenda, places the main countries of Northern and Central Europe at the top of the ranking (Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, France, Norway occupy the first six positions), Japan is 15th, Canada is 20th, the countries of Southern Europe are 25th (Spain) and 29th (Italy), the United States are 35th, among the Latin American and Caribbean countries Chile is 38th and Cuba 42nd, Argentina 53rd and Brazil 56th, among the great Asian countries China is 54th, Russia 63rd, among the North African countries Algeria is 68th and Morocco 77th, among the Islamic countries Iran 82nd, Saudi Arabia 98th, Indonesia 99th, Gabon and Ghana are in 100th and 101st place among the Central

53   Shlomo Angel, *Planet of Cities*, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Mass. 2012.
54   In 2017 global FDI (foreign direct investments) dropped by 23%, developed economies' share of global outward FDI remained unchanged at 71 per cent. Over the last two years, developed economies in America accounted for an increasing proportion. Their share rose from 20 per cent in 2015 to 29 per cent in 2017, thus reaching the same share as Europe. On the recipient side, Asia and Oceania strengthened their position as the main host region of FDI in the developing world, accounting for one third of world FDI. The share of American developing economies increased from 7 per cent in 2016 to 11 per cent in 2017, while the share of Africa remained at 3 per cent (UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2018).

55   *Cahier d'Etudes Africanes*, 228/2018.
56   O. Mbabia, *Structural Power Toward Weak States*, in *"Austral", Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations"*, 2014, vol. 3, N. 5.

African countries, South Africa is 107th, India is in the 112th place, most of the remaining African countries are between the 114th place of Namibia and the 156th place of the Central African Republic.

Trends highlight the greatest criticalities: in OECD countries, in a context of resource-intensive development and hyper-consumption, they concern goal 12 - responsible consumption and production, goal 13 - climate action, and goal 14 - life below water; for the Asian countries, still in the take-off phase, the most critical are goal 2 - zero hunger and 3 - good health and well being; for Latin American and Caribbean countries, characterized by strong political instability, the major critical issues are goal 16 - peace, justice and strong institutions, goal 9 - industry, innovation and infrastructure, goal 3 - good health and well being; for the Middle East and North Africa, still subjected to crises and regional conflicts, goal 2 - zero hunger is the most critical; for Sub-Saharan African countries that are at the highest levels of unequal exchange with developed countries, many goals are critical: 2 - zero hunger, 3 - good

health and well being, 4 - quality education, 5 - gender equality, 6 - clean water and sanitation, 7 - affordable and clean energy, 9 - industry, innovation and infrastructure, 16 - peace, justice and strong institutions. If a "school" of the Souths of the world relates cities to each other in order to construct common interpretative categories, then the *intersections of economies and different models of cultures* (e.g., Chinese investments in the Mediterranean as a new frontier for Southern Europe, cutting-edge technologies to be reformulated by the developing countries, the problematic management of the demographic explosion of Africa, migration and diasporas, 'sustainable' urbanization to be invented by the countries of the Souths of the world, Asia-Latin America-Africa, etc.) could represent the platform of such a 'school'. Its role is to encourage a fruitful exchange whose outcome could redefine development theories in order to interpret new emerging phenomena, and thus redefine the Souths of the world and the North of the world, encouraging their continuous dialectical interaction.

03
Neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism

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As we continue to explore the concept of international relations, we can hardly overlook the fact that the burgeoning new capitalism, based on an impressive set of technological and proprietary forces, is at its heart a world power system built on fault lines of dependency between nations and between classes, as explained by Emanuele Wallenstein[57] and Samir Amin[58].

Amin sets out the best case. Taking Marx's writings on non-European societies as his starting point, he formulates a theory of transition to a capitalist economy in underdeveloped regions. The process of creating surplus value in peripheral economies and social constructs involves an unequal exchange that is translated into processes of indebtedness affecting peripheral countries (essentially due to returns on foreign investment in countries of the South). This comes about because, as in the past, the

model of transition to peripheral capitalism is essentially different to that of transition to central capitalism. Commercial aggression from the outside imposed by capitalist production methods on precapitalistic constructs involves some crucial regressive social processes, such as the decline of craft industry, which is not replaced by local industrial production. The contemporary agricultural crisis in the developing world is to a large extent the consequence of these breakdown processes. Foreign capital investment is no remedy, because the aim of industries set up in the periphery is to extract resources. Unequal international specialisation of labour manifests itself in specifically configured forms of capitalist accumulation that arise in peripheral nations. The prevalence of activities involving the export of raw materials and unfinished manufactured products, together with processes to assemble high-tech goods built in nations central to world accumulation, is not dependent upon the inadequacy of the domestic market but on the centre's productive superiority in all fields. This relegates the

57 I. Wallerstein, *The rise and the future demise of the world capitalist system: concepts and comparative analysis*, in "Comparative studies in society and history", 1974, XVI, pp. 387-415; I. Wallerstein, *The capitalist world economy*, Cambridge 1979; I. Wallerstein, *The modern world-system II. Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world-economy, 1600-1750*, New York, 1980

58 S. Amin, *Les défis de la mondialisation, 1996, Pensée sociale critique pour le XXIe siècle: mélanges en l'honneur de Saint-Amin*, Éditions L'Harmattan, Paris, 2003, S. Amin, *The Liberal Virus: Permanent War and the Americanization of the World, 2004*, S. Amin and A. El Kenz, *Europe and the Arab world; patterns and prospects for the new relationship*, Zed Books, London, 2005, S. Amin, *L'Éveil du Sud, le Temps des cerises*, Paris, 2008, S. Amin, *Du capitalisme à la civilisation*, Éditions Syllepse, Lyon, 2008

periphery to the role of supplementary supplier of products in which it boasts a natural advantage: exotic agricultural products and mining products. When this distortion leads to the remuneration of work on the periphery becoming lower than that prevailing at the centre for the same productivity, industries targeting the peripheral domestic market are allowed limited growth, while trade becomes unequal.

The next model of industrialisation to replace imports and the still-embryonic model of the new international division of labour within a multinational enterprise cannot change the essential conditions of this process, which I define as "extraversion", even though forms of capital accumulation continue to change[59].

This distortion leads to expansion of the service sector at the periphery, which cannot be justified by growth in the demand structure or in productivity. In global centres of capitalist accumulation, this expansion reflects difficulties in achieving surplus value inherent in the advanced monopolistic stage, as Bara and Sweezy have shown[60], while at the periphery it stems from limits and contradictions typical of peripheral development from the outset: inadequate industrialisation and growing unemployment, strengthening of the ground rent position. This expansion in unproductive activities, which halts accumulation and manifests itself particularly in expanding administrative expenditure, leads to an almost permanent public finance meltdown in the contemporary developing world. Unequal

international specialisation also lies at the root of another skewing in favour of "light" productive activity sectors, in which modern production techniques such as *maquiladoras* are adopted[61].

This skewing determines a peripheral growth pattern different from that historically followed by the West.

An analysis of strategies adopted by foreign monopolies in underdeveloped countries shows that the underdeveloped country lacks the economic means to take the upper hand until the prevailing dogma that the periphery must always be assimilated by the dominant market is called into question.

Unregulated financialisation has further fed this dependency, primarily by acting on the phenomenon of securitising public debt and profits derived by centres of accumulation from inflationary processes that destroy national fixed capital in the periphery and encourage dependency, as deflation does in the capitalist centre of a united Europe, as I have demonstrated previously.

Underdevelopment is manifest not in per capita production but in specific structural characteristics, such as the huge inequalities typical of production distribution at the periphery within the price system determined by the centre. These inequalities stem from the nature of peripheral constructs and determine much of the income distribution structure.

This situation is exacerbated by the disjointedness caused at the periphery by production being oriented in a direction consistent with the needs of the centre. This prevents the benefits of economic progress being transferred from development hubs to the economic organisation with financing structures being typically dependent on growth in the periphery according to the dynamics of foreign financial capital accumulation.

As the economy grows in the periphery, this accentuated underdevelopment finds its necessary outlet in preventing growth.

In other words, however much per capita production is achieved, it is impossible to move to a situation where growth is self-centred and self-driven.

While the capitalist means of production tends to become exclusive in the centre, this does not happen in the periphery, where constructs are therefore essentially different from those in the centre. Their forms depend on the nature of the pre-capitalistic constructs from which they stem and on how and when they became part of the global system. This explains the essential difference between peripheral constructs and young, central constructs based on dominance of a simple mercantile means of production, which contain the embryonic potential to develop into an established capitalist means of production. Whatever the initial differences, peripheral constructs tend to adhere to a model characterised by dominance of agricultural and commercial capital dependent on foreign organisations (*comprador*). The domination

of central capital over the system, and the essential primary accumulation mechanisms, established for its benefit, into which this domination translates, impose limits on the development of national capitalism that ultimately depend on political relationships.

The debilitated national society in the periphery confers an apparent specific weight on local bureaucracy and determines functions that are different from those typical of bureaucratic and technocratic social bodies in the centre. Contradictions inherent in the onset of underdevelopment and the rise of the petit-bourgeois strata reflecting these contradictions, explain the current trend towards state capitalism. This new way of developing capitalism in the periphery is not a means of transition towards socialism but expresses future ways of organising new relationships between the centre and periphery.

Michael Kalecki is essential reading in this regard[62].

He characterizes a range of new regimes in decolonized developing countries — from Nehru's India and Nasser's Egypt to Sukarno's Indonesia — as "intermediate regimes". Here, the "intermediate class" (or petit bourgeoisie) – occupying the social space between capitalists and workers and comprising the middle class in urban areas and the peasantry in rural areas – wields state power.

The petit bourgeoisie has never wielded state power in history, he argued. Whenever its representatives chanced to come to power,

59   L. Pasinetti, *Growth and Income Distribution - Essays in Economic Theory,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974

60   P. M. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development,* Oxford University Press, 1942; P. A Baran and P. M Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital. An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order,* Monthly Review Press, 1966; P. M. Sweezy, *Modern Capitalism and other essays,* Monthly Review Press, 1972

61   M. Godelier (ed.), Transitions et subordinations au capitalisme, Editions de la Maison des Scieces de l' Homme, Paris, 1984

62   J. Osiatyński (ed.), *Collected Works of Michal Kalecki, Volume V: Developing Economies,* Clarendon Press Publication, Oxford, 1993 and particularly *Intermediate regimes,* published in M. Kalecki, *The Last Phase in the Transformation of Capitalism* (With an Introduction of G.R. Feiwel), Monthly Review Press, New York, 1972, pp.115-124

they "invariably served the interests of big business (often allied with the remnants of the feudal system)". But a dénouement where they wielded State power on their own became possible in the particular conjuncture following decolonization for two specific reasons, one internal and one external.

The internal reason was the country's colonial past, which had stunted the growth of the bourgeoisie proper and correspondingly of the proletariat. The external reason was the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc on the one side, and of the United States of America and the capitalist world on the other, between whom the intermediate regime could manoeuvre to get aid without too many strings, and to prevent any pressure to move towards either classical capitalism or classical socialism. Kalecki saw the intermediate regime as a durable phenomenon, whose two main features were state capitalism — that is, an emphasis on the public sector, and on non-alignment.

Kalecki's theory has been much discussed and much criticized. Whether these regimes, even as they were at the time, could be characterized as intermediate regimes with *petit bourgeois* hegemony, or whether they were regimes dominated by the bourgeoisie which only used the public sector as a means of developing capitalism, as the Communist Parties in countries like India argued, was one point of controversy. The other related to its alleged durability. Indeed, within a few years of Kalecki's writing, Egypt under Anwar Sadat and Indonesia under Suharto (whose accession to power was accompanied by a massacre of communists), had already moved away from his picture of an intermediate regime. One

point, however, where Kalecki was certainly right was the social and political weight of the intermediate class or petit bourgeoisie in the ex-colonial Third World countries. The question, therefore, arises: how do we trace the subsequent history of this intermediate class in India?

The Nehruvian *dirigiste* regime had got into a crisis long before economic liberalization — starting in the mid-1980s and gathering momentum in the 1990s — supplanted it. The proximate reason for the crisis is not far to seek. Given the importance of the State as an economic player within that regime, growing public expenditure was crucial for sustaining the growth process under it. But its capacity to raise fiscal resources to keep such expenditure going, atrophied progressively, primarily because of the resistance of the capitalists, and the rich in general, to pay taxes. (India was and remains, to this day, a country with one of the lowest ratios of tax revenue to national income anywhere in the world.) Inevitably, therefore, what ensued was a combination of inflation, caused by excessive government borrowing, indirect taxes and a slackening of growth, and with it of the growth rate of employment, which *inter alia* alienated urban middle-class support from it.

The crisis of the dirigiste regime began from the mid-1960s, though the Green Revolution — for which bank nationalization and the introduction of directed credit towards agriculture was an important contributory factor — gave it a transitory reprieve. The crisis of unemployment afflicting the urban middle class, captured so tellingly in Mrinal Sen's film, *Chorus*, radicalized it greatly. This was manifest in some parts of India in the support for the movement led

by Jaya Prakash Narayan, and in other parts, especially in West Bengal, in its moving closer to the Left.

"The Left's inability to move centre-stage, for which it was best positioned just before Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984, together with international developments, including the emergence of the phenomenon of globalized finance and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, opened the way for the supplanting of Nehruvian *dirigisme* not by any alternative proposed by the Left, but by the neo-liberal trajectory of development. What neo-liberalism has done, however, is to bring about a schism between the peasantry and the urban middle class, the two major components of Kalecki's intermediate class. The peasantry has been, quite clearly, a victim of neo-liberal policies, which have entailed a withdrawal of State support from it, expressed, among other things, in the dwindling of institutional credit to peasant agriculture and the re-emergence of private moneylending in new forms. Not surprisingly, per capita food grains availability for all uses has declined to a level no higher than what it had been in the years before World War II (aided also by government holding of excessive stocks and the export of food grains). At the same time, important segments of the urban middle class have been beneficiaries of the neo-liberal regime, which explains their desire for the so-called "development" identified with neo-liberalism. It is a symptom of the schism between the peasantry and this segment of the urban middle class that the Left's attempt to relate to this segment by pursuing the development agenda, as it is currently understood, alienated from it the

support of sections of the peasantry in its one-time bastion, West Bengal.

The neo-liberal trajectory itself, however, has now run into a crisis, characterized by slowing growth, acute inflation, absolute stagnation in manufacturing output, growing unemployment (camouflaged as rising informal, temporary and intermittent employment), dwindling opportunities for large segments of the urban middle class, and an extremely precarious balance-of-payments situation that can get into a tail-spin with the tapering off of the "quantitative easing" being pursued by the Federal Reserve Board of the US (which is pumping huge amounts of liquidity into the world economy). The crisis of the neo-liberal trajectory is, once again, alienating large sections of the urban middle class from the current economic regime"[63].

Financialised global capitalism now faces the challenge of reconstruction on these fragile social bases, aptly encapsulated by the hegemonic difficulties that pervade Indian capitalism and, to an even greater extent, monopolistic difficulties faced by the dictatorial Chinese state. The deep-seated US crisis, we have already discussed harbours an inability to reconstruct a new international system that incorporates "intermediares regimes" now focusing on growth in a new balance of power.

We need a new balance of power, as I will discuss later. A new system of international capitalism, between European deflation and the emergence from post-colonial dependence that is bound to involve re-establishing old conceptual models. Bertrand Badie

63   M. McCartney and B. Harriss-White, *The 'Intermediate Regime' and 'Intermediate Classes' Revisited: A Critical Political Economy of Indian Economic Development from 1980 to Hindutva,* QEH Working Paper Series - QEHWPS34 Working Paper n. 34, pp.14-18

summarised this superbly in his latest work, when he wrote: "Une science de l' international n'est plus concevable ajourd'hui sans ..l' effort de reconstruction patiente et froide de la subjectivité des tous les acteurs, touchant, en priorité, ceux qui relèvent d' une autre histoire.C'est ce que la vieille science politique tenait pour inutile et peut-étre poétique, ce que la culture westphalienne prenait pur folklorique et ce que l' école du choix rationnel considère toujours comme hors de propos. Les trois, face au monde tel qu'il est aujourd'hui, divers et intersubjectif, ont totalement failli."[64]

This failure is more serious if we think of capitalism as a social form of world production. Globalism forces even those who think that Say's law rules the world, i.e. that supply creates its own demand, to see things as they are really are: a planetary socioeconomic construct that gradually forces all pre-capitalistic socioeconomic constructs into submission.

Rosa Luxemburg had this very concept of capitalism as a global socioeconomic construct in mind when she wrote *Accumulation of capital* and her "Anti-Critique"[65]: *an extraordinarily contemporary thought[66] because it does not shy from discussing the general nature of the mechanism of penetration and development of capitalist accumulation alongside* the specificities of the various processes by which capitalist markets penetrate non-capitalist societies: the struggle of capital against the natural economy – and the struggle against a simple mercantile economy. All this is going on at the same time as the global competitive

struggle between capitals to grab the remaining accumulation possibilities. We are now witnessing full penetration of international financial capital: North American and European financial capitals are exerting a gravitational pull on the economic life of all emerging countries, with the trap of public debt and the military expenditure and infrastructures feeding the debt, offering further possibilities for achieving surplus value and a kind of inter-state regulation of world accumulation.

This capitalism has been joined in recent decades by Chinese monopolistic capitalism based on a bureaucratic and terrorist dictatorship, whose role is increasingly like the historically established part played by "Western" capitalism.

This role was admirably described by David Pilling in an article published in the "Financial Times", which is much better theoretically argued than many academic papers: "...Many African governments have gone on Eurobond borrowing sprees, meaning they are in debt as much to Wall Street and the City of London as to Beijing. Researchers at Johns Hopkins found that only in Zambia, Djibouti, and possibly Congo -Brazzaville were loans from Beijing the major cause of debt distress. If China is weaponising capital – using loans to create countries in its own image – then the west did the same in the 1970s and 1980s when it made massive and unsustainable loans to Africa through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. When those loans turned sour, the same institutions pushed through their favourite medicine:

hated structural adjustment programmes that eviscerated the state – and from which many countries are arguably still recovering. Certainly, there have been problems with Chinese finance too. Angola's government took over last year only to find that loans made under the previous regime to Sonangol, the state oil company, were far more expensive that advertised.

Chinese financed projects often lack strict environmental safeguards and can be shoddy."[67]

The 19th Chinese Communist Party Congress of autumn 2017 offered more acute observers an insight into the Chinese state's long-term monopolistic capitalist strategy in the context of international power relationships. The very long historical trading slump that began in the mid-1400s – when Zheng He, a great Chinese navigator of Muslim origin, was called back to his homeland by a fading Emperor to have his Navy destroyed – is finally over. That was how the impassable barrier between China and the rest of the world that lasted until the 19th century opium warswas put up.

The Middle Empire, surrounded by barbarians, dominated the situational powers for centuries, effectively secluded by their immense lands. The great international experts on China, from Needham[68] to Gernet[69], racked their brains for decades to define the triggering cause of that retreat from the barbarian world at a time when China had such immense power.

Xi Jinping is the resolution of an enigma.

China is going back to what it used to be in its imperial heyday: a great power reaching out for world domination. It is doing this by staking its hopes on a thinker who supported the idea of internal control as a source of expansion abroad: good old Wittfogwel[70], proponent of the "Asiatic mode of production". This paradigm is based on strict Imperial domination of the potentates who controlled the waters and hence the Empire: internal control of the sources of power was necessary to achieve this end.

Mao tried to achieve that control, but at huge social cost. The cultural Revolution was simply a way to annihilate the opposing factions of a party that from the outset had to come to terms with Japanese nationalism followed by rivalry with Stalin and the international might of the Soviet Union, following the stamping out of revolt and strikes in Shanghai in 1927. China's enemies were not only at home: behind its back, the great Soviet power had created North Korea to ensure that China had to beg for help from the Soviets against Japan and then the United States to ensure its very existence.

Mao put down his adversaries physically and morally until his death. Then Den Xiaoping was able to emerge and establish the rule consensually respected by the warring factions until Xi Jinping's rise to power: bureaucrats had to stop killing each another. The same thing happened in the Soviet Union with the advent of Khrushchev.

Xi Jinping broke the rule as soon as he came

64   B. Badie, *Quand le Sud reinvent le monde. Essai sur la puissabnce de la faiblesse,* La Decouvert, Paris, 2018, p.16
65   R. Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals. Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Erklärung des Imperialismus. Vorwärts,* Berlin, 1913
66   See M.Turchetto, *Leggere L'accumulazione del capitale, in "Rivista telematica di studi sulla memoria femminile",* n. 28, 2015.

67   D. Pilling, *China's entry into Africa comes with a warning,* in "Financial Times", 27 September 2018, p.13
68   J. Needham, *The Genius of China,* Simon & Schuster, New York, 1986.
69   J. Gernet, *Le Monde chinois: 3. L'époque contemporaine. XXᵉ siècle,* Paris,Armand Colin, 2005 (1st ed. 1972)
70   K.A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism. A comparative study of total power,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1957

to power, gradually stepping up his fight against corruption and thus confirming in practice what everyone in the world knows in theory from decades studying the topic: the war on corruption is nothing more than a blunt instrument wielded in the internal struggle between power élites; the degree of bloodletting depends on the type of democratic legitimacy in force at any given time.

China is one of the least civilised human settlements from a judicial viewpoint: this can be understood provided the situation is dealt with scientifically and not to derive economic advantage, as with its admission to the WTO. The US Democratic party led by the higher echelons of unregulated finance gave the green light for this and thus laid the foundations for the global catastrophe in which we are now mired.

The history is linear: when Xi Jinping rose to power in 2012, he shared it with very active factions associated with his immediate predecessors: Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin. However, Xi broke with the rules of collegial control imposed by Deng. He rapidly took control of the Military Commission, which is nothing unusual, but then went on to secure Internal Security and Economy.

Xi gradually laid the foundations for a new expert, trusted faction at home and abroad, paving his way beyond the Middle Empire with no fear of internal enemies.

Strategic security of China's borders with Russia is crucial if China under the "new emperor" is to achieve the dazzling expansion it desires. This process cannot go ahead without agreement with Russia, following the

roadmap laid by the Shanghai conferences: the new pact can unite China, Russia and India, allowing Beijing to continue its dominion of the seas, conceived in accordance with the ideas of Alfred Thayer Mahan[71], i.e. a geopolitical vision based on sea power taught in US Navy schools).

It is vital to bring the North Korean crisis to an end. Stalin invented North Korea with the intention of scaring Japan and weakening Mao to force him to seek help from the Soviets in the event of war with the United States. Those days are long gone, but cooperation between the United States, Russia and China means that the issue could be resolved by annihilating the North Korean leadership – which would involve many more victims than the inner circle of leadership. It is an inevitable choice, because Xi Jinping has drawn a line representing the cyclical expansion of China's overseas presence. Now that the internal front has been stabilised, foreign conquests will strengthen China from within and vice versa. This will increase territorial conflict with India, the Philippines and especially Vietnam, China's age-old enemy.

These conflicts will decide the fate of strategic nations like Thailand (which has never been colonised in its history) that are understandably strengthening their military regimes, as happening in all of Indochina. Once the South Seas hinterland is secured, China can strike out to conquer Africa and Australia from Djibouti.

Reflecting on the history of the Chinese Communist Party, I often recognise in Xi's slogans the words not of Mao but of Liu Shaoqi , who pursued a typically Soviet quest for social legitimisation of "red bureaucracy" through

technological and military conquest, strictly controlling party cadres and developing global power in the international arena.

This is confirmed by the recent clamp-down on Chinese universities, which are called upon to foster "Chinese ideology" and improve their facilities to ensure fewer and fewer Chinese students leave China to study abroad.

Xi Jinping's secret is to expand as a great power in the world but return to the wellspring of national power. If he wins, a completely new system of global power and relevance will arise. The resulting form of capitalism will face growing economic, political and military conflict.

Historical needs for fierce global rivalry around premises for the accumulation of capital are ultimately a first-class breeding ground for capital accumulation. The more energetically capitalism assimilates the means of production and labour forces of countries and societies that are not completely capitalist (these days, through post-colonial politics) the more capital reproduction works within capitalist countries to remove a growing percentage of purchasing power from non-capitalist strata of the country of origin and from the working class.

This is evidenced by the growing relative impoverishment, which is now clear to everyone.

The obsolete term "imperialism" has even disappeared from the vocabulary of the Left, to be replaced by the more aseptic "globalisation", which apparently alludes to a natural and peaceful process of market expansion. The term may have fallen into disuse, but imperialism, conceived as an aggressive intertwining of economic and military powers that enhances the world's inequalities, is very much alive today.

71   A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1805,* New Haven, Abridged, 1980.

Methodological Papers

Living Labs - A Tool for Inclusive Urban Innovation

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1. Urban Living Labs: from theories to practice

Urban Living Labs (ULL) are a tool for urban innovation which is rapidly proliferating across cities internationally in the effort to provide economic prosperity, social cohesion and environmental sustainability. The notion of ULL is very broad, and it has been interpreted in many different ways: rather than a comprehensive review of theories and methodologies, the intent of this paper is to provide a basic overview of Urban Living Labs, discussing their main features and their role in urban innovation projects, as well as an introduction to the argument for Phd students and practitioners of urban studies lacking a strong background in social sciences. In this first chapter a definition of ULL will be provided, summarizing the most recent contributions by urban scholars and experts, while in later chapters some operative examples of ULL in cities of the Souths of the World will be described. Since ULL are complex processes, requiring a certain degree of organization and the coordination of different urban actors and interests, the final chapter of this paper will give some hints and warnings about their management from the literature on community

planning and inclusive urban governance.

1.1 Origins of Living Labs
The concept of "Living Lab" is credited to William J. Mitchell, a professor of Architecture and Media Arts and Sciences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) who, reflecting on the innovation possibilities offered by ICT, suggested that "living" spaces such as a city or a building can be laboratories to generate and test hypotheses by monitoring users' interactions with new technologies (Dutilleul *et al.*, 2010).

The technique of Living Lab was soon adopted in the US and Europe by the corporate sector, and in particular by ICT firms, to organize more open and rapid innovation of products and services whose potential applications could not be fully anticipated without the inclusion of end users (Chesbrough, 2003; von Hippel, 2005; Bilgram et al., 2008).

Initially the focus of living labs was to test technologies in a homelike constructed environment (a good example is MIT's own Living Lab, "Spacelab", an apartment specially equipped to observe its inhabitants and their interactions with technologies[72]), but more

recently the concept has expanded to include real world context, aiming not only to produce technical innovation but also to foster civic involvement and co-creation (Brask, 2015). In particular, this approach attracted the interest of the European Commission, which in 2006 funded two projects – CoreLabs[73] and Clock[74] – to promote a common European innovation system based on Living Labs (European Commission, 2009), in order to sustain the Lisbon Strategy goal of enforcing the economic competitiveness of the Old Continent. Those actions led to the creation of the umbrella organization ENoLL - "European Network of Living Labs"[75], an association including (in 2019) over 150 active Living Labs worldwide. ENoLL defines a Living Lab as a real-life test and experimentation environment where producers and users co-generate innovations, exploring emerging usages, behaviors and markets. Importantly, the concepts tested in the labs are evaluated to ensure learning and progress. This definition of Living Lab integrates both user-centered research and Chesbrough's (2003, 2006) notion of open innovation, and involves four main activities (Schumacher, 2012):

- co-creation activities to bring together technology push and application pull (i.e. crowd sourcing, crowd casting) into a diversity of views, constraints and knowledge sharing that sustains the ideation of new scenarios, concepts and artifacts;

- exploration activities involving all stakeholders, especially user communities, at the earlier stage of the co-creation

process for discovering emerging usages and behaviors through live scenarios in real or virtual environments;

- experimentation activities, implementing technological artifacts in live scenarios with a large number of users, to collect data to be analyzed in their context during the evaluation activity;

- evaluation activities, intended to assess new ideas, innovative concepts, technologies in real life situations (considering many dimensions such as socio-ergonomic, socio-cognitive and socio-economic aspects) and to make observations on the potential diffusion of new concepts and related technological artifacts through a confrontation with users' value models.

To sum up, the concept of Living Lab is associated with many interrelated meanings (Dutilleul et al., 2010): it may refer to the monitoring of experimental technologies in real-life systems, to an approach to the development of technologies bases on the involvement of users, to an innovation system consisting of structured multidisciplinary networks fostering interaction and collaboration, or to the organizations facilitating those networks. In practice, most initiatives labelled as 'Living Labs' adopt parts of the multi-faceted concept and operate according to different interpretations of it (Følstad, 2008).

1.2 Definition and characteristics of ULL
The term Urban Living Lab (ULL) has emerged to describe Living Labs set up in urban areas

72   http://web.mit.edu/cron/group/house_n/intro.html

73   https://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/79424/factsheet/en
74   https://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/80155/factsheet/en
75   https://enoll.org/

seeking to address issues occurring there[76]. In the transition to the urban context, Living Labs emphasized the importance of inclusion (to actively engage citizens in urban research projects with socially oriented research agendas: Franz, 2014) and the focus on the development of place-based solutions, embedded in the particular socio-economic dynamics of each city. The real-world setting promises to produce more useful knowledge than experimentation performed under more controlled circumstances (Evans and Karvonen 2011), and could also inspire social and technical transformations of the city (Brask, 2015).

In recent years, ULL have been widely used, in Europe and worldwide, as forms of experimental governance whereby urban actors develop and test new technologies and ways of living to address a variety of challenges, from sustainability and climate change to energy and transportation systems, social innovation, quality of life, quality of the built environment (Evans and Karvonen, 2011; Bulkeley and Castán Broto, 2013; Franz, 2014; Evans et al., 2016; Voytenko et al., 2016).

In the current scenario of strong urban competition at national and global level, cities are in need of governance forms which are able to produce innovation and sustainability connecting public institutions, research organizations, associations, private sector and communities. Towards this goal, ULL are often seen not only as "protected spaces" for experimenting new ideas and projects, but also as ways to enable collaborations and

gain public support, stretching and reforming existing regimes (Smith and Raven, 2012, Voytenko et al., 2018). Thus, involvement of the users is considered a central element of ULL (Voytenko et al. 2016): generally, the users are urban populations who would be affected by the product or service tested in the lab, lending credibility to the success of potential future applications. They play a big part in the operation of the lab by giving feedback and being an active partner through the whole innovation process (JPI Urban Europe 2013), negotiating with key stakeholders "in a strongly reflexive manner" (Nevens et al., 2013).

The ULL model also highlights the public element of urban innovation, based on the quadruple helix model, with a crucial role of knowledge partners (universities, private or public research institutes, etc.), and the importance of intermediaries (organizations operating between social interests and/or technologies) in the production of place-based solutions, in the absence of a "one best way" to innovation and sustainability.

