Ajay Bailey
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Inclusive Cities and Global Urban Transformation

Infrastructures, Intersectionalities, and Sustainable Development

Springer

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🦄 Springer

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Foreword

I have now been an immigrant in the UK for 20 years. Back in 2003, when I first arrived in London, hopeful and wide-eyed, life was a struggle. I had a room in Camberwell, South London, in an old flat with a live-in landlord who controlled my visitors and refused to pay or let me pay for the BBC license to watch TV. Free London was my Oyster, and I barely noticed those things I could not access. Instead, I learnt to live in thrifty, cheap London. When challenging moments came by, I headed to the national collections. The day my boss refused to increase my meager salary after putting together all my courage to beg for it, I took my packed lunch and went to the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, a short ten-minute walk away from my office. I was half crying when I left the office, but the gallery strongly affected me. Sitting in front of Seurat's *Bathers at Asnières*, the city became a little more friendly. I noticed I was not the only one taking refuge in the Gallery. All kinds of people strolled around; some fixated on paintings and with purpose, some just forgetting time passing in a beautiful place.

The National Gallery is one of the 15 sponsored museums and other cultural organizations that the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) funds through Grant-in-Aid. Since 2001, the museums sponsored by the Government have the obligation to offer free entry to everyone to their permanent collections. The measure, initially introduced by Blair's Labour government, was thought of as a means to broaden museums' audiences and facilitate inclusion. The successive Conservative governments have found few arguments to reverse the measure, which is now considered also one of the main drivers of the attraction of visitors to London and, thus, an engine for economic growth. In 2021/22, DCMS-funded cultural organizations received a total of £1.7 billion in Grant-in-Aid, over 41% of their budget, comparable to the yearly budget for road resurfacing. Visitor numbers demonstrate that the interest in the museums increases year on year. However, empirical evidence suggests that the increase in visitor numbers is not akin to greater inclusion of those sectors of the population who did not already feel included in London's cultural life, questioning the assumption that museums are agents of social inclusion. For the young me, sitting at the bench in front of those beautiful silhouettes of workers enjoying their leisure time in Paris' suburbs at the turn of the nineteenth century, the

purposes of that policy mattered little. Still, the free entry provided respite from the insecurities that pestered my life. More than two decades and a mortgage later, I still do not feel entirely at home in the UK, but the National Gallery and other museums still provide respite from the hamster-wheel that runs these modern, screen-addicted lives.

This book—*Inclusive Cities and Global Urban Transformations,* edited by Ajay Bailey and Kei Otsuki—is a timely contribution to an emerging literature that engages existing research struggles to apprehend inclusion as an individualized experience. The visitors' figures to UK museums suggest that transforming the museum into an agent of social inclusion is a hard-to-achieve objective, and yet, my own anecdotal experience shows that museums are indeed able to support feelings of safety, belonging, support, and space all which underpin the possibility of being included in an aggressive urban environment. The architect Guillermo Delgado always tells me, "Architects and Planners do not build cities that enable loving each other," and he is right: cities fence space, exclude people, and create community by leaving others out. But, at the same time, these are the same cities that enable passing experiences of beauty and sublimation, random encounters, and experiments in togetherness. All those experiences are hard to compute in an organized manner, so while the exclusions can be appropriately documented, convivial initiatives may go unnoticed. And yet, those efforts somehow materialize in different aspects of the urban environment. Alongside histories of exclusion and oppression, the material environment also captures those moments of belonging and connection—like that painting in London, which provided comfort in a moment when I felt as if I were falling through the cracks of the city.

Intersectionality—one of the organizing concepts in this book—is one of the concepts that the social sciences have developed to grapple with these complexities: the evidence of the matrix of oppression versus the individual experiences of emancipation. In her response to alt-right criticisms that portray intersectionality as a "woke" theory that reifies victimhood, Kimberley Crenshaw explains that intersectionality is not a grand theory of everything, but instead, it is a theory concerned with the particular—specifically, specific experiences of oppression and exclusion. This is precisely to avoid the reproduction of further oppression and exclusion via the very means directed towards empowering marginalized groups. The challenge is that power is inherent to any form of communal living. The advantage is that power is inherent to any form of communal living. In every case, there is a need to find the tools to identify and react to discriminatory practices and claim their rights: those that reproduce oppression may also be those that mediate forms of emancipation.

Such complexities of social life become materialized in different forms of infrastructure that support economic production and social reproduction: the stuff that enables urban inhabitants to work, live, and play. The creative processes that eventually lead to gentrification and the literal expulsion of inhabitants, for example, depend on the cultural infrastructure of the city—its museums, galleries, and other spaces that support and inspire creative work. The constant movement, the opportunistic engagement, and the microeconomies of exchange all require infrastructures

of inhabitation constantly subjected to a process of reimagination. Sometimes, material structures become reimagined by the populations that are excluded or included by them. Take, for instance, the ugly building Strata in Elephant and Castle, whose construction started in 2007. It received the Carbuncle Cup upon completion in 2010; such is its ugliness. The Heygate Estate—a large housing estate in a brutalist style that hosted more than 3000 people in its heyday—languished under the Strata's shadow. As families abandoned the Heygate Estate (it was finally demolished in 2014), some people resisted alongside new residents who took advantage of the transitory character of the buildings, such as a group of parkour enthusiasts who found an ideal place for practice. For those who resisted, in the words of former resident Adrian Glasspool, there was a sense of lost community, "forcibly displaced for the sake of mere land value speculation." Glasspool spoke to a journalist in The Guardian about the beauty of the houses in what he saw as a "failed utopia":

> They're not very pretty and have become unfashionable, but they're structurally sound and functional. Just because they're a bit grey doesn't mean people can't live here happily.

Again, the precision of the individualized experiences clashes against the generalist dynamics of an economy under development. The regeneration project demands action; residents must make room for new forms of modernity. There is no space for an individualized experience of place other than an experience of renouncing the memories embedded in the blocks, the walls, the causeways, the stairwells, and the lifts. In the same way as when computing the museum experience, there is no time or attention to capture the individual aesthetic experiences, only to compute visitor numbers and growing budgets.

Again, we owe the intersectional perspective to scholars of law and civil rights struggles, such as Kimberley Crenshaw, who initially aimed to reveal the idiocy of a system that systematically excludes people by race. However, as scholars in other fields found the helpful term to describe the interconnection between different forms of discrimination, expanding the original emphasis on critical race theory to other areas and fields, the term was adapted to other contexts. One significant transformation that is particularly well addressed in this book is how theories of intersectionality help us apprehend how the material fabric of the city shapes the means of discrimination and the possibilities for inclusion because discrimination becomes materialized in the multiple material interactions that shape our cities, and that contain potentialities in their ambiguity.

Baldock, UK   Vanesa Castán Broto
October 2023

Preface

In the decades to come, cities will grow exponentially. Much of this growth will happen in the Global South, and especially in Africa and Asia. Urban spaces offer fertile ground for innovation, social change, and development. However, within these dynamic spaces lie a host of challenges, chief among them being the provision of essential everyday necessities like food, water, and shelter for all urban dwellers. As this urban transformation unfolds, various individuals and collectives will navigate the complexities of inclusion and exclusion on the path to securing these basic needs. The question that looms large before us is: How can we ensure that the expanding urban landscape remains open and inclusive to all?

This book—a compilation of chapters authored not only by academics but also by urban practitioners and activists from both the Global South and North—first took shape during the summer of 2021. At that time, the world, and especially its cities, grappled with the lingering consequences of lockdowns and the far-reaching effects of the pandemic. We initiated a call for chapters and convened an online workshop, inviting authors who shared a profound concern for and interest in exploring the unfolding urban challenges.

Through our collaborative efforts, we swiftly realized that our collective interest extended beyond the mere examination of urban problems; it also encompassed a fascination with the remarkable resilience exhibited by individuals and communities in the face of adversity. We deliberately opted for concise chapter formats, a decision rooted in the desire to capture, contemplate, and represent the diverse array of experiences within urban communities and their interconnected networks.

Across many of these chapters, certain recurrent themes emerged: rapid urbanization, concurrent infrastructure development, displacement, the proliferation of informal settlements, inadequate infrastructure planning, and unequal access to basic services. Simultaneously, we found a common thread running through the narratives—the resourceful coping strategies and purposeful everyday actions of people as they strive to shape their own cities. These narratives serve as a wellspring of potential for future urban planning and development, underlining the vital role that individuals and communities play in co-creating the urban landscapes of tomorrow.

Our discussions on inclusion and social justice were organically woven into the fabric of these rich empirical cases. They underscored the imperative need for an adaptive, intersectional lens—one that contextualizes individual and collective experiences, and acknowledges the complex struggles that intersect within the urban tapestry.

This book is organized into four distinct parts, each of which illuminates the various contestations and collaborations among diverse urban actors and infrastructures. In the first part, "Infrastructures and Ambivalent Properties," we delve into the intricate relationship between infrastructures that define the physical fabric of cities and the diverse groups of citizens inhabiting them. The second and third parts zoom in on "Intersectionalities." The first of these sections explores the multifaceted intersections involving infrastructures, while the second delves into the ways in which agencies of marginalized groups manifest within cities. Finally, the fourth part of the book envisions the inclusive city as a city in the making. It encompasses a comprehensive exploration of both historical and contemporary experiments and designs aimed at enhancing inclusion across various urban frontiers. This structure allows us to navigate the complex terrain of urban challenges and potentials, shedding light on the evolving dynamics that shape our cities.

The authors of the chapters within this book share a deep sense of and profound commitment to social justice and a shared goal of enhancing the quality of life for the people they work with. We hope that readers will actively engage with and debate the materials presented in this volume.

It is essential to clarify that this book does not aspire to be a conventional textbook, a theoretical treatise, or a handbook. Instead, our aim is to offer a diverse array of cases that serve as catalysts for dialog. We seek to initiate conversations with individuals from various backgrounds who share a common desire for more inclusive cities.

In line with this objective, we have made a deliberate choice to ensure that the book is openly accessible to all. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to Utrecht University's Pathways to Sustainability Research Program for their invaluable financial support, which has made this accessibility possible.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to several individuals who played pivotal roles in bringing this book to fruition. Special thanks to Marcel Pein and Brent Sandtke, our research assistants, whose efforts were instrumental in compiling the literature list on inclusive cities, helping us define our focus on infrastructure, intersectionalities, and sustainable development, and keeping all the authors informed about the book production process. Additionally, we acknowledge the contributions of Michelle McLinden Nuijen who proofread and enhanced the readability of all the chapters.

Finally, our sincere thanks go out to all the authors for their patience throughout the 3-year journey of finalizing this book. Your dedication and commitment are deeply appreciated.

We hope that the diverse chapters and cases collected in this book serve as sources of inspiration, information, and catalysts for dialog and action. We invite policy-makers, academics, community leaders, and all citizens to actively engage with the ideas and insights presented within these pages.

Utrecht, The Netherlands   Ajay Bailey
                                                                                        Kei Otsuki

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Ajay Bailey is a Professor of Social Urban Transitions at the International Development Studies group at the Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning, Utrecht University. He leads the research line Global Migration, Culture, and Place working at the interface of anthropology, geography, demography, and public health. He holds the prestigious Dr. T. M. A. Pai Endowed Chair in Qualitative Methods at Manipal University, India, named after Dr. Tonse Madhav Ananth, the founder of the university. As an anthropologist and a cultural demographer, Prof. Bailey has produced 45+ top peer-reviewed international publications; one highly cited monograph; and has supervised 12 Ph.D. researchers. His work significantly contributes to expanding the field of transnational mobilities, aging, inter-generational relations, health systems research, and health services, reducing barriers to care, while establishing meaningful North-South and South-South collaborations.

Kei Otsuki is Professor of International Development Studies at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. She holds a Ph.D. in Development Sociology from Wageningen University and M.Sc. and B.A. degrees from the University of Tokyo. Prior to Utrecht University, she worked at United Nations University as a research associate. Her research interests center on equitable and sustainable development, environmental justice, and remaking of geopolitics of development, especially regarding impacts of investment-induced displacement and resettlement on new land and resource frontiers. She has conducted field research on new settlement experiences in Latin America, especially Brazil, Kenya, Ghana, and Mozambique, as well as in Japan. She is currently leading a number of international research projects including two on conservation and new extractivism-induced displacement and resettlement projects in Mozambique, and a new initiative to address displacement and resettlement induced by urban infrastructure development in the Global Southern cities.

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Chapter 1
What is an Inclusive City?

Ajay Bailey and Kei Otsuki

Abstract Cities around the world are constantly exposed to a wide range of impacts and shocks, including pandemics, adverse climate events, political crises, civil unrest, and deepening social and economic inequalities that lead to precarious living conditions. Vulnerable groups of people at the urban margins are particularly affected by the unequal distribution of available resources and a lack of access to basic services. This book, with a particular focus on various forms of intersectionality—hence, intersectionalities—presents a range of examples showcasing imaginaries of sustainable urban development across cities in the Global South and North.

1   Introduction

Cities around the world are constantly exposed to a wide range of impacts and shocks, including pandemics, adverse climate events, political crises, civil unrest, and deepening social and economic inequalities that lead to precarious living conditions. Vulnerable groups of people at the urban margins are particularly affected by the unequal distribution of available resources and a lack of access to basic services. The COVID-19 pandemic has served as a wakeup call for researchers, development practitioners, and decision-makers to re-examine the notion of well-being, which can be easily undermined by powerlessness, poverty, and social exclusion that impact vulnerable groups of people across the Global South and the Global North.

Cities are also sites of frequent displacement. In 2021, more than 38 million people were forced to flee their homes due to conflicts, violence, and disasters (IDMC, 2022). Additionally, Cernea and Maldonado (2018: 4) predict that 20 million people will be displaced annually due to infrastructure development around the world in the current decade. In cities, displacements and evictions can also occur due to rising real estate prices and gentrification. This is particularly evident in cities experiencing "speculative urbanism," which is driving global urban transformation (Goldman, 2011;

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Leitner & Sheppard, 2023). Under the current neoliberal investment and urban political conditions, urban displacement push vulnerable groups further into the urban fringes and precarity (Harvey, 2007). In addition to external pressures, vulnerable groups in cities face discrimination based on factors such as gender, disability, ethnicity, caste, and religion. This discrimination persists and contributes to social exclusion (Haque et al., 2019; Jha, 2019; Najib & Hopkins, 2019). In this context, international agendas such as the United Nations' New Urban Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development push the idea of "making cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable" (SDG11, United Nations, 2023). However, urgent questions remain unanswered: What defines an inclusive city? More specifically, what does "a city for all" entail? Who has the authority to decide who is included and who is not, and how can we develop innovative theoretical and methodological approaches to address the multiple intersectional inequalities?

2   Defining Inclusion and the Inclusive City

More than half of the world's population now lives in cities, with a projected increase to 70 percent by 2050. Nearly 2.2 billion people will move to and live in cities in Asia and Africa. Urbanization and development of new cities, especially in emerging economies and the Global South more broadly, were seen as citadels of economic growth and opportunity to break free from social and ethnic barriers to work, education, and social life. However, while many cities continue to experience economic growth and prosperity, this prosperity is not shared equally among urban dwellers. The concept of the "inclusive city" emerged in the mid-2010s to address this selective urban prosperity, drawing from the classic concept of social exclusion (Anttiroiko & de Jong, 2020).

Social exclusion in cities implies the structural inequality that exists in both social and spatial dimensions. For example, Levitas et al. (2007) define social exclusion as a complex and multidimensional process involving the denial of resources, rights, goods, and services to specific groups of people. This also includes their inability to participate in broader social relationships and activities that are available to most people in society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political spheres. Social exclusion affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society. The lack of access to schools, high healthcare costs, and precarious housing limits the development of socially excluded people, particularly the urban poor. Unequal access to urban amenities, a safe environment, and quality services perpetuates a vicious cycle of poverty that is difficult to escape. Whitzman et al. (2013) highlight the vulnerability of women in cities, while Espino (2015) argues that creating an inclusive city involves confronting social segregation in different urban contexts that affect different groups of people.

One way to address the inequality of access for socially excluded people in cities is by providing sustainable, clean, green, and affordable transport infrastructure and services. The transport disadvantage literature emphasizes that unequal access to

transport, particularly public transport, limits an individual's mobility to access essential activities (Preston & Raje, 2007; Ma et al., 2018). Similarly, providing affordable housing and co-producing public services in low-income neighborhoods are key policy goals in both the Global South and the Global North. The trend towards privatization of basic public services, driven by neoliberal policies, has created a hidden informal economy where these services are exchanged at higher costs. This has resulted in higher costs of living, coupled with high unemployment rates and loss of income due to various shocks, including displacements or the pandemic, leading to lower resources for basic health care and everyday subsistence, such as quality and nutritious food. Within households, children and older adults are usually most affected in this context of social exclusion and underlying unequal access to services, with women bearing a larger care burden.

To address the multidimensional nature and extent of social exclusion, design principles for inclusive cities have been developed in studies conducted across continents, including Asia–Pacific (Dahiya & Das, 2020), Latin America (Leite et al., 2020), Southern Africa (Mboup & Oyeleran-Oyeyinka, 2019), and Europe (Stratigea & Kavroudakis, 2019). These studies all emphasize the need for social inclusion to become an operational social justice-based concept (Fitzgiboons & Mitchell, 2019). Inclusion is a basic human and socioeconomic right for all people, particularly to challenge and change norms and values that underlie social inequalities and injustices, in order to continually work towards a quality life. In this sense, increasing attention is being paid to smart cities and how inclusive the new innovative city-making process is becoming (Guma, 2019; Aldinhas Ferreira, 2021).

As the debate on designing and building an inclusive city grows, we believe that inclusive cities should not merely be conceptualized as utopias or cities that actually exist as such. They should be cities that are possible, constantly allowing citizens to engage, debate, reflect, and recognize the diverse sets of inequalities that have been produced and experienced. It is a joint task of the state, various social actors, and citizen groups to co-produce tools, polices, and interventions to reduce inequalities and open pathways towards a more just society.

3 The Intersectionality of Urban Inequalities in the Context of Global Urban Transformations

The concept of "intersectionality" is particularly useful in establishing an inclusive imaginary of cities where all citizens can co-produce various interventions to reduce inequalities and improve their quality of life. According to Crenshaw (1991), intersectionality explains how multiple forms of discrimination (such as classism, sexism, ageism, and ableism) intersect, overlap, and combine to produce inequalities for marginalized groups. Originally, Crenshaw used the concept to showcase the oppressions faced by Black women in the United States. Over time, it has been applied in various geographies and contexts, enabling researchers to examine how different

forms of oppression and discrimination can have differential impacts depending on the subject position and the privileges and disadvantages accrued to those positions (Bastia, 2014; Cho et al., 2013). Changing access to resources can help change subject positions and reduce the impact of discrimination.

While not a new concept, intersectionality is increasingly relevant in examining the specific lived experiences of diverse groups in cities and preventing homogenizing identities in assessing inequalities and exclusion. Societal markers, such as gender, race, class, income, caste, (dis)ability, and sexuality, persist in stigmatizing groups of people and increase urban inequalities; the effects are more severe when these markers overlap and intersect. However, intersectionality is not prominently used in studies on the inclusivity of cities. For example, in a general review of 650 articles with keywords "inclusive" and "city," only six explicitly used the terminology and concept of intersectionality to expose how inequalities can be multifaceted. Castán Broto and Neves (2018) observed that bringing an intersectional lens to analyzing the co-production of urban services can aid in identifying context-specific inequalities that reproduce inequality and social exclusion. Lacey et al. (2021) used intersectionality to establish that designing public space involves a more intricate understanding of gendered and racialized spatial planning. Gooding (2020) applied the concept of intersectionality to experiences and the potential management of climate hazards that many urban dwellers, especially those in more vulnerable conditions, currently face.

The imaginary of inclusion and attention to intersectionality requires alternative urban strategies and concrete infrastructures that address exclusion, co-production of services, and sustainable place-making, especially in the Global South (Rigon & Castán Broto, 2021). This can address the urban violence often experienced in southern cities (Salahub et al., 2019). However, exclusion and vulnerability are not limited to urban dwellers in the Global South. Cities across the south and the north face similar challenges of increasing inequality and vulnerability for groups such as older women, children in low-income neighborhoods, or citizens exposed to racial discrimination in particular socioeconomic contexts. Therefore, addressing intersectionality and multidimensional inequalities must be placed in the context of *global urban transformations* and connections, rather than confined to either the Global South or North.

Transformation can take various forms. At the policy level, combating systemic inequalities involves implementing anti-discrimination policies; improving access to urban services such as housing, education, health care, and water; and implementing policies and interventions for affirmative action. An intersectional lens aids in specifying the profiles and extent of vulnerability and discrimination to ensure that these actions reach the most affected. Cassan's (2019) analysis of the impact of affirmative action on education for scheduled castes and tribal groups in India found that men from these groups benefited more from the action compared to women. Intersectionality allows us to evaluate the effects of policy interventions. Furthermore, we must understand the level of citizen agency and collaboration with the policy sphere to imagine how exclusive urban processes can become transformed from below into an inclusive city-making process based on interactions between various groups of citizens and urban dwellers.

4   Scope and Structure of the Book

This book with a particular focus on various forms of intersectionality—hence, inter-sectionalities—presents a range of examples showcasing imaginaries of sustainable urban development across cities in the Global South and North. The book examines the inclusive city as imagined and practiced by various actors, including state and non-state actors, and most importantly, urban dwellers who (re)claim, negotiate, and transform everyday urban forms of socio-cultural practices and infrastructural constellations.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part, "Infrastructures and Ambivalent Properties," explores the relationship between infrastructures that shape the physical frameworks of cities and different groups of citizens. The relationship can be both inclusive and exclusive, and we gather cases that discuss, both theoretically and methodologically, the effects of infrastructures on city spaces and peoples. The second and third parts focus on "intersectionalities," first in relation to infrastructures and second in relation to how agencies of marginalized groups of people unfold in cities. The last part of the book conceptualizes the inclusive city as the city in the making. The section provides an overview of historical and current experiments and designs shaping up inclusive cities in various urban frontiers. In what follows, we detail the rationale of each section, introducing the chapters included in this book.

Infrastructures and Ambivalent Properties

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in infrastructure, both as a manifestation of the persisting "modernization ideal" (Graham & Marvin, 2001) and as a tangible representation of the ambivalence associated with modernization (Rodger & O'Neill, 2012). Infrastructure embodies the various promises of a good life and future-oriented "development" while also excluding groups of people who find it increasingly difficult to attain that good life (Anand et al., 2018). Infrastructure, as a set of "public" works, is often selective in terms of who is included in this "public" and who is made invisible (Otsuki, 2019). This trend of selectivity may be empirically exacerbated by international agendas such as the New Urban Agenda and SDGs, particularly SDG9—industry, innovation, and infrastructure, and SDG11—sustainable cities and human settlements, which justify investment flows into the production of new infrastructure for creating sustainable and resilient cities in the context of climate change and increased disasters. While the international sustainable city-making agenda aims to create cities that are inclusive for all citizens, previous studies have shown that the sustainability agenda has often been accompanied by various forms of displacement (Shannon, 2021) and experiences of marginalization in the process of relocation due to infrastructure building and development (Beier et al., 2021).

In this first part of this book, we present eight chapters that delve into the selective patterns of inclusion and exclusion perpetuated by the emerging industry of infrastructure in various cities across the Global North and South. The section opens with a chapter by the Urban Digital Infrastructure (UDI) Writers' Collective that

explores the process of reproducing inequalities as digital infrastructural urbanism spreads globally. With the rise of smart urbanism, digital infrastructure is increasingly being used to make cities *more efficient,* with infrastructure for electric vehicles, shared transport, and smart metering of public utility services payments, among other connections made between technologies established in cities and our smart devices. While one rationale for this is to make cities more compact and address urban greenhouse gas emissions and pollution (Burgess, 2000), another is to increase the state's control over citizens by accumulating personal data. At the same time, the affordability of these digital services remains a question, and smart urbanism could exacerbate existing social and economic inequalities, particularly in Global Southern cities where the majority of citizens are "informal" urban dwellers with limited access to services. As a result, the benefits of digital infrastructure for the urban poor are ambivalent (van Gils & Bailey, 2023).

Ravi et al. provide further examination of the case of India's Smart Cities Mission—the official national policy which aims to turn cities into digitalized spheres—in light of critical thinking about digital infrastructuring in a particular context. The chapter highlights the increasing use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Indian cities and the assumptions about citizens' capacities that this requires, including preconditions of citizenship itself. The authors emphasize the mismatch between the government's vision and citizens' feelings about this Mission, which *invites* citizen participation in smart city planning to make the process more inclusive but limits this invitation to the space of endorsement rather than critical engagement with the process. More fundamentally, the availability of ICT requires language skills that many lower educated citizens lack. In India, where the caste system still permeates urban segregation and civic participation in overall planning, imposing smart urbanism can exacerbate the sense of exclusion among already marginalized groups of people (Jha, 2019).

Digital infrastructure and smart urbanism are recent examples that highlight the need for critical observation and analysis regarding inclusive city-making through ICTs, particularly in relation to citizen control and the process of accumulation by capitalist logic, which, after all, tech companies and governments promote as innovation (Datta & Odendaal, 2019). Varghese further explores the process of accumulation and its connection with dispossession in the case of India's Special Investment Regions, which promotes smart urbanization. Along with the building of *new* cities across the Global South to create an image of world cities, progress, and future-oriented prosperity (Watson, 2014), foreign investments often lead to economic and physical displacements (Steel et al., 2017) and unequal access to spaces and infrastructural services among groups of citizens who can afford the new infrastructural services and who cannot. In this vein, chapter of Darak et al. shows that exclusion is inevitable when governments—and researchers like ourselves—neglect the importance of collecting relevant data on citizens' well-being to understand their capacity to access services in the first place.

Reflecting on the experience of COVID-19 in India, Darak et al. problematize the data collected for managing the health conditions of urban dwellers to such an extent that the public health system in cities still fails to address inequities among

citizens in accessing health services. Hossain and Ahmed's chapter then discusses inequality in public transportation in the Dhaka, Bangladesh. Public transport is often viewed as a symbol of urban inclusivity, as it provides access to mobility for those who cannot afford private cars or do not drive. In Latin America, many protests to address urban inequality have started with the rise of public transport tariffs, especially bus fares, as buses are especially used by lower income citizens. However, the recent rise in bus rapid transit (BRT) systems across various cities shows that public transport development is considered a key factor in ensuring sustainable and inclusive city-making. The chapter on Dhaka's case highlights the need to prioritize security, especially for women, and the frequency of public transportation services to ensure that people feel safe using them. Similarly, Bozovic's chapter contemplates the concept of "walkability" and how infrastructure can be designed to a more pedestrian-friendly, less vehicle-oriented environment while also ensuring safety and equal access to mobility in urban areas.

The last two chapters in this part focus on the resurgence of high modernism associated with mega-transport infrastructure projects. The infrastructure that once justified the car-centric society, which led to environmental concerns in cities during the twentieth century, has been reframed as new "development corridors" that facilitate connectivity between urban regions and drive sustainable economic development (Enns, 2018). However, both Suprayoga and Wargyawati's case in Jakarta, Indonesia and Kisembo and Otsuki's case in Kampala, Uganda show that these corridor developments lead to the displacement of particular groups of people, especially those in informal settlements. As Suprayoga and Wargyawati's chapter shows, the benefits of mega-transport infrastructure such as highways, which displace a large number of people to more vulnerable spaces in the urban margins, cannot be justified. Kisembo and Otsuki's chapter further shows how women are affected more severely than men when expressways alter their mobility patterns. Despite this, public consultations and project impact assessment activities often disregard the differences between groups of urban citizens due to standardized processes that are indifferent to cultural contexts.

The case of Uganda's Expressway by Kisembo and Otsuki underscores the importance of inclusion as a deliberate recognition of various groups of citizens with distinct attributes that render them more vulnerable than others. Such attributes may include class, gender, race, income, age, health status, and disability, and they can and they can intersect in complex ways. To envision truly sustainable and inclusive cities that benefit all residents, we must therefore pay close attention to the concept of intersectionality.

Intersectionalities I: Towards Inclusive Infrastructures

As the discussion on inclusive development has generally highlighted, the concept of inclusion represents a wicked problem, as including one group often leads to the exclusion of others, even though this selectiveness is usually unintentional (Otsuki et al., 2017). The chapters presented in this section take a methodological and theoretical approach to examine the unintended consequences of infrastructure as a driver of social exclusion.

The chapters by George et al. and Nagesh et al. both examine how intersectionality analysis is useful to understanding the lived experiences of different groups of citizens in Bengaluru, India. One group is female laborers who require mobility to access work and health care, particularly for tuberculosis treatments. The intersectionality of their daily lives highlights the need for attention to their mobility patterns to address their well-being. The other group is older individuals, whose vulnerability is exacerbated by the intersectionality of poverty and a lack of social policies in low-income neighborhoods in southern cities (Nagesh et al., 2023). Aging itself is an emerging urgent issue in terms of physical infrastructural design and social policy that supports the older adults to be able to afford and access quality services (Jahangir et al., 2022; Joshi & Bailey, 2023). Aging also poses challenges for urban planners and policymakers in the Global North, as shown in van Doorne and Meijering's chapter on "age-friendly" cities in the Netherlands, where limitations to this ideal are encountered even in one of the wealthiest countries in the world.

As Sheller (2018) has discussed, mobility justice is a fundamental principle of modern inclusive city-making, enabling every citizen's human capabilities for development (see also Nassubaum, 2011). However, in practice, this often involves new technology and infrastructures that do not necessarily consider the needs and capacities of the aging population. Once again, infrastructures function in selective manners, but, in this section, the selection is not merely about the division between the rich and poor or formal and informal urban dwellers: an intersectionality lens provides an understanding of how the selection works in more complex ways and has a differential impact on various urban dwellers.

The underlying issue here is that ways in which cities are planned and designed tend to overlook the diverse needs of citizens with varied lived experiences (Beier et al., 2021). Lowe and Sattari's chapter addresses this issue by examining the actual needs of older adults through the use of spatial techniques and participatory monitoring of their mobility. Their chapter reminds us of the importance of including groups of people who are often exposed to uneven urban development in research and planning activities.

Sturge's chapter thus directly addresses the intersection between public health and urban planning by examining how to establish design principles for people facing public health challenges. Using the Netherlands as an example, the chapter specifically looks into the lived experiences of people with dementia and makes a series of recommendations for including the citizens with dementia in all spheres of urban development. The overall issue here is how health infrastructure for older adults and people who need treatment can be interactively planned and implemented in combination with other infrastructure, primarily transportation and digital infrastructure that increasingly comes with it. In this sense, intersectionality is not only about various groups of citizens with different attributes, but also about designing infrastructure that addresses the needs of those specific groups of people.

The final chapter in this part, written by Nadh and Bhan, takes us back to Bengaluru in India where intersectional disadvantages resulting from inaccessible healthcare infrastructure and other aspects of social life in a low-income neighborhood are

observed in detail. One of the interesting aspects of this case is that healthcare infrastructure, which should be in the public policy sphere, is either provided by charitable individuals or private institutions that demand people's ability to afford these services in the low-income neighborhood. This poses the problem of commodification, where access to public health systems or quality life more broadly requires capital (Chatterjee, 2004). Such commodification is increasingly witnessed across continents, revealing the contemporary neoliberal nature of city-making.