But such processes can take different forms, and may involve many different actors: all ULL seem to share some basic features (the place-based approach, the emphasis on experimentation and learning of new technologies and solutions in real world conditions, the involvement of end users and communities in all stages of the project), yet at least three distinct models of ULL can be distinguished (Marvin et al., 2018), with important consequences on their organization and their goals (tab.1).

Table 1. different ULL models

	Strategic ULL	Civic ULL	Organic (or grassroot) ULL
Lead actors	Innovation agencies, supra-local governments, Corporate business	Local authorities, universities, local companies, SMEs	Civil society, NGOs, etc.
Primary purpose	Innovation and technological priorities	Urban economic and employment priorities	Social, economic and environmental priorities
Organization form	Competitive (urban selected as a site for experimentation)	Developmental (partnership formed by local actors)	Micro/single (multiple forms of community organization)
Funding type	One-off/competitive	Co-funding/partnership	Improvised
Urban imaginary	Urban as a test-bed that can be replicated or generalized	Urban as a contingent and historically produced context	urban understood in particular ways by local communities
Governing responses	Governing by authority / governing with provisions	Governing by authority and through enabling	Self-governing
Translation / scaling up	No plans on scaling up	Policy plan on translation	Policy plan on scaling up
Similar to...	National innovation programs	Urban innovation policies	Grassroot innovation projects

Source: adapted from Marvin et al., 2018; Mai, 2018.

"Strategic" ULL are characterized by some degree of conditioning by national or regional authorities, and are often organized with multi-level mandates: as a consequence, they are less place-embedded than the other ULL models. They are usually activated to test and develop experimental applications which later will be diffused elsewhere. Cities are considered to be optimal test-beds for those innovative actions, and are expected to compete with each other for state funding, assembling partnerships with local stakeholders and global enterprises. Investments for such ULL are often awarded as a lump sum for specific activities and for short periods of time, since the priority is on supra-local diffusion strategies.

"Civic" ULL are instead the product of collaborations between local governments (usually acting as project leaders) and universities and private companies, which pool their resources to intervene on specific, place-based urban priorities, often regarding the transfer of research into demonstration. These ULL may take various forms, from one-off experiments to long programs taking place

over a long period of time and supported by ad-hoc local agencies. In every case, they aim to embed new knowledges, infrastructures and benefits in the urban context, and to sustain urban competitivity.

"Grassroot" ULL show a strong bottom-up nature, and emerge from the demand of particular urban communities, regarding highly contingent local problems (i.e. social needs, pollution, lack of infrastructures, unemployment), looking for experimental solutions by the activation of local resources, tacit local knowledge, social capital. They are focused on the self-governing of urban dynamics (Mai, 2018), yet they often propose radical innovations, which can be diffused in other areas or cities. The budget of those ULL is often limited, relying on municipal or supra-local funding programs and on volunteer's engagement.

Overall, a socio-technical split exists between different ULL models: strategic ULL generated by top-down programs tend to be techno-centric, while, at the opposite, grassroot ULL are much more socially grounded and include

a wider variety of actors. Civic ULL can be situated in the middle of this spread, depending on their specific characteristics and goals (Mai, 2018).

Evaluation is another discriminating characteristics across ULL models: grassroot ULL are often subject to constant evaluation from funding agencies and programs (in particular, the social impacts of these initiatives is commonly considered to be a decisive component of their evaluation). On the other hand, in civic and strategic ULL evaluation can be less important and more informal (except for procurement procedures conducted by leading public actors on private project partners) and self-evaluation is rarely produced, outside mechanisms for policy learning.

1.3 Critical aspects of ULL

ULL are often described as a mean to provide responses to critical urban problems involving sustainability, quality of life, urban development. However, the extent to which ULL can address those urban challenges has yet to be proved. The strong enthusiasm for ULL by institutions like the European Union sustained their diffusion, but an extensive critical analysis of the practices and impacts of Living Labs has not been undertaken by scholars until very recently (Marvin *et al.*, 2018; von Wirth *et al.*, 2019), nor it has been cleared if they can facilitate comprehensive urban innovation and sustainability (producing outcomes that would not have been possible by other processes: Evans and Karvonen, 2011; 2013) or exchanges of best practices among cities: scalability is certainly very limited for the solutions developed in many "grassroot" ULL (see par. 1.2), due the their strong embeddedness in the local socio-

economic and geographical context (May, 2018), but also in "civic" and "strategic" ULL evidence of take-up is limited, even in presence of an explicit intention to translate innovations into other places or to scale them to upper levels of governance. This is a consequence of the absence of learning structures and evaluation across individual programs (Marvin *et al.*, 2018). So far, ULL in different cities and countries produced a fragmentation of the singular discourse of the sustainable city, developing new urban imaginaries which are rooted in locality and experimentation rather than on comprehensive and replicable programs. Such fragmentation may be a sign of the need for a novel approach to the "smart" or "sustainable" city, focused on a scale lower than the metropolitan one, which will require a re-thinking of the traditional concepts of ecological modernization, economic growth and social justice in the urban environment: the diffusion of ULL in cities of the Souths of the World will surely be a decisive step in this process.

Another aspect of ULL that should be more deeply questioned is their approach to urban governance: ULL are often presented a completely new phenomenon, but they share many similarities with already existing inclusive arenas (urban forums, strategic plans, grassroot innovation initiatives, community planning, etc.:). In a certain sense, they merely represent a new stage in the diversification of partnership-based governance modes organized by cities in the last decades, as a response to the increasing limitations of municipal funds and financial transfers from national governments (Percy, 2003; Brenner, 2004). Yet, in the European Union, ULL had an important role in the development and

diffusion of innovations in urban sustainability, thanks both to the financial and policy support from the European Commission and to their capacity to accelerate the adoption of new technologies through experimentation in real setting and end-users involvement (Voytenko *et al.*, 2018; von Wirth *et al.*, 2019). But some authors (Marvin *et al.*, 2018) argued that ULL often bring to a redesigning of existing urbanity rather than to radical transformations: given the strong role played in many Living Labs (namely, in "civic" and "strategic" ULL models: see par. 1.2) by existing economic or political urban partnerships and by traditional urban priorities *«there is a tendency for initiatives to undertake forms of experimentation "on" the context and users rather than working co-productively and symmetrically "with" context and users. Consequently, the urban is constituted as a test-bed according to external priorities and processes»* (Marvin *et al.*, 2018, pp. 255-256). In order to avert the threat of "constrained experimentation" and to allow for a real and effective integration of communities and users in the development of new place-based solutions for urban problems, designers and facilitators of an ULL should pay attention to local factors, in particular when the process takes place in the urban and social contexts of the Souths of the World, where operative conditions may be very different from the ones in which ULL methodologies have been originally developed and tested. Inclusive participation often requires citizens with high levels of education, and the organization and outcomes of the process may be strongly affected by the capacity of communities to voice their interests and needs in formalized, visible ways, which depends on power relations and social practices (par. 3 will provide some hints about techniques and methodologies

which could be applied to ensure effective participation and organization in an inclusive process).

Moreover, concepts like "smart city" or "sustainable city" cannot be utilized without regards to the local context. Castán Broto describes the difficulties encountered by "smart city" programs aimed to improve energy efficiency in Asia and Africa (Castán Broto, 2018): in the city of Maputo (Mozambique) the public utility Electricidade de Moçambique tried to improve accessibility to electricity with the implementation of a pre-paid system through which local people could control their consumptions and fraction the payment in relation to resources available, but this new technology had only little impact because many families were not connected to the electric grid, and those who were only utilized electricity for lighting and communication purposes, relying on charcoal-fueled stoves for cooking. A more effective approach to the energy problem in Maputo has been developed by local NGOs and community leaders, with programs intended to connect households to the grid, and to improve cookstoves performance in order to reduce indoor pollution and domestic accidents caused by cooking. In such contexts the vision of the "smart city" focused on technologies and infrastructures which are not accessible by all citizens may have only a limited impact on economic growth, quality of life or environmental sustainability, and it could even produce new forms of inequality between urban populations. For a better consideration of user needs, ULL aimed to make cities "smarter" should adopt an enlarged concept of "innovation", focusing less on novel technologies and more on

the potential for social innovation, cultural innovation, innovation in the public and voluntary sectors.

2. Case studies of ULL in the Souths of the World

This section provides a description of five cases of ULL organized in Asia, Africa and Latin America[77]. Those projects are not always explicitly labelled as ULL, mostly because in many countries the term has not become popular yet, due to the differences from Europe and USA in official science and technology's agendas and in public financing models for urban initiatives (Duarte Masi, 2016; Mai, 2018). Nonetheless, the case studies presented in this chapter adopt an approach to planning and decision-making which is very similar, if not identical, to the ULL's one, based on the inclusion of end-users and on the open nature of the process. The differences with European experiences are caused by the social context of the cities of the Souths of the World, where inequality is larger and problems are bigger: *"when Living Labs started to focus on identification and solution of social issues in countries, regions and communities of Latin America, Africa and Asia, they managed to include a new and interesting way of humanitarian aid development and assistance in order to achieve social development from an integrator point of view. Through this vision, beneficiaries participate actively on the identification of their problems and the search for solutions making easier the implementation of those solutions and the innovative creation*

of alternative ways to reach their goals" (Duarte Masi, 2016). Such an approach, focused less on technological innovations and more on social issues, could greatly contribute to the construction of more open societies, conceiving original governance models for the XXI century's cities.

Case studies have been selected with the intent of presenting some examples of the variety of forms taken by ULL experimentations in the Souths of the World, including strategic, civic and grassroot models, as well as different urban problems, ranging from sustainability to housing and economic growth. For each case, a brief description of the process objectives, organization and actors will be followed by some critical remarks, highlighting in particular the role of communities and end-users in all phases of the ULL, and the problems the process had to face.

2.1 the Green Source Program

location	Shenzhen, China
ULL model	Grassroot ULL
Lead organization	Shenzhen Green Source Environmental Protection Volunteers Association
Partners	NGOs, municipal and district government, community centres, schools, professionals
Funding sources	Donations, membership fees, service provisions incomes, government subsidies
running time	2013-present
Topics	Sustainability, education

Sources   www.szhb.org; Mai, 2018

The founding objective of the Shenzhen Green Source Environmental Protection Volunteers Association (from now on: "Green Source") was the conservation of mangrove

wetland in the urban region of Shenzhen. Local mangrove forests not only have a value in terms of biodiversity, but also play a vital role in the natural protection from coastal erosion. Nevertheless, in the last decades they were increasingly threatened by urban growth and pollution. A few local environmental activists took interest in that problem, and in 2013 founded Green Source to call on local volunteers to monitor and collectively safeguard some mangrove areas which were not given any form of protection by the municipal government. Regular patrols proved to be crucial, given the need to protect mangroves from solid wastes dumped in the coastal areas, yet they were not sufficient to ensure the forest survival and biodiversity. Then, the Association started a program for the incubation of mangrove seedlings, and identified suitable sites for new plantations. Green Source also organized activities for community-based environmental education, and gathered a team of scientists and expert to produce periodic surveys and studies on local mangrove, diffused with the help of volunteers, local media and political groups to raise social awareness on environmental hazards and to change urban management practices.

The grassroot initiatives of Green Source soon emerged as an alternative solution to public programs organized by municipalities and universities, which had already been formulated but never reached implementation. Meanwhile, the local government started an administrative reform, based on the national doctrine of "administration streamline and power delegation", to transfer functions from the public sector to civil society organizations: it assumed the role of facilitator, empowering, connecting and funding local NGOs to incubate

and design a new generation of societal changes, including the ones regarding urban sustainability.

This recognition allowed Green Source to activate a new project to monitor water pollution and to report illegal discharges of wastes, which resulted in administrative penalties for polluting enterprises. Even more importantly, it helped Green Source to devise collaborations and cross-sector initiatives with other NGOs, creating alliances which were able to deal with more challenging tasks, involving strong urban actors: Green Source and the China Mangrove Conservation Network (an NGO founded in 2001 and operating in all five provinces of southeastern China) worked together to monitor the environmental changes caused by the extension of the Shenzhen metro system, contrasting the policies of the powerful municipal office of metro system construction. The same two associations experimented with new ICT technologies, launching an online geo-location platform named "China Mangrove Alert System" which allows volunteers to organize improvised patrols on mangrove locations all over China and to share information about observed risks.

The Green Source initiatives show many of the defined characteristics of ULL working on urban sustainability (Voytenko et al., 2016), starting from the importance given to the involvement of volunteers and communities and from the capacity to organize networks for collective actions, both at local and national level. The Green Source is an example of the recent growth of grassroot activism in Shenzhen, supported by the best practices and technical transfers from the neighboring Hong Kong, where the social innovation sector

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[77]   An extended collection of (not only Urban) Living Labs, listed by topic and by country, is available on the ENoLL website (https://enoll.org/network/living-labs/). The ENoLL database comprises mostly European LL, although some cases of programs in other continents are present.

is very active and strong, due to the different political system and democratic tradition. The proximity and exchanges with Hong Kong also encouraged the emergence of expert community leaders in Shenzhen, helping the organization of many community associations focused in particular on urban sustainability and social innovation (while initiatives led by governments or private enterprises are more focused on technological innovation). These associations are completely redesigning and redirecting, from the bottom-up, the processes of urban change in the area, *"introducing new techniques for lobbying and agenda setting with local authorities"* (Mai, 2018, p.211). They are rapidly gaining legitimation at local level, but in most cases they still lack dedicated resources, given the absence, in China, of the community development trusts which are common in OECD countries: they are dependent on alternative financing (Green Source has been often financed by "green" local enterprises), public sector's grants and contributions of volunteers.

2.2 Stellenbosch's ULL

location	Stellenbosch, South Africa
ULL model	Civic ULL
Lead organization	University, municipal government
Partners	Urban stakeholders, professionals, urban communities
Funding sources	Municipal funds
running time	2011-2015
Topics	Urban governance and planning, sustainability

Sources   Davies and Swilling, 2015; 2018; Davies, 2016

In spite of the municipality's vision to became the "Innovation Capital of South Africa", Stellenbosch, in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, was in the early 2000s a city of great contrasts, with an internationally renowned university, well-developed agricultural

and tourism sectors and a growing tertiary sector, but also many problems of poverty and social inequality. Also, the lack of strategic coordination between urban stakeholders and the absence of long-term integrated planning programs hindered all projects for urban change: insufficient provision for future demand led to deficiencies in urban infrastructures (mobility infrastructures, water and electricity supply, waste management), and ad-hoc spatial development projects caused spatial exclusion and economic disparity (Davies and Swilling, 2015; Davies, 2016).

A decisive step towards a new model of urban governance for Stellenbosch was taken in 2005, with the organization of a joint forum between the municipality and the local university, the Rector-Executive Mayor Forum (REMF). This forum represented a new strategic commitment by the university towards more meaningful interaction with local society, while for the municipality it marked a new policy of receptiveness to collaborations and partnerships. The REMF soon became an important learning arena: monthly meetings, alternated between being hosted in university venues and in municipal spaces, were the occasion for researchers, municipal officials and politicians to discuss issues of mutual concern, sharing ideas, exchanging information and organizing collective projects for urban development. Informality was a key factor (informal drinks regularly followed scheduled meetings), and allowed all participants to share a common language and sensibility on urban problems, overpassing the preexistent mistrust and antagonism between the university and the municipality (Davies, 2016). REMF activities were organized as an open process, without strict procedures to follow and without pre-

designed objectives: as a result, the REMF developed a *"solutions-oriented approach to transdisciplinary research in developing world contexts that are characterized by high level of social fluidity, where the research process is designed as it unfolds and where the goal is to co-generate knowledge applicable to specific, complex social challenges"* (Davies and Swilling, 2018, p.98). In 2011 the experience of the REMF resulted in the establishment of two sub-committees participated by local institutions, associations and private sector players:

a) the Integrated Planning Committee (IPC), which applied Appreciative Inquiry methodologies (Cooperrider and Srivasta, 1987; Cooperrider *et al.*, 2001) to organize an inclusive "idea gathering campaign" ("Shaping Stellenbosch") directed to urban stakeholders and citizens: stakeholders were engaged in workshops with experts from the university and the municipality, while citizens could submit their ideas for urban development via an online form, or at gathering points in public libraries (the public engagement process was introduced by an information campaign in the three local languages, Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, diffused via website, local media, flyers and posters: Davies, 2016). Combining "top-down" and "bottom-up" inputs, the "Shaping Stellenbosch" campaign produced the "Stellenbosch Spatial Development Framework" (2015), a formal planning program for the city;

b) the Infrastructure Innovation Committee (IIC) which, after a dense program of interviews, workshops, formal and informal meetings of 6 working groups (dedicated to Finance, Energy, Water and Sanitation, Solid Waste,

Transport, Administration), and with inputs from the "Shaping Stellenbosch" program, produced the "Stellenbosch Quo Vadis" report (2014), a strategic document based on the vision of a *compact, inclusive and sustainable town*, supported by a public transport-oriented, infrastructure-led development logic, that transcended the preexisting tensions between the ultra-conservative approach focused on heritage and conservation and the developer's driven one based on urban sprawl.

The "Quo Vadis" report produced by the IIC was intended as a guideline to the implementation of the Spatial Development Framework put together by the IPC. Together, the two documents posed the foundations for a large-scale program of collaborative innovation and experimentation of the city over the coming years, which linked spatial planning and infrastructure development to urban problems like traffic congestion, housing, social cohesion.

However, changes in leadership in both the municipality and the university, and conflicts between different municipal departments and political factions, led to the suspension of most REMF activities in 2015. The forum, which never had a formal or institutional role in the city government structure, remains a recognized actor in urban governance, but since then its operativity has been limited.

Stellenbosch's process is an example of an ULL focused not on technological innovation, but on the development of new social and administrative practices. It succeeded in the definition of a new governance model for the city, based on collaboration, inclusion and collective learning, which have proved capable

of addressing context-specific, complex social challenges. The initial activities of the REMF only included the two most powerful and resourceful urban actors, the municipality and the university: inclusion of other stakeholders and citizens came only after a long learning-by-doing process had been undertaken by those two institutions. Stellenbosch's ULL is also a clear example of the impossibility to a-critically transplant inclusive planning projects typical of OECD countries in a developing country, where the material and social conditions are different and where the social context is very fluid (Davies and Swilling, 2018).

Another significative aspect of the Stellenbosch case is the importance of mediation in urban change processes. One of the main achievement of the REMF was the creation of trust and understanding amongst the stakeholders (Davies, 2016), which allowed for a higher level of collaboration in the governance of the city. This couldn't have been possible without the support from both the municipality and the university, nor without the full commitment of their leaders. When they started to dwindle (in particular on the municipality's side), the whole process came to an abrupt end.

2.3 URBZ

location	Mumbai, India (and other cities)
ULL model	Grassroot ULL
Lead organization	URBZ
Partners	Citizens, associations, private firms, local governments
Funding sources	Various (service provision incomes, local development programs, etc.)
running time	2008-ongoing
Topics	urban planning, housing, creativity

Sources   http://urbz.net/

URBZ is an experimental action and research collective including architects, designers, urban planners, anthropologists, economists and policy makers, founded in 2008 to promote social and urban innovation in the Dharavi area of Mumbai, one of the largest and more densely populated slums in Asia, counting between 600.000 and one million inhabitants (estimates vary widely).

URBZ is specialized in the design of "user-generated cities" which consider the existing condition as a starting point for future development. Its approach is based on the recognition that residents' everyday life experiences constitute an essential knowledge for urban planning, development and policy-making. URBZ activities are strongly rooted in local communities: the collective is engaged in the organization of researches and workshops with local residents and non-local experts aimed to produce more knowledge of the specific urban context and to start projects for housing, education, cultural and economic development. Information sharing and public participation are intended as the main tools to bring together local and global knowledge, and to re-think the urban space according to the citizens' visions and needs. The most important projects realized by URBZ in Dharavi are the ones on sustainable housing: providing technical competences (about home design, materials, financing) and mediating with small building constructors (who are crucial local actors, with the capacity to work in the difficult environment of Dharavi) and providers of building materials to fulfill the needs of the residents (usually, the demand is for a renewal and rising of the existing house, often comprising the family's shop or artisan workshop). These micro-

interventions on the urban space produced an alternative to the development vision of the Municipality of Mumbai which, considering the whole Dharavi an "informal settlement zone", have placed it under the responsibility of the Slum Redevelopment Authority, who is envisaging a complete destruction of existing buildings to make space for big, low-cost housing complexes. The Slum Redevelopment Authority's "Dharavi Redevelopment Project" plans to concentrate the actual Dharavi residents in 20% of the redesigned space, allowing developers to construct expensive new building and attract new residents and economic actors in the area: the slum is located in the center of the Mumbai metropolis, and land value could potentially be sky-high. Yet, this project will destroy all the existing social context and the dynamic circular economy of Dharavi, where thousands of small activities grew up and prospered in the last decades (Echanove and Srivastava, 2014): it is estimated that Dharavi boasts 5,000 local businesses and 15,000 single-room factories, accounting for at least 1 billion USD of Mumbai's revenue each year[78] and playing an important role in the urban economy (including a quasi-monopoly on plastic waste recycling, with 250-300 recycling businesses and 10.000-12.000 employees in Dharavi). On the opposite side of the Slum Redevelopment Authority strategy, URBZ vision, looking at Dharavi as an "in-formation neighborhood", is focused on the progressive improvement of the existing context, envisaging solutions which won't force the residents to relocate elsewhere their lives and activities. Apart from building renovation (adding more stories to

existing houses in order to accommodate new residents, new activities, roof gardens, etc.), the collective is active in Dharavi with low-cost, user-centered initiatives for the design of public spaces and green areas, for the improvement of infrastructures (water and drainage, electricity), for the organization of community governance arenas, for the development of local economic activities (including projects for the design of market stalls, new farmer markets, and the creation, in collaboration with Dutch and local partners, of the "Dharavi Design Museum"[79] to showcase local talent through a nomadic exhibition space).

Another important activity of URBZ is dissemination: conferences, seminars and exhibitions are held both in Dharavi and in international venues to spread information on realized projects and to promote the collective's approach to urban planning. URBZ has been invited to exhibit its work at the Design Biennial of Istanbul (2008), MoMA in New York (2013 & 2014), MAK in Vienna (2015), Chicago Architecture Biennial (2015), CAPC in Bordeaux (2016), HDA in Graz (2016), MAXXI in Rome (2016), the Art Center at the International School of Geneva (2016) and Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Museum in Mumbai (2017). Starting from his small office in Dharavi, the collective now has offices and teams operating, with the same methodologies and approach, in Bogotá, São Paulo, Geneva and Seoul.

URBZ is a good example of a ULL capable of developing a grassroot vision of urban planning in a city of the Souths of the World, without resorting to "standard" models and techniques

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78   Source: Kempner, R. (2017, Dec. 7), "Dharavi, India: The Most Entrepreneurial Slum In The World?" https://www.huffingtonpost.com/randall-kempner/dharavi-the-most-entrepre_b_834300.html

79   http://designmuseumdharavi.org/Design_Museum_Dharavi/Dharavi.html

but focusing instead on place-based issues through projects co-generated with the users. The role of the experts (architects, designers, urbanists, sociologists, economists) is vital not only at the local level, where they are asked to provide knowledge, technologies and ideas to implement the resident's visions of development, but also, through their professional and academic networks, in the dissemination of the approach in other cities and in the global communities of urban planners and designers.

2.4 Quiero mi barrio

location	Urban areas in Chile
ULL model	Strategic ULL
Lead organization	Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (MINVU)
Partners	Local governments, local communities
Funding sources	National fund
running time	2006-ongoing
Topics	Quality of life, security, sustainability

Sources   https://quieromibarrio.cl/

The Neighborhood Recovery Program "Quiero mi barrio" ("I Want My Neighborhood") was created in 2006 by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development of Chile (MINVU) with the aim of improving the quality of life and security of people living in vulnerable neighborhoods. Unlike precedent MINVU programs, the Programa Quiero Mi Barrio (PQMB) is not focused on housing projects, but on the recovery of public spaces and the strengthening of the social fabric: it supports the building of infrastructures such community centers, telecentres, green areas, sports fields, playgrounds, and the improvement of street furniture. Another primary objective of the PQMB is the funding of social projects to empower local communities and to support their associative capacities and their

activation to improve the identity, security and environmental sustainability of their neighborhood.

All investments in public spaces and urban infrastructures are chosen and prioritized through a participatory and inclusive process: a Consejo Vecinal de Desarrollo (CVD, "Neighborhood Development Counsel"), involving the municipality, community leaders, neighborhood boards, local cultural associations and citizens, is created in each "barrio" and is charged to produce a Plan Maestro ("Master Plan") describing the vision and long-term development strategy for the area, and a Contrato de Barrio ("Neighborhood Contract") detailing the physical works and the social initiatives that will be activated in the three years of the program's execution. The CVD is also required to organize the monitoring of physical interventions and to strengthen the organizational capabilities of the local community.

The neighborhoods to be part of the program are nominated by the municipalities and selected by the MINVU. Initially the PQMB was set out to intervene on 200 neighborhoods, fluctuating in size from 100 to 3.000 homes each, with a budget of 1.2 million USD for the period 2006-2009. Since then, the program grew to encompass 570 neighborhoods in all 16 regions of Chile, reaching over one million people and realizing more than 3.000 urban projects. In 2015, the PQMB was recognized as one of the "best practices" worldwide by the Dubai Prize of the UN.

Being a ministerial program, the PQMB is subjected to many evaluation procedures: after the selection of the neighborhood by the

MINVU, the evaluation ex-ante of the projects is realized by technical teams from the ministry and the municipality, supporting the CVD in its strategical choices, while the valuation in itinere, during the implementation phase, is managed by the local actors, according to the provisions of the Contrato de Barrio. Ministerial ex post evaluations and researches by sociologists, planners and scholars of urban studies don't only address the physical results of the program, but also investigate its capacity to generate effective improvement in the quality of life of the residents: for example, while positive results have been obtained in issues like security and use of public spaces (even if a recent study on the city of Quilpué highlighted that differences still remain in the behaviors of different groups of citizens, in particular between men and women: Mora et al., 2018), in some areas, starting from Santiago (Link et al., 2017), the program did not promote important changes in the social interaction patterns of residents, with poorer neighborhood still loosely connected with the rest of the city.

The originality of the PQMB lies in its capacity to intertwine infrastructural and social projects, but also in its attention to user-generated urban change, which led to a strong focus on the inclusion of residents in the decision-making process and in the implementation of the projects. Those characteristics are very similar to the ones of strategic ULL (see par. 1.2), yet the difficult social context of many Chilean barrios required an extra effort for the empowering of local communities, which is typical of initiatives for urban and social development in cities of the Souths of the World. In this sense, evaluation activities carried out both at local and national level proved to be central in the learning process

towards the re-adjustment of the objectives and procedures of the program.

2.5 Başakşehir Living Lab

location	Başakşehir, Turkey
ULL model	Civic ULL
Lead organization	Başakşehir municipality
Partners	Private firms, universities, NGOs, citizens
Funding sources	Municipal funds, private funds
running time	2014-ongoing
Topics	Smart city, health, education

Sources   http://basaksehir-livinglab.com/ ; https://enoll.org/network/living-labs/

Başakşehir is a municipality of the metropolitan area of Istanbul counting about 380.000 inhabitants, with quite high levels of education and entrepreneurship but also with a significative presence of poverty. In 2014, the municipal government, in partnership with ICT firms, local firms, research centers and universities, created a research facility based on the Living Lab approach to support its vision of becoming a "City of Applied Information Technologies and Innovation". The mission of Başakşehir Living Lab (BLL) is the development, testing and production of ICT innovations towards a livable, efficient and environment friendly urban environment. The facility is open to all the citizens and SMEs in Başakşehir that have limited resources but innovative ideas: the BLL and its partners provide business management support, technical competences and the equipment needed to develop new product or service ideas, while citizens visiting the center are invited to participate in testing activities of new technologies (either produced in the BLL or elsewhere).

Innovative ICT services developed by the BLL for the city and citizens of Başakşehir include:
-   a Geography Information System, an app for

mobile devices integrating e-map technology and location data from the Municipality to provide location based information;

- a "Support Card", a smart card for people in need providing credit which can be spent for certain products and services in a number of local shops;

- an Outdoor Security System (Mobese) consisting of a network of full HD street cameras for urban security, connected to the offices of the municipality and to the local police department;

- A mobile health kit accessible by mobile phone to measure and report basic health parameters;

- "Biopipe", a sustainable waste water treatment system;

- "Metroplus", a software app for the optimization of urban public transport system;

- "Duyum", home automation technologies for deaf people;

- "Gadron", an application for real estate value determination;

The BLL also works on market-oriented innovations in various technological fields, from unmanned aerial vehicles, toothbrushes and paper made from calcium carbonate and biopolymers ("stone paper") to software applications for mobile phones (virtual shopping, social media platforms, educational apps, etc.).

The BLL center, built according to green principles and mostly powered by solar energy, include both facilities for the development of new products and services (an electronic laboratory, a design factory, consulting services for business development and commercialization, a music studio and a video production studio) and areas dedicated to the end-users and to the local community: a conference center, an education center, an open office space, a lounge area for social events, an healthcare station (where users can monitor their most important vital parameters without assistance, using simple applications developed by BLL) and the "user experience showroom", a 900 square meters area where citizens and investors can see and test new technologies and services produced in the lab, giving their feedbacks to the developers.

BLL is a member of the European Living Lab network ENoLL, and joined international innovator networks to support the diffusion and marketization of its researches. One of its near future objectives is also to replicate similar Living Labs in other Turkish cities, and to inspire similar projects in other countries.

Başakşehir's project is a good example of an civic ULL centered on the diffusion of ICT innovations in a difficult area of a great metropolis: it provides citizens with local collective competition goods (Crouch *et al.*, 2001) to develop their ideas and to test them in real-life environments, supporting creativity and entrepreneurship with the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life and the sustainability in the urban environment. Although similar to a business incubator, the BLL is also committed to educational purposes, encouraging the diffusion of knowledge and

providing basic services for citizens without means: in this sense, the BLL innovation center acts as a seed for the development of a bottom-up approach to the "smart city", making up for market failures and encouraging the activation of the civil society towards a better diffusion and use of new technologies.

3. Methodological notes for inclusive urban development projects

Like in many other projects for urban development experimented by cities in the last thirty years (Evans *et al.*, 2016), inclusive decision making has a central role in ULL: it allows for a better consideration of all variables and interests involved, and may help the gathering of all knowledge, information and resources needed to fulfill the project's objectives (Susskind and Cruikshank, 1987). It may also be useful to reduce opposition to policies and projects by specific social groups, or the risk of the "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) syndrome, which often arises when a decision threatens to generate a negative impact on a local community. Yet, when it comes to urban governance, the temptation of "deciding alone" (or to involve only a small group of selected stakeholders in the decisional process) is always strong, in particular for public actors legitimized by democracy and having the strength to enforce their solutions: the choice to enlarge the number of the actors involved in a decision causes higher decisional costs, in terms of both time and resources. Also, inclusive processes are often quite hard to manage, since they require the coordination of many public and private actors: they need to be carefully organized and planned, in

particular in the fluid socio-economic contexts of the cities of the Souths of the World. The following paragraphs will point out the main critical aspects of inclusive urban processes, and provide some guidelines and hints for their successful assemblage, management and evaluation.

3.1 At which stage of the process should inclusive methodologies be started?
Actors willing to organize an urban development project, and in particular public administrations, are often tempted not to include end-users and communities in the decision-making process from the very beginning, but only after some key steps and choices have already been taken: typically, after the initial idea or concept has been fully defined, and after a technical analysis has been produced.

This tendency can be easily understood considering how development projects are usually generated: when an urban problem (or an opportunity for development) is perceived by a public administration, it starts a cognitive process, usually a technical study of the current situation, which produces possible solutions and a first analysis of their feasibility. Technicians, experts and politicians are not inclined to present the project to the public before they identified a viable solution or course of action, or at least without a well-defined idea, which could withstand criticism. Such technical-based approach is based on a just sense of responsibility towards the public and the end-users, but sometimes it may pose some serious threats to the realization of the project: once the idea has been defined, radical modifications are very difficult to accept. The proposal may be integrated, and some changes may be made, but completely different options

or actions proposed by the community are not likely to be welcome, since they would require a step back, and a waste of the time and money the technicians and experts spent on the project (sunk costs). The attention is no more on the original problem, but instead on the proposed solution: other possible options may not even be considered, or may be disregarded due to the partiality of the proposing administrations towards their project (i.e., the protest against the project of an incinerator may distract the city from a more ample and generative debate on waste reduction and recycling).

Even worse, when presented with a project in which the critical choices have already been made, the public and the target community may perceive it as a "take it or leave it" proposal, in which their decisional role is marginal, thus raising the risk of disengagement, exit, social or political protest, as it happens with the "Not in My Backyard" syndrome.

Another possible risk concerns the implementation of the project, in particular when other public administrations are involved in that phase: the operators and executives within those organizations may not be committed to a project in whose design they had no part, and may find it difficult to understand its objectives and goals.

In order to avoid all those risks and inefficiencies, Living Lab methodologies propose a completely different approach, recommending, when an inclusive process is needed, to start the public debate as soon as possible: i.e., not on an already designed (or even sketched) project, but on the possible options to confront a particular problem or

opportunity. This choice allows for a better considerations of all processual choices, for a better understanding of the problem itself (with a direct representation of all interests involved) and even for the emergence of creative, unimagined solutions generated by a different approach to the debate topic.

Another advantage in earlier inclusion is the possibility to build trust between participants, and to let criticisms and oppositions emerge in a phase when negotiations are still possible, avoiding the waste of time and money.

On the other hand, the choice of starting inclusive processes as soon as possible implies some risks: it is important to carefully choose who should be included in the decision-making process. Involving local actors and communities at such an earlier stage may be difficult, since people and interests are easily activated by the protest against a possible threat, while may be reluctant to spend time to join an open debate around a problem whose solution is still to be defined. A careful choice of who should be included in the decision making process (par. 3.2) and the adoption of techniques for good communication and organization of the process (par. 3.3) are crucial to realize a successful ULL.

3.2 Who should participate in the inclusive process?

Choices about the number and characteristics of the participants in an inclusive project are always complex and important, and have a direct correlation to the capacity of the process to produce good results. The rational choice is usually to include in the decision-making all people and groups interested by the object of the debate. Yet, it's often practically impossible to include all end-users and target

communities: in a typical ULL, thousands of citizens should be involved, and it's obvious that no table nor room could be large enough to allow a place for them all. As a rule of thumb, all efforts should be made to include all stakeholders involved, making should no one is excluded *a priori*: doing so, no one will be able to de-legitimize the process ex post, lamenting its unjust exclusion from the ULL. But more definite criteria should be envisaged, in order to allow the inclusive process to start and to have a chance to produce solutions and to make choices. A preliminary research on the field may be necessary in order to determine which stakeholders are involved, analyzing all possible impacts of the project (on the local society, on the economy, on the environment, on the urban setting) and the subjects best qualified to represent them in the ULL, building a "map" of all relevant actors. Some interests and stakeholders are usually easy to spot: public administrations and organized groups (labor unions, trade unions, local interest groups, citizen committees, cultural or sports associations, etc.) can be easily invited to join the process. But problems may arise when there are no organized groups to represent some of the interests which could bring their voice to the decision-making process: in such cases, a well-planned preliminary research, including an information campaign and outreach techniques (Wates, 2000), may help the communities to organize themselves, making new actors emerge in response to the call of the ULL. When dealing with diffused interests without any form of voice, it is also possible to resort to a call for volunteers or to a drafted group of citizens, with methodologies experimented by consensus conferences, Citizens' Juries (Stewart et al., 1994; Cosby, 1995), Planungszelle ("Planning Cells": Dienel,

1991; 1999) and Deliberative Opinion Polls (Fishkin, 1991).

A common objection to the inclusion of spontaneous groups or citizen committees is the question of their capacity to truly represent diffused interests: local administrators are often weary of those groups, whose representativeness and legitimation are very hard to prove, fearing them to be merely vehicles for protest. In inclusive ULL, problems regarding representativeness can be ignored, given that all participants are willing to contribute to the project. Stakeholders desiring to bring their voice to the table, even the most conflictual ones, should be included in the process, not only because every knowledge and opinion may be important but also because ULL are designed to make disagreement emerge and to cope with it in productive ways, in order to produce better and shared solutions to complex problems. Even when there are opposite positions on a topic, the underlying interests may be brought to an agreement, through discussion and negotiation (Bobbio, 2004; Fisher et al., 2011) and with the help of neutral mediators (Forester, 1999). And if some participants should show an irreducible hostility to the project, at least their opposition will be immediately revealed during the early phases of the process: discovering it later stage be much more dangerous and costly.

A different situation happens when there are groups refusing to join the process (usually for political or ideological reasons). These groups should be formally invited nonetheless, and they should be allowed to join the ULL at a later stage, if they change their mind. But it is also important to inform all other participants of the existence of other positions and ideas, not

represented in the debate, taking them into consideration: sooner or later, the project will have to cope with them.

3.3 Basic principles for the organization of inclusive processes

Managing an ULL involving many actors with different languages, interests, sensibility, may not be easy. The participants should receive good information to enable them to understand the discussed topics. They all should have the opportunity to fully express their opinions. Conflicts need to be managed until an agreement is found. Timing and progress of the process must be kept under control. A poorly organized process may not only be a waste of time, but may also have a negative social impact, deluding the citizen's expectations and shattering trust among local actors.

An extended review of all techniques to ease the process, to encourage productive cooperation between its participants and to solve conflicts is well beyond the scope of this paper: detailed information can be easily found in many manuals dedicated to consensus-building (i.e.: Susskind et al., 1999; Fisher et al., 2011) and community planning (i.e.: Wates, 2000). But all those techniques share some common principles that can be adopted in any ULL, as guidelines for the effective organization of an inclusive decision-making process:

a) *Avoid complex language and technical terminology*: to manage an ULL, it is important to be aware of the presence of actors (in particular citizens and end-users) which have no knowledge of the technical language usually adopted in urban development processes. All concepts should be explained, even the ones that are obvious to urban studies experts. Graphics,

images, model and examples should be used, and an effort should be made to translate complex concepts in order to make them understandable to all participants. The development of a "common language" shared by all actors of the ULL will greatly improve the chance of success, and will lead to a more profitable debate and to more shared and detailed projects.

b) *Set up explicit and shared rules to organize the process*: an ULL is not merely an assembly, where a promoter presents an idea trying to make other participants agree with it: it's an arena for the development of shared ideas and concepts, in which everyone should be able to play an equal role, regardless of his power in the urban chessboard. In order to avoid endless discussions and the subsequent frustrations, some organization is required: the first step is to present the "rules of the game" and to have all participants agree on them, before the real work starts. The process should be clearly divided in phases, with a well-defined timing for each phase and for each meeting of the Lab. Rules and timing should be flexible enough to adjust the process according to the circumstances, but should also be rigorous enough to give a clear indication of the effort required to all participants and to regulate the process activities towards the expected results, without unnecessary delays. Also, a long-term view of the process should be adopted: even if short-term marketisation of the innovations produced by ULL is usually one of the mail goal of their promoters (private companies, urban and regional governments, etc.), successful innovation often needs time, and in many

ULL long periods of discussion, contestation, experimentation and testing have been necessary before new solutions or new technologies could be embedded in the local context and stabilized, through a difficult trial and error process requiring many adjustments to satisfy all the actors and interests involved (Marvin *et al.*, 2018).

The spaces utilized for Lab activities should be carefully cured, preferring a set-up which could encourage interaction (i.e. a round table) and avoid distractions. When possible, meetings and visits could be arranged in the areas where the project will take its effects, to provide a more immersive experience and a better contact with the "real world" where the testing and implementation will be realized.

c) *Encourage informality*: an ULL is not a formal event, but a process intended to build capacity for collective actions: it is important to make all participants feel welcome and relaxed, in order to encourage the development of trust and cooperation between them. The meetings should be held in an accessible and neutral place, not strongly linked to any of the powers and interests involved in the process. Invitations should be accompanied by personal contacts with the organizers, to explain the process and to point out the importance of participation. Welcome procedures should be well organized, but should be also very informal, avoiding distinctions between participants based on their status or on the importance of their organizations. Whenever possible, the meetings should not involve large numbers of participants, in order to allow everyone to express his opinion and to develop personal relations with all

other actors (if many actors are involved, multiple, "parallel" tables can be organized: information and exchange between them will be cured by the organizers). Participants should not be forced to speak, if they prefer to stay silent – but they should always be aware of the possibility to express their voice, as many times as they want. The more informal the meetings are, the more the participants will be encouraged to take an active role, and the easier will be to resolve eventual conflicts.

d) *Ensure the transparency and fairness of all phases, activities and decisions*: participants lacking resources or power (i.e. common citizens, associations, local committees) may be suspicious of inclusive processes where "strong" actors are involved. They may feel their role as merely symbolic, while important decisions are taken elsewhere without their voice. In order to reassure them of their importance to the ULL, all information relevant to the process and all knowledge needed to analyze the topic and to produce solutions should be shared to all participants. Everyone should be encouraged to honestly express statements and opinions: even if this could lead to conflicts, it's the only way to produce an open debate and to build trust. Procedures and decisions should be transparent in all phases of the process, and no participant should be allowed to negotiate his interests in a "separate room". If privileges are accorded to some participants, others may feel cheated and demotivated, endangering the whole process.

3.4 Evaluating the process and its outcomes

Given the learning by doing nature of ULL, it is vital to evaluate the effects of such experiments in urban transition processes (Sharp and Salter, 2017). To this end, a threefold typology of "direct, indirect and diffuse impacts" to understand the success of urban living lab projects has been proposed (Schliwa et al., 2015): but while direct impacts can be easily measured from an economic (i.e. costs of the product, job creation, reduction of bills, lifecycle costs), ecological (i.e. resource efficiency, energy efficiency, reductions of pollution) or social perspective (i.e. acceptance of technologies, quality of life, number of participants involved in the project), and indirect impacts could be estimated analyzing follow-up activities of diffusion, knowledge transfer (to the academic sphere, but also, and more importantly, to the society and the market), or policy reform, diffuse impacts are more difficult to detect, since they often refer to changes in normative or cultural values which may influence the perception of problems and

the design of future urban infrastructures, and such changes require some time to stabilize and may be hard to link to their generative causes.

Another important aspect of an ULL to be evaluated, other than its impacts, is the quality of the process. Was the decision-making process efficient? Were the resulting decisions wise, fair, practicable? Did the process improve the relationships between the stakeholders? Did it generate trust among them? Did community empowerment (Iscoe and Harris, 1984; Laverack, 2001) grow? Did the organizers learn some original tools to innovate the urban context? Although it may not be easy to answer those questions, all information about the quality of the process, in particular the one collected directly from the participants, will be useful to modify the procedures and the objectives of the Lab, adapting it to the real-world scenario and actors (*in itinere* evaluation), as well as a learning tool to better organize future activities (*ex post* evaluation).

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Exploring geospatial data issues from the global souths perspective. Approaches, sources and methodologies

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Introduction

The objects of this contribution are, broadly speaking, geospatial data and analyses, whether or not they are overtly geographic information, whether they have public or private origin, whether they are freely accessible - potentially anywhere and by anyone - or subject to various kinds of restrictions.

The focus is placed rather on the different geographical scales (global, national, regional, urban, local) that characterize them, on the formats - which are nowadays fundamentally digital or digitalized - and on the IT and web environments and tools through which they can be consulted and processed.

Of great relevance is also the value attributed to such information by the different subjects (natural or legal, formal or informal, institutional or non-institutional entities) that collect, produce, validate, analyse, interpret, disseminate and use it. Depending on the case, this value can be political, economic, social, cultural, scientific, and technical, and it can certainly change in relation to the different types of activities to be performed: strategic, planning, programmatic, cognitive, marketing, experimental activities, etc.

Equally important is obviously the cultural and geographical context, with its variables and peculiarities, within which geospatial data and analyses originate and spread, just as their potential recipients with their different competences and aspirations are fundamental. In relation to this last point, the paper is addressed mainly, but not exclusively, to PhD students who make research in the field of urban and regional studies in the so-called countries of the South of the World.

The paper reflects on the role and methods of production, dissemination, use and exploitation of geospatial data and analyses adopting a point of view necessarily mediated by the constructs and systems that characterize the countries of the global North, but with a particular focus on those research activities that investigate the Global South environments and spaces. One of our objectives is to propose some precautions regarding the approach to take in relation to different data sources and issues and their treatment with reference to the countries of the South of the World. In fact, we believe that the scope, the size and the complexity of the question we are asked to address require us to put forward some clarifications about the way in which we approach on a global scale the question of data and its analysis, particularly urban and territorial data, together with a whole series of more strictly methodological considerations.

The next section provides some considerations of general and theoretical nature, while all the other paragraphs are devoted to more practical examples about different 'families' of data that could be useful to explore when carrying on different urban research activities.

1. Data and Global Souths, between capitalism imperatives and research purposes

To begin with, we need to spend a few words on the different meanings the concept of *data* assumes according to the geopolitical and socio-cultural contexts to which it refers, also and above all with respect to the economic and technological revolutions that occurred during the last decades. The starting point is to recognize in a broad sense that there is a profound link between the modern concept of *data* and the rationalism inherent in the scientific method but also in modern capitalism, as theorized by Max Weber. As known, both the scientific and the industrial revolution took place in Europe, and even the mediaeval proto-capitalism took shape in this precise geographical and cultural context. Both science and capitalism are therefore originally Western inventions. It is not a coincidence that the first examples of geospatial data and analysis were developed in the heart of neo-industrial Europe thanks to positivist, scientific (and bourgeois) impulses present at the time in some important capital cities such as Paris and London. We expressly think of the pioneering maps by Charles Piquet (1832) and John Snow (1854) developed to study the cholera epidemies in Paris and London, but also the subsequent London's poverty maps by Charles Booth (1898-1899) [fig. 1, 2, 3].

**Fig. 1 - Cholera map by Charles Picquet (48 districts, Paris, 1831)**

Source: https://www.crouchrarebooks.com
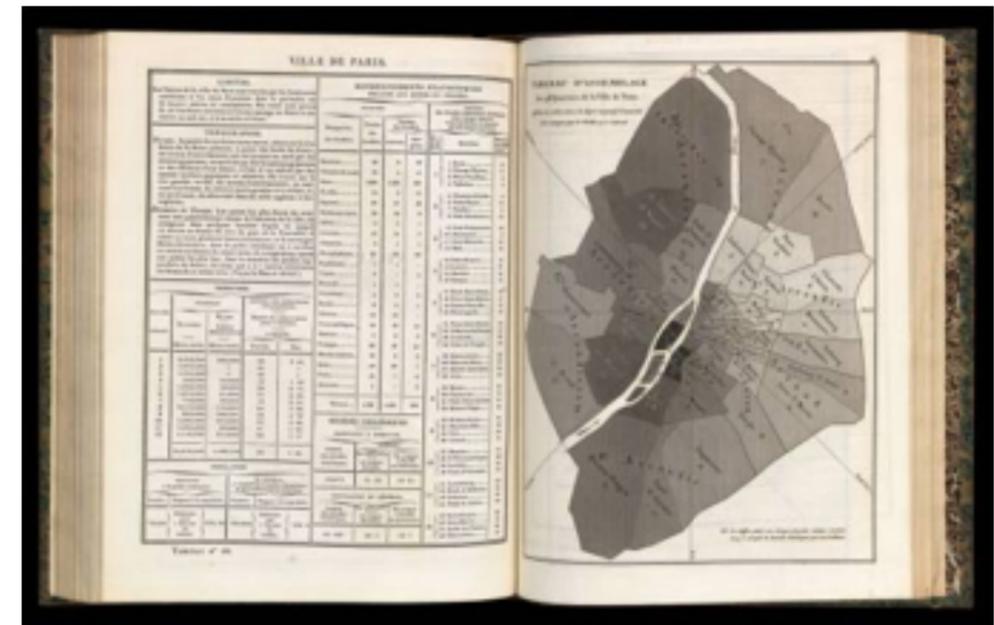
Fig. 2 - Cholera map by John Snow (Soho District, London, 1854)

Source: https://blogs.cdc.gov
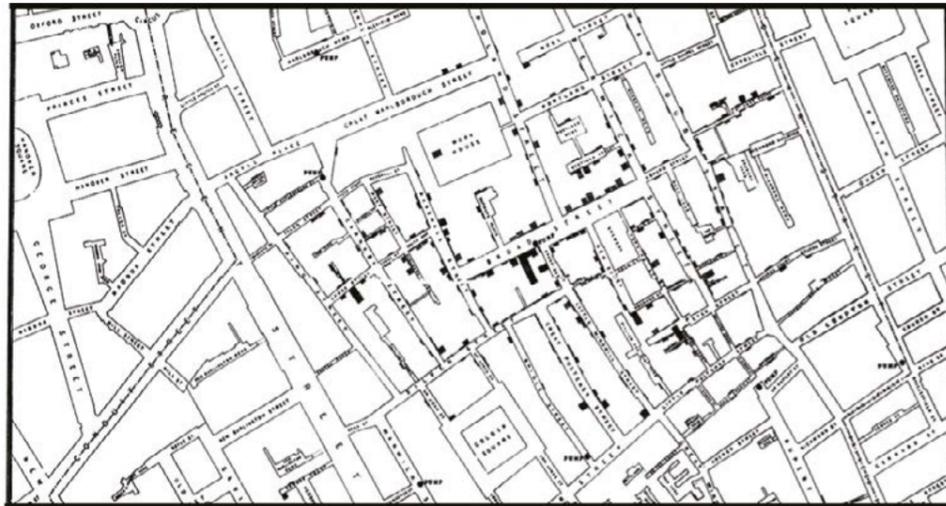
Fig. 3 – Poverty map by Charles Booth (Inner Wester District, London, 1898-9)

Source: https://booth.lse.ac.uk/
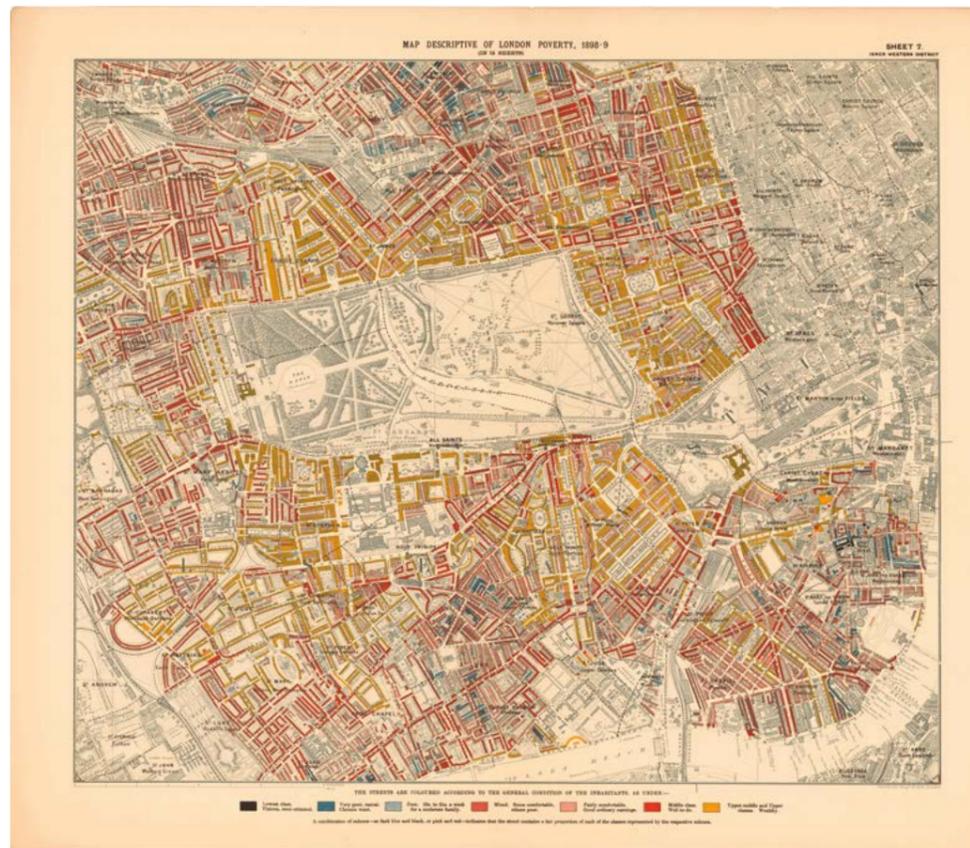
Leaving aside the relationship - much more evident and explored - between data and science, we want to try to reflect here more on the relationship between data and capitalism. This is because the same concept of the South of the World is strongly linked in a Weberian sense to this long-running phenomenon. Therefore, if it is true that the South of the World is the geopolitical and socio-cultural space in which modern capitalism has not yet become the only or prevalent mode of satisfying daily needs (Weber, 1923/1997, pp. 195 ss.), it becomes fundamental to understand how diffusion and extensive use of data, whatever it may be, even when dealing with experiences of anti-capitalist (and / or de-colonialist) *data activism*, are directly or indirectly connected to the way the capitalism reproduces itself, expands its influence and impacts on contemporary spaces and societies.

To address these arguments, one cannot ignore the specifics of the current phase that capitalism is going through, i. e. *digital capitalism* (Schiller, 1999; Fuchs, 2013) or *platform capitalism* (Srnicek, 2017). According to some scholars working in the field of so-called 'critical data studies', «when we map Big Data, we map the contours of capital» (Dalton, Taylor and Thatcher, 2016, p. 6). This poses obvious problems relating to the growth of inequalities at all scales, since «a great variety of 'software-sorting techniques' is now being widely applied in efforts to try to separate privileged and marginalized groups and places across a wide range of sectors and domains» (Graham, 2005, p. 562). It is interesting to note that according to these critical approaches the current differences in production, diffusion and access to data (in particular the 'big data', but

not only) are not exclusively a consequence of the intrinsic structural differences between advanced contexts and backward contexts (such as the digital divide issue), but more likely they are also the sign of the absence of specific *profit imperatives* (Dalton, Taylor and Thatcher, 2016) and market strategies.

«Digital exclusion confirms capitalism's selective interest in creating markets and exploiting labor. Not every population is equally attractive to capital. A totalizing push for data extractivism, driven either by corporate expansionism or state policies, would have improved digital access. However, just like previous forms of capitalism, digital capitalism selectively targets publics while completely ignoring others. It is not equally driven to monitor, track, and commoditize all populations. In a region with historically entrenched, abysmal levels of social inequality, digital exclusion is another form of social marginalization» (Segura and Waisbord, 2019, p. 416).

Studies that relate *dataification* (Van Dijck, 2014) and *data justice* are increasingly numerous and in some cases they place a strong emphasis on cities of the Global South and their specificities to investigate above all the risks for urban populations that are already marginalized (especially those living in informal areas) and who risk being further marginalized and under-represented[80]. According to some scholars, the intrinsic power of knowledge structures and information flows have exacerbated existing divides and debased the Global South specific knowledge (Andrejevic, 2014; de Sousa Santos, 2014; Milan and Treré, 2019). Milan and Treré (2019, p. 324) argue that there is a growing necessity to question

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80 https://www.sci.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/urban-data-inequality-global-south/

data universalism, i.e. «the tendency to assimilate the cultural diversity of technological developments in the Global South to Silicon Valley's principles» and to go beyond it to avoid or mitigate what de Sousa Santos (2014) specifically defines *epistemicide* of the South.

Therefore, given this inexorable capacity of profit-linked mechanisms to determine the fate of the territories and populations that inhabit them, does it really make sense to wonder about other possible data regimes as an alternative to capitalism-driven ones? If this is the case, as we believe, then what are or must be the ethical imperatives (beside scientific ones, of course) to be placed at the base of alternative and complementary ways of collecting and disseminating data from subjects able to free themselves from capitalist domination (Dalton, Taylor and Thatcher, 2016)?

All these considerations and questions become crucial and urgent if we assume the thesis according to which in the XXI century the countries of the South of the World will progressively complete their process of assimilation to the capitalist model regardless of the specific forms that it will take[81]. Accordingly it becomes important to recognize the specificity of the current situation - evidently the result of a phase of geopolitical and socio-cultural transition - and also to consider apparently negative facts - such as the lack of data or the inability to produce them like in the North of the World - in a possibilist, pluralist and anti-epistemic perspective. Perhaps also in the scope of urban and territorial studies, thanks to the techniques and methodologies typical of these disciplines, new practices and

trajectories of production and use of data could be developed in the future in an alternative way to those of strictly capitalistic matrix. We know that this is already happening in various forms, but we are not able to establish whether even the most virtuous experiences will be able over time to subvert the dominant logics already mentioned. However, insisting on the search for a new data ethic remains something desirable at least to try to push away the spectre of *data colonialism*, but also that, certainly more misunderstood, of academic and professional colonialism.

We can now introduce the methodological issues on which we have decided to build this contribution based on the start of the work of the School of Global South. We must certainly begin by saying that we will base ourselves on the awareness that the work we are called to do as urban and regional scholars is now completely performed within the field of digitalization of processes, communications and social relationships. These are processes that, in addition to expanding our possibilities of knowledge, hide various ethical pitfalls. Therefore, when referring to geospatial data issue we have to recognize the existence of «two contradictory forces in contemporary digital societies: (1) data extractivism and surveillance driven by corporations and states and (2) the possibilities for citizens' resistance and autonomy in late capitalism» (Segura and Waisbord, 2019, p. 412). Notwithstanding this evidence, since this contribution is strongly oriented to instruct concrete research activities, we do not intend to take sides with either one or the other force. We rather prefer to explore a wide range of sources and methodologies based on the actual availability and usability

of information and tools within a conceptual framework based on the awareness of what they are and represent.

It is the intention of this contribution to provide some general coordinates on geospatial data, trying to recall terms and concepts from which to conduct more specific research in different geographical contexts. Providing a few key words, accompanied by some concrete examples, can be very useful since we are addressing an audience of young researchers with extremely different backgrounds, competences and abilities. Our aim is to increase awareness about the multifaced world of urban data and specifically of geospatial data. Our experience in the educational and training field tells us how some technical-methodological notions are not always guaranteed by the university educational offer and how the acquisition of certain notions should not be taken for granted even for students attending the same course degree program or for doctoral students of the same doctoral course. For this reason, we believe that this paper must fundamentally provide an overview of notional and terminological "realignment" even before being strictly methodological. In this sense, our contribution intends to provide stimuli and clues on how to navigate the vast and varied world of geospatial data.

The following paragraphs are dedicated to some large types or families of data, tools and infrastructures that it would be important for PhD students to recognize at least in their purpose and specificity. The articulation of the different paragraphs is dictated by our intention to provide a first broad classification of the

vast world of urban and territorial data. This classification, which cannot be exhaustive, is fundamentally based on the type of sources, scales, formats and work environments. Each paragraph tries roughly to return definitions, actors involved in the processes of innovation and application, methods of functioning, aims and possible recipients. With reference to the latter, in some cases, any measures to be adopted for each case will be reported. In general, this contribution constitutes a synthesis effort that we certainly consider useful, if not even preparatory, to the conduct of empirical research activities dictated by the methodological approach of the School of the "Souths of the World 2019"[82]. What is gathered in this contribution is in fact the prerequisite for more detailed explorations to be hopefully constructed around one or more of the ten urban variables identified by the aforementioned methodological framework: density; diversity; dimension; porosity; social and geographical mobility; informality, poverty, informal economy; social norms and commons; governance and social capital, rationality and openness; housing and ecology.

2. Institutional geoportals and Open Data

In the last two decades, technologies related to spatialization and geo-referencing of data have made great strides. Not only private companies and institutions specialized in this sector have developed information systems and web platforms dedicated to the systematization and querying of geospatial data. Also public institutions, at different levels, have designed and implemented innovative platforms for

81   Paolo Perulli, "Alla ricerca del Sud Globale", PhD Seminar held on 30th January 2019 at DiARC, University of Naples "Federico II".

82   http://www.southsoftheworld.com/the-methodological-framework/

managing and sharing their official data, starting with the registry and census records referring to a variety of administrative and functional geographies. This fact has produced positive impact on the academic research initiatives since official statistics can and must still represent a fundamental resource for urban research. Every institutional effort to detect and harmonize census and registry statistics, to make them accessible, searchable, downloadable, continues to be valuable even in an age in which big data seems to annihilate effectiveness, in describing ever more changeable and complex contemporary phenomena, of databases, geo-statistical repositories and more traditional atlases. The main concerns, as is known, are on the one hand the gradual aging of information, on the other their space-time comparability since the historical detection thresholds do not always coincide with data coming from other innovative sources in more rapid updating. Other kind of problems derive from the anchoring of official institutional data to administrative boundaries that are less and less able to reflect the socio-spatial phenomena in progress.