Intersectionalities II: Agency and Place-Making in Cities

While the first two sections of this book essentially problematize the current politics of infrastructure and its inclusivity as being paradoxically exclusionary, the rest of the book focuses on the agency of citizens and urban dwellers who navigate through the exclusionary mechanisms to include themselves in the everyday fabrics of urban development. After all, we can contend that global urban transformation stems from the exercise of agency, which works to *structurate* systems of infrastructure and ultimately transform the city (cf. Giddens, 1984). Intersectionality in this section works in various ways as citizens themselves take advantage of their own attributes—of being women, older adults, young, ethnic minority, or poor—to further expose the exclusionary mechanisms of the city and make their own places within the city.

Chapter of Steel et al. vividly demonstrates Sudanese women's agency in dealing with family and everyday livelihoods. In this case, digital infrastructure—and social media more specifically—has strengthened women's participation in everyday place-making within Khartoum, as their public sphere is physically limited. Therefore, digital technology helps them transcend physical barriers, conduct business at home, and leverage their physical immobility. A similar process is explored in Andal's chapter, where she examines children's agency in an informal settlement in the Philippines. Living in an especially restricted situation during the pandemic, children navigate their streets in informal settlements to create their spaces to act. Both women and children are often overlooked in city infrastructure planning and design, and these chapters remind us of the existence, bodies of knowledge, and experiences that could be more valued in cities.

Biswas's chapter further draws our attention to the intersectionality surrounding citizenship status. Focusing on migrant laborers who sustain much of a city's functions, the chapter critically reflects on Lefebvre's "right to the city" concept to clarify whose rights we are really talking about. Both locals and migrants in Kolkata, India struggle to secure their rights to live a quality life, which is heavily influenced by the affordability of the infrastructural and welfare services and the persisting segregation of the caste system. The experiences of immigrants in cities are often made invisible as they often work illegally or informally without formal entitlements to public services. Thus, it is the researchers' job to engage in making their experiences visible, especially when immigrants experience difficulties in enjoying urban life.

Chapter of Leung et al. reveals the experiences of Asian immigrants in the Netherlands who faced discriminatory reactions during the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Chinese community across Europe suffered from discrimination

and verbal violence from the host community. The chapter shows how the immigrant community started to engage with the public debate through social media and public protests against "Asian hate." These processes of counter movements and push for inclusive agenda are witnessed globally. Similarly, Aziz's chapter focuses on the Rohingya refugee community's demonstrations of their food practices in the Australian city of Brisbane. Food practices create spaces of inclusion for the immigrant community to identify a territory within the city as part of the larger host community. Likewise, Zimbabwean migrants' food practices, as detailed in Brouwer's chapter, shape inclusive foodscapes in the South African city of Johannesburg where xenophobia persists in violent ways. All of these cases demonstrate the strong agency of immigrants who are determined to include themselves in the cityscape through the exercise of their fundamental rights to eat their food, which reflects strong cultural pride and continuity.

All the chapters in this section, to varying degrees, demonstrate the strategic use of digital infrastructure by those who tend to be excluded from city spaces due to discrimination, citizenship status, labor practices, or tradition. Recent protests in Iran are a prime example of how social media, through images and the connections generated, can transcend physical spaces and localized actions, supporting the global movement towards inclusion of women in spaces of freedom. Urban spaces are where the voices demanding inclusion are the loudest, as they constitute "ideoscapes" where large numbers of citizens can gather and share their ideas (Appadurai, 1996). However, whether these ideoscapes become the actual grounds for setting up inclusive cities depends on how seriously decision-making actors listen to the raised voices and meet the demands. If these actors become oppressive, we need to collectively think about how to address the oppression by drawing from various experiences of creative action, designing, and planning in various cities. Only when various groups with different attributes and decision-making capabilities and institutional power come together can we envision inclusive and sustainable cities for all in the long term.

Inclusive Cities for Sustainable Development

How do we learn from different experiences of creative action that demands social inclusion in cities? One answer to this question is through history. Rose's chapter takes us to the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands where the reinterpretation of the role of the city's patron saint, which existed since mediaeval times, emphasizes the importance of inclusion and sustainability in the present day. While it can be argued that embracing a particular saint is not applicable to all urban citizens, including migrants and those who are not Christians, the chapter shows that the city had intended to be inclusive through the symbolization of the religious character. Chapter of Raviv et al. on inclusive space design in the city of Utrecht that led to the creation of De Voorkamer demonstrates how the practice of "social design" creates an inclusive space for people from different backgrounds to meet and connect, and what this design entails. The chapter lays out the six basic social design principles: people, program/project, location, space, communication, and online/offline network. We can consciously apply these principles in different experiences and designs in various

cities presented in the rest of this section to evaluate the inclusivity of spaces within each city.

In the Colombian city of Bogotá, Kessler and Hernández-García examine the impact of the HabiARTE urban renewal and beautification project in the city's informal settlement, and whether this project created an inclusive space. Their detailed case study shows that people were not fully identifying their needs with this project, which essentially painted informal settlers' houses in various colors to make the space attractive for visitors. The communication between the beautification promoters and the citizens was lacking, especially when it came to the question of who finds what beautiful, while basic infrastructural services and other needs for the neighborhood remained insufficient. This is a typical example of non-social design and intervention, which stigmatizes already marginalized groups of citizens by forcing them to be visible to the outside through infrastructural intervention (e.g., Baumann & Yakobi, 2022).

Chapter of Madureira et al. takes us to Indonesia to examine an urban development intervention through the use of creative industries in informal settlements as a case study. The chapter shows how keeping traditions alive through creative industries as a part of tourism strategy links community-based management of the project with municipality-led development planning. The case demonstrates the importance of networks—local associations that negotiate with the government to jointly work on development strategies. Cooperation between various actors with strong agency and participation from citizen-community groups can lead to the implementation of new infrastructural initiatives that enhance the city's resilience. Similarly, chapter of Marino et al. examines the public parks program in Bucaramanga, Colombia, where researchers, urban planners, and architects collaborate to design infrastructure that enhances the climate resilience of the city. The public parks work as inclusive spaces where various citizens, including women, children, and older adults, come together. The chapter emphasizes the potential of infrastructure to *activate* citizen agency if planning is inclusive and decision-makers and engineers follow up with the project over time. Researchers also play a vital role in facilitating observation and interaction between citizens and other actors providing hard infrastructure and funding. Design principles should include public health narratives, particularly in addressing climate change, and broader governance that shapes the public sphere of inclusion.

The narratives of public health and governance underlie Sattari's chapter on food planning in Cardiff, UK. The chapter discusses how food planning can transform corporate-led to localized food systems through community mobilization and participatory discussions on the kind of food systems needed in the city. The concept of "food-led governance" offers an interesting perspective on creating more inclusive spaces for deliberation between citizens and decision-makers, as food represents not only cultural identity but also sustainability, livability, and health. The discussion is relevant to widespread conversations on food desserts in Global North cities (Hamidi, 2020) and emerging patterns in the Global South, including Brazil (Honório et al., 2021), Kenya, and Mexico (Wagner et al., 2019).

However, where social inclusion is still a contested arena, more concrete political action by activist movements deserves attention. Trasciani's chapter shows that

civil society activists can play a crucial role in holding authorities accountable for their actions or lack of actions in addressing the precarity of marginalized populations. In the case of Marseille and Naples, activists focused on the quality of asylum seekers' reception centers, demanding better living conditions and more comprehensive support for the asylum seekers. Similarly, chapter of van Gils et al. highlights the importance of political participation in achieving an inclusive city in Penang, Malaysia. If the goal of inclusive city-making is to provide a platform for newcomers and local residents to voice their concerns for urban well-being, then the situations in both EU cities and Malaysia are discouraging. Authorities often overlook or outrightly suppress political action by those demanding inclusion.

Chapter of Rehorst et al. on the reconstruction of Beirut's port after the 2020 massive warehouse explosion highlights the contestation between citizens' views of the city and the design led by international donors. The citizens have experienced new infrastructure and development plans that always benefit the elite instead of average citizens, and they are skeptical about the new proposal for reconstruction, which largely disregards their concerns. Here, inclusive space is not apparent, even as activists start to voice their concerns about what the city actually means for its inhabitants. The chapter illustrates the problem of local politics, which is largely attached to the national authority and centralized power structures that do not allow citizen engagement and social design to take place. In contrast to Beirut's case, Espiñeira and Fernández-Suárez's chapter shows how local governments of Madrid and Barcelona, during their progressive municipal government regimes, could become the leading agents for opening inclusive spaces. These cities instituted the incorporation of undocumented migrants into the official registration so that they can receive public services and permits to work and reside in the cities. This effectively removes the existence of *undocumented* migrants by documenting everyone and eliminates differences based on migration statuses and places of origin. This is a bold step for the cities and shows the potential for establishing inclusive spaces that are politically viable and socially just.

The chapters by Rehorst et al. and Espiñeira and Fernández-Suárez serve as a reminder of the crucial role of local authorities, such as city councils and planning offices, in promoting or hindering social inclusion. This becomes especially important when national governments are indifferent or hostile to certain groups of people, such as migrants, women, youth, or individuals with specific religious or sexual orientations. These actors, together with citizens and other possible stakeholders, can shape the process of local urban transformation. As demonstrated in this book, when cities engage in their own transformation, it contributes to a larger global urban transformation with the potential for further development of sustainability and inclusion.

5 Conclusion

This book presents a comprehensive range of theoretical and empirical examples to provide a systematic understanding of urban forms that can potentially reframe our thinking about social inclusion and exclusion in the process of global urban transformations towards sustainable development. Through an intersectional approach, this book aims to establish a platform where critical urban scholarship and activities can unpack the relationship between urban and social transformations; address questions of power relationships and political equality; and challenge existing vulnerabilities, exclusions, and marginalization of urban dwellers. The book also aims to inspire and support citizen movements and progressive policy practices for designing potentially inclusive cities. We hope this book will instigate discussions on urban social justice and inclusion within not just the academic circles, but also city planning, policy development, and public debates, in order to shape our common urban futures amid the current multiple crises we face.

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Part I
Infrastructures and the Ambivalent Properties

Chapter 2
Urban Digital Infrastructuring and the (re)production of Privilege

The UDI Writers Collective

1 Introduction

A global digital and data revolution governs future urban strategies and profoundly influences the infrastructures built in cities. Numerous digital urban infrastructures remain hidden to city dwellers, all the while concurrently shaping, if not dictating, urban rhythms. Amin (2014) illustrates that an infrastructural view of the city enables us to perceive (i) the urban interweaving of social, material, and political elements; (ii) the degree to which smart city visions are infused with modernist ideals; and (iii) the way infrastructures mold positions and identities within city hierarchies. To underscore the final point, considering the processes within infrastructures helps us in understanding how they shape our daily experiences of cities. Simone notes (2015: 382) "urban residents are surrounded by discrepant infrastructural capacities" that are bound up with what infrastructures facilitate or restrict. An infrastructural perspective highlights the relational, and it questions how difference is constructed through relationships with human and non-human entities that either relegate people to the fringes or place them at the forefront of society (and often the city). This implies that the very systems that foster marginalization can also engender privilege. Consequently, we ask: what insights can we glean by focusing on how emerging digital urban infrastructures are scripting processes of privileging?

As digital infrastructures became more prevalent in cities, Longley (1998) asserted that "the cornerstones to urban digital infrastructure are hardware, software, and

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data." However, what he overlooks in this characterization are the social and institutional components that also make up digital infrastructures. As Star and Ruhleder (1996: 113) remind us, "Infrastructure is 'sunk' into, inside of, other structures, social arrangements and technologies." They thereby also underscore the relationality of what constitutes urban digital infrastructures (UDIs). In line with their argument, we adopt a broad understanding of UDIs that considers their digital, physical, and structural-institutional aspects as relational and embedded (Fig. 2.1). Although Fig. 2.1 represents the significance of data, software, and hardware equally, we acknowledge the increasing prevalence of data-based decision-making systems within UDIs (Bibri, 2021).

Eubanks (2019) shows how digital infrastructures and data-based systems have routinely denied the poor access to government assistance. By focusing on the evolution of infrastructure, or, in other words, the process of infrastructuring, we shift our
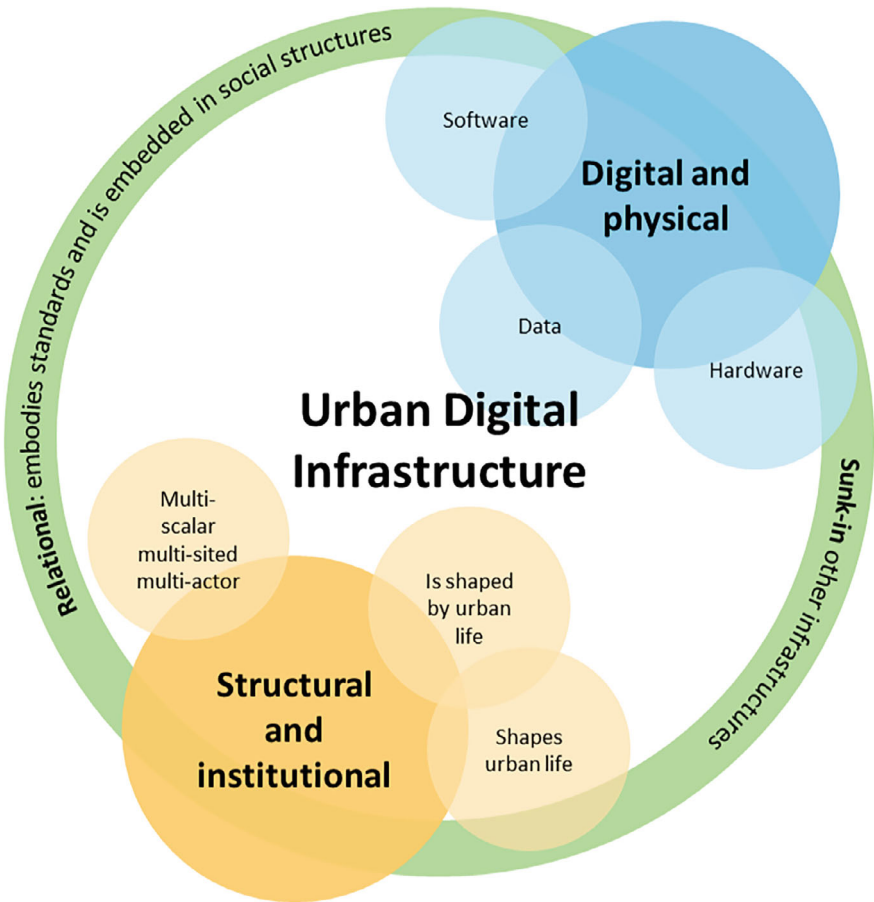
Fig. 2.1 Schematic depiction of the interrelatedness of urban digital infrastructures

attention towards the political frameworks and values that become ingrained in urban spaces. The science and technology literature highlights the tendencies of digital and information infrastructures to become invisible (Bowker et al., 2010) and emphasizes the importance of acknowledging that if systems work efficiently for most urban dwellers, they will scarcely be noticed. This is the case even if there are adverse social effects for some, either now or later down the line. As we observe in our discussions, UDIs are subject to such tendencies towards invisibility. Through this chapter, we argue that concentrating on processes of privileging may aid exposing those tendencies more clearly.

We provisionally define privilegization as the "hard-wiring" of access to power for certain urban population groups through newly developing digital infrastructures. We note that a focus on privilegization prompts us to pay attention to the processes and actors that make privilege possible, while seeing marginalization and privilegization as interconnected processes. Yet, as we explore in this chapter, reframing global urban transformations for sustainable development might necessitate understanding privilegization, and how its negative effects can be mitigated in the development and use of urban digital infrastructures.