With reference to institutional data, it is important to note that in recent years interesting initiatives have been developed for the construction and management of homogeneous databases on a global or continental level positively affecting the knowledge of the Global South countries. Some operations specifically addressed to these countries have led to Open Data portals managed by or in cooperation with some

international institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations and the OECD. Since the first government policies on Open Data appeared in 2009, many improvements have been made and today more than almost 50 developed and developing countries have launched their Open Data initiatives at national, subnational and city levels (World Bank, Open Government Data Toolkit[83]). A very detailed overview designed to conduct comparative analyses on the spread of institutional Open Data at a global level is offered by The Open Data Barometer (ODB), a portal produced by the World Wide Web Foundation with the support of the Omidyar Network. The ODB aims «to uncover the true prevalence and impact of open data initiatives around the world» combining «contextual data, technical assessments and secondary indicators»[84] [fig. 4].

Fig. 4 – Open Data Barometer: chart illustrating the state of the Open Data implementation in India

Source: https://opendatabarometer.org
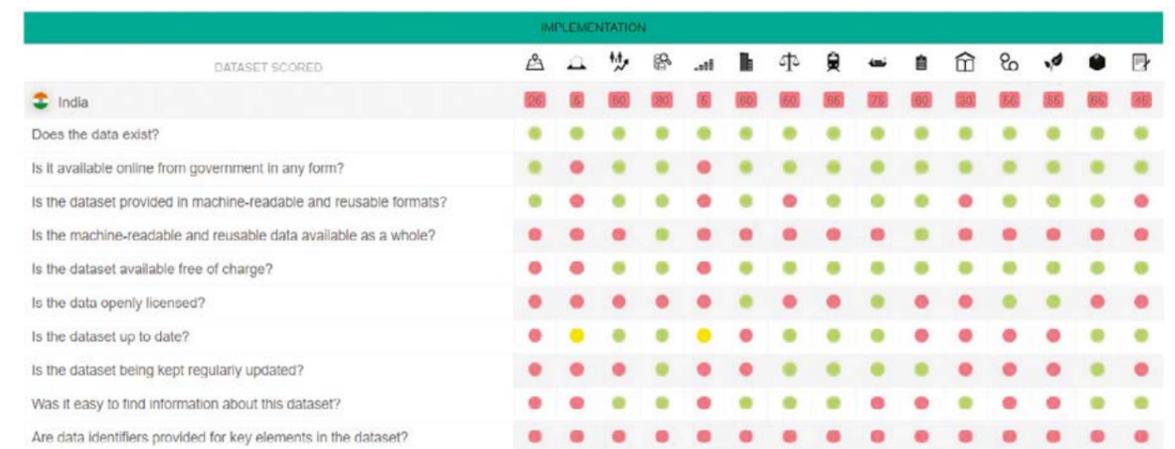
The World Bank open data portal is also worth mentioning as it systematically collects thousands of datasets from countries around the world[85], also concerning microdata[86]. On the microdata front, the NADA case is particularly relevant since it is an open source microdata cataloguing system developed by the World Bank Group that "serves as a portal for researchers to browse, search, compare, apply for access, and download relevant census or survey datasets, questionnaires, reports and other information"[87].

If we exclude for a moment the strictly geospatial data, a very interesting relationship to explore and to spend a few words on is that between official data and statistics and informal phenomena which tend, for obvious reasons, to escape from official surveys. Since informality (urban and not only) is a distinctive trait for many realities in the southern hemisphere, it

may be useful to clarify that some countries are attempting to obviate its physiological statistical fleetingness. As the World Bank makes clear, "in the principle, the informal sector should be included in national statistics", however the governments of some countries have long started to include in their surveys also data referable to the informal sector[88]. The World Bank also mentions the virtuous example of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) that has built an inventory of practices of its 29 member countries that measures "non-observed economic activities (underground, illegal, informal or undertaken by households for their final use)"[89]. The OECD also conducted a similar operation in the past (2002) by publishing a real handbook entitled *Measuring the Non-Observed Economy*[90]. Among the virtuous experiences on this topic we find also the General Data Dissemination System published by the International Monetary

83   http://opendatatoolkit.worldbank.org/en/open-data-in-60-seconds.html
84   https://opendatabarometer.org/

85   https://data.worldbank.org
86   https://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/home
87   http://nada.ihsn.org/
88   https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/114951-do-you-have-data-for-informal-sectors
89   https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/publications/NOE2008.pdf
90   https://www.oecd.org/sdd/na/measuringthenon-observedeconomy-ahandbook.htm

Fund (IMF)[91], as reported as well on the World Bank web site.

In addition to the cases described above, other types of not merely statistical geoportals are offered by different (not only institutional) subjects. Unlike the official statistics which often, especially in the countries of the southern hemisphere, make use of obsolete and therefore rigid portals and information technology, this second case is characterized by being accessible and consultable through new generation websites and platforms often with dedicated software and Web GIS clients. Worldwide, the first actual geoportals (web portal used to access geospatial information and geographic services) were developed and launched in the 1990s by US governments. Today there is a proliferation of geoportals for sharing of geographic information based on region or theme. Even when developed within US or Europe, new geoportals and data management standards produce positive impacts on other countries. As examples we can consider the ESRI ArcGiS Hub dedicated to Africa[92] [fig. 5] (geospatial tools data and training, free for users working on Africa geospatial challenges) and the EU-JRC worldwide observatories[93]. Another representative of this family is the Africapolis. org portal produced by the OECD Sahel and West Africa Club. It is the «only comprehensive and standardised geospatial database on cities and urbanisation dynamics in Africa. Combining demographic sources, satellite and aerial imagery and other cartographic sources, it is designed to enable comparative and long-term analyses of urban dynamics»[94] [fig. 6].

Fig. 5 – A screenshot from the Africa GeoPortal (ESRI ArcGIS Hub)

Source: https://africageoportal.maps.arcgis.com/home/gallery.html

91 https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/gdds/guide/2013/gddsguide13.pdf
92 http://www.africageoportal.com/
93 https://forobs.jrc.ec.europa.eu/observatories/
94 https://africapolis.org/

Fig. 6 – A screenshot from Africapolis.org (OECD Sahel and West Africa Club)

Source: https://africapolis.org/
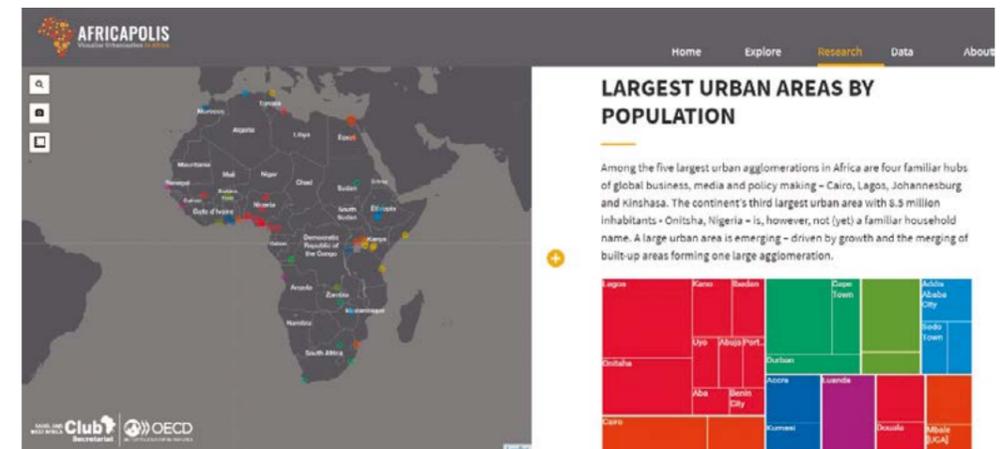
A great innovation in the field of geospatial data consultation and OpeGIS was the introduction of the so-called Consultation Service, in particular the Web Map Service (WMS) and the Web Feature Service (WFS). This type of web services has allowed forms of standardization and intersection between different geographic systems offering the possibility to directly transfer, access, analyse and process spatial data coming from different sources. According to the European INSPIRE guidelines, a Consultation Service should allow at least to display, navigate, vary the display scale and portion, overlap datasets that can be consulted, and to display the information contained in the legends and any relevant content of the metadata (Directive 2007/2/ EC). Also this type of web services developed in Europe are gradually spreading to other parts of the world.

3. Photo-cartographic mosaics

The term "mosaic" in the field of geospatial data refers to assemblages of single or multiple images and cartographies from different sources. These can be the result of systematic activities (automated or manual) or more sporadic and circumscribed technical, scientific, cultural or media operations.

In this section we deal in particular with some fundamental photo-cartographic mosaics with global or at least supranational coverage, produced by highly qualified and specialized subjects. In addition to the more or less free initiatives mentioned in the following paragraph - in certain cases, it must be said, lacking in the methodological rigor or exhaustive information about the same methodologies used - there are also types of photo-cartographic assemblages that are the work of specialized subjects who are responsible for the construction and management of global mosaics used by millions of people all around the world.

Photo-cartographic mosaics can cover different families of information, different themes and different types of data. This means that even the primary sources from which the materials subject to mosaic are derived can

have different nature and sources. In most cases purely cartographic mosaics tend to recompose, homogenize and make usable (at least accessible) fragmented information layers at national or sub-national level referring to land cover (natural, agricultural, urban), infrastructure and related flows, presence of population (mainly resident population), boundaries (administrative and otherwise), hydro-geomorphological elements and phenomena, environmental, climatic, epidemic phenomena etc. The level of definition can vary depending on the type of information and the origin of the data, but it is not always possible

to push up to the urban and local level. With reference to the theme of "soil", for example, it seems useful to point out the great work by ISRIC (International Soil Reference and Information Centre), an independent foundation whose mission is to serve the international community through the production, gathering and compilation of reliable and freely-available relevant soil information to address global environmental and social challenges[95]. The SoilGrids.org project, powered by ISRIC, seems exemplary with respect to the specific issue discussed in this section[96] [fig. 7].

Fig. 7 – A screenshot from SoilGrids.org (powered by ISRIC)

Source: https://soilgrids.org/
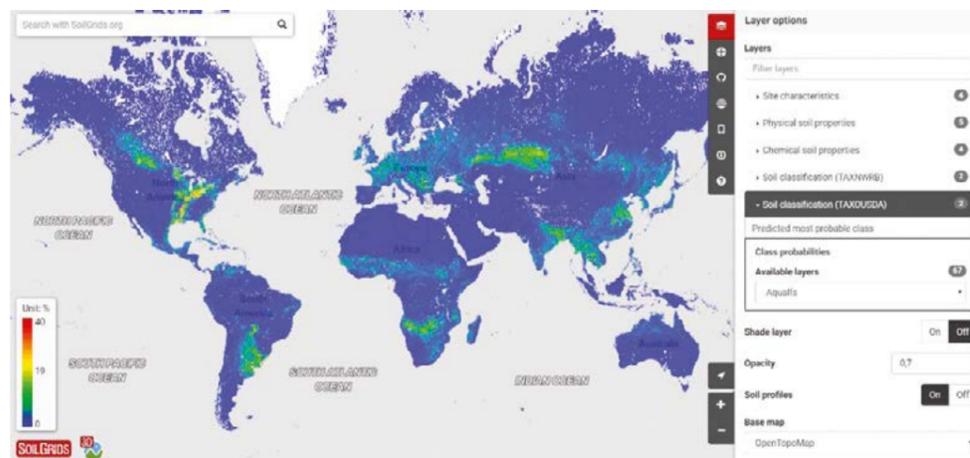
Besides the purely cartographic mosaics, photo satellite mosaics are available. These are extremely important because they are often at the origin – through technically complex remote-sensing and photo-interpretation processes – of thematic cartographies, in particular those on land covers, soil features

and soil temperatures. In fact, thanks to the radiometer and thermal infrared sensor on board of the last generation satellites, such as Sentinel-3 (ESA)[97] and Landsat-8 (NASA-USGS), it is possible "to detect long wavelengths of light emitted by the Earth whose intensity depends on surface temperature"[98].

Photo-cartographic mosaics play an important role in research for several reasons. The first reason is related to their use as maps of first (in remote) exploration and knowledge of the geographical contexts under study. The second is related to their use as basic layers (cartographic backgrounds) for different sectorial analyses that need to be spatialized, even for those who lack specific cartographic skills. Other equally important reasons concern the "mediation" effort, also linguistic, between different cultural contexts, as well as the effort of homogenization and construction of dedicated platforms that allow their use to any type of user. Moreover, it is evident that photo-cartographic mosaics are particularly useful where research interests and questions require comparative approaches and methodologies in the study of cities and regions distant from each other. In addition to geographical comparisons, thanks to the high technical skills and technological endowments of the actors involved, these mosaics allow to obtain information referred to contexts that are otherwise under-represented or lacking visibility. In this sense, the efforts of voluntary consortia aimed at developing international standards for the management of geospatial data were of fundamental importance. That is the case of the Open Geospatial Consortium (OGC), an international organization comprising almost 500 companies, government agencies and universities which has developed "more than 30 standards for a variety of geospatial data types, including the KML format developed by Google and submitted to the OGC"[99].

In terms of geospatial mosaicking, Google Earth is probably the best known and most used case in various scientific and professional fields. It is in fact a system of satellite and topographic imagery mosaicisation made available through a specific software[100] but also through a web version[101]. A very useful function for several reasons, also very popular even if available in a non-homogeneous manner, is Google Street View. This tool allows users to make screen observations at ground level through panoramic views (360° horizontally and 160° vertically) [fig. 8].

95   https://www.isric.org/explore/soil-geographic-databases
96   https://soilgrids.org/
97   https://sentinel.esa.int
98   https://landsat.gsfc.nasa.gov/thermal-infrared-sensor-tirs/

99   See http://opendatatoolkit.worldbank.org/en/supply.html
100 https://www.google.com/earth/
101 https://earth.google.com/web/

Source: https://earth.google.com/web/
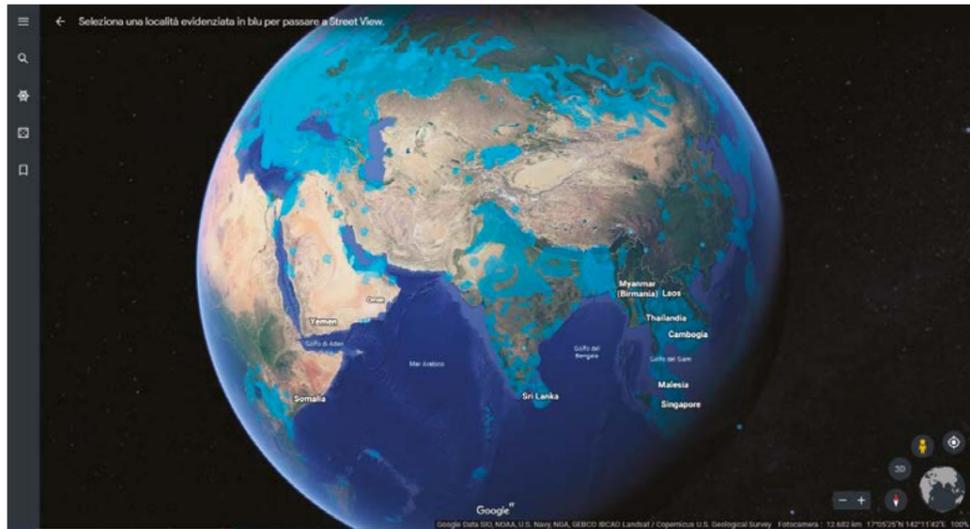
4. Assembled maps and datasets

In recent years the potentials and the possibilities offered by technology have become the basis for many mapping and information sharing projects globally. At the urban scale, information is available almost all over the planet for what concerns socio-economic data, but also for environmental and demographic ones. Therefore, the technologies and the availability of information - not necessarily ready to be mapped - have led to the proliferation of digital mapping initiatives. The assembled data are those examples in which the promoters bring together in a usually virtual space various information that can be of two types (i) scattered information coming from different databases (for example house numbers, national population, etc.) that are globally combined (as for example, GeoNames[102]); (ii) different information already present at a global level that are reworked with the construction of indicators between the

different information layers (world population, urbanized area, etc.) realizing new information (population density, accessibility, etc.).

The subjects that promote this kind of actions are multiple but usually it is the result of the work of researchers, freelancers, private citizens or associations etc. The purposes are often different and range from research objectives combined with the desire of scholars to show and share information to the public up to reporting operations or more simply pure sharing of information. The objective of the section is to understand whether these types of data can be used in researches or as a tool to support the monitoring or the reporting of existing situations. For this purpose, four key factors that can guide the user in the search (and combination) of information sources have been investigated: *reliability, open or closed dataset, technical skills needed, temporality and funds*. These will be discussed further in the following examples.

102 https://www.geonames.org/

The first case concerns the investigation of data reliability. Especially in situations where these data will become the basis for official projects it is necessary to explore their authority. The user must therefore be aware of how rigorous and correct those data are from the point of view of their construction-aggregation and the correspondence to the reality of the facts.

The first example is the *Global map of travel time to cities to assess inequalities in accessibility* in 2015 (Weiss et al., 2018)[103]

published on Nature during 2018. The aim of the research was to develop and validate a map that quantifies travel time to cities at a spatial resolution of one by one kilometre by integrating ten global scale surfaces and 13k high density urban centres. The results highlight disparities in accessibility relative to wealth as 50.9% of individuals living in low-income settings reside within an hour of a city compared to 90.7% of individuals in high-income settings [fig. 9].

Fig. 9 – Example of a research on the accessibility to cities
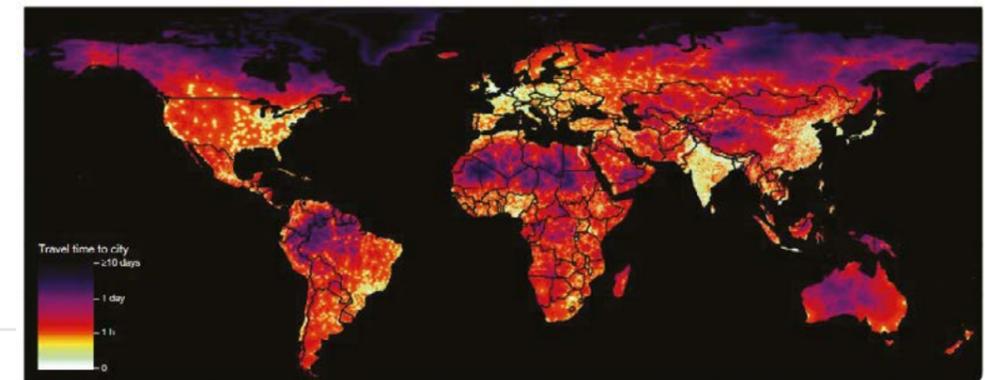
Figure 1 | **Global map of travel time to cities for 2015.** The accessibility map has a spatial resolution of approximately 1 × 1 km, spans 60° south to 85° north latitude, and enumerates travel time to the city with the shortest associated journey.

Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322368535

This is an assembled map that uses the technology of the European Community "Global Human Settlements Grid" together with the open data of OpenstreetMap and the Google Maps data concerning infrastructures. There is, therefore, a double mix both of data (population and infrastructures) and sources. The research consists of authoritative and truthful data as verified by both the researchers and the journal's reviewers.

At the same time this research - as well as other cases i.e. *Strava*[104] website or the *ArcGis initiatives*[105] - does not allow other subjects to reuse data and therefore this could be a limitation. In fact, as seen above, the paradigm of open data is fundamental to guarantee the diffusion of new studies and works related to the knowledge of places and political decisions.

Regarding the positive elements of re-use,

103 https://www.nature.com/articles/nature25181
104 https://labs.strava.com/
105 https://torymaps.esri.com/stories/2018/anthropocene/1-human-reach.html

possibility, the case of data opening of *GADM*[106] is important. The initiative started within the academic environment - at the University of Berkeley - as a database of the location of the world's administrative areas. Boundaries in this database include States, regions, departments, municipalities etc. and cover every country in the world [Fig. 10]. Visitors to

the *GADM* website can download administrative boundaries for individual Nations or they can download administrative boundaries for the entire world. There are other similar websites like Natural Earth[108] or Contour Map Generator[109] and many others that are created following the open data paradigm.

Fig. 10 – Example of the GADM database (Brazil)

Source: author's elaboration

Another crucial example is *The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)*[107]. It is "a disaggregated data collection, analysis and crisis mapping project". ACLED records the information of all reported political violence and protest events across the world with the

aim to "capture the forms, actors, dates, and locations of political violence and protest as it occurs across states" [Fig. 11]. All the data are available for free download and the website features a dashboard that allow some data analysis and interpolation.

106 https://gadm.org/index.html
107 https://www.naturalearthdata.com
108 https://contourmapgenerator.com
109 https://www.acleddata.com/

Fig. 11 – Example of the ACLED online map

Source: https://www.acleddata.com/dashboard/#
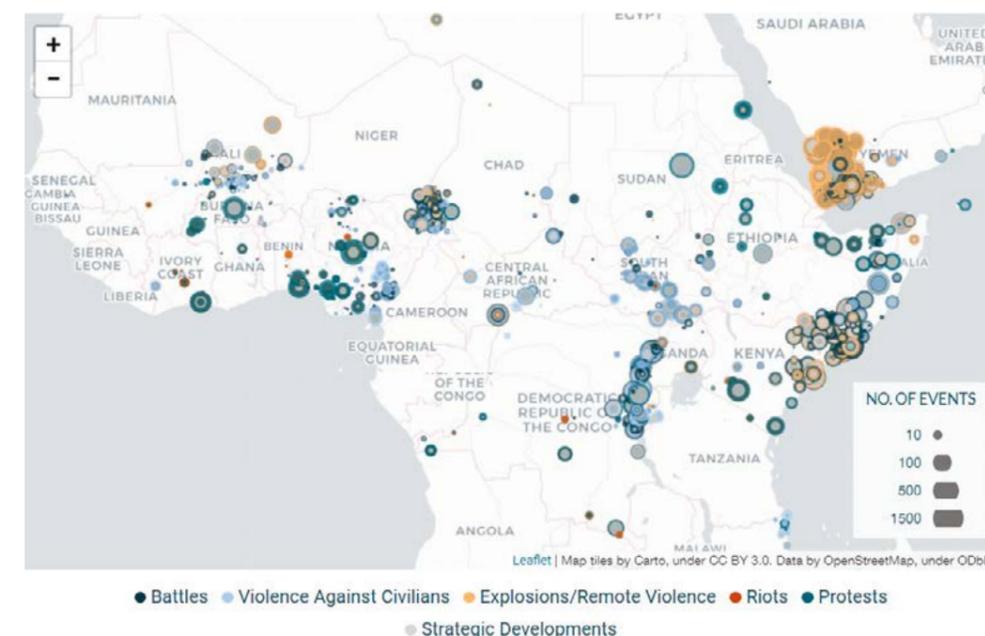
The objective of these works is not to provide an interpretation or analysis of the data by combining various databases or information, but to collect information regarding boundaries, or toponyms, or contour lines, or protests and fights from various sources or by data manipulation and to share information with the community allowing the creation of new analyses / studies.

Whether in the case of the travel time to cities it is the map, as a final result, that leads the user to understand the objective of the researchers, in these cases the objective is not the study of a phenomenon but the information sharing. To use the data, the user – as in many cases similar to these – should be an expert and know software and technologies that allow the usability of the datasets.

This should be a part of a general reflection related to the importance of the user-friendly dataset release but at the same time it should help to understand how to train the user to increase their capacity to use the dataset. It is important in order to consolidate and expand a community that knows how to use, improve, update and increase the data.

For the last key factors, we use another global map – this time produced by a private organization – as an example of the "Global Forest Watch"[110] [fig. 12]. It is an online platform providing data and tools for monitoring forests that was born in 1997 as a part of NGOs funding network.

110 https://www.globalforestwatch.org

Fig. 12 – Example of the Global Forest Watch map

Source: https://www.globalforestwatch.org
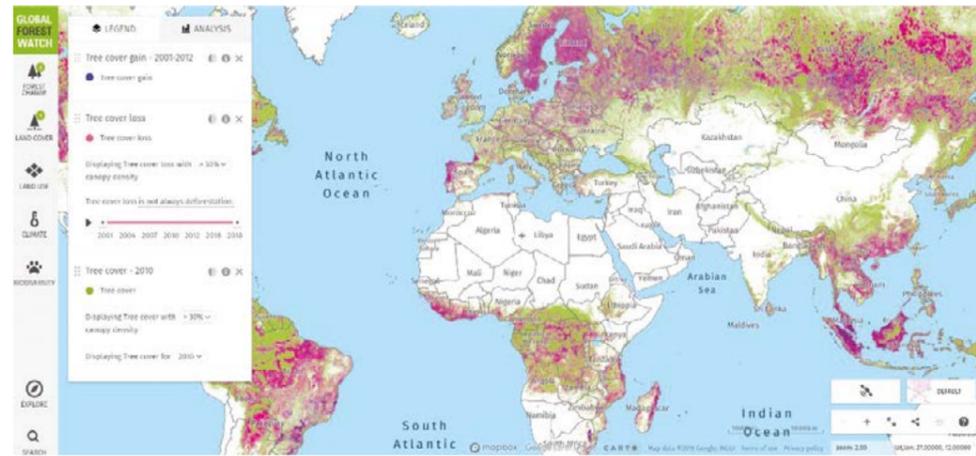
This type of mapping has the purpose of monitoring and reporting some environmental aspects that in this case concern global forests and their development or disappearance. The positive element of this example is the importance of simplifying and restoring complex data (in this case, satellite images produced by various institutions). Compared to the first case, it is possible to interact with data and download some of them.

One of the main nodes of this type of database is their economic sustainability. This is a common theme for most online initiatives: their destiny in the medium-long term. In many cases, the websites are funded with the community or organization support (UN, European Union, etc.) for a limited amount of time and money. Therefore, the dilemma regarding what will happen in the future cannot be avoided. It is a crucial point because some

of the (non-official) databases might disappear leaving a huge gap in the knowledge of the contexts.

In conclusion, it is useful to underline that these typologies of initiatives, with pros and cons previously described, are very important because they increase the information and the knowledge about the global phenomena grouping and spreading data otherwise difficult to recover. Several examples range from economic macro-data[111] to the submarine infrastructures[112] to the number of scientific publications of each state[113] to the spread of social networks[114] and to the population density[115]. Clearly, this type of database is fundamental for those countries in the Souths of the world, which, sometimes, do not have internal databases able to provide precise information: for example, the activities of ACLED are useful and crucial to report and

denounce the fights that usually are not monitored especially in those fragile areas.

The work of searching for alternative sources and data can really be fundamental for the studies and for the communities of those countries. It turns out therefore that these mixed examples are useful to underline the richness of information about the Souths of the world. Maybe, it could be interesting to create a portal to gather these websites or researches in order to have an easier starting point to understand our planet and to reuse the information produced over the years.

5. Volunteered geographic information (VGI) as global data source

An overview on geospatial data available in different geographical contexts cannot avoid to treat some specific sources provided directly by users according to their personal interest, their willing, their involvement in local projects and communities.

In 2007 Goodchild introduced the broad concept of Volunteered geographic information (VGI) as a novel source of geographic data coming from collaborative mapping projects that represent the set of geographic information generated and shared by a community of users through a data infrastructure (Goodchild, 2007). The reason why people decide to map, how accurate are the results and how this user generated content can augment more conventional sources can be discussed, but there is no question that this is one of the biggest innovations in the world of data

production in recent years.

The VGI represents an innovation in the panorama of geographic data especially as a potential tool for solving the problem of cartographic material production and update involving the citizens' knowledge. This is important for the public bodies mostly when the official cartography is lacking (Haklay et al. 2014). The constantly modifiable nature of the information characterizes the VGI as a new concept of knowledge: a cartographic representation that puts the "absolute power of the map, which admits neither criticism nor correction" into crisis. (Farinelli, 2003, p. 37). More and more open data-VGI hybrid systems are proving to be the most effective enabling technology vectors for innovative methods of mapping and enhancement of fragile and abandoned areas. This depends on many different factors but, first of all, on the possibility of interpolating extremely diversified data families coming from sources closely linked to the territory: this allows to make visible parts of that kind of local embedded knowledge that is often hidden or partially forgotten. In other cases, the use of local information sources is able to detect elements of the cultural landscape that are not mapped only because they are no longer part of the collective memory or have ended up unused due to an inability to enhance the stratified and lesser-known weave of our territories. This specific topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

Among the main VGI projects[116] aimed at producing maps or data at the global scale, the most prominent and useful for urban research is definitely Openstreetmap (OSM).

111 https://oec.world/en/
112 https://submarinecablemap.com
113 https://uk.rs-online.com/web/generalDisplay.html?id=did-you-know/most-scientific-countries-in-the-world
114 https://vincos.it/world-map-of-social-networks/
115 https://pudding.cool/2018/10/city_3d/?fbclid=IwAR3ZX1DPLA3LECHPAJeuJWIy2xQEM5shJU3JFw_whSMiHXGdtzDRhYoCJBs

116 OpenStreetMap (OSM), Wikimapia, Google Map Maker, Map Insight are some examples of Map-based VGI.

OSM[117] is a collaborative project aimed at creating an "open source" and editable map of the world. The data is grouped into different features[118], described by a number of tags such as amenities, buildings, highways, shops, railway, natural and many others. The map is created and maintained by nearly 5 million registered users and more than 1 million map contributors in every country in the world, using free tools and software.

Moreover, it has active mapper communities in many locations and it provides free and flexible contribution mechanisms for data (useful for map provision, routing, planning, geo-visualization, point of interests (POI) search, etc.) (Senaratne et al., 2017).

For this reason, it is not easy to state at the global level how this source is good and reliable for mapping purposes but at the same time there are some clear evidences that OSM is constantly improving in all regions, that OSM is often as good as or even better than what is commercially available and that more and more governments, institutions and researchers (Arsanjani et al., 2015) increasingly use and contribute to OSM [fig. 13-14].