To validate our suspicion that privilegization, through and with urban digital infrastructures, warrants attention, we chose to engage in a series of conversations with five activist-practitioners who are actively engaged in the creation, auditing, or challenging of emerging digital infrastructures or their usage in Colombia, India, Indonesia, and the Netherlands. Our conversation partners were not selected based on geographic location, but rather for their varied roles and knowledge about UDIs (see Table 2.1). To align with our broad definition of UDIs (Fig. 2.1), this includes people working on different "corners" of UDI, including individuals contemplating and developing social and governance structures of UDIs, activists interacting with local communities, and those involved in the innovation of UDIs. Each conversation adhered to a semi-structured interview guide. Besides encouraging our interlocutors to provide open-ended answers, we aimed to maintain the flow of the discussions by asking for feedback when possible and included comments from our interlocutors in this text. We quote directly from the transcribed conversations and present themes from a collective thematic analysis of those transcripts and the co-review process. The subsequent elaborations thus reflect on those conversations and themes we identified within them about privilegization as both an intended and unintended aspect of urban digital infrastructuring. Our conversations introduced two themes that are reflected in the structure of this paper. First, on the distinction between and asymmetry in focus on marginalization and privilegization. Second, on the understandings and actors of privilegization. In conclusion, we consider the potential of debating privilegization more directly to advance urban equity and sustainability.

Table 2.1 Interlocutors contributing to this chapter

Interlocutor	Role	City	Initial
Hussain Indorewala	Action researcher/academic	Mumbai	HI
Ari Nurman	Action researcher/academic	Bandung	AN
Champaka Rajagopal	Urban planner/academic	Bengaluru	CR
Luis Hernán Sáenz	Urban planner/activist	Bogota	LHS
Thijs Turel	Project manager on responsible urban innovation	Amsterdam	TT

2   The Asymmetry and Interlinkage of Marginalization and Privilegization

Marginalization and privilegization are interconnected so that "*the more privilegization, the greater the marginalization as well […]*" (CR).[2] However, the majority of discussions on urban practices, policymaking, infrastructure development, and research tends to focus on processes of marginalization, with less consideration given to privilegization. In the discourses on UDIs, this chapter calls for a focus on two arguments from the UDI debate on privilege. First, focusing on privilege aids in understanding the vested interests of the rich within the city (Basu, 2019). Examining the relationship between privilegization in the city and the development of UDIs allows us to *explore how privilege is constructed through everyday urban practices.* A starting point here is the substantial body of research on *how the elite captures urban spaces through gentrification, gated communities, or the sanctioning of informal dwellings.* Fluri et al. (2022), for example, define the urban elite as the property and land-owning class capable of mobilizing governance and policy mechanisms to their advantage. Privilegization within UDIs seems to work in similar ways, though the digital aspect adds another layer of complexity to the uncovering of privilegization processes. Those complexities also entail shifts in who constitutes the urban elite as those who control, own, and promote UDIs' experience as disproportionate gain in power.

Second, focusing on privilege reveals how biases and norms regarding poverty and wealth feed into the design of infrastructures. An important characteristic of privilegization is that those who are privileged are often unaware of the structural advantages from which they benefit. Their position is legitimized and often goes unquestioned within many societies. Investigating the processes of privilegization helps to challenge the dominant narrative of, for instance, racialized capitalism where *marginalized people are depicted as "underperform*ers," while *the privileged are seen as "winners,"* rather than considering marginalization and privilegization as consequences of socially unjust systems (Basu, 2019; Fluri et al., 2022). As one of our interlocutors noted, in the context of UDIs, the system propagating such processes does not necessarily have to be a capitalist one. Hence, our engagement with the concept of privilege and its production arises from the need to rethink the normative ways of how urban societies are categorized and question the promise of affluence and "modernist" progress.

Marginalization and privilegization within UDIs can be observed across various aspects of our day-to-day lives. Our interlocutor's comment on these, often relating to the access, development, and implementation of digital infrastructures' processes, strategies, and dynamics. There is a complexity attached to the set of roles we, the people, might play in UDIs (e.g., "*data producers,*" "*data fiduciaries,*" and "*data consumers*" (CR, see also: Khan & Pozen, 2019)). For instance, the ability to utilize (LHS) or be subject to collected data can determine how we experience UDIs (CR). These experiences are often driven by the roles we play within the infrastructures, our level of awareness of how UDIs operate, and how we can exercise our agency within such systems. The last two elements here are linked (CR). All these factors play into the degree of asymmetry in how we discuss the marginalization or privilegization of actors of urban digital infrastructuring. In this context of urban datafication and digital infrastructuring, how do we understand by marginalization? And, what do we understand by privilegization?

In our discussions, marginalization was frequently referred to in terms of spatial patterns of disadvantage, including forms of economic segregation. As one of our interlocutors noted "*[…] marginalized neighborhoods are those that are not connected to certain public services or that do not have proper access to certain urban services or that do not contribute in terms of taxation to urban development*" (LHS). The processes surrounding and embedding in the decision-making, design, development, and implementation of UDIs can generate different types of marginalization. These might be connected to how datafication—or "the growing presence, use and impact of data in social processes" (Heeks & Shekhar, 2019: 992)—unfolds, and how individuals' agency and power operate within it. Urban digital service provisions "*are designed to work for a large share of the population, and they're not necessarily designed to work for […] the entire population. And the people who are kind of being left out of the design decision, those are the groups that are increasingly becoming marginalized*" (TT). The condition of being a "default data producer" leaves so-called data subjects with limited power to intervene in or make decisions about data collection, processing, and whom to trust with their data usage (CR).

In our conversations, there was a shared understanding of the processes of marginalization. In contrast, views on privilegization diverged, reflecting the diverse expertise of our interlocutors. Nonetheless, certain themes emerged that indicate privilegization as a multidimensional process within digital urban infrastructuring. Four aspects of everyday privilegization warrant emphasis. First, privilegization can be both structural and incidental. Overall, the concept of privilegization underscores the everyday practices in which the digital economy is widening the gap between under-connected and hyper-digitized spaces and communities within the city. In particular, structural privilegization through digital infrastructures must be considered within the context of capitalism and the ongoing legacy of colonialism (LHS). At the same time, digital technologies also privilege certain communities in incidental or haphazard ways, such as by facilitating political engagement for those who were previously disenfranchised (AN), or enhancing mobility for urban youth (TT).

Second, privilegization as a process and privilege as an outcome must be considered in relation to one another. In data systems and digital infrastructure, privilege is often discussed in terms of ownership and access or the capacity to benefit from using data and digital infrastructures. In such a context, having privilege involves possessing the power to access services, available spaces, and networks (CR); mobilize governments; or use UDIs as tools to further your own agenda. However, the conversations continuously emphasized the importance of considering the resulting processes as intersecting with structural inequalities within society such as "*class*" (CR), *"education,"* or privilege "*by where they live*" (TT), as "*people who can buy services,*" who have "*access to networks of social capital,*" or who are "*able bodied*" (HI and TT). Privilegization refers to the concentration and centralization of the data and digital infrastructures about and among some actors (CR).

Third, the actors involved in processes of privilegization are plural and multiscalar. This includes public and private actors on local and global scales. The digital infrastructure created is designed, built, and controlled according to the logic of the private sector (LHS). Large corporations currently have the opportunity to operate without stringent governmental legislation holding them accountable (TT). Governments, functioning at different scales, are also seen as privileged entities within these contexts. For example, they not only act as "*custodians of data*" (CR) and utilize data for public benefit (LHS), but are also the enforcers of data-driven governance. Here, urban dwellers are viewed as consumers, and datafication processes are considered tools employed "*to control or dominate*" (HI).

Finally, privilegization can also be established, overturned, and resisted. However, it is essential to emphasize that not everyone currently possesses the ability to exert such influence. Recognizing these disparities also entails acknowledging that they are constructed, reproduced, and contested in diverse ways. While digital and physical infrastructures are intrinsically interconnected today, it was emphasized that digital infrastructures, unlike physical infrastructures, are less hard-wired and offer more flexibility in terms of how they operate and for whom. Often, a simple alteration of a single line of code is all it takes (TT). Power asymmetries are shifted in the case of digital infrastructures. It is less evident who is in control of this "soft-wiring," such as data owners, custodians, and datafication promotors. This raises important questions about due democratic process (TT) and the actors involved in making privilegization more manifest. As several of our collaborators pointed out, marginalized actors are often not involved in re-imagining digital urban infrastructures. Marginalized communities do not have the opportunity to "sit at the table" and voice their suggestions or alternatives for digital infrastructural development due to the top-down fashion in which they are implemented. The speed with which UDIs are implemented and the power imbalances at play make it "*difficult to think about resistance. It is more about how I survive*" (HI).

3 Different Manifestations of Privilegization in Urban Digital Infrastructure

Next, our conversations provided initial insights into how privilegization manifested itself in the cities where our interlocutors worked. The purpose of UDIs in relation to privilegization was debated in four ways: (1) planning for the modernist city, (2) controlling the behavior of urban residents, (3) providing access to services and welfare, and (4) data as infrastructure. Many interlocutors discussed digital infrastructures that depend on mobile connectivity and the data as the by-product of widespread smartphone use. Some of them also reflected on the less immediately apparent or quotidianly haptic infrastructures that are also deeply part of contemporary city life, like transportation sensors, electricity flows, and digital health infrastructures. Our collaborators tended to point to the privilegization of those who have and know how to use mobile-connected devices and know to navigate the city [AN], while for the less visible digital infrastructures, direct privileging was often linked to pre-existing privilege among certain groups. Early adopters of technologies are placed in a privileged position by having the ability to request and utilize the necessary auxiliary digital infrastructures. Illustrative examples are the electric car charging stations and the decisions surrounding their placement and charging speed [TT]. What makes this example significant is the need for substantial foresight to anticipate how these early design decisions will impact future users.

Considering these insights on UDIs in the context of the marginalization/privilegization discussion, important questions arise: who holds control over these infrastructures and their products?, whom are they intended to serve? (LHS), *"who has influence over the functioning of these systems?"* (TT). Additionally, what values are embedded in these systems and infrastructure? (TT). In terms of equity and spatial justice, the most important questions center around the location of UDIs and who has control over and access to them. These questions do not have simple answers and are often accompanied by dual processes. For instance, the accelerated digitalization during the pandemic provided marginalized individuals with access to basic services that were previously unavailable to them ("*hack the pandemic*" (AN)). It also enabled their participation in online public meetings, which were previously inaccessible to them. At the same time, it is important to note that not all individuals possess digital literacy skills or have access to mobile phones. As a result, governments must maintain traditional methods such as in-person meetings and paper forms to ensure that people can apply for social benefits and engage with public services. Furthermore, during the pandemic, individuals in countries like India face exclusion if they are not connected to the digital ID infrastructure. As one of our interlocutors highlighted, "*a lot of people who cannot or are unable to sign up on that website find it very difficult to get vaccinated*" (HI). This underscores the barriers faced by certain populations in accessing vital services due to limitations in digital connectivity and ID systems.

Another important aspect that emerged is the ownership or control of the UDIs and the decision processes embedded within them. The traditional binary division

between private and public is becoming blurred, challenging terms such as "public–private partnerships." For example, private companies often provide services in partnership with governments (LHS, CR, HI), blurring the line between public and private. The concept of the smart city is closely tied to what some refer to as *"corporate governance," where "all city services would be linked to specific kinds of production of data and data being used as a form of management of those services; so, paid to use services and so on*" (HI). At the same time, residents and citizens function as both data consumers and data subjects, with limited rights and agency over the data processes that involve them (CR, HI). However, the complexity of these processes and the numerous actors involved in providing and controlling them pose challenges in holding responsible parties accountable when the usage, implementation, or impact of these infrastructures have adverse effects.

When asked about which actors should be involved in countering privilegization, our interlocutors generally suggested that those who are short-changed by the system are the ones who can educate us about the everyday impacts of digital infrastructures. They emphasized the importance of studying the interconnectedness of privilegization and marginalization. One of our interlocutors astutely noted, "*We have to walk those two ways at the same time*" [AN], connecting this assessment to urban sustainability and raising concerns about the possibility that the potential benefits of digitalization may bypass certain residents. At the same time, when questioning who needs to be included, the counter-question arises of how to ensure the preservation of spaces for resistance. In the context of demonetization—the transition to digital-only payments—one interlocutor noted that the top-down implementation approach provided little room for individuals to resist change [HI]. The pandemic crisis and the subsequent rapid acceleration of digital infrastructure programs often left little time for deliberation on whom to bring to the table. When closely examining these concerns in relation to sustainability, one of our interlocutors highlighted how market pressures hindered the establishment of a level playing field. In terms of sustainable energy, they noted, *"is very much dependent on data again, and so these certain kinds of markets will have much greater visibility of [] not just where development is going to occur, but where they can drive development" [CR].*

4   Conclusion: How Can an Inclusive, Sustainable City Be Possible if Urban Digital Infrastructures Reproduce Privilege?

Critical approaches to digital infrastructural urbanism highlight the connections between digital transformations and cities as sites where inequalities and exclusion are on the rise. There are clear tensions between the opportunities and threats presented by ongoing urban (digital) infrastructuring, particularly in relation to inclusive and sustainable city-making and digital urban citizenship. A focus on individuals in the most marginal positions has been crucial in our examination. However, in this

chapter, we have shifted our focus to understand the processes of privilegization that go hand in hand with the increasing significance of urban (digital) infrastructures.

Digital infrastructures have the potential to perpetuate deep-seated prejudices through their design and the distribution of access, resources, and influence over change (Eubanks, 2018). To examine the flip side of the coin, we began with a preliminary definition of privilegization as: the hard-wiring access to power for certain urban population groups through newly developing digital infrastructures. Through our exploration, we identified four key dimensions in our quest to define privilegization: (1) privilegization can take on structural or incidental forms, depending on the stage of development of specific UDIs and the unique characteristics of the spatial, political, economic, and social context; (2) privilegization is not only an outcome, but also an ongoing process; (3) the actors involved in privilegization are diverse and operate at various scales, encompassing multiple levels of influence and power; (4) privilegization can be both established and challenged, as it is not a fixed state but subject to change and resistance. A focus on privilegization necessitates examining who benefits from UDIs, when and under what circumstances, and how and why privilegization becomes embedded in the development of digital infrastructures.

To uncover the adverse effects of digital urban infrastructures and explore ways to mitigate them, we need to consider the interconnectedness and relational nature of these infrastructures. Although digital services and UDIs are intended to be accessible to all, certain factors such as digital literacy or access to smart devices can create privileged conditions for only a selected few within the same social group, thereby shifting from marginalization to privilegization. Moreover, the ability to redirect or repurpose existing digital infrastructures to align with new normative or governmental frameworks can present both risks and advantages. For example, in Indonesia, the accelerated digitalization during the pandemic enabled marginalized people to access basic services that were previously inaccessible to them.

As highlighted by several collaborators, marginalized actors are often excluded from the process of re-imagining UDIs. Marginalized communities are denied a seat at the table to voice their suggestions or alternatives for digital infrastructural development. Indeed, one of the most prevailing insights from our conversations is that while marginalization appears to be ever-present, privilegization is deeply entrenched with emerging digital infrastructures. Its tangible impact, however, may only become apparent when there is a scarcity of the resources provided by those particular infrastructures. A prominent example of this is the availability of Internet bandwidth, which affects the speed at which different actors can navigate UDIs. Similarly, access to electricity during periods of high demand and the ability to access specific healthcare services are other instances where the effects of privilegization become evident.

Therefore, we contend that in order to understand structural inequalities and their entrenchment, as well as perpetuation, by digital infrastructures, we have to study the various processes that contribute to both marginalization *and* privilegization. By delving into these processes, we can gain a comprehensive understanding of the powerful actors—privileged people and organizations—who develop and own digital infrastructures. Similar to how the car industry lobbied for suburbanization in

the early twentieth century, perpetuating privilege for some but not others, the urban tech industry is driving an international agenda of sustainable development that often prioritizes the vision of smart and green cities for privileged elites. Studying these processes and actors helps uncover the vested interests of the privileged in structuring digital infrastructure. Furthermore, it aids in understanding the relationship between the rich and the poor within the city. Looking at these processes as relational and processual provides a framework for understanding how digital infrastructures (re)configure the urban as a socio-technical context. It highlights the embedded normativity within digital urban infrastructures and the incentives it generates. Importantly, focusing on privilegization reveals what often remains invisible when infrastructures are "sunk-in" and cater to large parts of the population, yet inevitably exclude certain groups.

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Chapter 3
Smart Urbanization in India: Engagement, Participation, and Citizenship in Pune Smart City

Check for updates

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1 The Smart City Paradigm

Urbanization continues apace across the world and in India with 34.5% of its population residing in cities as of 2019 with a forecasted annual growth rate of 2% from 2019 to 2050 (UNCTAD, 2020; The World Bank, 2021). A powerful new stimulant of urbanization in the Global South, including India is its growing intersection with the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) revolution. The powerful paradigm of "Smart Cities" with its heavy techno-infrastructural focus has been advanced by proponents as a solution to enable rapid and efficient urbanization and to successfully deal with the challenges that come with it. ICT is accorded an important role in the very definition of the smart city, understood as a "city in which Information and Communication Technology is merged with traditional infrastructures, coordinated and integrated using new digital technologies" (Batty et al., 2012, p. 481). This has created a new form of digital citizenship, accompanied by claims of newer and more easily deployable opportunities for citizen engagement and participation. At the same time, the smart city also risks creating a technocratic state with growing concerns regarding citizen inclusion in governance, privacy, and surveillance.

This chapter attempts to examine the smart city paradigm's particular understanding of urbanization, the way it has manifested in India and the peculiar kind of top-down, citizen engagement it has fostered.

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2 Smart City Development as Capacity-Building, Mobility, and Smart Governance

First, smart city development is viewed as a capacity-building problem in the infrastructural sense, to be met with techno-infrastructural solutions that combine data-gathering sensors with hard infrastructure such as roads. The aim being to create an info-centric environment (Arafah & Winarso, 2017, p. 1) wherein "constellations of instruments across many scales that are connected through multiple networks provide continuous data regarding the movements of people and materials in terms of the flow of decisions about the physical and social form of the city"(Batty et al., 2012, p. 482).Capacity-building is also understood in a broader socio-political sense, in terms of a long-term goal to create an enabling ecosystem of allies for the execution of smart city projects including the political leadership, city leadership, media personnel, urban managers, financial institutions, data corporations, and citizens (Agrawal, 2015).

Second, smart city development is also viewed as a mobility challenge of enabling large numbers of people to move easily across high-population density urban areas. Smart mobility imagines a future in which ICT helps augment hard infrastructure projects geared towards multimodal connectivity and ride-sharing through the "optimization of traffic fluxes" while also providing real-time feedback on citizen's views on the quality of public transport (Benevolo et al., 2016, p. 13). The most important objectives for smart mobility are reducing traffic congestion, air and noise pollution, improving transfer speed while reducing costs and increasing safety (Mechant et al., 2012; Zygiaris, 2013; Nam & Pardo, 2011; Benovolo et al., 2016, pp. 15–16).

And third, the smart city paradigm also understands urbanization as a rapid process of population concentration in the city which poses a governance challenge, to be solved by heavy reliance on ICT. In its attempt to build a city on the "smart combination of activities of self-decisive, independent and aware citizens" (Benovolo et al., 2016, p. 15), a smart governance strategy is envisaged. This strategy relies on the "intelligent use of ICT to improve decision-making through better collaboration among different stakeholders, including government and citizens" (Pereira et al, (2018), p. 1). A particularly important part of the strategy is its reliance on social media and claimed enhanced transparency to increase citizen engagement with government and key stakeholders under the concept of "collaborative governance" (Pereira et al, (2018).

3 The Smart Cities Mission

In 2015, the Smart City Mission (SCM) was launched by the central government with a grand announcement (Smart Cities Mission, 2016). The SCM was presented as the solution to urbanization in India wherein technology-based solutions would

be able to identify and fix problems, provide a better quality of life to urban dwellers, and improve the economy by providing better opportunities for businesses.

The interested cities were first judged on the basis of their prior record of success in the utilization of government funds. They were also supposed to prepare "smart city" proposals in consultation with technology-solution companies from India and abroad. For the cities then selected to be smart, partial funds were provided by the central government and remaining funds were raised by the local bodies. Special-Purpose Vehicles (SPV) were devised at local level to accommodate representation of multiple stakeholders to execute and monitor the projects.

At the city level, the Mission approved projects at the broader, pan-city scale while others were focused on specific parts of the cities (area-based development (ABD)). The ABD projects aimed at retrofitting and redevelopment while greenfield development aimed at accommodating the new population. In these areas, smart techno-infrastructural solutions were proposed to showcase how smart cities could be developed.

4 The Smart Cities Mission and Citizen Engagement

Smart City Mission was similar to its predecessor the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in that both initiatives aimed at improving urban basic infrastructure thereby boosting urbanization which would in turn accelerate economic growth. However, the two missions also had major differences such as (1) the SCM's emphasis on implementation of techno-infrastructural (ICT) solutions in the Smart Cities Mission, (2) the SCM's selection of cities not merely on the basis of population but fund utilization and proposals, and (3) the SCM's assigning of 20% weightage to "Citizen Engagement" in the selection process. In contrast, JNNURM had a provision of citizen participation that was never showcased as its strength and was poorly implemented.

In theory, there are various levels in which citizens can engage in the governance process. As explained by Arnstein (1969), the ladder of participation includes Citizen Power (where decision-making power remains with citizens), Tokenism (where citizens are consulted and their concerns are heard but decision-making power is absent), and Non-participation (where the citizens are only made aware of the process—sensitization). In the SCM guidelines, citizen participation has been strongly emphasized at every stage—from conception of projects to completion.

It has been advised that the needs of the citizens should be identified, and citizen-centric solutions should be incorporated in the initial proposals. Thus, to achieve citizen participation, efforts were made by both the central government and the local bodies or Special-Purpose Vehicles (SPVs). The central government launched the MyGov.in web portal where interactive activities like polls, quiz, podcasts, newsletters, and notifications were included.

At the city level, the interactions were organized at the welfare association and slum development committee levels, and at technology-oriented events like

hackathons. For example, the Pune SCM documented site-specific meetings as well as meetings within the ABD area. Similarly, other cities organized school and college competitions to engage the younger generation. In the later stages, Bhubaneswar City launched a Citizen's charter aiming to inform citizens about various projects, to implement better e-governance, receive grievances, and provision of services. It also launched the "I am Bhubaneswar" scheme where various projects like path utsavs and walks were organized with four music-in-park events. Further, local artists were used for beautification of streetscapes. The city of Surat in Gujarat preferred creating the MySurat.in portal where it intends to engage with citizens for consultations, idea exchanges, and other dialogs.

Thus, the smart cities made an attempt to connect with their citizens and still continue to have platforms where citizens can engage with the smart city corporations. Praharaj and colleagues (2017) analyzed the initial attempts of citizen engagements under the mission. The portals developed by the government at central and local levels appear to follow a top-down approach where primarily information dissemination work is accomplished. As the portals are supposed to serve a larger audience, the targeted interactions with citizens are missing through that approach.

5   Inconsistent Citizen Participation in India

Citizen participation through portals was not uniform across smart cities either. The smaller cities registered better participation while cities like Mumbai and Delhi were unable to attract the citizens to submit their views. Many recent studies suggest that the digital divide is the reason behind lower engagement of citizens in the mission. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were used for citizen outreach. According to the census of 2011, the ownership of laptops is a meager 20% with only some bigger cities having more laptop ownership. The ownership of smartphones was just 24% as of 2018 (Krishnan, 2019) and also varies in the country with the eastern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh lagging behind the other states like Maharashtra and Gujarat. It has to be noted that even within the cities with either sufficient laptop or smartphone ownership, the Internet penetration is still poor. On an average, 9.8% of the owners of laptops and phones are connected to the Internet.

Praharaj, on the other hand, proved that there is a negative correlation between the presence of smart devices and the Internet with participation in the process of smart cities. Contrary to mainstream views of more digital capacities leading to greater citizen participation, they suggested that small and medium cities where the population is low with lower Internet access have participated more. The authors analyze this to conclude that previously active groups in local politics and citizens from lower tier cities have more belongingness to their own cities, and hence have participated more in the mission than the citizens from heavily populated cities who may be disconnected from their cities. Recent surveys in certain smart cities have shown that there are many socioeconomic groups which have not heard of

the SCM at all. This raises the question as to whether an improvement in access to technology and implementation of techno-infrastructure projects is automatically going to increase citizen engagement and benefit them at all? While citizen digital literacy can certainly be enhanced to ensure greater participation rates, unless bottom-top platforms are designed, citizen participation could remain fundamentally limited by structural constraints. This threatens to reduce the role of citizens in the mission to that of listeners, instead of participants in collaborative governance.

6 Citizen Engagement and Participation in Pune "Smart" City

To what extent are citizens involved in the participation of their city's development? An interesting analysis of smart communities in Japan by Granier and Kudo (2016) highlights that little research has focused on actual practices of citizen involvement in smart cities. They researched the actual practices along with the official discourses revolving around smart cities and their research enumerated the need to co-produce and co-create, involving citizens in creating smart cities (Granier et al., 2016). Citizens are constantly interacting with the cities they reside in or travel to and as "consumers" their opinions, engagement, and participation is crucial in any city development plans. Lange and Waal (2013) in their paper have proposed the notion of "ownership" as a lens to take an alternative look at the role of urban new media in the city and investigated how digital media and culture allow citizens to engage in co-creating the social fabric and built form of the city.

Pune's smart citizen engagement is limited and citizen's voices get articulated in local/regional newspapers in citizens' columns. However, the idea of citizen-centric development highlighted by Cardullo and Kitchin (2017) is nowhere in sight and gestures more akin to the tokenism explained earlier are witnessed as the engagement consists of merely informing citizens and is devoid of active engagement in the planning process. This is evidenced in the key results from a study conducted by the authors on the evolution of Pune's smart city with more than 310 respondents from 2020 to 2021.

This research used mixed methods consisting of an online questionnaire and interviews with various stakeholders. The project focused on exploring connections between Pune city's culture, citizen belongingness, and smart city mission with Pune City (India) as the case study. Pune is India's ninth largest city with a population of 31.2 lakhs and a status as the second-best city to live in the Ease of Living Index-survey of 2020 conducted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (CNBC 2021).

In the survey, 73% of the respondents said that they do not feel adequately informed about the Smart Cities Mission, and a similar 70.5% of the respondents from ABD (area-based development) felt the same. Another question asked was whether they think Pune is a Smart City, and their reasons for it. 41% of the respondents said
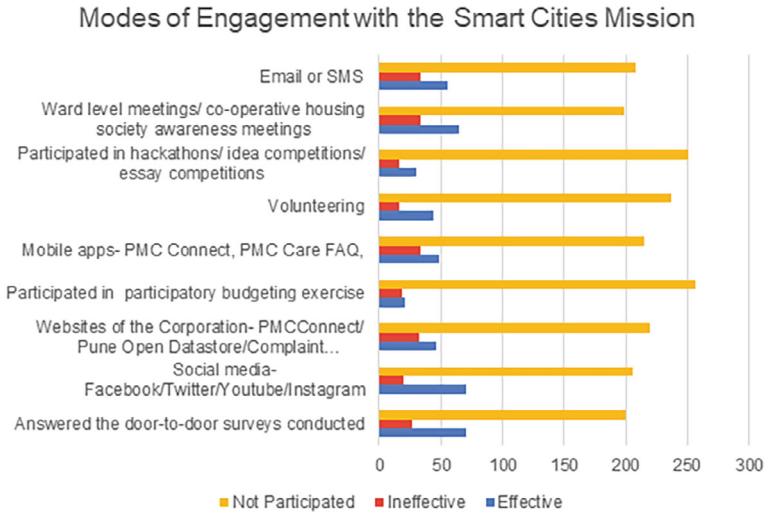
Fig. 1 Modes of engagement by Pune smart city mission (*Source* Pathak. P, Gandhi. P, and Ravi. C. Smart city transformation; a spatiocultural study-Research Project. 2021. FLAME University)

it is a smart city, and the rest were either not sure, or did not think of Pune as a Smart City. Their reasons for saying yes or no also reveal how connected respondents feel to Pune City.

People's experiences of using each of the modes of engagement with the citizens were also sought in the interviews and open-ended questions. The results are as shown in Fig. 1.

It was also evident that there were high rates of citizen non-engagement, combined with high rates of non-receipt of outreach. The opinion of an active citizen was that smart cities are sustainable cities and Pune is not one of them and that development does not mean sustainability. There was also criticism that all stakeholders were not involved in the initial stages, for instance, slum dwellers who are also citizens were left out of the picture completely and only a handful of slum dwellers were asked in what ultimately amounted to token participation. Moreover, only a few stakeholders were consulted. When the big corporations were involved, it was only their requirements and voices which were prioritized, and the common citizen voices disappeared into the background.

There is a need to both intensify and think beyond existing modes of communication, outreach and engagement as evidenced in the opinions of an overwhelming 84% of respondents who felt that the Pune Smart City Corporation needs to pursue greater engagement with citizens.

One strand of opinion from respondents was that they were not even aware of the Smart Cities Mission and the focus continued to be on the ability of urban administrators to provide basic services, without which expectations of public participation in technocratic smart cities were far-fetched. Further, there was a clear recognition

and resentment over only privileged citizens with smartphones and reliable Internet access being able to complete online polls.

7 Pune Smart City Mission—Not Citizen Centric

Overall, the study found that the smart city initiative in Pune is not citizen centric, and that the outreach was limited and only catered to a small section of the population. Limited Internet penetration, power fluctuations, low ownership rates of laptop and smartphones, and the massive disparities therein complicate the achievement of equitable participation along class, caste, and gender axes. Cities such as Pune are caught between the contradictory impulses of accelerating digitalization while also worrying about its implications for equality of access, privacy, and surveillance. The vast caste, class, and gender inequalities that exist in countries like India and in much of the developing world are bridged but also aggravated by the techno-infrastructural smart city in highly complex ways.

Ghosh and Arora (2021), in their study of the formulation of the smart city proposal for New Town Kolkata (NTK), have shown how city officials encouraged citizen participation in the planning process but selected only those citizen voices which were supportive of their technocratic smart city imaginary, in an interesting example of top-down democracy being harnessed in the service of technocracy. They contend that the proposal was "participative" in terms of encouraging citizen participation and was responsive to certain affluent citizen voices but failed to be truly "distributive" in terms of giving space for the voices of the poor and the marginalized. A recent survey of 4000 residents conducted by Brown University and Janaagraha (Bangalore) found that only 2.6% of citizens attended local ward councils and overall participation rates among the poor and less educated were low (although the few that were able to participate were able to get a limited voice in smart city planning) (Varshney et al., 2015).

The current version of India's smart city mission approach does not have any room for genuine, bottom-up, citizen participation and is completely disconnected from the city's cultural identifiers. The Smart City paradigm in India promised enhanced dialog between the public and mission administrators, enabled by ICT tools but the actual level of participation has not been as per expectations. Perhaps, a reason for this could be the implicit assumption of administrators that the increasing Internet penetration rate and smartphone device ownership would endow citizens with the capabilities to access the smart city outreach surveys, online discussion forums, and news updates.