Fig. 13 – Openstreetmap / Google map comparison in September 2017
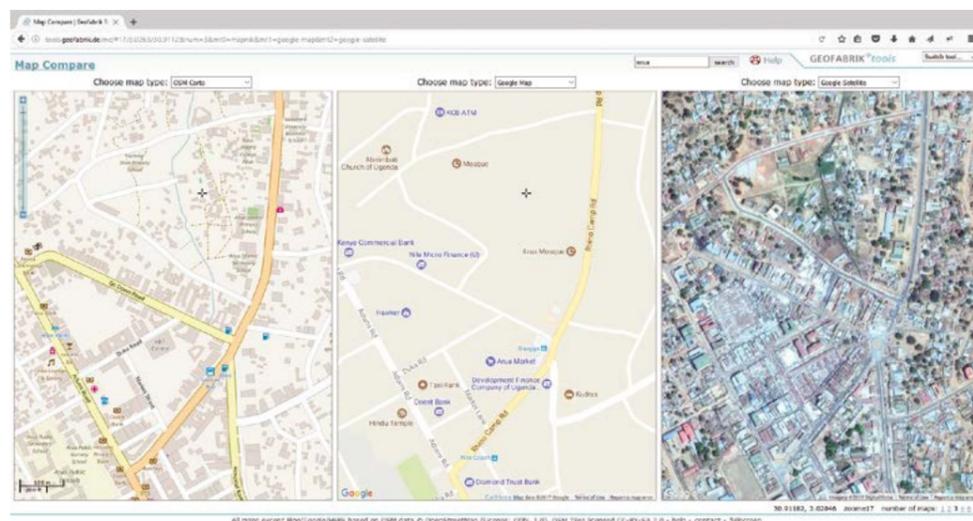
Fig. 14 – Example of Openrouteservice for disaster management. Openrouteservice is a project based on OSM for routing application on a global scale. Available at https://disaster.openrouteservice.org
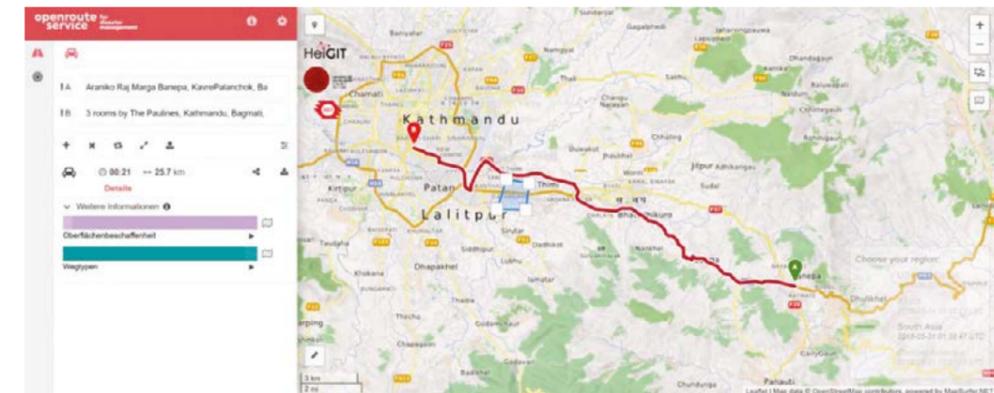
Humanitarian OpenStreetMap Team (HOT)[119] for example, is an international team dedicated to humanitarian action and community development through open mapping. Among the projects, promoted by HOT OSM, it is worth to cite Missing Maps[120], an open, collaborative project in which it is possible to map areas where humanitarian organisations are working, some initiatives aimed at mapping different cities around the world (Accra, Monrovia) and a collaboration between HOT OSM and Facebook for building and improving OSM coverage for Southern Asia countries by using Machine Learning technology.

In urban research, OSM can be very useful as a starting point for further analysis and elaboration because it is very well integrated with Open Source GIS software[121] and with spatial databases[122]. It's anyhow important to verify the quality and completeness of VGI data in respect of the scale and requirements of the ongoing investigations.

6. Counter-mapping and back: participatory mapping as empowerment process

The role of maps as tools to exert power has changed in the last decades thanks to VGI frameworks allowing anyone to place oneself on a map, getting visibility, fighting spatial abuses and claiming for rights. This grassroots political effort to contrast hegemonic uses of maps by dominant powers and to democratize mapmaking has been defined as "counter-mapping" and has opened the way to several experimentations in participatory mapping that involve or are developed by initiatives of local communities, incorporating local cultural knowledge and promoting meaningful access to information in context of emergency or critical invisibility.

The concept of counter-mapping was introduced by Nancy Peluso to describe mapping initiatives that indigenous people in Indonesia undertook to contest governmental

117 www.openstreetmap.org
118 https://wiki.openstreetmap.org/wiki/Map_Features

119 https://www.hotosm.org/
120 https://www.missingmaps.org/
121 Qgis (www.qgis.org) is one of the main open source GIS.
122 For example, PostGIS is a spatial database based on the PostgreSQL object-relational database.

land-use plans disregarding the customary ownership and uses of community forests (Peluso, 1995). Similar projects already existed before coinage of the term, but since then, the connection between fragile communities and the potential of GIS technologies has opened to several experimentations in terms of participatory mapping initiatives moved by the aim to "cartographically and politically represent marginalized groups in relation to governments" (Craig et al., 2002).

Harris and Hazen stress these political implications defining counter-mapping as "any effort that fundamentally questions the assumptions or biases of cartographic conventions, that challenges predominant power effects of mapping, or that engages in mapping in ways that upset power relations" (Harris and Hazen, 2005, p.115). And Sebastian Cobarrubias, discussing the term in the Encyclopedia of Geography (Warf, 2010) recalls how "countermapping refers to the use of cartographic tools and maps to correct or denounce injustice. It is usually carried out in opposition to maps or spatialities produced by powerful interests, be they from the state, the private sector, or elsewhere."

The political role of counter-mapping is explicit and it's often related to activism as an aware process of reclaiming rights with spatial implications, "a conceptual framework for understanding and creating geographic and political change in the post-Fordist economy" (Dalton and Mason-Deese, 2012).

Among the different counter-mapping methodologies and strategies, as already discussed by Peluso (1995), two main mapmaking processes have emerged in

consideration of the promoter of the counter-mapping effort. The most popular model sees international organizations and NGOs supporting local communities in collaborative mapping initiatives, while it's less common to have local NGOs and communities directly contracting the services of international experts to be trained in mapping. In both cases a counter-mapping initiative requires the match of locally owned knowledge and the contribution of exogenous skills for the sake of a common goal, under the umbrella of a shared set of values that are violated or disregarded by the dominant power.

In both cases, mapmaking is intended as a social process, evolving from basic mapping and data collection to very detailed and high quality analysis to build awareness and visibility on peculiar culturally rooted spatial features (rules, uses, tenures) in areas of limited statehood (Kovačič and Landine, 2014). Thus, the mapmaking process, beyond filling knowledge gaps, turns into a capacity development and empowering occasion, also promoting active citizenship.

 Sub-Saharan Africa, due to the relevance of the urbanization phenomenon in combination both with high socio-political fragility and a widespread availability of personal digital devices, has provided in the last decade a fertile context for counter-mapping initiatives coping with the challenge to bring invisible informal urbanities and citizens on a map to foster inclusive and sustainable urban plans, policies and projects. In this context, the initiative of external actors advocating local communities has prevailed.

In this perspective, Map Kibera has been

a ground-breaking experience. The project, started in 2009 by Erica Hagen and Mikel Maron, aimed at overcoming the lack of available maps and data about Kibera, one of the world's most-known slums in Nairobi (Hagen, 2011). As Hagen points out, Kibera wasn't really invisible at first glance, being one of the most famous slums worldwide and "saturated with international NGOs, community-based organizations, and faith-based groups. The problem was that none of the existing maps were shared with the public or used by Kibera's residents", left disempowered and excluded from the processes to cope with their own neighbourhood's challenges.

The first phase of the project was dedicated to participatory GIS mapping involving groups of local volunteering citizens and uploading data to OpenStreetMap. Participants were trained, getting "new knowledge about the impact technology can have on a community", and validated as "holders of important information rather than poorly educated slum dwellers", thanks to their sharing of "intimate knowledge of the paths, businesses, and social relations of their own neighbourhood [...] This continues to be a primary concept behind Map Kibera's work, but it remains a challenge because such local knowledge is traditionally held in low regard" (Hagen, 2011). Few in Kibera had seen themselves on a map before and paper printouts of the map were posted in public spaces and distributed in the neighbourhood to share the results of the first phase; on paper maps, residents were stimulated to add further information, opening the way to the following phase.

The second phase was aimed at transforming the map "to become an information resource that was truly useful to the community", developing "a model for a comprehensive, engaged community information project" (Hagen, 2011). Citizen reporting was considered an essential part of the acknowledgment process and gave birth to two other parallel projects: The Voice of Kibera (voiceofkibera.org), an online community information and news platform, and the Kibera News Network (kiberanewsnetwork.org), a citizen video team. Lately, Map Kibera was institutionalised by becoming a Kenyan-based Trust, while the founders gave birth to GroundTruth Initiative, established as a new media and technology consulting company specializing in community-based participatory technologies, especially mapping and citizen journalism, in poor and marginalized regions throughout the world [fig. 15].

Fig. 15 – Map Kibera. Making informal settlements visible through cartography and digital media narratives.
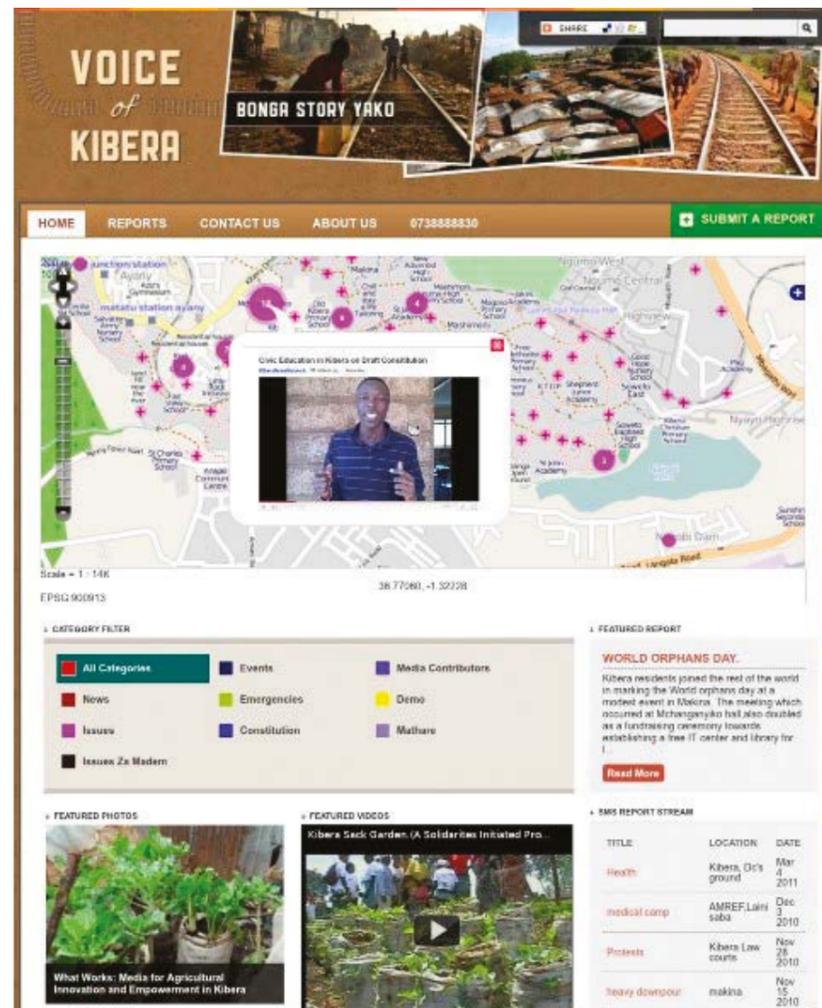
Building on the experience in Kibera, the project was scaled-up and extended to another informal settlement: Mathare, the second largest slum in Nairobi. In Mathare, the mapping effort was directly focused on community development and followed the model of open data and open source software combined with participatory techniques to build a platform of dialogue within and outside the community. In 2012 another ICT-based collective action named Spatial Collective tested a further step by pushing the use of ICT from information delivery to concrete action

complementing State's activity (as facilitating water delivery in case of shortage) (Kovacic and Lundine, 2014).

Building on these experiences, in 2011, GroundTruth Initiative kickoffed community mapping in Dar es Salaam starting from Tandale and later supporting Slumdwellers International in their work mapping Keko Machungwa. In each community a target issue was selected as a focus to work on through reporting/mapping; in Tandale, it was the building of a secondary school. By mapping

all the local schools, citizens were able to demonstrate the long distances separating some children from the closest school, as relevant information to support claims for the building of a new local school. Furthermore, a widespread awareness on the neighbourhood features was developed and shared by the local community.

The project scaled up in 2015, when the initiative Dar Ramani Huria (Swahili for "Dar Open Map") extended the field of action. The community-based mapping project got funded by the World Bank and involved university

students and the local community to create highly accurate maps of the most flood-prone areas of the city, essential tools to develop culturally rooted patterns of metropolitan resilience (Ramani Huria, 2016). Community mapping techniques were used to engage with local leaders and teach community inhabitants free, open source data collection tools from their smartphones. The data collected are enabling people across all levels of society to improve flood mitigation plans and to raise awareness and resiliency to natural threats. Furthermore, contemporary Dar es Salaam finally appeared on a map [fig. 16].

Fig. 16 – Ramani Huria. Mapping Dar es Salaam informal settlements to improve urban resilience.
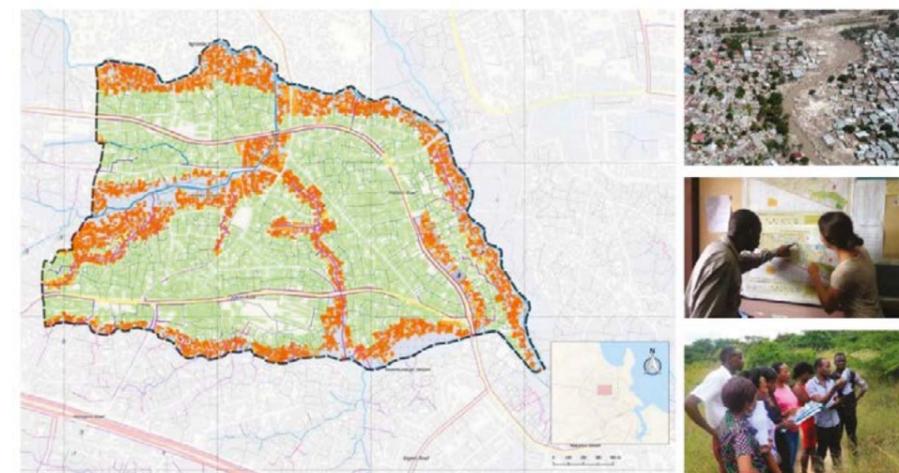
In the last years, several similar initiatives popped up, and got a crucial role even in contexts of emergency or crisis, investigating methodologies to deal with humanitarian action and community development through participatory or community-led open mapping initiatives. In particular, it's worth to recall two examples. One is the involvement of local communities by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in creating updated maps to face the Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone (Nic Lochlainn et al, 2018), a technological update of what happened

in 1854 London with Snow's fight to cholera, combined with capacity building. The other is the collaborative project led by Humanitarian Open Street Map (HOT) to help clarifying the spatial impact of refugee populations on local services in Northern Uganda (West Nile Region) with the aim of supporting decision makers to overcome siloing, to focus on operational efficiency, and to draft better strategies and policies to address the challenges of the ongoing humanitarian crisis by empowering local communities (Allan, 2018, p. 4) [fig. 17].
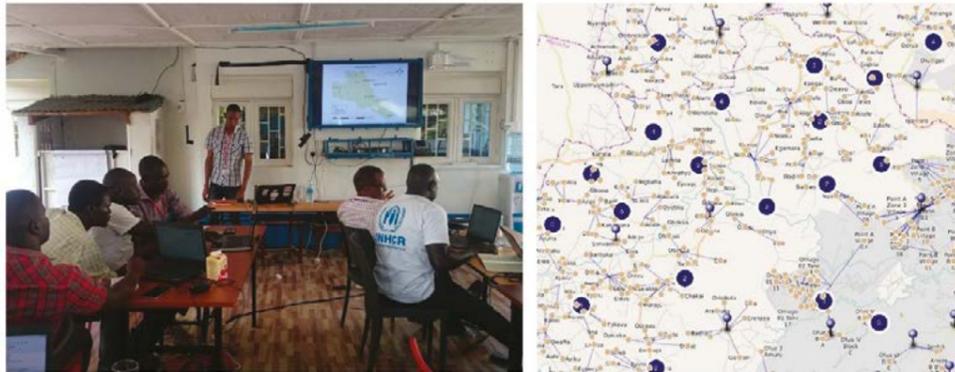
The progressive institutionalization of counter-mapping as a practice adopted even by international organizations implies the risk of losing the radical drive that generated it, but opens to further extensive empowerment implications overlapping data ecosystems to urban patterns of digital citizenship. The Open Cities Africa (https://opencitiesproject.org) set of initiatives, supported by the World Bank, is a relevant example of this tendency. The project is carried out in 11 cities in Sub-Saharan Africa to engage local government, civil society, and the private sector to develop information infrastructures to build urban resilience by a collaborative approach [fig. 18].

Fig. 18 – Map of Zanzibar City showing the impact of participatory mapping initiatives in the last decade (https://opencitiesproject.org)
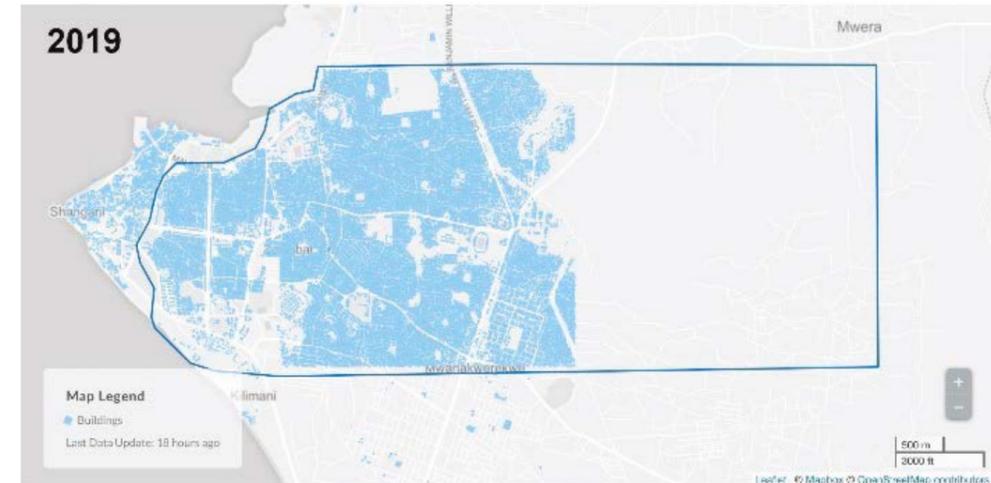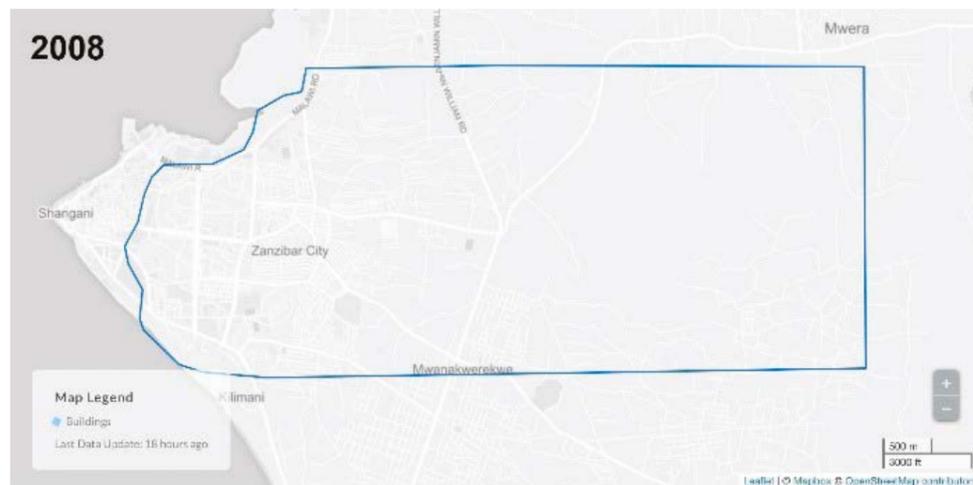
All the above-mentioned examples, representative of many more, consider counter-mapping as a socio-spatial platform for tailoring planning and design initiatives to communities' needs and priorities in a more precise way, thanks to the understanding of culturally rooted patterns of value.

At the same time, when analysing them, few criticalities emerge, to be considered while dealing with counter-mapping. First, it's relevant to stress how getting a place on the map means securing a place in the existing political framework, with relevant rights and duties, including the possibility (or right) to claim rights. This is not always an easy choice. Where political conditions are particularly critical, invisibility could still be preferred (Frigerio and Elgendy, 2019). Second, data validation could be an issue, as the processes don't always imply specific verification methodologies and self-verification patterns can be ineffective. Third, the perspective of counter-mapping initiatives could sometimes be excessively limited to certain fragile categories or specific issues, lacking an overall synergy with broader urban phenomena. Fourth and last, the effectiveness of the initiatives and their legacy is still an issue to be further investigated. The cartographic legacy is clear, with most of the collected data contributing to Open Street Map or other open-source databases, but the socio-cultural legacy is difficult to evaluate and monitor.

7. Media & telecommunication data and statistics owned by multinational companies

In recent years more and more new sources of data, mainly based on media and telecommunication data, have become available for urban and regional research. Thanks to spatial and temporal resolution, such data showed a great potential for understanding urban transformations, for analysing and mapping spatial patterns of activities within the cities. Such information can hardly be gained through conventional data. The census data output is usually coarse in resolution (e.g. local areas or counties rather than individuals or households). Moreover, the methods used to generate them are quite inflexible (for example, once a census is being implemented it is impossible to add/remove questions).

At the same time, it is not easy, if not impossible, to make general considerations on the quality and on the updating of the censuses at a global scale since the Census is conducted at the national level[123]. For this reason, Census data quality and completeness must be evaluated case by case and depend on survey and estimate techniques, budget, competences, technical skills just to cite some issues.

On the other side, in urban research, the recognition of the "right" geographical scale for observing urban phenomena is not always easy. The re-scaling of data sources requires more flexible data and tools able to intercept urban phenomena in their correct spatial dimension. It clashes with the traditional data collection, because urban and regional data are normally available at the level of statistical subdivisions that correspond to municipal and administrative domains and not to the geographic dimension of processes and urban transformations. For this reason, in the last ten years, dozens of scholars searched for new data sources able to overcome some limits of conventional data (Blondel et al., 2015).

The idea is that mobile devices with location information leave digital traces when used by users. This implies to consider the phone traffic data as the effect of behaviours and individual habits that become indirect information on the characteristics of the territory and, somehow, an intrinsic feature of the same, that changes in time. The widespread use of mobile phone devices guarantees that the potential information available is huge and distributed among all the countries of the world.

ITU, the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies (ICTs), estimates that at the end of 2018, 51.2 per cent of the global population, or 3.9 billion people, will be using the Internet[124]. According to ITU, the growth in mobile cellular subscriptions in the last five years was driven by countries in Asia-Pacific and Africa regions. Growth was minor in the Americas and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) region while a decline was observed in Europe and the Arab States. For this reason, this topic appears to be relevant within the context of this contribution aimed at presenting and discussing the main sources of data for the Souths of the world countries.

Media and communication data, and among them, mobile phone data appear to have great potential in urban analysis and planning, for recognition and identification of urban practices occurring in time and space. These phenomena are difficult to recognize through conventional data sources since they are rarely updated and since they are not able to intercept phenomena which change over time such as typically, mobility or the temporary presence of people in certain parts of the city, or the density of uses of territories or informal activities. Recent years have seen a growing debate on evaluation of the potential contribution of new sources of data, based on information collected anonymously by users, to official statistics.

In particular, the main question is the definition of methods able to integrate them with conventional data sources to overcome the limitations of conventional data in describing and measuring phenomena occurring in urban spaces.

Among these urban phenomena, mobility in its spatial and temporal articulation appears to be one of the main issues that call for the identification of new sources of data and methodologies able to describe it (Pucci et al., 2015).

Media and telecommunication data have a very fine spatial and temporal resolution and are very flexible. It is therefore feasible to analyse customized areas depending on the aims of the research (urban blocks, linear infrastructures, etc.). The precise spatial accuracy is therefore one relevant aspect that creates greater possibilities for detailed research.

Recent years have seen a growing debate on the potential contribution of new sources of data, based on information collected anonymously by users, to official statistics. The main issue relates to defining methods that can integrate new data sources with conventional data sources to overcome the limitations of conventional data in describing and measuring the phenomena that occur in urban spaces.

On the other hand, the real availability of mobile phone data is a relevant issue because of the huge fragmentation of providers in world countries and their lack of willingness to cooperate for public interest purposes such as an improved understanding of territorial development. The identification of conditions for the acquisition of private data by public institutions is a topic that needs to be fully addressed to define how this data source can contribute to a near real-time understanding of urban spatial processes [fig. 19].

Fig. 19 – Above normal flows from Kathmandu to other districts, as of 19 August 2015 on the basis of mobile phone data provided by Ncell (https://www.worldpop.org/region/nepal)
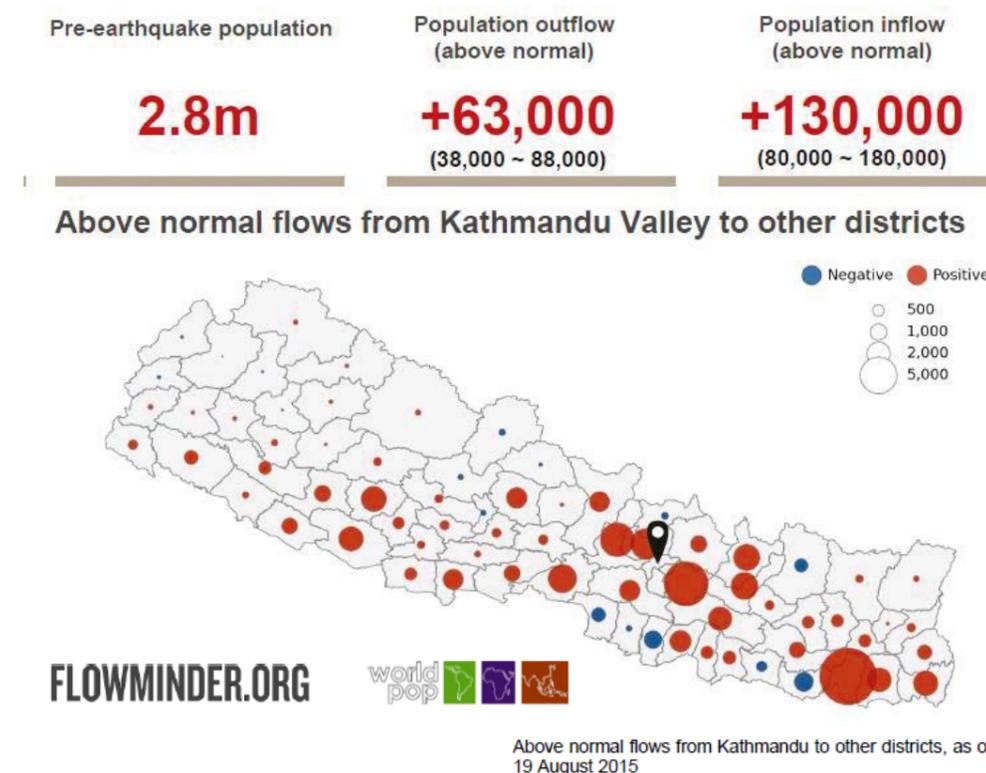
The original raw data are acquired by the network, processed directly by the company and provided to the scientific community in different formats, at different spatial and temporal resolutions and without an established standard for privacy issues, which is a dimension regulated by national laws.

Some relevant initiatives have been undertaken in order to expand the use of new sources of data for development and to improve data awareness in the context of the Souths of the world countries [fig. 20].

developed in the context of data for social good and international development initiatives. An interesting starting point for further analysis is a collection of projects and experiences based on the use of data provided mainly by private companies within the Data Collaboratives[129]

initiative. Collaboratives are a new form of collaboration, beyond the public-private partnership model, in which participants from different sectors exchange their data to create public value.

Fig. 20 – Mobility patterns and connectivity in West Africa (Wesolosky et al., 2014)
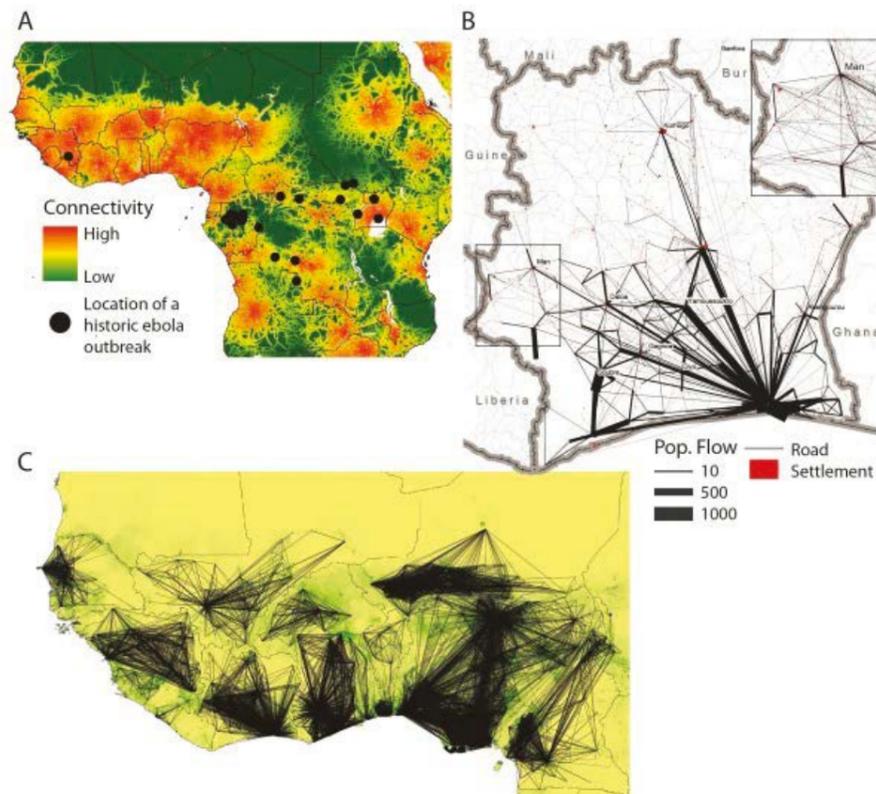
One example is United Nations Global Pulse[125] which is a flagship initiative of the United Nations Secretary-General on big data. Big data, in its vision, is harnessed safely and responsibly as a public good. Global Pulse has worked on several research projects[126] in collaboration with public and private partners

for example on the use of mobile phone CDR for understanding refugee integration or for estimating socioeconomic indicators.