This "convenience-based" thinking, wherein citizens are assumed to be more participative in urban governance processes merely because of their "Internet-device" capability, ignores the lower cost and convenience of digital outreach to the administrators which makes outreach initiatives easier to administer and produces the distorting assumption of ubiquitous citizen access underlying convenience-based thinking. Moreover, digital outreach also selects for higher levels of literacy, caste

and class privilege and English-language proficiency, creating the incentive structure for only privileged groups to dominate the discussion and obscuring the voices of marginalized communities who may pose uncomfortable questions. Thus, the digital citizenship resulting from the techno-infrastructural smart city is in risk of becoming the digital citizenship of the few rather than a truly egalitarian citizen, premised on equity and equality of citizen participation in "collaborative governance" across all social strata.

Research Ethics The research on Pune smart city has been approved by the FLAME University Institutional Review Board (IRB) and was concluded in April 2021.

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Chapter 4
Urban Ecologies in the Indian Subcontinent: Rethinking Resilience in the Context of Crisis

Mathew A. Varghese

Abstract The dominant urban forms emanate from the need for capital to flow loose while labor and life is kept controlled or put in place. Across India, cities have exemplified accumulations by dispossession of ecological niches and human settlements. The new urban plans and smart cities, post 2000, exaggerate changing geographies, land acquisition, and associated rise in land values. The chapter problematizes urban infrastructural plans that portray spaces as empty, or *terra nullius*, without specific associations, histories, and relationships in habitats. Urban processes and ecological transformations conceal within itself the metabolic relationships between living and the nonliving in ecologies or, in other words, the complex entanglements. The metabolic rifts that Marx talked about become stark in contingent contexts, like disasters, pandemics, or socio-economic catastrophes. In the Indian sub-continent, the floods, COVID-19, and demonetization exemplify such scenarios. The top-down imagination of ecologies like ecological infrastructure, with the add-on provisions to provide capital to corporates, has already resulted in the biggest socio-ecological disasters in the sub-continent. I look specifically into how ecologies of systemic violence can get exacerbated by ecologies of disaster in the form of diseases. Urban spaces in the contemporary times have demonstrated that it is not the virus itself that kills, but it works in synergy with the uneven terrains and absence of care. The chapter also problematizes the idea of resilience to deal with shocks. The idea of resilience became globalized through modes of urbanization as exemplified in resilient cities, competitive urbanism, smart cities, and algorithmic governance. The language and practice of resilience celebrates individual stories of adaptation as if this was a choice. It never addresses the need for fundamental transformations of the conditions that give rise to shocks and crises.

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1 Introduction

Dominant urban forms are shaped by the need for capital to flow freely and generate compound rates of growth, where life and labor are controlled or manipulated. Across the Indian sub-continent, albeit with variations in scale, urban transformations and ecologies are assimilated into the process of monetization and depoliticized within the discourse of resilience and adaptation. Urban renewal plans formalize exceptions as norms and intricately restructure spaces. Exceptional provisions for Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are transformed into generalizable protocols. It is ironic that in the Indian context (SEZ Act 2005), the word "urban" is mentioned in only two places. First, it is worth noting that the Ministry of Urban Development may be included in the Board of Approvals. Second, the act mentions fiscal relief specifically when a unit transitions from urban to special economic spaces. This implies that SEZs are defined in contrast to urban areas and represent a provision that is "outside" of them. Drawing on the ideas of Schmitt (1985, 2004), Agamben (2005), Ong (2006), it is important to remember that which exists outside the dominant domain of the urban and the politico-legal space ultimately shapes the urban landscape. There has been a shift from the traditional hierarchical organization and bureaucracy of developmentalism to the prominence of networks and entrepreneurship. Responses are now directed towards credit rating agencies, external partners, and customers. Special zones rely on protocols encompassing monetary, certification, and technological aspects, while algorithms have become instrumental in achieving optimized governance within cities.

2 Special Economic Zones: Protocols and Digitalization

Protocols (Galloway & Thacker, 2004) play a crucial role in organizing and controlling urban networks. This stands in contrast to the spatially confined and discipline-based regimes of developmentalism. Unlike the rhetoric of advocates for unconstrained freedom and flexibility as conveyed by flat earth preachers, there is no suggestion of such ideals within this context. The ecologies of permissiveness and freedom, along with the available options and choices, paradoxically become mechanisms of control and gatekeeping. In order to access those options or receive minimal welfare benefits from the state, individuals are required to undergo biometric counting or select from various types of credit (where credit-worthiness outweighs bank balance). Following the unilateral demonetization drives in 2016, the state compelled large sections of already deprived populations to abandon paper currency and embrace digital transactions. As the state relinquished its welfare-oriented aspirations, the available choices primarily revolve around credit-based consumerist choices that can be monitored and tracked.

Algorithmic governance is often perceived as synonymous with good governance, adapted digitally to suit efficient urbanizations. However, this approach tends to

address problems only at the surface level, focusing on their effects rather than addressing underlying causes. Consequently, such solutions are at best temporary fixes. The complex interplay of multiple causal factors and their relationships is overlooked in favor of an emphasis on "data." Connections are established based on the data collected through efficient methods such as biometric surveillance. For these data, patterns, predictions, and control protocols emerge. Causes are substituted with trends and risks. The process involves objectifying and commodifying individuals, assuming a continuous feed of data (Kalpokas, 2019). Hegemonic impositions, such as currency eliminations (alongside drives towards digitization) and the privatization of the commons, establish an anti-political apparatus (Fergusson, 1994) that perceives populations not as recipients of welfare contracts but as subjects of good governance, security, and surveillance. The imposition of demonetization, despite the failure to achieve its stated goal, played directly into the desires of a corporate neoliberal system. It laid the ground for tracking, registering, and evaluating everything done with money. Unintentionally, it diminished the independence previously enjoyed by those who held paper money. Artificial intelligence (AI) deployed through corporate-state contracts encompasses predictive algorithms, risk assessments, and an array of biometric tools. The 12-digit unique identification number (UID) initiated by the Indian government in 2009 became one of the largest and most extensive biometric systems. As a result, the remaining elements of welfare in a rapidly privatizing state became conditional. Ironically, the prevailing rhetoric suggested that the Aadhaar card itself was a welfare measure. Severe deprivations were reduced to numerical data within the discourse of good governance, emphasizing transparency and efficiency. The normalization of austerity measures and the automation of poverty occurred. The Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) was an initiative that biometrically numbered the entire population as "bare lives" (Agamben, 2005), even in the absence of enabling legislation. Legibility has consistently posed a challenge in the realm of statecraft. But unlike the classical contractual relationship between the state and populations, the state metamorphoses into a corporation, with no inherent obligations. The populations in question are now actively involved in self-management, adopting the language of security onto their own bodies. Initiatives such as predictive policing, exemplified by crime mapping analytics in Delhi or integrated people information hubs in Hyderabad, are easily implemented. In the context of pandemics, a biopolitical governance has dawned on urban spaces, aiming to retain and contain only those bodies deemed necessary for growth and profit. The rest are ejected.

The pact between the state and the market reaches new proportions through urbanization, introducing a radically new spatial logic. In the future city plans, the reconfigurations of security manifest as the day-to-day management of bodies as populations (Foucault, 2009). The liberal emphasis on the individual's free will and capacity to participate is upheld through governance initiatives. Following the neoliberal turn since the 1980s and its subsequent optimizations from the 2000s onwards, environments that foster individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within free markets were established. Governments, in turn, assume the role of efficient and influential mediators or facilitators. Good governance embodies an entrepreneurial corporate that adopts the language of "stakeholders" and "autonomy."

The central government released the "Smart City guidelines" in 2015, which encompassed criteria, directives, and roadmaps to enhance the scope of governance. Among the urban plans is the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) which was preceded by the agglomeration directives under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Capital is channeled through State Annual Action Plans across all these provisions. The Smart Cities Mission and AMRUT primarily focus on second-tier or medium-sized cities, covering nearly 500 urban zones. The initial outlays for these initiatives were Rs. 480 billion (~7.1 billion USD) and Rs. 500 billion (~7.4 billion USD), respectively. Individual federated entities (state governments) shoulder unprecedented responsibilities, often in the form of conditionalities. Good governance operates through conditionalities, including factors such as freehold rights, expedited processes, and exceptions (for funding or selection as smart cities). These conditionalities serve the interests of privatization and profit. The underlying logic revolves around economic growth and the potential for employment. GDP is often presented as a positive indicator, contrasting against the notion of stagnation. Economic activity itself is fetishized as a measure of goodness in post-2000 governance (Kuldova and Varghese, 2017).

Spatial reorganization, the implementation of exceptions, and the rise of societies of control (Deleuze, 1992) reflect shifting forms of sovereignties. The actions and policies of the state of Gujarat following the communal violence in 2002 and the subsequent consolidation of a right-wing regime serve as examples of the application of "smartness" in urban proposals. An amalgamation of governance reforms and spatial planning obscures acts of violence, rendering the spaces as tabula rasas, or blank slates. The Dholera Special Investment Region [Fig. 4.1], which serves as a paradigmatic case in this context, is advertised as India's largest greenfield smart city. A greenfield project assumes the utilization of unused paddy fields and lands, thereby implying no need to demolish or disrupt existing structures. The problematic ontology of smart cities lies in their foundation on blank slates. This approach not only erases uncomfortable histories, as seen in Gujarat, but also excludes the socio-political agreements inherent in democratic societies.

3   The Case of Gujarat Special Investment Region

In 2009, the Special Investment Region (SIR) Act was introduced, further refining the provisions of the 2005 Special Economic Zone (SEZ) legislation. The "vibrant" governance showcased SIRs like Dholera as exemplars of the ongoing development of Public–Private Partnerships (PPPs) (Datta, 2015). The master plan for the Dholera SIR was prepared by the Halcrow, a UK-based consultancy. The SIR provisions effectively circumvented India's 1894 Land Acquisition Act, which itself was a remnant of the colonial era and was used post-independence for developmental clearances and displacements of people. Dholera Special Investment Region (DSIR) in Gujarat was conceived as an integral part of the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor project

Fig. 4.1 One of the depictions of SIR in Dholera (*Source* https://www.dholera-smart-city-phase2.com/special-investment-region.php)

(DMIC), a larger urban development initiative. However, the region itself is the notion of exceptionality, surpassing even that of Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Situated in the Saurashtra Peninsula, along the Gulf of Khambhat in the state of Gujarat, DSIR encompasses 22 villages. The intricate provisions of the DSIR purportedly aim to prevent any form of displacement while facilitating the development of large urban settlements, industrial and commercial zones, and associated infrastructure. The "smart" and digitally driven planning claims to integrate environmental conservation, human well-being, and efficiency in profitability and production. The irony primarily lies in the notion of the region as a dormant space waiting to become "smart."

It represents a peculiar understanding of space, in line with Lefebvre's concepts, as it begins with a blank slate, disregarding the lived realities and intricate ecological relationships that exist within the 22 villages. These aspects are rarely highlighted, except perhaps as "stakeholders," in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) reports. The horizontally conceived stakeholder arrangements also represent a mode of governance that disregards meaningful relationships and instead promotes the idea of individualization and equal participation in governance. This form of incorporation excludes because it precludes eco-spatial relationships and political contexts in development projects. Stakeholder-based governance, following grand urban plans, is akin to the celebratory notion of resilience after a disaster. Both approaches involve individualized imaginings and assessments that occur after the fact, serving as techno-social imaginaries and depoliticized categories employed within neoliberal contexts. Special investment regions and smart cities amplify the provisions found in the SEZs to even greater hegemonic proportions.

Exceptions in this context were strategically deployed in more nuanced ways compared to SEZs, as evidenced by the case of Dholera Special Investment Region (DSIR). DSIR incorporates provisions such as land pooling with the invocation of the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act (GTPUDA) of 1976 (ibid.). Accordingly, the development authority responsible for planned urban development has the ability to assemble a voluntary group of land owners for the purpose of planning the development of a particular region. These landowners are designated as "stakeholders" in the development process. Since there is no official "acquisition" or "transfer of ownership," the need for compensation or rehabilitation and resettlement under the 2013 land acquisition law does not arise. In the case of SIRs, farmers who were promised water from Narmada Dam (Datta, 2015), which was constructed despite significant opposition from those displaced, now face a different form of deprivation on a larger scale. The seamless urbanization and integration achieved through exclusion and expulsion (Kuldova and Varghese, 2017) becomes the defining characteristic of these new smart cities. Vibrant Gujarat showcased this corporate order that permeates through various spaces, combining information technology with infrastructure, architecture, everyday objects, and human bodies to address social, economic, and environmental challenges in an abstract manner (Townsend, 2013: 15).

Unlike deprivations during industrializing phases, SEZs and SIRs go beyond mere exclusions. They are rapid, entrepreneurial, and replicable. They serve as examples of the malleable technologies that neoliberalism has become, manifesting in distinct ways across different spaces. Consultancies such as Halcrow and Cisco offer suggestions instead of long-term planning. In this manner, spaces can transform into smart cities virtually overnight, continually mutating (Rapoport, 2014), like viruses in pandemic ecologies. While smart cities endlessly mutate through facilitative conduits, viruses thrive and become more deadly while they work silently—never appearing in statistics—navigating across hosts and depraved settings. The resulting state of affairs is often evaluated through the lens of resilience at various scales.

The logic of modulations, characterized by passwords and networks, is nourished by data and statistics. The state, the media, the public, and the experts converge on the common ground of statistics and statistic-generated risks, preventive measures, and responses. Complex systemic issues are reduced to tangible formats, often resulting in cosmetic responses at best and simple rhetoric at worst. This phenomenon was exemplified by demonetization, which was presented as a campaign against corruption, even as the corporate state swiftly wrote off corporate debts. Moreover, similar patterns can be observed in the gestures, rhetoric, and performances exhibited during the pandemic, coupled with the growing lack of accountability within the centralized government. In the case of the Prime Minister's Citizen Assistance and Relief in Emergency Situations Fund (PM CARES Fund), the lack of accountability was quite literal. Simultaneously, accountability was shifted to weakened federal systems and individual states, devoid of the exceptions enjoyed by the PM Cares fund. All of these measures, including demonetization, extensive privatizations, public sell offs, and the provision of vaccines to private sector (Ramakumar, 2021), were presented as contributing to the creation of a favorable climate for

Fig. 4.2 (*Source* https://secure.mygov.in)
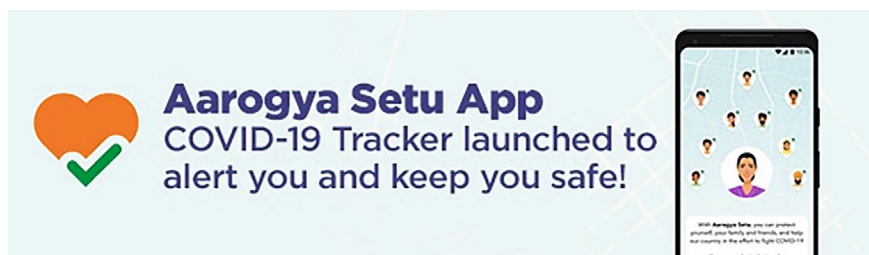
"good governance." The prevailing circumstances of the pandemic further reinforced regimes of protocols, corporatization, and algorithmic governance within the world we inhabit. The National Register of Citizens (NRC) and Aadhaar biometrics in India have normalized the logic of risk and surveillance. This paradigm of urban models became even more paradigmatic during the COVID-19 pandemic. With the emergence of pandemic ecologies, additional provisions have been perceived as "common sense." The introduction of the "Aarogya Setu" app (Fig. 4.2) and the law enabling extensive data collection during the pandemic were implemented within the framework of National Disaster Management, an exceptional measure. What was omitted by exceptional decree, as demonstrated in court cases against biometrics and data collection, was the constitutional compliance regarding the limitations on such actions and their potential infringement on individual rights. The pandemic effectively expanded exceptions that were previously limited to special zones and executive decrees, undermining constitutional rights. It coincided with a period when existing hegemonies, deprivations, and structural exclusions were being challenged on India's streets and campuses. Farmers movements, student agitations, and protests against the new citizenship rules serve as notable examples. The pandemic unintentionally created ecologies of silence at a time when dissenting voices were beginning to rise. Political unrest threatened to disrupt the imposed normalcies.