This concept is also promoted by several organizations[127] and tech or telecommunication giants[128] with ongoing programs and activities

125 https://www.unglobalpulse.org/
126 https://www.unglobalpulse.org/projects
127 https://datafordevelopment.it/en/home.html
128 https://www.gsma.com/betterfuture/bd4sg

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Studying Urban Policies in Global South Cities

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Over the last decade or two, several urban scholars have emphasised the underrepresentation of global South cities in urban theory, predominantly based on a based on a small sample of Euro American cities, the original heartland of urban theory. New scholarship has nevertheless become to emerge, inspired by a different selection of cities from those which have informed urban studies in the twentieth century. This displacement from North to South is made particularly necessary by current and near-future urbanisation trends: virtually all population growth in the world in the next 30 years will take place in cities of the global South. The goal of this paper is twofold. First, the aim is to provide a general overview of the current debates in urban theory and policy studies with reference to cities of the Global South (Part I). Second, to discuss current literature on policy analysis in the global South and sketch an open list of policy themes for comparisons across cities of the global South.

Part I. Global South Cities and Urban Studies

1. Background
UN forecasts show that virtually all population growth in the world over the next 30 years will take place in cities of the global South. In just a generation, Latin America has become the world's most urbanised region, with an urban population which grew from 30% to more than 85%[130] As far as future projections go, the majority of urban population growth is expected to take place in the Asian and African continents, which are projected to become 64% and 56% urban, respectively, by 2050. While Africa presently remains the least urbanised continent, it is urbanising at the fastest rate: in the next 35 years, the continent will need to accommodate almost 900 million new urban dwellers, which is equivalent to what Europe, USA and Japan combined have managed over the last 265 years.[131] This trend also pertains to city sizes. For example, by 2025, China will have 8 megacities with over 10 million citizens and more than 220 cities with a population over 1 million.[132] These trends are dissonant with the current state of urban theory and policy scholarship, predominantly based on case studies from cities of the global North. The latter still function as the basis to define what a city is, how should it be governed and how should it be planned. Given current and future global urbanisation trends, a growing number of scholars has called for a rebalancing of the weight case studies from the global South have in global urban theorising and analyses (Robinson 2006, Parnell et al. 2009, Roy 2009, Chen and Kanna 2012).

2. Urban theory in the XX century: "global North" cities as the essence of modernity
The first literature on urban studies dates to the early and mid-twentieth century. At that time, urban studies were centred on the work of the Chicago School of urban sociology. According to the latter, the city was to be primarily conceived as a jumble of socially differentiated neighbourhood communities, implicated in a process of natural evolution and sequences together with associated mentalities and codes of conduct. This approach shifted in 1970s, when the discipline of urban studies - based on case studies of North American and European cities - moved in the direction of Marxist-inspired approaches, which - from different perspectives - emphasised a concept of the city as the privileged realm of class struggle where land markets are to be seen as machines for distributing wealth upward (Lefebvre 1970, Castells 1977, Harvey 1973). This trend changed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, where new avenues of investigation burgeoned. These included topics such as neighbourhood development, displacement and the different ways in which socially differentiated (gender, ethnicity, race) groups are spatially clustered in cities (Massey 1991, Jackson, 1989). Other topics included the impact of globalisation on the structure of cities (Sassen 1991 and 2008) as well as the re-conceptualization of notions such as urban politics and governance and the pervasiveness of neoliberal imperatives on a global sphere (Brenner 1999, Harvey 2007 and 2012). This last strand of literature has naturally extended the urban sphere to a more global realm and audience. Yet, these urban theories have been based all along on Euro-American case studies, rooted on the idea that global North metropoles are at the forefront of global urban transformations, with southern cities following in their steps (Myers 2011).

3. Global South cities: from chronic factors of underdevelopment to growth engines
It is not that over the last fifty years or so, southern cities have not been studied at all. Rather, because of their supposedly un-modern status as compared to northern cities, their issues were tackled as another discipline altogether, namely, development studies. The assumption among urban scholars being that urban studies is primarily concerned with "modern" cities. As Jennifer Robinson has shown, the notion of southern cities being in a condition of "underdevelopment" has been largely responsible for the binary thinking about "Western" developed cities and "Third World" cities as hierarchically less important to urban theorists (Robinson 2006). This conception is somewhat reflected in development literature, where the notion of urbanisation in cities of the global South has been traditionally conceived as detrimental and unhealthy to development until recent times. Traditional international development literature's depictions of strongly growing urban areas in the global South are revealing in this respect. As Éric Denis notes, the notion of "Third-world city"[133] emerged at the end of the 1960s in international development literature as "an unproductive scourge, always nearing explosion, poor, violent, uncontrollable and above all overcrowded" (Denis 2015: 310). Swamped by rural migrations unmet with a

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130 https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/06/latin-america-cities-urbanization-infrastructure-failing-robert-muggah/
131 Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015 Accessed 10 October 2019
132 https://ec.europa.eu/knowledge4policy/foresight/topic/continuing-urbanisation/growth-asia-africa-urban-population_en Accessed 10 October 2019

133 As Denis points out, the expression "third World" did not have a negative connotation when it first emerged, as it related to the non- aligned countries movement as materialised at the Bandung conference, as an alternative to the bipolar world charactering the cold war period.

proportional creation of formal employment, southern cities would have fostered a low-added value informal economy clashing with the formation of a modern industrial sector (Lewis 1955 in Denis 2015: 311). Cities in the global South would be "parasitic" rather of generative of growth (Hoselitz 1955 in Denis 2015: 311). Some development scholars went as far as to define urban growth as a severe obstacle to development in the global South (Bairoch 1971, Linn 1982 in Denis 2015: 310), a "chronic factor of underdevelopment" (Denis 2015: 310). These positions resonate with a general "anti-urban" attitude in development literature (Beall 2019: 154) exemplified by the work of Michael Lipton, according to whom an urban bias versus rural areas in economic policies would be the main responsible for enduring poverty in developing countries (Lipton 1977 and 1984 in Beall 2019). While the view of a coherent divide between rural and urban classes has been subsequently rebutted, the view that development interventions should focus on rural areas is one which still influences development scholars and policy makers (Beall 2019: 153).

On the one hand, such negative view of southern cities has given way in the 1990s to a new paradigm which now conceives of them as engines for development (Harris 1988, Osmont 1995).[134] This idea is exemplified by the 2009 World Bank Development Report which posits that "growing cities (...) are integral to development" (2009: XIX).[135] On the other hand, according to this new discourse poverty and burgeoning informal economies and settlements would be a temporary

phenomenon (Beall 2019: 153). Remarkably, comparisons and classifications in this field are heavily reliant upon the development model of industrial western democracies and are based on the supposedly universal principle of a single development trajectory, translating into a need for developing world cities to catch up with the rest (Denis 2015). The notion that there is one urban modernity – of which northern cities would be the illustration - has been put into question by several development and urban theory scholars. Perhaps even most importantly, this single development trajectory nowadays is being put into question by the success of modes of development which differ from the Western model, China being perhaps the main case in point for this.

4. New approaches to urban theory and the place of global South cities

Starting from the early 2000, urban theory has been the object of a postcolonial critique. A key departure point of postcolonial scholars is the concept of "ordinary city" proposed by Amin and Graham: the idea is that cities are all equally distinctive and unique: no city can be maintained to work as a privileged archetype or an example for the others (Amin and Graham 1997). Earlier-mentioned Jennifer Robinson has drawn on this notion to assert the necessity of putting all urban centres across the North-South divide on an equal standing (Robinson 2006). According to her view, notions of urban modernity - predominantly rooted in the global North - and development have engendered a conceptual and practical binary thinking about "Western" developed cities and "Third World" cities, hierarchically less important to urban

theorists due to their underdevelopment (Ibid).

An even more radical view is put forward by Ananya Roy. Roy draws attention to the tendency to consider the history of European urbanisation as a universal trajectory, unavoidable at any latitude, as a recipe to progress and unlimited growth (Roy 2009). She deprecates how traditional urban theory tends to be produced "in the crucible of a few 'great' cities: Chicago, New York, Paris, and Los Angeles – cities inevitably located in Euro America" (Roy 2009: 820). On the contrary, most urban studies cities of the global South tend to be treated as anomalous empirical cases in comparison to a paradigm of the city which adopts European and North American metropoles as what a city is or should be (Ibid). This tendency would be further apparent in "apocalyptic and dystopian narratives of the slum" (Roy 2005: 224). In Roy's view, the poverty, informality, marginalization, and extensive slums of Southern cities should be seen as a mode of urbanization rather than anomalies to a norm (Ibid, emphasis in the original, 2011: 224). Instead of being regularly assembled under the label of underdevelopment or being reduced to "that last and compulsory chapter on 'Third World Urbanization' in the urban studies textbook", for Roy southern cities experiences should become central to urban theorising: "the centre of theory making must move to the global South" (Roy 2009: 820).

A second approach which at times overlaps with the postcolonial approach mentioned above advocates for urban research to be based on assemblage and actor-network theory.[136] This approach builds up on images of the urban by assembling descriptions of urban situations or phenomena marked by their own particularity. The main feature of this approach is to avoid a priori theoretical abstractions. According to one of the main proponents of this theory, Ignacio Farias, the city should be conceived as "... an object which is relentlessly being assembled at concrete sites of urban practice, or, to put it differently, as a multiplicity of processes of becoming, affixing sociotechnical networks, hybrid collectives and alternative topologies" (Farías 2010: 2). Examples for this include city as "a transport system", as "a playground for skateboarders and free-runners", a "landscape of power", "a public stage for political action and demonstration" and so on (Ibid: 14). While a priori characterisations are to be avoided, at times generalisations are allowed among the proponents of assemblage theory through the creation of typologies based on the links between the phenomena it describes. An example for this is the notion of "worlding cities" by Roy and Ong, which describes an effort to bring more cities into theoretical frameworks and to adequately account for the urban-global interactions shaping contemporary cities (Roy and Ong 2011).

134 Although some authors continue in this line by depicting global South cities as dangerous (Graham 2010) or at risk.
135 "World Bank. 2009. World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography. World Bank. https://openknowledge. worldbank.org/handle/10986/5991 Accessed 15 October 2019

136 Assemblage theory, as derived by the work of philosophers Deleuze and Guattari, is an ontological view of the world as a mass of shifting networks binding together human and non-human objects representing the current state of the visible world. Assemblages become set by "territorialization" (as opposed to the disrupting act of deterritorialization) when they are fixed to specific configurations of geographical space. According to this perspective, every theoretical principle supposedly ordering reality in a top down manner can be de-constructed into the variegated and partial relations that have established it in the first place (Deleuze and Guattari 1972). Actor network theory as developed by Bruno Latour partially draws on these insights to explore the relationships between human and non- human objects. Latour argues that all objects are capable of agency to the extent to which they wield effects on other agents (Latour 2005).

A third attempt at making the foundations of urban theory and research more "inclusive" is the notion of "planetary urbanisation"[137] proposed by Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid (2011, 2014). The latter rebut the traditional assumption in urban theories that cities represent a territory that is qualitatively specific, different from "non-urban" spaces (Brenner and Schmid 2011: 10-11). In their view, over the last thirty years or so, worldwide socio-spatial transformations compel a radical revision of existing approaches. These transformations would pertain to: the formation of new scales of urbanization; sprawling urban clusters that stretch beyond a metropolitan region and at times even traverse multiple national borders (Ibid: 13); "the disintegration of the hinterland" to the continued expansion of industrial urbanization and its associated planetary urban networks (Ibid: 14) and the transformation of wilderness spaces through the growing socio-ecological consequences of unregulated worldwide urbanization (Ibid). These geohistorical developments would point towards a new state of the urban, as an increasingly global condition in which political-economic relations are entangled. According to Brenner and Schmid, the current situation of "planetary" urbanization entails that even spaces that are located beyond the traditional city borders or peripheries are part of the urban. The solution would be then to embed the urban on a global scale "within a fluidly extending landscape" (Brenner et al 2013).

The question at this point is how then a "truly global" urban theory could be grounded, from a methodological and conceptual perspective. In other words, how might we work constructively with existing theories while maintaining

conceptualisations open to inputs from any city, that is, how might we "provide a rigorous foundation for the possibility of beginning conceptualisation anywhere?" (Robinson 2016: 3). The following section considers a few examples of how urban scholars have attempted to put into practice a more global urban theory.

5. Building "a more global" urban theory: which methodology and concepts?

a. Globalisation and world cities network

An attempt to include more cities in theorising the impacts of globalisation and urbanisation is the work of the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) research network, a research group founded in 1998 by Peter Taylor together with scholars such as Manuel Castells, Peter Hall, Saskia Sassen and Nigel Thrift. The network focuses on the study of interconnections between cities in the world economy and it operates a bi-annual categorization of world cities, based upon their international connectedness. The concern for inter-city relations intersects with research on issues concerning international business, sustainability, urban policy, and logistics. The GaWC group classifies cities according to a city's integration into the world city network. The GaWC databank focuses in particular on office networks for advanced producer services, such as finance, advertising, accounting and law firms. Cities are ranked on a scale which uses the Greek letters Alpha, Beta and Gamma (with both plus and minus signs) with Alpha++ counting as the highest score indicating the cities which are most integrated with the global economy (London and New York currently detaining such primacy), with the ranking continuing all the way down to

a rank below "lettered" cities, High sufficiency and Sufficiency. Insofar as this ranking system includes cities from the global South, the claim by its advocates is that such system incorporates the postcolonial critique and overcomes its vagueness in putting forward concrete alternatives. On the other hand, as critics of this ranking system - dominated by some global North cities - have highlighted, the Globalisation and World Cities ranking is based on a very specific and narrow economistic understanding of globalisation, which once again has been shaped by European criteria (Myers 2018: 232).

b. Urbanisation through the lenses of "planetary"neoliberalism

Another attempt at making urban theory more aware of global South urbanisation is the notion of "planetary urbanization" mentioned above (Brenner and Schmid 2011, 2013). For Brenner and Schmid contemporary "planetary" urbanization entails three mutually constitutive moments, which they define as "concentrated", "extended", and "differential" urbanisation (Brenner and Schmid 2015). They argue that in the current era, 'the city' as we traditionally understood it, as "concentrated urbanisation" is but one of three processes of urbanisation taking place in the contemporary world. Urbanisation worldwide would extend beyond the realm of city agglomerations, urban regions and even mega city-regions and within such process, differences come to light. A central analytical concept of this framework is the nexus between forms of urbanisation and the global pervasiveness of neoliberal capitalism, impacting on urbanization across the North/South divide. On the one hand, Brenner and Schmid view importantly includes global North and global South contexts contra postcolonial

urban theories' emphasis on descriptions of everyday life and the particularism of global South specificities (Brenner and Schmid 2015: 162). On the other, scholars such as Garth Myers have criticised their approach for erasing differences among cities and ending up locating, once again, the essence of urbanity in big metropoles of the global North (Myers 2018). Another critique of their account has been moved by Roy on the fact that such framework does not adequately consider the rural aspect (Roy 2015).

c. Comparative urbanism

The construction of knowledge and new theoretical frameworks for all cities based on experiences of the cities of the global South is related to what has been called "the comparative gesture" as a basis for building knowledge about cities and for circumventing the dangers of a priori theorizations, especially when they are based on a small sample of Euro American cities (Robinson 2011). The idea is to employ comparisons between cities in order to create a new mode and style of theorisation. In lieu of "an authoritative voice emanating from some putative centre of urban scholarship", comparisons should lead to "a celebration of the conversations opened up amongst the many subjects of urban theoretical endeavour in cities around the world, valorising more provisional, modest and revisable claims about the nature of the urban" (Robinson 2016). This comparative urbanism would distinguish itself from efforts to employ a "quasi-scientific rigour" to case selection based on trying to control for difference across cities (Ibid). Moreover, comparative urbanism should counter the attitude of certain scholars to draw comparisons with "elsewhere" as evidence to support current analytical

137 "Planetary urbanization" is an expression and concept that originally comes from the work of Henri Lefebvre (1968, 1970, 1989).

agendas. In Robinson's view, if we reformat urban comparativism in this way, we can find in comparative analyses offer global scholars "an agile theoretical practice, certainly eager to engage with existing conceptualisations, but committed to revisability, to thinking through a diversity of urban outcomes and to being open to starting to theorise from anywhere" (Robinson 2016). Critiques of the comparativist approach question the theory-generating capacities of the comparative method insofar as it would lead to privilege particularities in urban outcomes rather than more general taxonomies or conceptual abstractions (Scott and Storper 2014).

As Parnell and Pieterse have posited, a key point for the creation of a more global urban studies is to take into account that global financial bases of global urban scholarship are deeply unequal and efforts must be made to work against "the destructive consequences" of this reality (Parnell and Pieterse 2016). The debate on the role that cases from Southern cities should assume in urban studies and conceptualisation remains open and prolific. Some might think that this querelle among a selected group of particularly theory- oriented scholars has little practical use. Yet, I believe that having a general idea of these debates is useful: they are an important reminder that the categories or concepts we use in urban analyses always come from somewhere. The idea that brought this School together is not to get rid of current categorisations or reinvent all urban theory from scratch. Rather, the idea is to highlight the limits of existing theories and develop new concepts from it. In other words, the main contribution of these debates is to draw attention on the fact that taxonomies and concepts are always created having a

particular urban space in mind, even when they claimed to have universal validity. The idea is thus, when we use a certain concept, to ask ourselves, where does it come from? Based on which evidence and context was it created and for what purpose? Is it useful to describe the phenomena I am looking at? How does the observation of my context corroborate it or rather invalidate it? Does this dissonance call for a new theorisation? It goes without saying that this line of questioning does not imply that a taxonomy or a concept cannot apply beyond its contexts of origin. Rather, the idea is to keep current taxonomies and concepts open to revision, hybridisation and discarding when needed. The very notion of policy can be used as an example for such reflection, as shall be seen below.

Part II. Policy Analysis and the Place of Global South Cities in It

1. Defining policies in a global context

According to the traditional definition, a public policy is "anything a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye 1972: 2). The classic "pluralist" model of Theodore Lowi distinguishes between regulatory, distributive, redistributive and constituent policies. The first provides the rules of the game to the players, the second distributes resources to the public, the third redistributes resources according to criteria of equity, the fourth establishes new institutions, agencies, etc. In Lowi's typology, distribution policies take on a primary role: they act on individuals according to the patron-client relationship. The aim of these public policies and of the agencies that implement them, is to respond to political conflicts by disaggregating them: treating each

decision or benefit, each unit of output, as separate and distinct from all the others (Lowi 1969). Another traditional reference in policy literature is Albert Hirschman. Hirschman explores the issue of the connection between policies and those who are affected by policies (Hirschman 1970). According to his exit, voice and loyalty model, members of a human grouping (whether a state, a city, a business or organisation) detain two possible responses to what they as a decrease in quality or membership: exit (withdrawal from the relationship) or voice (attempt to mend the relationship through voicing grievance and/or proposing changes). Exit and voice represent a union between economic and political action and are reminiscent of Adam Smith's idea of an invisible hand guiding buyers and sellers "freely" auto-regulating through the market.9 The general understanding is that insofar as these typologies are based on macro-variables (i.e. the distribution of costs and benefits and the possibility of the use of coercion) they can be used to analyse any level of government - so national but also urban policies – and any domain of public policy (Allulli and Tortorella 2013).

At this point one could reasonably wonder whether Lowi's four typologies or Hirschman notion of exit and voice do apply to urban policies in a southern context, for example, in a situation where the economy is predominantly informal. Or in a context where civil society is not unified. Or again, in a situation where the state does not have the primary resources to

implement urban policies. Regardless of the answer to these questions, what emerges is that Lowi's and Hirschman's typologies have been built presupposing certain features - namely well-resourced and capacitated state institutions, strong civil societies, predominantly formal economies and low levels of poverty.

The case of social policies is exemplary of a disconnect between current social policy theories – which have been shaped by certain features of global North regions, such as the predominance of a formal economy regulated by the state – and the absence of southern experiences informing them. A key challenge for researching social policy at a global level is the fact that over one third of the population in the global South lives in informal settlements and gains their livelihood from the informal economy, more specifically from activities such as trading food or other merchandises on the street, machines or vehicles repairing,[138] rag picking, agricultural work and so on (Pellissery 2013). In this context, the power of the state to reach through the informal economy is limited. Despite what is put down in official statements, the informal economy, which in many cases represents the largest part of the economy,[139] is not affected by state regulation and is regulated instead by private contracts and social identities (Harriss-White 2003: 74). In the informal economy, authority and legitimacy reside in individuals' private social statuses and the line between state and society is fuzzy (Appadurai 1996). On the

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138 According to Paolo Perulli, Hirschman's fruitful distinction between exit, voice and loyalty is no longer remembered in the global North: "only the economic behaviour of the exit is now contemplated, like that of any dissatisfied consumer who passes from one product to another, while the use of the voice (protest) is no longer part of the language of politics. It is reduced to the domain of consumer objects."

139 For example, in Accra the informal economy accounts for as much as 74% of the economy, statement by the mayor of Accra, Mohammed Adjei Sowah at 2019 Urban Age Developing Urban Futures– Delivering inclusivity Accra https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qsesm4kDivs Accessed 10 October 2019

one hand, to the extent in which it escapes the state's regulatory framework, the informal economy questions the very notion of social contract, which is the foundation for state legitimacy (Pellissery 2013a: 81). On the other hand, the informal economy is crucially the only source of livelihood and welfare for most households in the global South (Ibid). Following Hirschman's theorisation about voice and exit, which presupposes a formal economy as a complement of the state system, one could reasonably wonder at this point whether voice and exit are still an option for somebody who's livelihood depends on an informal economy.

Remarkably, processes of globalisation have intensified the phenomenon of informal economy (Ibid). Moreover, while urban economies in the global South have been growing, so have the levels of urban poverty and inequality: according to some, much of this depends on the way urban governance in specific contexts has or has not been able to address such issues (Obeng-Odoom 2017). In contexts where societal forces (often at a subnational level), are stronger than state capacities, policy can be perfectly stated on paper but the practice might be "hugely distant or contradictory to what is promised in the policy" (Pellissery and Zhao 2016: 10). In other words, in a context where implementation is absent, "understanding what is done in the name of policies is more important than understanding what the policy in itself is" (Ibid).

Apart from institutional capacities, the implementation of urban policies has also to do with the availability of resources. As it has been noted in the Indian case, while the Indian constitution endows city governments to translate the urban development agenda

into action, Indian cities are not sufficiently empowered by Indian states to take on the challenges of providing public services and managing the process of urbanization (Ahluwalia 2017). Financial constraints represent a huge implementation setback also in the African context, where in many cases local governments never know their budget until the last minute (Mo Ibrahim foundation 2015). It should also be remarked how municipal authorities in rapidly urbanising regions of the global South typically also have the smallest per capita budgets. For example, looking at budget data between 2010-2016 it has been showed that the municipal budget of a city such as Accra, Ghana, was just $12.50 per person per year as compared to the $9,500 per capita of New York City (Beard et al. 2016). In the African context, scholars have noted that the budgetary issue is particularly severe in secondary cities, due to their smaller economies and less capacitated local governments compared to capital cities (Smit 2018).

Urban policies are a field where urban governance is often fragmented among different government stakeholders with reduced capacities and often conflicting interests. Moreover, although governments at various levels take decisions, the determination and outcomes of urban policies is very much dependent

upon those individuals and groups that participate in the processes of city building, planning and self- production. Until the 1970s. urban policy and administration were commonly seen as a top-down process of dealing with control of land planning, tax collection and the delivery of few services (Freire and Stren 2001). This general view of urban government

progressively changed in the 1980s, where the notion of urban management, investing local governments with the responsibility of providing services and being more receptive to the demands of local citizens, became increasingly popular (Ibid). From the 1990s onwards, a more bottom up perception of urban governance has developed, whereby local governments are invested of the task of promoting good urban governance by fostering accountability and transparency as well as being more willing to engage proactively with different actors (Watson 2016). Yet in practice, scholars have noted how urban strategic planning approaches normally fail to account for the views of low-income citizens and often prove inadequate at the implementation stages, particularly in contexts where urban governments lack key financial resources and capabilities (Horn et al. 2018).

6. Policy planning and analysis in cities of the global South

According to Vanessa Watson, who works on urban planning in contemporary South Africa, urban planners in cities of the global South face a particularly severe clash of two concomitant rationalities. On the one hand, a "governing" rationality, including "techno-managerial and marketised systems of government administration, service provision and planning" (Watson 2009: 2259). On the other, planners in the global South are deeply cognisant of the existence of a "survival rationality" permeating their everyday experience of the city with a population "surviving largely under conditions

of informality" (Ibid). Watson emphasises that the resolution of this clash requires urban planning in a global South context to tap into development studies literature, which has long dealt with themes such as informal settlements for example (Ibid: 2273). Watson argues that this clash might further require a radical departure from the approaches to urban planning currently in use in cities of the global South, modelled on urban planning which arose in Europe and the US in the early 20th century (master planning and zoning, removal of informal settlements and so on).[140]

In the field of social policies, Ian Gough and others have explored the conditions under which social policy function in developing countries and have created new conceptual frameworks for analysing welfare regimes in the global South. The authors illustrate how the evolution of welfare policies in the West has relied on several key features that are mostly absent in a development context, such as an independent, legitimised and capacitated state, a widespread labour market and division of labour, strong financial markets and an effective legal and judicial system – that is, a capitalist economic and a democratic political type of regime (Gough and Woods (eds.) 2004). The historical experience and legacies of colonialism have entailed that from the beginning, global South states emerged as a weak institution in terms of both democratic processes and functional capabilities (Surender 2013: 26). In terms of social policy, historically

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140 This approach to urban land use usually includes a detailed land use plan describing the desired future of an urban area some 20 years hereafter, supported by a regulatory system (zoning) which allocates use rights in land, and handles any alteration of these according to a 'master plan' (Ibid: 2261). The latter has almost everywhere, brought with it a specific ideal of the 'good city' drawn on the work of early urban modernists such as Le Corbusier. According to the latter, urban form is designed following a concern with aesthetics, efficiency and modernisation (removal of informal settlements, vertical or tower edifices, connectivity, abundant open green spaces) (Ibid). In the early 20th century, master planning and zoning, were vigorously adopted by middle classes who were able to use them as a way of preserving property prices and avoiding the influx of lower-income residents, ethnic minorities and petty traders (Ibid).

the prevailing discourse has been one of "growth first" and "welfare after" (Mkandawire 2004). In other words, mainstream development theories have historically stressed that in a developing context economic growth should come before social spending, which was generally seen as a wasteful diversion (Surender 2013: 20). The idea being that there is good public debt, spent in infrastructure and investments that can generate revenues, while the rest – debt used to pay for instance for public sector salaries or welfare services - is bad debt. Another issue has to do with the lack of trust, especially among those living in conditions of poverty, in developing countries' state institutions, seen as tools for pursuing the interests of the dominant groups (Collier 2007). Such lack of trust in official policies strengthens in turn reliance on strategies to secure welfare through informal channels such as family, kinship, communities and other civil society-based systems of welfare as well as those intermediated by global actors (Davis 2001). The management of social welfare in countries of the global South takes place under a diverse set of institutional conditions: formulated and implemented by a wide range of actors, it is delivered through multiple mechanisms and instruments, many of them informal.

Several of these actors do not exist in the governance of cities in the global North. An example for this are traditional leaders, who play a key role on matters of land allocation in urban and peri-urban areas in the African context (Smit 2018). The ownership of land by chiefs is just an example of how Western notions of land ownership, usually framed in terms of the binary public/private, are inadequate to wade through the complexities of land ownership in African cities, for

example. Other uncommon actors of urban governance in Europe or America but common in an African and most generally global South context are multilateral and international donor agencies, given that most global aid and loans to developing countries are linked to the international 'good governance' agenda (Ibid). Moreover, it could be argued that in some respects, civil society groups (ethnicity-based networks, home-town associations, youth associations, savings groups and so on) are to some extent more active that what is normally understood as a civil society activity. As a matter of fact, often these associations perform roles undertaken by the state in cities in the global North, such as providing basic services, distributing land, guaranteeing safety, delivering social security nets and so on (Ibid).

A policy analysis category under discussion in urban policy literature is the distinction between "place policies", that is, policies targeting particular cities or parts of cities, and "people policies" targeting specific socio-economic categories regardless of the location (Glickman 1981, Glaeser and Gyourko 2005, Freedman 2012). Particularly among urban poverty scholars, this distinction has led to the identification of the potentialities and limitations of policies focused on place (for example policy interventions that try to reduce the spatial concentration or the isolation of the poor in selected neighbourhoods) versus those policies focused on the population as such (for example, interventions aimed at correcting factors like family or educational failure). According to some, this distinction is an example of how policy analysis of the urban and socioeconomic roots of poverty could go beyond the North-South distinction (Scott and Storper 2014: 13).

Another theme that intersects that of urban policy is the relationship between government and governed. Based on case studies in the global North, scholars such as Edward Soja and David Harvey have emphasised the emancipatory role of the urban, in other words, the urban as a principal source of emancipatory political trends and movements (Soja 2010, Harvey 2012). The question of politics as "voice" is a very actual topic in the cases of mass mobilization in cities such as Santiago de Chile or Hong Kong. In these places, current mobilisations are aimed at expressing dissent towards governments which continue to "see like a State", that is, to plan in an authoritative way, as James Scott has documented (Scott 1998).[141] Scott's account importantly sheds light on how state building in the 20th century in contexts such as Russia, Brazil, Tanzania, and so on has heavily relied upon the notion of "high modernism" to design society and centralise power. I agree with Paolo Perulli's suggestion that, the method of tracing an "archaeology" of these state powers operated by Scott could also be used to look with disenchantment at the alleged "modernity" of contemporary urban and national governance tools, whether they are political market technicalities or economic contracts. For neither of these tools can provide adequate responses to bottom-up requests of sociality, development and sustainability. Urban policies are an exemplary field to observe the interactions between bottom-up and top-down requirements: both are necessary to each other, neither can stand on their own. Next section attempts to sketch a list of urban policies which could be explored through comparisons in our school of the Souths of the World.