4 Special Economic and Investment Zones as Socially Exclusive Spaces

In the context of post-developmental projects and city planning, the act of listening to voices on the ground, such as in the case of the Dholera SIR, often becomes a ritualistic gesture preceding the formalization of the pre-determined city plans crafted in corporate boardrooms. The inclusion of voices from marginalized communities, particularly Dalits or agricultural castes listed as "Scheduled Castes or Tribes" in the Indian Constitution, is often incorporated as stakeholder participation. However, the stakeholder approach creates depoliticized and uniform platforms where consultants, developers, the state, entrepreneurs, and the aforementioned marginalized groups

are treated as equal participants in a structurally unequal, and, moreover, a seemingly magical process shaped by complex governance mechanisms. Urban processes and ecological transformations conceal the intricate metabolic relationships between living and the nonliving elements within complexly entangled ecologies. In contingent contexts such as disasters, pandemics, or socio-economic catastrophes, the metabolic rifts highlighted by Marx become particularly pronounced. In the Indian sub-continent, instances such as floods, COVID-19, and demonetization serve as prime examples of such scenarios. The top-down and globally comprehensive vision of ecologies, including ecological infrastructure, combined with the additional provisions for capital allocation to corporations, has already led to some of the largest socio-ecological disasters in the sub-continent.

Adaptation, for instance, is a widely generalizable response strategy to climate change. It is considered a normal response to addressing risks and consequences propagated by bodies such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). However, both the identified risks and the ensuing consequences seldom address the politics of climate change. This is evident in the fact that rising temperatures may exert immense pressure on biodiversity but have minimal transformative effects on the global capitalist economy. Instead, adaptive solutions and temporary fixes tend to evolve. The prevailing order remains robust and selectively employs ecology in appropriate roles. The concept of "ecosystem services" emerged as one way for the international economic order to incorporate advancements in ecological sciences during the 1980s and 90s. Institutions, such as the IPCC (1988), the Montreal Protocol (1989), and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992) addressing substances that deplete the ozone layer, tabled strategies. The blueprint "Protecting our planet, securing our future: Linkages among global environmental issues and human needs," formulated by UNEP, NASA, and the World Bank, structured a narrative framework on climate, biodiversity, desertification, and forests. In India, the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change (MoEFCC)—the renamed version of the Ministry of Environment and Forests since 2014—places emphasis on resource efficiency policy. They are involved in Ecosystem Service Implementation Projects or ESIPs. The ministry collaborates with NITI Aayog, the policy think tank that replaced the planning board and plan-based development. NITI Aayog serves as a facilitative apparatus for neoliberal restructuring. The annual report of MoEFCC (2019–20) also outlines the rationale behind the Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority (CAMPA). CAMPA encompasses a comprehensive strategy for the monetization of ecology and the assessment logic of compensatory funds in cases where forests are diverted for other uses. The fund itself is routed through a national authority, reflecting the ongoing centralization of policies in addition to the monetization of ecological resources.

CAMPA emphasizes the monetary value of ecological infrastructures, treating them as interchangeable commodities. Pandemic scenarios often revolve around narratives of heroic survival and sacrifices. However, the naturalization of these narratives ignores the contradictions inherent in capital accumulation and uneven development. Resilient regimes, in reality, thrive through processes of "accumulation by dispossession" and expulsion (Harvey, 2004; Sassen, 2014). These aspects

are often ignored when "urban systems," which previously drove thousands back to villages and into precarious existences devoid of livelihoods, are resuscitated with fresh vigor. The apocalyptic and dystopian nature of this situation is evident in the literal loss of lives due to the lack of medical oxygen in cities during the COVID-19 pandemic. The slums that checker cities are celebrated as success stories against the virus, further obscuring the underlying realities.

5 Conclusion: Excluded = Resilient?

Vulnerability, risk, adaptation, and resilience encapsulate ideas and responses to natural, social, and ecological conditions. Resilience becomes a sought-after response during times of austerity programs and pandemics alike. The emphasis is on adapting to imposed changes and navigating through withheld support. Modeled after the Rockefeller Foundation's 100 Resilient Cities initiative, resilience is embraced within a neoliberal framework that values showcasing capacity-building, preparedness, and recovery from shocks. The concept of resilience has been globalized through various forms of urbanization, such as resilient cities, competitive urbanism, smart cities, and algorithmic governance. However, the language and practice of resilience often celebrate individual stories of adaptation as if this was a choice and without acknowledging the underlying structural constraints. It fails to address the need for fundamental transformations of the conditions that give rise to shocks and crisis. Within the framework of good governance, resilience is valued and promoted as a desirable way of life. Both resilience and sustainability presume that the right design can address all challenges, without questioning the inherent problems within the existing order.

The criteria for selection into Rockefeller's program of 100 resilient cities emphasized responsiveness, ability to cope, and level of vulnerability (Welsh, 2013). Selection was based on factors such as innovative approaches, public–private partnerships (PPPs), and the ability to work with a wide range of stakeholders. Stakeholders, as mentioned, encompass a wide array of actors who are often made equally responsible for the dystopian futures they are eventually pushed into. A classic example is the selection of Surat in Gujarat as one of the resilient cities in 2013. Despite the political scenario in Gujarat at the time, the emphasis on private capital and corporate perks, and the history of communal violence were deemed inconsequential in the selection process.

Prior to the onset of the pandemic, the abstract rationale of behemothic and mythical black money got used to demonetize currencies. However, this logic was ultimately proven to be flawed, as even the Reserve Bank itself testified. On the other hand, the adverse consequences of demonetization, including the direct loss of over a hundred lives and numerous hardships faced by farmers, small-scale economies, and businesses, went largely unacknowledged. Instead, additional burdens were imposed on vulnerable populations through labor reforms and farm laws. These populations, despite enduring such sovereign impositions, are often regarded as "resilient."

The exclusionary closures within the new urban spaces result in the expulsion of marginalized populations to the margins and crevices of social and physical spaces. The celebrated notion of resilience among these populations actually reflects advanced forms of marginality (Wacquant, 2007), characterized by symbolic fragmentation and functional disconnections. In the Indian context, as evidenced by smart cities, demonetization, and the ongoing pandemic, these dynamics extend beyond advanced marginalities within the process of urbanization. In reality, there are inclusions through exclusions, resulting in a complete breakdown of social contracts and literal devastation. Residing in the emerging smart cities implies being incorporated into ecosystems of total surveillance. The pandemic scenario, coupled with the language of statistics, reduces human beings to mere abstract data—both as generators and recipients—rather than acknowledging their experiential and political agency.

Systemic violence can be exacerbated by disasters in the form of diseases, creating ecologies of violence. In contemporary urban spaces, it is not solely the virus itself that kills, but its impact is magnified in conjunction with the uneven terrains and absence of care. With the daily rhythms of life overwhelmingly set by the virus and its trajectories, it has become increasingly challenging to disentangle ourselves from the contingent contexts we are thrown into. Reflecting on the frameworks that govern our existence, understanding how we arrived at this point and envisioning alternative ways of living have become difficult tasks. Risk societies, urban informalities, everyday precarities, techno-social deployments, surveillance, and algorithmic orders all leave their imprint by calibrating our skin, converting us into data and rewiring individual bodies to the exercise of biopower.

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Chapter 5
Counting What Counts: Data, Digitization, and Decision-Making About Health in India's Smart Cities

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1 Introduction

More than half of the world's population currently lives in cities. This number is projected to be 60% by 2030 (United Nations, 2018). The rapid expansion of cities is particularly prominent in developing countries. In India, the 2011 census counted 377 million people—31% of the total population—were living in urban areas; this number is projected to increase to 594 million in 2036, reflecting a staggering growth rate of 57%. Notably, there will be significant variation in the level of urbanization across different states in India. By 2036, five states—Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra, Telangana, and Gujarat—will have more than 50% of their population residing in urban areas. Delhi, on the other hand, is expected to achieve 100% urban population. In contrast, Himachal Pradesh, Assam, and Bihar will continue to have less than 20% of their population living in urban areas (Census of India, 2019).

As India's population continues to concentrate in the cities, there are significant challenges in ensuring the health and well-being of city dwellers and providing them with good quality, affordable health care. The Sustainable Development Goal 11 (SDG 11) focuses on creating inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable cities, while SDG 3 aims to ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for people of all ages. However, the achievement of these goals remains far from reality. Numerous obstacles hinder progress, including an increasing number of people living in slums, a lack of resources, and inadequate and overburdened infrastructure.

There is a growing emphasis on evidence-informed decision-making to address urban issues, including health. Data play a central role into strengthening evidence-informed decision-making. However, the majority of low- and middle-income countries, including India, report a "lack of data" on many essential indicators for planning and achieving the SDGs of inclusive and healthy cities. Several factors contribute to

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this data scarcity, ranging from challenges in identifying necessary data for decision-making to practical issues such as poor data management systems and the lack of standardized data formats. Strong data and information silos exist within the district, state, and national health systems, further exacerbating the problem.

Technology is often viewed as a potential solution, even a panacea, for various urban problems, including the lack of data. Cities worldwide are embracing technology to become "smarter" in their functioning. The concept of smart cities, utilizing digital technology to address urban challenges, has gained momentum over the past two decades, starting with the pioneering efforts of Los Angeles in 1974 in creating urban big data and Amsterdam in 1994 in developing a virtual digital city. In 2015, India launched its Smart Cities Mission with the objective of promoting cities that prioritize core infrastructure, clean and sustainable environments, and improved quality of life for their residents through the application of "smart solutions." However, the focus on population health within smart cities has been relatively limited. Access to health care receives significant attention, if not all, when considering the use of technology in the health domain.

In this chapter, we delve into the role of data in decision-making, using the example of COVID-19, to highlight its significance in achieving the objective of inclusive and healthy cities. We emphasize the importance of specific data indicators that are essential for guiding effective decision-making processes and argue that an increase in the use of technology does not necessarily transform a traditional city into a smart city. Instead, we emphasize that the quality of decision-making, informed by reliable indicators and high-quality data, is essential for achieving a successful transformation towards smart cities.

2   Data and Decision-Making

Data plays an important role in planning and decision-making processes related to health, whether collected through conventional means such as censuses, surveys, vital registers, and administrative records, or through digital sources such as mobile applications, sensors, and electronic medical records. The experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic serve as a compelling example of the vital role data plays in decision-making. In India, the first case of COVID-19 was reported on January 30, 2020. From the outset of the pandemic, data have played a pivotal role in shaping responses to deal with the challenges posed by the pandemic. All stakeholders demanded data, including the public at large, often without scrutinizing its source and credibility. Unlike many other health issues, these data, ranging from modeling studies that forecast effective interventions to flatten the curve, to the daily updates on new infections and deaths, have had a profound impact on shaping public narratives and driving actions. Numerous dashboards were created to present data on various metrics such as the number of new infections, active cases, and the number of fatalities. These datasets often focused on a limited set of indicators at the country, state,

district, and city levels. As a result, the dominant narrative surrounding COVID-19 often revolved around these data interpretations.

In the midst of addressing the pandemic, the issue of data scarcity tends to be ignored. The narrative is by the questions that can be answered by the available data. For instance, comparisons are made between countries, states, districts, or cities to their performance in terms of new infections and deaths. This sometimes leads to a sense of satisfaction when one appears to be doing better than another (usually developed) country or state.

Presenting data on different indicators would open up a range of questions, comparisons, and interventions. For example, if we had data indicating that COVID-19 infections were more prevalent in one neighborhood compared to another with a city, it would prompt inquiries about the underlying factors contributing to this disparity. Additionally, understanding variations in severity of disease and mortality risks among different socio-economic groups, even after controlling for age, gender, and comorbidities, would raise questions regarding equitable access to health care and the need for targeted interventions. Similarly, having disaggregated data on vaccine uptake would give rise to different questions beyond the predominant focus on vaccine efficacy. This would allow for analysis of vaccine coverage across different population segments, highlighting potential gaps in access and identifying strategies to ensure equitable distribution.

Data can only capture a fraction of reality based on what has been measured. Therefore, the selection of indicators, as well as the level at which data are collected, analyzed, and presented, significantly influences our understanding of reality. For example, in the context of most Indian cities, there is a noticeable absence of reliable data about basic socio-demographics about inhabitants. This dearth of information may arise from various factors, including inadequate data collection efforts or limited public accessibility to such data. Often only aggregate information is provided. This has direct implications for planning and designing appropriate interventions. One significant drawback of not reporting disaggregated data is the tendency to "homogenize" people and places. By not providing detailed data, it becomes possible to perpetuate the misconception that vulnerabilities to acquiring the disease and the ability to cope are randomly distributed in the population. The presentation of aggregate numbers can obscure the various layers of inequality rooted in factors such as age, race, gender, class, caste, ethnicity, religion, occupation, and place of habitation. At times, the COVID-19 pandemic is referred to as a "great leveler" due to its widespread impact across different segments of the population. However, international evidence has shown that infection and mortality rates have been significantly higher among marginalized groups. Studies conducted in the United States have provided evidence that mortality rates were significantly higher in COVID-19 hotspots located in Black counties compared to White counties (Adhikari et al., 2020). However, even after nearly 2 years into the pandemic, there is a noticeable absence of similar disaggregated analysis regarding the impact of COVID-19 in India.

Studies conducted in other countries, including India, and years of research and experience in dealing with health conditions such as tuberculosis and HIV

have consistently shown that vulnerabilities are socially constructed. Ignoring these differences prevents the achievement of population health.

3   Digital Data, Technology, and Inclusion

Technology has played a substantial role in India's response to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Digital technology and smart city infrastructure have been extensively utilized for various interventions, including public health surveillance, mobile applications for contact tracing, and tracking vaccine delivery. However, using technology for effective pandemic management has been fraught with several challenges. The prevailing digital divide presented a significant challenge for many people in accessing technology-based interventions, such as the COVID-19 vaccine, which necessitates mandatory registration through the CoWin portal, and the "Arogya Setu" contact tracing mobile application. The challenges extend beyond the digital divide. Poor utilization of technology among those who have access to it, lack of interoperability across different platforms to prevent duplication and ensure proper data compilation, and the absence of systems to validate and analyze the data pose significant hurdles in leveraging this data for effective public health decision-making.

There is a widespread and rapid push towards digitizing data and utilizing technology for data analysis and planning, driven by both national and international forces and including government initiatives and market influences. In line with this trend, India has recently launched the National Digital Health Mission (NDHM) to build essential digital health infrastructure to foster collaboration and bridge gaps among different stakeholders involved in healthcare provision. As part of NDHM, the establishment of registries for health facilities and healthcare providers is currently underway. A central focus of NDHM is the creation of individual electronic health records. However, the effectiveness of digitalization in India remains uncertain given the substantial existing inequities, digital divide, inadequate public health infrastructure, unregulated private sector, and the absence of a culture that emphasizes utilizing data and recognizing its limitations for actionable insights. Attempting to tackle these challenges solely by increasing the use of technology, such as employing more sensors to collect data, implementing digital surveillance, relying on mobile applications, and leveraging machine learning and artificial intelligence, may result in a situation where there are more digital solutions seeking problems rather than effectively using technology to address specific challenges.

The potential of technology to foster equity is contingent upon the governance mechanisms in place rather than the technology itself. In the current framework of top-down, techno-centric interventions, mainly driven by large corporations that perceive individuals as passive recipients, (Mouton et al., 2019), there is a risk that data on easily measurable indicators among those with access to technology will receive priority. For example, many studies have highlighted that in smart cities, the focus often leans towards prioritizing access to healthcare services rather than

enhancing the overall health status of the population. By relying solely on technology-based data collected from those who have access to services, decision-makers may be blind to the concerns of digitally excluded individuals. This group is likely to face exclusion along multiple social and economic dimensions. Therefore, as technology usage and data analysis expand, it is vital to understand whose reality is being reflected by the data and which aspects of reality are captured by the data.