7. A sketch of urban policies typologies in the global South

The aim of this subsection is to sketch an open list of policy themes which could intersect and offer platforms for comparisons across cities of the global South.

a. Urban growth

As already mentioned at the beginning of this paper, a key concern of urban policies in the global South is the growth of the urban dimension. This theme affects cities in Africa and Asia mainly. Earlier we observed that while until recently urban growth in the developing world has been tackled as an inherently undesirable and unhealthy phenomenon in development literature, most recently the literature and policy makers have shifted to a more positive view of such phenomenon. This phenomenon is characterised by a strong component from below, in that urban sprawl is in the first place the result of people settling in the city and peri-urban areas. Yet, urban growth is increasingly a phenomenon which national and local governments have been governing, more or less effectively, through policies such as metropolitan plans, agglomeration schemes, creation of urban regions. This is also the case of national urban policies, leveraging on the central role that cities undergoing rapid urbanisation have in accelerating growth and creating economic growth for the whole national economy. As Mohanty, who writes about planning urban growth in the Indian case, posited: "Planned urbanisation offers a colossal opportunity for India's development in the coming decades. The future of the rural poor trying to escape poverty, the urban poor, and slum dwellers struggling to secure

141 These developments clash with Huntington's depictions of a democratic and pluralist West versus an authoritarian and fundamentalist East, characterised by the lack of political contestation.

a dignified living, the rural areas striving to access basic services, the cities contributing to economic growth, and the nation endeavouring to come out of the riddle of under-development will crucially depend on the national policy to harness urbanisation as a resource" (Mohanty 2014: 1).

b. Regulation of relations among different levels of governance

Connected to the regulation of urban growth through policy planning is the regulation of relations among different levels of governance. Governance can be defined in different ways.[142] In contrast to the hierarchy and clear separation between state and society typical of traditional government, the notion of governance indicates a blurring of the boundaries between public and private and an increased role of different actors other than local governments in the realisation of public goals (Pierre 2005). For example, in the context of sub-Saharan Africa cities, actors such as traditional leaders play a fundamental role in urban governance

– particularly as far as land use management is concerned - and have been incorporated into formal governance structures. Apart from the government, other key actors of urban governance in the sub- Saharan Africa context would include large private sector organisations (i.e. property development or food production companies), international agencies and civil society (Smit 2018). The regulation among different levels of governance can be investigated from the perspective of different

levels of government, from urban to national to federal government. We mentioned earlier the Indian case, where at the federal level the Indian constitution endows city governments to translate the urban development agenda into action, yet Indian cities are not sufficiently empowered by Indian states to take on such task (Ahluwalia 2017). The regulation of different actors and levels involved in urban governance has been the object of initiatives such as covenants and agreements between cities and these groups and cities and central governments. These initiatives could be an interesting object of comparison among our cities.

c. Identification of a competitive role for the city in the global space

Another important urban policy trend in some cities of the global South is the identification of a competitive role for the city in the global space, as financial or technological hubs. This trend is apparent for instance in the urban plans and policy making of certain Chinese mega-cities, where city governments have been implementing policies aimed at "upgrading" urban areas and attracting "talents" and investors through migration policies, start-up incentives and tax exemptions. When considering the latest edition of master plans of cities such as Beijing, Shanghai or Guangzhou, a common rationale is discernible in their governance, one that "actively imagines and fabricates a purified neoliberal urban space centered on financial and high-technology sectors and up-scale residency, while seeking to remove or invisibilize low- skilled sectors and

persons" (Zhang 2018: 871-2). The purpose of these plans is two-fold: on the one hand to requalify the structure of the urban economy and its human capital in the name of security, beautification and global competitivity.[143] These policy initiatives, aimed at promoting Chinese mega-cities as global hubs for start-ups and cutting-edge tech innovation, have already reconfigured China's role in the field of tech on a global scale.[144] Apart from the Chinese example, other interesting case studies of cities striving to become global hubs for tech could include Bangalore and Pune in India, Santiago and Buenos Aires in South America.

d. Population management

Another key policy theme is that of population management. This might have to do with the management of large influxes of internally migrant population (from rural areas or other cities) as well foreign migrants. Apart from managing migration to the city, policies dealing with population management might be aimed at managing and finding solutions to population decline, an issue affecting some South European and South American cities. While some countries have traditionally governed these issues through specific policies, such as China with the hukou system - aimed at controlling rural to urban migration to prevent overpopulation of cities -, most global South cities have not been traditionally characterised by such concern. Another related theme is that of international migrants in the cities and the way in which legal categories affect their management (refugees vs economic migrants). Our comparative analyses could further look at how national and urban policies legalise/

illegalise certain segments of the migrant population in cities. This question is deeply related to the question of selective granting of rights to different sections of the urban population – be them internal or international migrants - as well as notions of a "right to the city", its foundations and the political effects of its recognition. On the one hand, the Lefebvrian interpretation of it rests mainly on the case of Western European and North American cities and prioritizes the question of value and private property (Morange and Spire 2019). On the contrary, the notion of a right to the city in the global South is oriented towards issues of access to basic social and economic rights, urban inclusion, participation and local democracy (Ibid). Analyses in this direction would have to encompass actors such as civil society, public security authorities, state contractors, development agencies and other stakeholders.

e. Creation of networks of cities and urban corridors between cities

A fifth topic of urban policies in cities of the global South which is gaining popularity in urban literature is urban corridors. The latter are generally described as "a number of large, linear urban areas linked through a well-developed transport network" (Georg et al. 2016: 2). The concept of economic corridor became popular in the late 1990s through an Asian Development Bank (ADB) project to develop the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) in Southeast Asia (Ishida and Isono 2012). Corridors typically include three complementary elements: cities, a transport corridor and industrial production centres. The transport

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142 The term became to be widely used in the 1990s to describe a neoliberal turn in government, indicating "a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed" (Rhodes 1997: 652–653). Since 1989, the notion of "good governance" has been particularly promoted by financial institutions such as the World Bank as a normative development paradigm (Obeng-Odoom 2017). Such conception of governance is predominantly concentrated on efficiency and accountability and has been critiqued for being overly focused on the promotion of a neo-liberal agenda.

143 A key concept and principle of urban development policies in the Chinese context is that of 'functional dispersal' (gongneng shujie) to indicate the removal of functions, sectors, and industries that do not follow the city's development goal (Ibid: 872).

144 For example in the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI), where China now disputes a global primate with the US (Lee 2018)

corridor defines the geographical space of the corridor and enables the flow of goods and services, while the urban centres along the corridor provide a key source of labour and local development. Scholars have classified corridors according to trade type: domestic, transit (transporting the shipments of another country), foreign (transporting mainly imports and exports of a country), and hybrids, which depend on its service catchment area (Fraser and Notteboom 2014). Some countries have specific development policies for urban corridors, as in the case of the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC). The latter represent an attempt by the Indian central government – in cooperation with various stakeholders - to openly connect economic and industrial development to urbanisation (Anand and Sami 2014). The goal of this corridor policy includes doubling up the employment capacity, tripling up industrial outputs and the quadrupling of exports from the region through the creation of industrial infrastructure and clusters (Indian Institute for Human Settlements 2015: 6). Corridors as a development strategy are gaining increasing importance also in the Sub-Saharan Africa context, the leading example being the Maputo Development Corridor (Mulenga 2013). The theme of urban corridors policies leaves a lot of room for the development of comparative analyses. These would have to take into account the variety of domestic and international stakeholders from the private and public sectors, across different scales.

f. Land Use Management

Land is a key lever of urban policy in cities of the global South. The control and valorisation of land by local governments is an important resource of revenues for local governments' limited budgets. The question of land within

cities of the developing world also means making sense of phenomena such as settlements and areas of illegal residence, which affect large parts, in some cases the majority, of the urban population. On the one hand, local governments often seek to make the most of this resource by raising property taxes and the value of public assets. On the other, investigations of land access policies entail a careful study of the strategies put in place by urban residents – especially low-income residents - to legitimize their presence in the city and gain recognition of their land rights. As it has been noted in the Indian case (but could also apply in the case of Ghana, for example), the act of turning land into a source of revenue is not the preserve of big institutional actors or private investors but it is also for private citizens on a smaller scale (Denis 2018). As a matter of fact, the purchase of plots of land is often considered as a safer investment than the purchase of financial saving products. The growing value of this land, normally divided into lots to meet the potential needs of individuals with highly fluctuating income levels, is based on the hope that the city will soon arrive at – and assimilate – these lots (Ibid). A tangible example for this growing speculative economy is the phenomenon of unoccupied new housing, which is connected to the development of real-estate bubbles. China is possibly the country where this phenomenon is most visible, but as just mentioned, this phenomenon is widespread in many cities and peri-urban areas of the global South.

g. Provision and Management of Basic Infrastructure/Services

Another key type of urban policy in cities of the global South has to do with the provision and management of basic infrastructure and

services. The provision of services such as water, sanitation and waste management are typically a key function of urban governance. While this is the main official role of city governments, in many cities of the global South state-provided services cater for a very small proportion of urban residents. The gap in infrastructure provision is in part been filled by the provision of services by private operators, self-organised communities and NGOs. The access to services such as energy provision, sanitation, water, are key to fostering economic development and poverty alleviation. A big sub-theme in this respect is the creation of sustainable energy to fill such infrastructural and service gap which is a big impediment to urban development.

h. Urban mobilities

Another key topic of urban governance in global South cities is urban mobility. Urban mobilities are essentially about how people and goods can move from one part of the city to another. Urban mobility is a vital enabler of development insofar as it makes economic activities and labour across the city possible. This is especially the case for low-income residents, often living in peri-urban areas and spending several hours daily commuting to get to the city's business centres, on vehicles or on foot. The reduction of times of commuting has economic and livelihood impacts. At a basic level, urban mobility consists of roads and footpaths, while at a higher level there will be buses, trains, taxis and so on. Urban mobilities are a domain that is shaped by both local government policies, private operators as well as commuters' behaviours. In the context of global South cities, urban mobilities are often heavily enabled by private providers rather than urban governments, whose finances are limited.

The absence of government also entails that the role of ensuring some basic level of service provision and maintenance of footpaths is taken up by residents' associations in informal settlements (Smit 2018).

i. Sustainable Development Goals

One typology of policies which cuts across all our cities is urban and central governments' pursuit of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goal No.11 of the SDGs aims to "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable". However, other SDGs, such as those tackling poverty, health, sustainable energy and inclusive economic growth, are intimately linked to urban areas and often policies stress an integrated approach for progress across the multiple goals.

Other possible themes to develop:

j. Selection of sites to be protected, with the solution of local and environmental conflict: Environmental plans, plans for the protection of Unesco's heritage, etc.

k. Involvement of the business community: Donors, Philanthropy, Public-Private Partnerships

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05 Scenario Analysis

Spatial inequality and poverty in African cities

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The rapid pace of urbanization characterized by under-served urban neighbourhoods, sprawl and the emergence of slums and other informal settlements are common features of cities of the global south, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet these characterizations of cities have not slowed down the movement of the population to cities. This is because cities are largely seen as offering better livelihood opportunities compared to rural areas. In other words, the 'brighter lights' of cities and towns which describe the lure of urban life, and the promise that urban centres hold for individuals and groups who may be hungry, jobless, or just curious remain strong – fueling the shift of the population to cities and hastening the process of urbanization. Equally important is the fact that migrants to cities in the global south, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, are predominantly young people and this inevitably contributes to high rates of natural increase in urban centres. Youth populations in cities are coterminous with high levels of unemployment, a major contributory factor to urban poverty. Moreover, urban poverty is equally associated with poor living conditions and inequalities.

Nowhere in the global south is the process of urbanization a challenge as in Sub-Saharan Africa where economic growth and development have not kept pace with the rates of urbanization. For instance, while Sub-Saharan African countries can match the urbanization rates of China and India (which are considered the industrial powers of the future), they cannot boast of anything near the rates of economic growth of these two countries. The effects of this situation are increasing urban poverty and the emergence of slums and other informal settlements. Indeed, urban sustainability issues in many Sub-Saharan African countries are best observed through the challenges confronting their cities. Yet, urban life has not collapsed in most African countries largely on account of the informal sector which provides the urban population with housing, employment and income, and any claims on consumption of goods and services in the city.

In many African countries, poor urban planning and governance remain at the core of challenges to be met, as they impede the creativity and innovation required to address other urban development challenges. A critical challenge is the inadequate attention of urban planning and governance to the informal economy despite its significant contribution to the city and national economies. In many African cities, the lack of adequate policy attention to the informal sector has led to a situation whereby spatial planning has failed to consider informal economy activities in planning and development of zoning schemes. This has resulted in clashes between informal economy operators and local authorities, mainly on the issue of location, further exacerbating spatial inequality and poverty levels in cities. In many cities in Africa, city authorities and policy-makers' attempts to deal with informality have entailed taking on euro-centric notions of the city and utopian notions of urban development. Rather than asking how urban dwellers in African cities manage to create their own mechanisms of production and sustenance within existing societal structures, city and national governments have continually pushed a development agenda aimed at making African cities conform to 'developmental' norms of cities in the global north.

Professor George Owusu obtained his Bachelor degree from the University of Ghana, Ghana, and Masters and PhD degrees in Geography from the Norwegian University of Science & Technology (NTNU), Norway. His main areas of research include urbanization and regional development, and decentralization and local government. Currently, he is a Professor at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) and the Director of the Centre for Urban Management Studies (CUMS) – all of the University of Ghana. Between 2012 and 2017, he was the Head of the Department of Geography & Resource Development, University of Ghana. Professor Owusu was a member of the core group of experts which drafted Ghana's first ever National Urban Policy Framework (NUPF) and Action Plan, 2012. Between 2017-2018, he served as a member of a 9-member Commission of Inquiry appointed by the President of the Republic of Ghana to inquire into the creation of new political administrative regions in Ghana

Urbanization in the global south: can we make it sustainable?

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This presentation focuses on urbanization in the global south, and in particular in China, India and Brazil (CIB). These three countries have been selected as being representative of Asia and Latin America, and subject to availability of data.

There are many similarities across the three countries—India started its liberalization in 1991, while China started much earlier, in 1978, and Brazil joined the party with its economic reforms in 1994. India is only 31% urban as of Census 2011, two decades after its economic reforms began, but recent research (Sridhar (2019) finds that if India were more liberal in its definition of what is urban, then more than half of India would be urban today. China, on the other hand, has experienced a much different, and chequered urbanization process since its liberalization in 1978 when its urbanization was only 20%, 36% at the turn of the millennium (in 2000); and rose more rapidly to 56% in 2018. Brazil has been always more than 80% urban, but the creative abilities of its cities to unleash growth has been recognized only post-1994, the year of economic reforms in that country.

Few countries have become high income without also becoming adequately urban, as Spence, Annez and Buckley (2008) point out. While Brazil has the highest per capita income among the CIB countries, it is also unsurprisingly the most urban, with China in second place, and India last, being the least

urbanized. For the 1960-2018 period, based on data from the World Bank, we find the highest correlation between urbanization and per capita GDP in the case of China (0.96), followed by that for Brazil at 0.95, and for India at 0.91.

In each of these CIB countries, the number of cities at the apex of the urban hierarchy is lower than that at the bottom of the hierarchy, as predicted by Christaller's central place theory and Zipf's law. While undoubtedly cities contribute the most to the GDP of every country, they have to be made economically efficient and egalitarian. Economic efficiency is defined by the number of jobs accessible within a certain commute which refers to the city's effective labor market, as per Bertaud (2014). We find that the accessibility of jobs within a 30-minute commute is the highest in Bangalore, when compared with selected North American cities for which the data are available. No doubt, Bangalore is projected to have the highest per capita GDP ($12,600) by 2030, as per McKinsey Global Institute (2010).

As a measure of the egalitarianism of a city, we examine the population living within 10 KMS of the central business district (CBD) as this reflects the city's sprawl, presumably caused by urban development policies. On this measure, Seoul, South Korea is the most egalitarian, followed by Bangkok, Thailand and Shanghai, China, where roughly 50% of the metropolitan area's population lives within 10 KMS of the CBD. Indian cities are the least egalitarian from

this viewpoint, where urban policies distort household location away from the CBD where jobs are located. This may also be seen in the floor area consumption in cities around the world, which is the highest in cities such as Copenhagen, but the lowest in Indian cities. One possible reason for this is the strong land use regulations (as seen in unduly low Floor Area Ratio (FAR)) in India's cities, compared with that for other cities around the world. The impact of FAR limits on city suburbanization, sprawl and spatial area is well established

(Sridhar (2010)), Brueckner and Sridhar (2012), Bertaud and Brueckner (2005)).

The logical fallout of strong land use regulations in cities of the global south is obvious—they are environmentally not sustainable. This may be seen in the carbon emissions globally, whereby China and India are the highest contributors to global emissions, along with the US and EU. Therefore, urbanization has to be managed well, to make it egalitarian and environmentally sustainable. Otherwise we are throwing the baby out with the bath water.

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Review of Urban and Regional Development Studies (RURDS), China Economic Review, Environment & Urbanization Asia, and Applied Economics, among others. She is among the top 10% of authors on the Social Science Research Network.

Global discourses of nature and sustainability. Will green open a new inequality gap?

Enrique Aliste
Universidad de Chile

Many recent discourses focus on nature, landscape and "green" as a very important concept and source of wellbeing. Green is at the heart of future desires, it shapes the new global ideas and public policies, and it affects the accountability of the private sector. Today, an important part of the performance of investments is linked to the idea of sustainability, climate change commitment and good practices with communities. And one of the key actions for this commitment is the protection of nature.

On the other hand, however, one of the most important processes in the global Souths is land grabbing for ecological reasons (or "green grabbing"), where important national and transnational investment funds buy great plots of land at the end of the world, for e.g. in Patagonia.

In these scenarios, what kind of consequences can be expected for the future of the global Souths? Who manages these actions and for what purpose? What kind of geography are we producing for the future global era of sustainable development and climate change actions? What scenarios can be predicted for the global Souths in this context?

This is not a skeptical approach to climate change adaptation or sustainable discourses: it is a call for discussing, reflecting and thinking beyond the present for the future of the global Souths.

Keywords: green economy; global change; social geography, development imaginary, global Souths, hegemonic discourses, "eco-extractivism".

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In 2018 he obtained the Geography's National Award, delivered by the Chilean Society of Geographical Sciences.

Housing in the souths of the world

Margarita Greene
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There are three perspectives regarding housing that I would like to refer to at this moment, finishing with a short reflection on how to advance towards urban sustainability. Although each of them affects our countries in different ways, they share common factors that allow us to talk about the "souths of the world" as one Mega Region.

The first is Housing beyond the House. In this part I would refer to how a residential area requires urban services and equipment that go beyond the plot, house or flat. In this sense, it is important to consider aspects such as accessibility: while the city offers the benefits of richer opportunities (in economic, social and cultural terms), if the house does not have a proper accessibility to the rest of the urban amenities these opportunities will be unreachable. On the other hand, to provide the services that must accompany the dwelling, and that allow for an adequate urban quality of life, it is necessary to consider multiple stakeholders from both the public and private sectors. Finally, in this section I would like to refer to the mobilization of resources required for providing adequate housing.

The second regards Demography and Social Context, where I would give an overview of the demographic transition in relation to countries' development, and also of the family and household transitions (changes in households and families composition), as well as the spatial transition (urbanization). This subject leads directly to the issues of immigrants, special groups' needs (the elderly, children) and cultural changes that may have enormous impacts on housing and residential areas.

The third subject will approach Informality and Incrementality. One problem in the last century has been the generation and increase of informal settlements, which do not provide minimum conditions for families or communities to develop a healthy and enriching quality of life. The formal approach will be analysed, showing how it has changed from 'slums are a problem' to 'slums are part of the solution'. This has led to the incremental approach to housing, which can be understood as a basic self-made house to the improvement of neighbourhoods and social consolidation.

Finally, I would like to approach the sustainability perspective and how it affects the morphology of the urban realm (i.e., compact city versus sprawl), the mobility patterns (active mobility and public transport vs cars), and the aim of diversity in function (combining residential, commerce, work sources) and social groups (among rich and poor, young and old, etc.). In the Chilean case and in most of Latin America a main problem in urban development has been segregation, and nowadays there is much effort involved in integration strategies to overcome it.

Margarita Greene is Architect (1973) and Master in Sociology (1988) from the Catholic University of Chile (UC), and PhD (2002) from University College London (UCL). She began her professional work as an architect in Leeds, England, and continued later in Santiago de Chile. Since 1992 she has been a full time academic at the School of Architecture leading numerous interdisciplinary research projects and has conducted numerous consultancies at national and international level. Her specialization area includes: vulnerable neighborhoods, Space Syntax, heritage areas, urban sustainability and architectural educational strategies. Since 2010 she is Full Professor at the School of Architecture, Universidad Católica de Chile, and since 2013 she became part of the Center for Sustainable Urban Development, CEDEUS, first as an Associated Researcher and since 2016 as Main Researcher and Coordinator of the Built Environment cluster.

Urban Value Creation

Montserrat Pareja-Eastaway
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In the context of urban competitiveness, cities aim to increase the number of areas that become attractive for the location of high added-value activities or the settlement of talent. In terms of land use, this could be the result of processes of brownfield development, urban regeneration or built environment rehabilitation, among others. With respect to the tools to raise the value of an existing urban area, a broad range of instruments can be identified: from the increase in the use of digital technologies to the use of flagship events (i.e. mobile world congress in Barcelona), improving environmental amenities or building new cultural facilities (i.e. Guggenheim in Bilbao). The major aim of these processes is to increase the existing urban value.

Several aspects should be taken into account while reflecting on the processes of urban value creation. First, to whom is this value addressed? Urban strategies might definitely be aimed at increasing the urban value for existing citizens by providing green areas or better social facilities. However, after Florida's recipe provided in the 2000s, many local governments targeted foreign capital and talent in their urban planning activities. Besides, the rise in tourist flows all over the world is also a source of urban value creation. Second, how is this value created? Local policies and actions traditionally decide, in a sort of paternalistic mode, the better pathways to achieve certain objectives associated to the creation of urban value. Processes of co-creation among the different stakeholders involved in using the

city, have been recently employed as a natural mechanism to increase the value of the city for all those benefiting from its use. Thirdly, how has the capital gain created by the increase of urban value been shared by the different actors of the city? What kind of mechanisms have been developed to compensate the increasing value? In an era of liberalisation and diminishing role of the public intervention, there is a considerable risk related to the unbalanced absorption of urban value creation by certain economic actors in key areas of the city. This has sparked multiple effects, among others the displacement of existing residents and activities in these areas. And finally, what kind of processes and dynamics are created as side-effects of the urban value creation procedure? Frequently, although the objective of value creation is clear and defined, there are some effects, some of them totally desirable and some of a negative nature, that also take place in the area of intervention. The attractiveness or popularity of an area after certain interventions of value creation might result in profound conflicts in the use of space by different actors. The availability of brand new green spaces or cultural facilities for the inhabitants could be considered as a positive side-effect of an intervention aimed at increasing the economic activity in certain areas.

An additional feature to be explored in processes of urban value creation is their sustainability (social, economic and environmental) over time. Since we know,

for instance, that around 70% of the world population will be concentrated in cities in a couple of decades, or that headquarters of large firms are increasingly less dependent of agglomeration economies, the current processes of urban value creation should respect the foreseen urban dynamics and the already existing resources in the city. Urban ecosystems are highly sensitive to changes, for instance, those triggered by new technologies and big data. Public authorities are responsible for guaranteeing a smooth urban transition to new dominant paradigms.

There are some experiences where targeting knowledge and innovation as main drivers of economic growth have transformed existing areas with low added value activities into the most dynamic scenes in the city. This is the case, for instance, of the district of innovation 22@Barcelona in 1998: by means of an urban, economic and social transformation of the territory led by the municipality, the resulting increase in urban value would, on the one hand, displace existing activities with no or little capacities to produce high added value goods or services and, on the other, allow the location of targeted sectors able to afford higher prices and rents. Besides, the implementation of compensating mechanisms (i.e. higher density) to private landowners affected by the redevelopment and reorganisation of land was used in the negotiation to free land for other purposes than the existing ones. Even though the process was definitely top-down, after 15 years the targets of the urban

value creation process have changed. Since 2018, the different processes of urban value creation have been agreed upon by different stakeholders with a negotiated pathway for future intervention.

Key questions to be considered from a North – South global perspective:

1. Are the processes of urban value creation targeting the same objectives in the global North and South?

2. Up to what extent is the urban value co-created with the different stakeholders involved? Do the global North and South follow similar patterns? Are we witnessing a shift from top-down to bottom-up processes?

3. How is the capital gain obtained after urban value creation distributed among actors? Are there mechanisms that guarantee an equal or at least, balanced distribution?

4. Does it make sense to be concerned about the sustainability of processes that alter urban value creation? Is there a similar concern in the global North and South?

5. How are the city's existing resources contemplated in the processes of urban value creation? How are they channelled and cultivated? Do these processes take place in both the global North and South?

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Migration

Giuseppe Sciortino
Università degli Studi di Trento

The current global system relies on a set of liberal international regimes assuring, with some important exceptions, the circulation of goods, capital and information. No such liberal regime exists for the circulation of individuals. There is (although often violated) a right to 'exit' recognized by the UN declaration of human rights. There is no, however, right to be admitted somewhere else. Given the actual socio-economic configuration of global society, this implies that the movements of individuals across boundaries is regulated, rather unilaterally, by the receiving states.

Such regulation is, by necessity, highly restrictive. Contrary to news stories, the population of the world is actually pretty immobile. Only a tiny minority – less tha 4% – live currently in a state different from the one in which she is born. Nor such percentage has been growing remarkably in recent decades. The world is pretty much staying home.

If migration rates are pretty stable, the migration potential (the number of people that would move if only they had an appealing chance) is actually growing (and much higher of those of actual migrants). Surveys in emigration countries points nearly anywhere to a large migration potential (roughly, at least four times the number of current international migrants).

Measured against this global demand for admission, the functioning of migration control appears quite effective. Passports, visas, border guards, career sanctions and anti-

trafficking measures are able to protect the segmentary differentiation of the world political system in a remarkable way. This restrictive regulation of migration is far from being a mere historical contingency. On the contrary, citizenship plays a key role in producing and reproducing the current global social stratification. Location is a major determinant of income. Unsurprisingly, migration is above all an attempt at social mobility through motility.

Although often ignored, the restrictive regulation of migration is an important dimension of the current global political system. It is a functional pre-requisite for any redistributive welfare policy. It has become a key factor in the functioning of all democratic societies (national public opinions, in fact, are nearly always highly restrictive). Paradoxically, such restrictionist attitude is stronger and more consistent in those states that grant resident foreigners a modicum of right and a path, no matter how long, to citizenship. It is enough to compare the percentage of foreign residents in Western Europe and South America with those of the Gulf States to realize the existence of a factual trade-off between numbers and rights.

Powerful factors militate against international mobility, particularly along the South-North direction. Why, then, migration is such a conflictual issue? Why do state complains to be "unable" to regulate migration? To understand it globally, three structural tensions are to be considered:
– The strain between political system,

legitimated in reference to a community of belonging, and the market economy, whose regulation is based on prices, not territory;

– The tension between political will, inevitably particularistic, and a national and international legal system that is increasingly autonomous and increasingly

universalistic (embedded liberalism);

– The tension between an international order defined by a segmentation of the political system in nation-states defined as of equal power and status and the factual existence of enormous – and growing – economic, political and military differences.

Giuseppe Sciortino teaches sociology at the University of Trento, Italy. His main research interests are international migration studies, international development and social theory. He is the director of SMMS, the migration research center at the University of Trento. He has been EP&E Visiting Professor at Yale University (2009-10), chair of the Research Committee 16 'Sociological Theory' of the International Sociological Association (2010-14) and Willy Brandt Professor at the University of Malmo (2015-16). Among his recent works, Great Minds. Encounters with Social Theory (Stanford UP, 2011, with Gianfranco Poggi), Solidarity, Justice and Incorporation (Oxford University Press, 2015, with Peter Kivisto) and The Cultural Trauma of Decolonization. Colonial Returnees in the National Imagination (Routledge, 2019, forthcoming, with Ron Eyerman).

06
Case Studies

The emergence of hybrid electrical configurations in a complex Lebanese energy landscape

PhD student:
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Tutor:
Prof. Marco Cremaschi
Sciences Po – Paris

Since the Civil war, people in Lebanon are suffering from disruption and interruption of the electricity supply with chronic massive power cuts (between 3 and 12 hours a day). The restructuring of the electricity sector, centralized with the near monopoly of Électricité du Liban, has been unsuccessful for more than 20 years. Given the state's failure to provide electricity, a wide range of technologies are blooming throughout the Lebanese territory and are challenging the way electric systems are regulated and managed.

Since the 90s diesel-based electric generators provide a backup to the shortages of the public grid. Firstly, generators were individual backup systems, but in the face of persisting shortages of supply, they gradually became mini grids at the neighbourhood or the municipal scale. Anchored in the practices for more than 30 years, generator systems are totally integrated in the daily life of Lebanese citizens (Abi Ghanem 2017), and informal electricity providers are filling a gap. Despite their illegality, they are considered as a "perpetuated extra-legal system" (Gabillet, 2010), regulated

by local institutions but recently also by a national one. On the other hand, driven by the need to secure electricity supply and cut down costs, households, large companies or even municipalities are developing local renewable production systems. It's a way to emancipate themselves from the State but also from the diesel minigrid. Initially, the various fossil or renewable supply devices coexisted side-by-side, but an articulation between them led to the creation of a singular socio-technical object: the hybrid PV-diesel system. Hybrid configurations are technologically more complex and are developed at a wider scale for collective uses.

In this context of diversification and complexification, the main grid is no longer the dominant paradigm, but it is articulated to varying degrees with other configurations whether formal or informal, renewable or fossil, centralized or decentralized. To seize this long-lasting process of technical and political complexification of the energy landscape, we use the concept of electric hybrid and electric hybridisation. The goal is not to stress

heterogeneity of infrastructural configurations, but to capture the changing dynamics that are occurring. Through the lens of public policies, we analyze the role of public institutions and energy governance in the solidification of these artefacts. Also, from a geographical perspective, the goal is to understand to what extent electrification configurations are shaped by and shaping the social and urban contexts (socio-economic conditions, urban spaces and local resources, social practices and political powers).

Alix Chaplain is PhD candidate in sociology and urban studies at the Center for International Studies within Sciences Po Paris. A graduate of urban planning and political science, she is specialized in environmental policy. Alix Chaplain has carried out research on the design of strategies for the adaptation of coastal areas to climate change in a cabinet of consultants of geography. She has started a doctoral thesis in October 2018, within the framework of the Hybridelec project as part of an interdisciplinary social sciences team, working on energy transition in cities of the Global South. Under the supervision of Eric Verdeil, her PhD focuses on emerging forms of energy transition as well as the hybridization of electric urban infrastructure systems in Lebanon. Using the concept of hybridization through the prism of a socio-technical approach, the PhD thesis intends to investigate the technical and political articulation between the conventional centralized network, the informal electricity sector, and other emerging electric alternatives in a context of persisting shortages of supply. One of the hypotheses of this doctoral research work speculates that hybrid systems are very diverse and are deeply influenced by the local context (physical urban morphology, local economy, social practices).

Renewable energy and gendered livelihoods in low-income communities in Accra

PhD student:
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Tutor:
Prof. George Owusu
University of Ghana

The urban environment is likely to affect livelihoods at every point in time. Hence, adequate access to resources is central for achieving sustainable development in cities. Energy resource, a topical issue globally, is crucial in developing sustainable livelihoods as well as improving the environment. It plays a critical role in poverty reduction due to the patterns involved in energy generation, distribution and utilization. This directly affects opportunities for income generation for both men and women, environmental protection as well as national development. In addition, cities and economies in Africa in general are exposed to high levels of resource depletion and climate change effects. Therefore, it is imperative for African cities to focus on appropriate infrastructure choices which are "better informed on the material reality of slums and how they contribute to the metabolism of the city" (Smit et al., 2017). Since energy is an essential engine for growth in cities, it is worth collecting empirical evidence on emerging issues related to renewable energy and livelihood strategies of men and women in low income communities in Accra, a rapidly growing city with an increasing incidence of informal settlements. The main objective of this study is to assess the gender dimensions on the use of renewable energy resources among residents in low-income communities. The sub-objectives are as follows:

1. To examine the institutional and policy framework on renewable energy in Ghanaian cities.

2. To explore the gendered perceptions on usage of renewable energy resources among residents in low-income communities.

3. To examine livelihoods of men and women which are dependent on renewable energy resources.

4. To evaluate the gender dynamics in accessing renewable energy resources and their coping strategies.

This study will be premised on the livelihood, vulnerability, resilience and adaptive capacity concepts. A mixed-methods research strategy will be used to address the research questions.

Attractive cities and the provision of housing: the case of Barcelona and Hong-Kong

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Local governments struggle to transform cities into attractive hubs for capital, talent and international events. Urban competitiveness has been on the agenda for decades, but the means used to achieve it have changed: from a resource-based location or infrastructure availability, cities now explore other mechanisms to become more attractive to intangible assets such as human capital or financial investment. Different recommendations have been suggested from the academia, paying attention to different aspects that should be taken into account. Among others, path dependency or the meaning of place are considered essential to develop well-grounded cities, even more than tolerance or technology.

Besides success, a key aspect to take into account in any endeavour focusing on urban attractiveness is conflict. In particular, the growing tension in the use of the city's space and the needs of those attracted by the city's success versus the needs of those who try to cope with their daily life in an attractive city.

Housing understood as a radical human right becomes a critical aspect in many cities but especially in those under the pressure of different demands. The understanding of housing as a commodity but also as a basic need has historically created multiple elements of tension in 'popular' housing markets.

The declining welfare-oriented role of the state in the provision of social housing in attractive cities has contributed to the creation of degraded living conditions and of housing emergencies such as homelessness. In turn, this generates a spiral of mutual reinforcement between housing and income inequalities within urban areas.

Our research uses the cities of Barcelona and Hong Kong as case studies. Both cities are living in a politically tense environment and have recently been stage of street protests, with citizens expressing their discontent with the local housing market. This paper aims to explore three different dimensions of housing in the two cities and the answer provided by local governments to counteract the market equilibrium. The three dimensions are chosen on the basis of three different conflicts that emerge in these cities: first, the access to housing for vulnerable households in need of public housing provision; second, the effect of the generalisation of temporary subletting agreements (i.e. AirBnB) in core areas of the city; and finally, the gentrifying process initiated

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after urban regeneration programmes.

Methodologically, we will consider a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques. On the one hand, we will explore by means of available statistics, memorandums and policy documents, the housing market situation (stagnating or overheated market, vacancies, unsatisfied demand, etc) in both cities together with the design of policies to cope with housing problems. On the other, we will interview key actors in the field in the two cities.

Riccardo Demurtas is a current master's student. Originally from Sardinia, Italy, he moved to Glasgow to pursue his undergraduate studies and did a year exchange at the University of Hong Kong. During his time at University, Riccardo represented students in the Adam Smith Business School supporting academic and social changes in both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. He was involved in a number of initiatives such as Language4Water and the University Scholars Leadership Symposium in Bangkok. In 2014, he obtained his MA in Economics and Management from the University of Glasgow, graduating with Honours of the First Class. He was awarded the Adam Smith Scholar Award of Excellence 2018 and won the prize for Best Management Dissertation of the Year. He is in his second year of his Erasmus Mundus IntM in Global Markets, Local Creativities (Pathway: Development) at the University of Glasgow, Universitat de Barcelona, and Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. He has completed work placements at the Pla Estratégic Metropolitá de Barcelona and at Network Rail Scotland. Through his academic and work experience he has developed interests in public policy, social and environmental sustainability, and urban development.

Poverty and equality: use of ai tools

PhD student:
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Traditionally, the South and especially the Poor have been pushed into subsistence level existence and denied equality in due share for access to global social and natural resources. In the post digital era, we can see potential for changing this practice through the digital empowerment of the poor with assured equality in access to network, information, knowledge, data, software tools and, most important, with the supportive power of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in tackling problems beyond their capacity.

Magarpatta city, which was developed as a completely autonomous cybercity within the limits of Pune city in India by farmers' families empowered by education in civil engineering and management, is a living example of what such empowerment can do. (www.magarpattacity.com) (Created by Management expert Mr. Satish Magar and Engineering expert Mr. Umesh Magar of the Magar family clan, the land owners of farmland near Pune.)

With the total management of such an urban conglomerate through Digital means, farmers can do away with the typical middlemen, such as investors, managers or government representatives, and build their own cities to initiate migration reversal from the North to the South. As owners of such cities, the traditional poor South actually plays host to the future of the North.

The next step in further empowerment is to put high end maintenance capabilities in the hands of the new urban creators of distributed cities in order to combine civil engineering with AI to allow the use of ecofriendly materials for structures, predictive analyses of buildings, bridges, and other structures.

The proposed research project explores the application of AI through civil engineering and aims at preparing the future practice of construction and maintenance empowered by the Internet of Things and AI tools. Computers and AI could thus be key enablers for issues related to Poverty and Equality especially in the North and South context.

Yogesh R. Deshmukh is a Second-year Ph.D. Research Scholar at the Savitribai Phule Pune University, Pune with interdisciplinary research interests in Earthquake Engineering and Damage detection in various types of structures. His research focuses particularly on Damage detection and assessment of structures using Artificial Neural Networks. He grew up in Osmanabad, India, before moving to Baramati to receive his bachelor's degree in Civil Engineering at Vidya Pratishthan's Kamalnayan Bajaj Institute of Engineering and

Technology formerly known as VPCOE. He has completed his Master's in Civil – Structural Engineering in 2015 at the same institute which is affiliated to Savitribai Phule Pune University. He is currently working as Assistant Professor in the Civil Engineering Department at ABMSP's Anantrao Pawar College of Engineering & Research, Parvati, Pune since June 2014. He enjoys Travelling and listening to Sufi Indian Music.

Governing Latin American cities housing informality and environmental sustainability

PhD student:
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National University of General San Martín

Only five of the world's fifty largest metropolitan cities are located in Latin America: Ciudad de México, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Lima. The subcontinent's metropolization process has been overcome by Africa's and Asia's. But even when Latin American metropolitan cities aren't the most populated or the fastest growing, they remain a key space in the region's social, political and economic trends: the most important effects of inequality, democracy and neoliberalism are to be found in the big cities where most of Latin America's population lives.

Latin American governments have coped with the challenges posed by this combination of inequality, democracy and neoliberalism in ways that have been deeply studied by literature at the national level. But the ways in which this mix has been dealt with at the urban level has received much less attention. The objective of our research is to highlight the politics and policies of urban governance in Latin America's biggest cities. This general objective will be carried out through the analysis of two relevant urban governance issues: informal housing and sustainability management.

Informal housing has been an extensive mode of urban growth in Latin America for decades. It represents an antithetical alternative to traditional planning as it implies a production of urbanization independent of formal frameworks and assistance that do not comply with official rules and regulations and emerge as a different path of city construction. The social and environmental effects of this new kind of urban growth are challenging both for governments and specialists. While different approaches tried to describe, theorize and formulate the causes of the emergence of this type of urbanization, literature has not paid enough attention to the political dimension of informality, especially on how local governments deal with informality, and how it affects urban policy making, urban management and political choices and how local urban planning systems contribute to the emergence of informal settlements.

On the other hand, sustainability management has only recently entered the urban governance agenda. It represents a new approach that crosses the classic policy division between economic development, social issues and urban planning. Latin American cities are still trying to find their own paths to sustainability between multilateral formulas (like the Millenium Development Goals), contradictions

with national commodity export and industrial development models, and the interplay of both institutional and non-institutional local actors. Urban level compromises seem to be the most

successful and are sometimes the only way of introducing sustainability in the policy agenda of this region.

Francesca Ferlicca is a PhD fellow in Regional Planning and Public Policy at the University of Venice. Her research interest lies in housing policies for the informal city, especially in the Latin American context. She is an urban planner graduated in Architecture and Urban Planning at the Department of Urban Studies of University of Roma Tre, with a thesis regarding the role of Universities in urban and local development, with a specific focus on the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area. She worked as an urban planner in Argentina, in the public sector at the Ministry of Environment and Public Space (Government of Buenos Aires City), in a think tank for policy making, Centro de Implementación de Políticas Públicas para la Equidad y el Crecimiento (CIPPEC) and as a consultant for the masterplan of the Municipality of Hurlingham (Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area). She was assistant professor at the Urban Planning Chair of Professor Alfredo Garay (Faculty of Architecture of the University of Buenos Aires). Recently she organized an international urban planning workshop in Buenos Aires for the Sciences Po Urban School.

Urban Heritage in Georgetown, Penang and Yangon: A Comparative Study

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University of Passau

A basic dilemma of city planning is that planners can make plans but that the development of the city depends on the practices of the citizen. Here we find a basic discrepancy between usually technocratic planning ideas and communicative practices of those living in the city. (Korff 2018)

City planning is strongly influenced by national decisions as well as world models (Meyer, Rowan), maintained by international organisations. In the sixties and seventies, the dominant model used to be modernization and thus, the creation of modern cities. The old city centres were either already in decline or fell into decline through sub-urbanization. In addition, their structures resembled the past and tradition, exactly what had to be transformed! Heritage was identified with religious etc. buildings.

Perhaps as a consequence of post-colonial discourses and globalization, identity policies became relevant as well as the idea to maintain cultural identity and heritage. This led, however, to a dilemma: What is the cultural heritage of a colonial city? On the one hand, the old buildings of the colonial administration as well as the colonial banks, offices, department stores and hotels refer to a past in which the local culture

was subjugated to colonialism. On the other hand, most of the cities were centres of in-migration and minorities, and thereby featured styles not in line with the disseminated nationalism.

While planning the modern city, new centres were established. For the planners, the old parts of the city posed several problems like insufficient infrastructure with their often narrow streets, overcrowded houses etc. In short, the architecture fell short of modern demands and functions. These old centres turned into marginal areas in terms of space as well as economic activities and cultures.

Since the last decade, a new world model has emerged in part as a result of the world heritage projects of UNESCO. Instead of tearing down the old city, heritage should be maintained, so that the history of the city becomes visible. Several old parts have now become world heritage sites like the old quarters of Georgetown.

For the study we selected two cities: Georgetown on Penang island in Malaysia, and Yangon in Myanmar. Both have been under British colonial rule and urban planning. One important feature used to be that the cities

were mainly inhabited by migrant communities with their own administration that led to the rise of the so-called "plural society". In both cities we have a large south Asian community.

In the old quarters of Georgetown the vernacular architecture is characterized by Chinese and Indian styles. Yangon was the centre of British colonial rule in Burma. The policy to not develop Yangon during the military rule (1962 to 2011) led to a form of "conservation".

Hafsa Idrees is an experienced entrepreneur and a researcher with a demonstrated history of working in the field of anthropology and urban studies. After doing masters (in anthropology) from Pakistan, she did masters in development studies and is now currently doing PhD from the University of Passau, Germany, in urban sociology with a focus on South East Asia and South Asia. Having co-founded the only self publishing house in Pakistan in 2013, she has also been working closely with the local writers especially from ethnic and religious minorities. Hafsa also has the honor of receiving Chancellor Medal for her M.phil degree in anthropology from Quaid-i-Azam University, which is the highest academic accolade any student can receive in Pakistan.

Humanitarian space: a dynamic "capture" network of global migratory flows and a constituent part of the contemporary city

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My research focuses on humanitarian space, understood both as a dynamic "capture" network of global migratory flows and as a constituent part of the contemporary city, far from bounded notions like that of "Other Spaces", confined into traditional humanitarian emergency spaces, but constantly interacting with several kinds of places and practices.

The idea of humanitarian space is confronted with the seminal work of Giorgio Agamben. In Homo Sacer, he addressed "the Camp" (instead of the City) as the biopolitical paradigm of the West.

This type of space (born in the colonial period at the end of the nineteenth century) is described as an empty "bubble" in the globalized, smooth and continuous space of the contemporary world. Interpreted by some as a sort of Anti-City, like an Enclave, "the Camp" hosts entire populations for periods of time that, in many cases, last lives. Especially in the past, it had the ability to annihilate man's political potential, his being a "citizen", sometimes caused also by the presence and work of NGOs.

My research starts from the assumption that the humanitarian space is now beyond the definition of "camp-space": this kind of space is now scattered and deeply entangled with other forms of spatiality.

My investigation aims to study the combination of bodies, objects and spaces collaborating and circulating through the humanitarian network, with a specific focus on migrant people.

The goal of my work is to understand the material conditions, the national and supra-national forms of regulation, the legal and political agreements, the actors and stakeholders that, in complex and different ways, actually "produce" the network of humanitarian space as a City-Camp.

The final objective of my research is to outline a series of guidelines and alternative strategies for planning and managing the humanitarian space network, particularly including the urban area of Naples, and then replicable to a wider territorial dimension.

"Touristification" of Heritage areas in Latin America. The historic centre of Cuenca as a case study

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The insertion of tourism in urban heritage areas in recent decades has led to the implementation of public policies designed to make these spaces more attractive to tourists. Examples are regeneration projects of public spaces, rehabilitation/restoration of buildings, public space management strategies, and urban marketing campaigns to promote tourist attractions. This process, known as "touristification" of urban heritage (Navarrete, 2017, p. 64), has generated material and immaterial urban reconfigurations, which have affected not only popular practices and uses, but also the residents and users.

We hypothesize that the material and immaterial reconfiguration derived from "touristification" has negative effects, such as gentrification, dispossession and displacement (Janoschka, 2016), which have been underestimated (despite their magnitude), while its positive effects have been overestimated and widely spread. The minimization of the negative effects has helped to validate the tourism-related process implemented, making it difficult to monitor its development considering aspects that are not evident at first sight, especially when these have negative connotations. To address this hypothesis, we study the "touristification" process of the historic centre of Cuenca, Ecuador, since it was appointed Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 1999.

Cuenca appears as an emblematic case due to its success as a tourist destination in the last decade. For example, it was ranked as one of the best two cities for foreign retirees, it made the list of 50 best historical cities in the world of National Geographic magazine (Zibell, 2012), and obtained the Oscar for Tourism, as best destination in South America for short stays, between 2017 and 2019 (World Travel Awards, 2019). This was partly due to an effective advertising campaign, under the logic of competitiveness and marketing, but mainly due to the implementation of a series of urban regeneration projects in the heritage area and its environment, with the clear objective of making it more attractive to tourists. However, these have sometimes influenced its morphology, and promoted displacement and dispossession processes.

The methodology of our research study considers four stages:
1) Analysis of policies, plans and programs promoted by governmental agencies for the protection of Cuenca's urban heritage and for the implementation of tourism there;

Sofia Moriconi is an architect and currently a PhD student at the University Federico II of Naples and visiting PhD student at the School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Birmingham. Her research investigates how camps and humanitarian dynamics affect urban world conception, particularly focusing on the Italian Refugee Policy and on the city of Castel Volturno. She is part of the Italian Red Cross since 2003, Peace Education Facilitator and she has extensive experience in migration and humanitarian contexts. She has been coordinating intercultural national educational projects for IRC from 2016 to 2019 and she contributed to design some live-action-role-plays regarding forced migration.

2) Analysis of projects considering: (a) characterization, (b) material reconfiguration, (c) immaterial reconfiguration, and (d) identification of their effects;

3) Analysis of the positive and negative effects of the material and immaterial reconfigurations;

4) Discussion and validation of results.

Natasha Cabrera Jara is an architect, with Master in Housing Laboratory, Master in Territorial Planning, candidate for a Doctorate's Degree in Architecture and Urban Studies by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Professor and researcher at the School of Design, Architecture, and Art of the Universidad del Azuay in Cuenca-Ecuador.Natasha contributed to the technical area of municipal entities by designing social interest housing and public spaces; she also participated in research about densification, government housing, occupation of urban-rural edges and sustainable mobility within the research group LlactaLAB-Ciudades Sustentables at Universidad de Cuenca. She has published her findings in various journals and books. Currently, she is studying the material and immaterial transformations derived from tourism in Ecuadorian heritage areas.

Post-welfare state vulnerable communities and self-produced services in public housing units: the case of Lotto Zero in Ponticelli (Naples)

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The research project focuses on self-produced services as a frame to investigate how publicness is created in one of the 1980s' post-earthquake public housing complexes of the periphery of Naples (Italy). It is part of the international research network Public Space in European Social Housing (PUSH – "Hera" Joint Research Program financed by the EU) that aims at analysing the concept of public space in a socio-material perspective in selected cases located in Norway, Denmark, Switzerland and Italy. Differences between north European and south European countries are central in the PUSH project and the Italian case of Ponticelli (Naples) represents an emblematic case of both "South Europe" and "South Italy".

The Lotto Zero is characterised by a high rate of unemployment and crime, of multi problematic families and of school dropout. Building on academic international studies on multiscale processes in phenomena of social marginalisation, this study aims to investigate inequalities of service provisioning in a marginalised residential context. It focuses particularly on the evolution of identity among young people (gender identity and social identity) and the emerging of new forms of vulnerabilities. It has to be considered that the European Union recently reaffirmed its interest in both a better understanding of the evolution of vulnerabilities (linked to new types of families, the increase of child poverty and the increase of social exclusion) and in the provision of services to prevent social vulnerability (preventive welfare instead of reparatory welfare).

This study starts from two hypotheses. First that vulnerability and identity are interlinked and, as a consequence, that identity formation and evolution could prove useful in defining emerging forms of vulnerability. Second that the retreat of the public welfare state resulted in service provision involving citizens that participate in informal practices creating what we could call "self-provided services". According to the collected data, those services neither entirely exclude traditional public actors (institutions and NGOs) nor are they completely illegal. They develop in a "grey zone" where institutional actions and informal activities interplay and create specific forms of publicness.

The public archival data will be integrated next year with fieldwork through participant observation and interviews. Furthermore the

project encompasses activities with local institutional actors, NGOs and target groups with the aim to develop descriptions of self-provisioning in services using experimental digital tools. Cooperative digital representation and storytelling will be tested as tools for analysing different types of services, for increasing awareness about coping with processes of marginalisation and for supporting empowerment of vulnerable groups.

Marilena Prisco is an architect and currently a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Naples "Federico II" (Italy). She was previously a Ph.D. candidate in Architecture (urban planning area) in the same institution and in her final dissertation (2017) she applied the method of assemblage to investigate how to expand the frame of environmental justice to socio-material systems of water and sewer infrastructures in both a global and a local perspective. As undergraduate student in architecture she did fieldwork in Istanbul (2009) where she explored the creation of public spaces in relation to neocapitalist dynamics and in Mumbai (2011) where she explored the concepts of vulnerability and resilience in formal and informal flood risk settlements. In 2013 she joined a national environmental group and since then she has contributed as an activist in experimental research-action projects in her home district.

Land and property development in Hong Kong

Prof. Wing Shing Tang
Hong Kong Baptist University

In the literature on southern theories, it is common to have ignored land development as an essential element of understanding. This project attempts to contribute to the project by understanding landed and property development in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong studies can make a modest contribution to the advancement of nuanced southern theories. This can be attributable to its distinguishable development history. The history of Hong Kong has rendered many southern theories irrelevant, as the tradition and, its polar opposite, the modern have be mutually embedded since it was colonised by the British in 1841. Land in the New Territories has been mutually embedded with its counterparts elsewhere in the colony since 1891, when this large tract of land was lent to the British by the Chinese. As a result, the traditional Chinese customary land occupancy system has persisted, and again thanks to the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, until today. Simultaneously, Hong Kong as an independent city has ended with the return of sovereignty to China in 1997, becoming part of the Chinese spatial administrative hierarchy with the birth of the 'one country, two system'. These complexities have rendered any account of Hong Kong by southern theories irrelevant.

As a preliminary attempt to construct a more nuanced southern theory, this case study focuses on the land development of a district that exhibits the mutual embeddedness of the modern and the tradition. Ngau Chi Wan, a rural village of more than 200 years old, is located next to Choi Hung, the first public housing estate built in the early 1960s, in Kowloon Peninsular. It is such complexity of mutual embeddedness between town and country that calls for a careful scrutiny. To begin with, an archival search of the development of this village over time is to be achieved. It starts with comprehending the land development system and the way the village has developed. A survey will be carried out to document the population composition, and their land and house ownership patterns. The technique of walking around the village is employed to enumerate an inventory of concrete spatial elements such as building, ancestor halls, other ceremonial and festival structures, and infrastructures. This will be supported by, if possible, a few aero-photos to map the historical geography of the village. Villagers will be interviewed to cover their everyday spatial practices and their imagination about the village. In totality, the information collected would allow us to identify the town-country relation within the land development system and its changes over time. Some generalised statements can be made by situating the case study materials in the general discussion of Hong Kong as a whole.

All the information collected will be collated in a such a way to make a modest contribution to debating southern theories.

Under urban resilience and adaptation models: New or strengthened hegemonies hidden by sustainable discourses rules?

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Wing Shing Tang is currently Adjunct Professor at the Department of Geography and Research Fellow at the Advanced Institute for Contemporary China Studies of Hong Kong Baptist University. He graduated with a BA (Hons) in Geography at McGill University, a MSc(Pl.) at University of Toronto and a PhD at Cambridge. He is currently Associate Editor of City, Culture and Society, Asia Editor and Editorial Board Member of Human Geography: A Radical Journal, Editorial Board Member of Urban Geography, Corresponding Editor of International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Member of the Steering Group of International Critical Geography Group and East Asian Regional Conference in Alternative Geography. His research interest is to comprehend the nature of cities and urban development, especially Chinese cities (including Hong Kong). This is achieved by interrogating Foucault, Lefebvre, Harvey and others by subjecting western discourses on space to urban experiences in other parts of the world. Research outcomes include a modest attempt to challenge Lefebvre's thesis of complete urbanisation and his argument of urbanising Gramsci's theories through the experience of Hong Kong and China. The other is a critique of urban China research by coining the double concepts of random conceptual indigenisation and random conceptual appropriation. Recently, he is interested in exploring the applicability of Chinese philosophies to disentangle the ever-lasting debate in Urban Studies about town-country contradictions. In doing so, he has initiated urban comparative projects between urban China and south Asia. Another explorative attempt is to compare urban development in China and in Germany by employing the anchorage point of Maoism rather than all sorts of socio-economic indicators.

Resilience, adaptation and transformation are strategies for global challenges such as climate change, water scarcity, disaster reduction, in fine global and local sustainability. These strategies are predominantly urban based. Developed under urban assumptions, rationalities and standards, their usefulness in representing territorial or space processes and problems should be questioned. Is the hegemony of the urban conception leading to formulate correct questions, and thus pertinent strategies for the current global and local challenges in the global south? Studies of telecoupled processes point out the limit of traditional territorial scales of analysis, by linking the dependencies of places. Similarly, resilience and sustainability of cities require to rethink urban boundaries and scales.

Second, rural places and people are conceived and imagined from urban perspectives. 'Nature' is for the urbanite both immensely attractive -thus its need for preservation- and terribly threatening. Urban dwellers are fascinated by this 'natural world', perceived as exotic, mysterious, untouched. This idealized version of a 'natural landscape' generates gaps between ideas and proposals in the name of sustainability and rural visions and practices, such as cycling cities, green infrastructure, walking cities, etc.

In addition to this hegemony of cities over territories, one must also consider the dominance of cities of the Global North in thinking, designing, justifying and promoting certain sustainability strategies, and the neo-colonial divisions in the production of knowledge structure and in the articulation of ideas and theories. Under the resilience and sustainability discourses and models -normative and uncritical-, what kind of hegemonies are being built or reinforced? Coincidentally, world-leading sustainable cities are from the Global North, serving as inspirations, goals and examples of good practices. What are the premises under which resilience and sustainability models are built, how are they promoted and by whom, and how do they circulate and gain legitimacy? For e.g., 100 Resilient Cities, City Climate Leadership Awards, etc.

Knowledge co-creation in implementing landscape approach in Kalomo, Zambia: A new landscape architecture?

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Problem definition

Although integrated landscape approaches have recently gained attention in the scientific community as a framework for multi-stakeholder engagement, their conceptualization, terminology, and application are entirely under discussion. While there is an agreement that landscape approaches have potential for balancing competing demands and integrating policies for multiple land uses and multiples actors, the question of how to integrate different types of knowledge remains under-researched and completely disconnected from political discourses. Alternative forms of knowledge and enhancing knowledge co-production mechanisms and practices are some of the new challenges facing global environmental changes and sustainable development processes.

Research Question

How can knowledge co-creation in the implementation of landscape approaches be designed in a way that values traditional ecological knowledge and empowers marginalized actors in complex multi-functional landscapes?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework comprehends four strands of scholarly literature: 1) debate on ILA conceptualization, terminology, and application; 2) local knowledge and conservation practices, 3) challenges and potentials of knowledge co-production processes; 4) politics of knowledge, exploring knowledge and sustainable development relationship to show the (in)adequacy of the discourse on knowledge.

Methodology

The study will adopt a mixed methods design, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods. Secondary data collection includes comprehensive policy documents review, government documents, and archives. Primary data collection will be gathered through participatory observation (attending meetings), and interviews with platform participants. Data analysis includes Q-methodology for discourses analysis, and social network analysis to identify actors networking.

Expected Results

By analysing co-production knowledge process in ILA implementation, the study expects to: a) contribute to strategies for knowledge co-production design and implementation; b) obtain the active participation of the different

Juliette Marin is a civil engineer from the École des Ponts-ParisTech (France), holds a MSc. in civil engineering from The University of Tokyo (Japan) and is specialized in earthquake engineering and disaster risk reduction. She is currently on her second year in the Doctoral program of Territory, Space and Society of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of Chile, under the supervision of Enrique Aliste. Her doctoral research proposes a reinterpretation of territorial concepts such as resilience and adaptation, considering the influence of the positions of scientists in the global North and the global South for the construction, transfer and promotion of epistemological and conceptual models, with the aim of building a situated framework of resilience for South American contexts. Juliette has participated in applied research on structural dynamics, heritage and disaster risk, risk institutionality and scientific-technological transfer projects towards the Chilean public sector from an interdisciplinary perspective.

stakeholders in negotiating trade-offs and synergies; c) analyze the effects of knowledge production in empowering marginalized groups and of knowledge-power relationship.

Malaika Yanou obtained a MA in International Relations at University of Bologna, and an MSc in Food Security and Development at University of Reading, conducting fieldworks in Turkey and Brazil with local communities. For almost two years Malaika Yanou have been working as research consultant at CIFOR, based in Indonesia. Since March 2019, she have started her PhD at the University of Amsterdam in partnership with CIFOR. Her research focuses on co-productive knowledge and the role of local knowledge in the implementation of integrated landscape approach in Zambia.

Fiscal Gaps in Indian cities: The cases of Bengaluru and Mumbai

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Indian municipal bodies are amongst the weakest in the world in terms of access to resources, revenue-raising ability and financial autonomy. The ratio of municipal revenues to gross domestic product (GDP) at factor cost in India was estimated at 1.03 per cent for 2014-15, compared to South Africa (6.0 per cent) and Brazil (7.4 per cent). Not only is the country's municipal sector small compared to international benchmarks, but municipal bodies in India have been subject to significant erosion in their fiscal autonomy over time. In 2014-15 the municipal tax-GDP ratio stood at 0.33 per cent as against the combined ratio (central plus state) tax-GDP ratio of 17 per cent.

The precarious state of municipal finance in India is a matter of concern, because as cities drive growth and productive employment, they also generate public finances for socio-economic development In 2015, urban areas with 31 per cent of the population contributed to 62 to 63 per cent of India's GDP. This contribution will rise to about 75 per cent by 2021. However, cities will not be able to perform their fundamental role as engines of economic growth and structural transformation unless their municipal finances are strengthened.

Indian municipal bodies are in many ways stuck in a state of low output due to high expenditure needs and low revenue capacities. The high expenditure needs in cities is due to increased functional responsibilities, huge demand and high cost of service provisioning. Low tax base, poor collection efficiency, low fiscal autonomy etc. are the reasons for the low revenue-raising capacities. The gap between the two (expenditure needs and revenue capacity) is defined as fiscal gap, which is the key reason for the poor quality of services across municipal bodies in India.

There are several endogenous and exogenous factors that are the causes of the fiscal gaps in Indian cities, this paper will examine each of these factors. The expenditure need of cities depends on the services that are provided by the local government and the costs associated to provide these services. This research attempts to assess the expenditure needs of the two Indian cities of Bangalore and Mumbai as both these cities have distinct functional responsibilities and economic specializations. The expenditure needs will be assessed using two approaches: Unit Cost Method and Regression model approach.

Revenue capacities of municipal bodies are defined by what the body is capable of raising as opposed to what it is actually raising. It is determined by 'income from own source revenue (OSR)', most importantly it includes the potential income from all untapped sources. This paper assesses the revenue capacity of the municipal bodies of Bangalore and Mumbai, theBBMP (Bruhut Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike) and MCGM (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai) from property taxes (ward-wise), advertisement tax and other charges (for multiple services). The thesis will assess the current income, collection efficiency for each of these sources and make simulations of BBMP and MCGM's income potential.

Finally, the thesis will document best practices and make policy recommendations for BBMP and MCGM to narrow the existing fiscal gaps.

Sukanya Bhaumik Bhaumik is a PhD student (Development Studies) at ISEC (Institute for Social and Economic Change) at Bengaluru, India. Her research thesis is titled 'Fiscal gaps in Cities: Case of Select ULBs in India'. She has a Masters in Urban Planning from CEPT University, Ahmedabad India. Her research interests are in urban service delivery, municipal finances and role of civil society in improving governance structures in developing countries. Through hr PhD research she intend to understand the causes of the fiscal gaps in two of India's mega cities: Mumbai and Bengaluru. As a young development professional, she wants to contribute to the development of her country through evidence-based research and advocacy, her PhD research is the most important milestone in this direction.

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