4   What Counts and Why?

There is undisputed evidence that the social conditions in which individuals are born, raised, work, live, and age, along with the broader array of forces and systems that shape these daily life conditions, have a profound impact on health outcomes. A range of these factors, known as social determinants of health (Fig. 1) including income, social protection, social inclusion, gender, sexual orientation, education, employment, occupation and working conditions, transportation, housing, physical environment (including air and water quality), and access to health care, significantly influence the health and well-being of the population.

In India, there is limited data regarding the social indicators that determine people's well-being. Therefore, insights based on these indicators are not adequately incorporated into the problem assessment and intervention planning process. As a result, the concept of health often remains confined to healthcare delivery, limiting a comprehensive understanding of health and impeding the adoption of public health approaches. To enhance population health and foster sustainable development in cities, it is essential to collect, analyze, and utilize disaggregated data on social determinants.

The WHO Regional Office for Europe has introduced a framework to tackle social determinants and health inequities, aiming to improve population health in cities (WHO, 2012). This framework emphasizes the need to shift from passive interventions towards actively working with the city population to address health disparities and bridge the health gaps. The framework proposes three levels that require adequate information for cities to enhance their planning efforts: People, Places, and Process. Table 1 presents a suggested list of indicators corresponding to these three levels. However, it is important for cities to engage in a participatory process to define their own set of essential indicators that accurately capture the local situation. Information on these indicators is necessary for analyzing health inequalities and facilitating improved planning and forecasting of potential threats. Below, we provide an example to illustrate the potential benefits of utilizing granular information in this context.
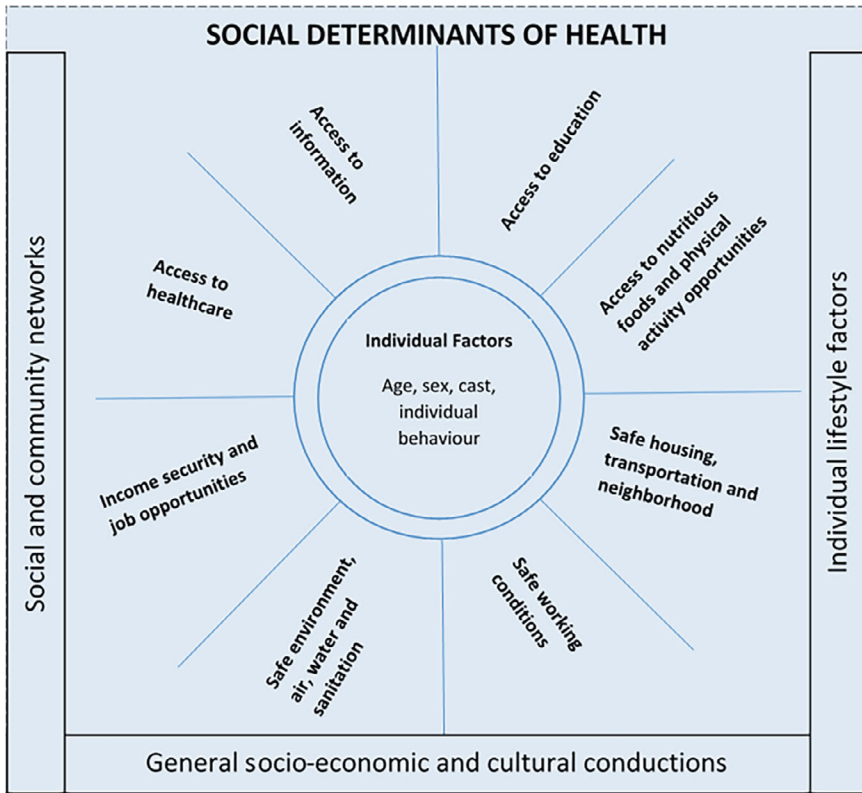
Fig. 1 The social determinants of health

Table 1 Suggestive list of indicators

	People	Places	Process
Suggestive list of indicators	• Age • Gender • Socio-economic condition • Mobility • Lifestyle and health behaviors • Morbidity • Mortality	• Land use and cover • Quality of housing • Air quality • Water quality and sanitation • Places promoting social cohesion • Road safety • Places for health activities • Access to health facilities	• Processes for working across the sector • Processes for citizen involvement and joint planning • Avoiding redundancy and duplication in data collection

5   Example of Use of Local Granular Information for Predicting COVID-19 Transmission in Pune City
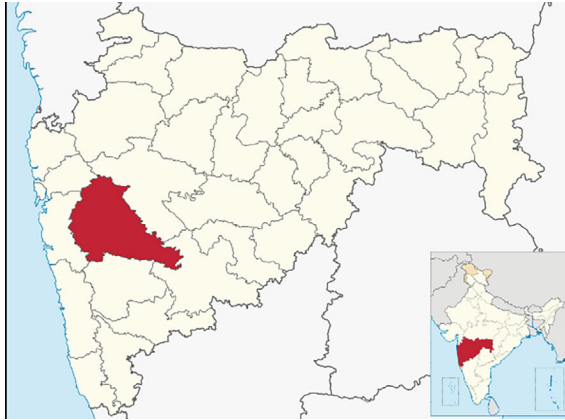
Pune district (highlighted in red in the map), located in the Maharashtra state of India, has around 60% of its population living in urban areas. The Pune metropolitan area, which includes Pune City, has a population of five million whereas the city of Pune has a population of 3.1 million as per the 2011 census of India.

Acknowledging the heterogeneous spread of COVID-19 in India, it became evident that the information generated at the national and state levels, though essential, was insufficient for localized decision-making at the city, community, and town levels. Realizing this gap, the authors of the study collaborated with researchers from a technological institute to develop a ward-level agent-based computer simulation model capable of predicting the transmission of COVID-19. In contrast to a mathematical model, this particular model involved the creation of a digital twin of the locality, wherein people's movements and behaviors were logically mapped to assess the spread and impact of COVID-19. The model utilized input data on various "people" archetypes (referred to as agents in the model), including age and gender distribution, comorbidity prevalence, and movement patterns. Additionally, information on "places" such as geographic area, population density, household size, and living condition (slum, non-slum) as well as the presence of establishments like restaurants, shops, offices, and places of worship were incorporated to run the simulation. Due to the lack of readily available city level for many of these parameters, the study team had to rely on expert consensus to determine and input these values. Information regarding viral characteristics, such as the probability of transmission through close contacts and the likelihood of severe disease, was based on the published research

findings that were available at the time[1] (Barat et al., 2021). The information gener-
ated from the model, including the number of infections, demand for health services,
and insights into interventions that can effectively mitigate the spread of the virus,
proved to be a valuable tool for the city administration. This information, combined
with additional data on health infrastructure and human resources among others,
helped the city administration assess the potential impact of different interventions
in curbing the spread of COVID-19. When granular information of this nature is avail-
able, it strengthens the analytical approaches and enables their effective utilization
in addressing a wide range of city-level problems. A recent review by Tracy et al.
(2018) showed the effectiveness of utilizing granular information in agent-based
modeling to gain insights into various aspects of public health such as infectious
disease epidemiology and strategies to control non-communicable diseases as well
as health behaviors such as smoking, alcohol consumption, and physical activity that
are significant risk factors for many diseases. The approach can also address other
essential city problems such as traffic planning and air and water pollution.

6 Using Technology for Health Equity

Despite the widespread implementation of smart city interventions worldwide, there
is a notable absence of emphasis on health equity within these initiatives. A recent
systematic review, which focused on equity in smart city technologies, observed that
numerous considerations associated with occupation, gender or sex, religion, race,
ethnicity, culture, language, and education are often overlooked in technological
interventions addressing health (Buttazzoni et al., 2020). Nevertheless, it is encour-
aging to see that the discussion surrounding the utilization of technology to improve
equity is gaining momentum. A recently published report by the 3D commission
(Data, Social Determinants, and Better Decision-Making for Health), released in
September 2021, highlighted the need to address the social determinants of health
and how technology can play a role (Biermann et al., 2021). Recent initiatives in
Europe and the USA have made strides in incorporating information on social deter-
minants of health to aid local decision-making. In the USA, Gourevitch et al. (2019)
developed a web-based resource that includes 37 metrics across five domains: social
and economic factors, physical environment, health behaviors, health outcomes, and
clinical care to foster population health improvement (Gourevitch et al., 2019). The
City Health Dashboards have been collaboratively developed with the active involve-
ment of city-level policy-makers and community leaders, ensuring their relevance
and usefulness to this audience. These dashboards provide access to data on an open
platform and are compiled using multiple sources such as national health surveys,

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[1] The details of the model assumptions, approach, methodology, and input variables can be accessed
through this link: https://www.scienceopen.com/document?vid=8cf675f7-f3ba-4200-866d-75c19d
0ad5f7.

vital statistics, federal administrative data, and state education datasets. The availability of these dashboards extends to more than 500 in the United States, enabling local-level planning and decision-making.

With the growing utilization of technology, many cities may develop health dashboards. However, the utility of these dashboards hinges upon the indicators used to present the data and its open access to other important stakeholders. Technology providers play a pivotal role in this regard, as they have tremendous opportunities to present the data in a simplified way that can be understood by the general public. By doing so, they can foster collective action and contribute to the pursuit of health equity.

7 Concluding Remarks

India faces the challenge of an overburdened and fractured public health system, compounded by a shortage of skilled professionals for data collection and analysis. For data to be helpful in decision-making, the entire data ecosystem needs to be reevaluated. In this context, technology is often considered the singular solution to all data problems. However, the challenges related to data collection, integration of different datasets at different levels (population, district, region, etc.), and determining appropriate analytical approaches to derive actionable insights from the data are not solely attributable to a lack of technology. These challenges stem from inadequate planning and a lack of foresight regarding the necessary solutions and prioritization of interventions. It highlights the consequences of ignoring what counts for inclusive and sustainable development.

The COVID-19 pandemic has underscored the fact that health conditions can amplify pre-existing inequities. The differential impact of the pandemic on different population groups, based on their privileges or marginalization, serves as a reminder that health is a socially constructed phenomenon. It is not solely determined by disease-causing agents and factors acting upon individual bodies, but rather influenced by broader social and structural determinants. Achieving the Sustainable Development Goal of building inclusive cities necessitates the operationalization of this perspective and the active measurement of relevant indicators. This entails.

- Redesigning urban health data ecosystems to measure health inequity and investing significant resources to address the social determinants of health;
- Developing interventions for health promotion and disease prevention;
- Establishing equitable surveillance systems for early detection of health issues;
- Ensuring affordable and accessible health care is universally available to everyone.

It is evident that there will be a sharp rise in the use of technology to solve urban issues, including health. With the rise in access to technology and the growth of digital-social life, enhanced surveillance becomes one of the most important aspects of societies witnessing a growth in access to technology and an increase in digital-social life. In this context, it is vital to ensure that the expansion of technology

access solves the problem of inequitable distribution and lack of inclusion, rather than exacerbating it.

Cities must adopt a proactive approach to ensure that the concerns of all residents are adequately considered in the planning process. As the focus shifts towards data-informed planning, this can only be possible if cities collect, analyze, and use data that help to understand and address inequity. Due to rapid urbanization and population growth, cities undergo a transformation into complex systems characterized by numerous interconnected and interdependent parts. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of understanding the various components within the urban system, including population subgroups, occupations, living conductions, mobility patterns, and more. City administrations cannot afford to overlook the interdependencies between different components of the urban system, as changes in one component can have significant repercussions on the functioning of others. This is particularly critical considering the imminent threats posed by large-scale environmental degradation and climate change.

The increasing emphasis on data carries the risk of converting data into a tool of political strategies, a concept described by Michel Foucault as "bio-power." In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, we have witnessed how transmission and mortality figures have become causally linked to the performance of governments, often leading to restrictions on data access. On the other hand, the selection of specific parameters to assess the success of interventions can sometimes create a misleading sense of security. It is therefore essential to establish transparent and collaborative processes of data collection, analysis, and intelligence. Making reliable and up-to-date data available in the public domain for independent research not only strengthens evidence-informed decision-making but also upholds people's right to information.

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Chapter 6
Public Transportation for a Livable and Competitive City: People Expectations and Reality in Dhaka, Bangladesh

Shanawez Hossain and Raihan Ahamed

1 Introduction

Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, occupies an area of 1528 km^2 and is home to approximately 18 million people (Swapan et al., 2017). Over the past 25 years, the city has experienced a significant population increase of more than 10 million people, presenting a considerable challenge due to its limited capacity. As a result, the livability of the city has been declining, with various issues affecting its quality of life. Among these challenges, the poor quality of public transport stands out.

In Dhaka, the demand for vehicles has increased significantly, driven by the improvement of people's living standards. However, the existing transportation system is unable to meet the growing needs of the population (BIGD, 2016). As a result, the city is experiencing increasingly severe traffic congestion, and the quality of public transport services has deteriorated over time. Congestion occurs when the demand for traffic exceeds the capacity of the existing transportation system. However, the poor quality of service delivery in Dhaka's public transportation system can be attributed to both ineffective polices and the failure to implement even the best policies. Traffic congestion in Dhaka City can be primarily defined as the situation when the demand volume of vehicles surpasses the capacity of the primary and secondary roads (Afrin & Yodo, 2020; Aftabuzzaman, 2007). However, traffic congestion in Dhaka City is not solely caused by the imbalance between vehicle demand and road capacity. There are other management-related factors that

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contribute to congestion, and the overall consequence is the poor quality of service that fails to meet people's expectations. During periods of congestion, the distance between vehicles decreases (Walraven et al., 2016), leading to chaotic situations where vehicles often fail to follow traffic rules, such as maintaining proper lane discipline and adhering to traffic signals. Moreover, lower vehicles speeds become essential to ensure safety in congested conditions. Furthermore, congested primary and secondary roads in Dhaka result in vehicles waiting in long lines, increased travel time and costs, higher fuel consumption, and additional pollution in the environment. However, the poor quality of the public transport system can be attributed to multiple factors, ranging from the demand and willingness to pay on the consumers' side to negligence on the part of policy-makers and implementers.

The residents of Dhaka City have become accustomed to experiencing both traffic congestion and accepting the poor quality of the public transport system as part of their daily lives. They have developed a mindset regarding time it takes to reach their destinations using either public or private transportation, as well as accepting the reality of unequal service facilities in service based on the segregation of economic and social status, determined by income or area classification. Similar to other cities, the transportation needs of Dhaka's city dwellers are catered to by both public and private means of transportation. Public transport refers to modes of transportation that provide access to a large number of people for their daily travel and activities. In Dhaka City, buses; CNG (compressed natural gas) vehicles; human haulers; and, to a limited extent, app-based systems, such as Uber and Pathao, are known as public transport options.

In mega cities, public transport typically plays a major role in serving transportation needs of a majority of the population, with people relying on it for their daily movement. However, in Dhaka, a significant number of city dwellers have to depend on private vehicles, resulting in a substantial portion of the city roads being occupied by these vehicles and leading to severe traffic congestion. This situation arises due to a combination of factors. On one hand, many transport users in Dhaka have no viable alternative but to depend on private vehicles. On the other hand, there is a lack of policies in place to restrict the use of private vehicles. In some cases, there may even be discriminatory policies that inadvertently support the proliferation of private vehicles. For example, while there is a cap on the registration of public buses in Dhaka City, there is no such restriction on private vehicles. As a result, data from the Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA) over the past 20 years shows that private car registration in Dhaka has been significantly higher than bus registration (BRTA, 2021).

Therefore, there are policy gaps, service deficiencies, and a noticeable disparity among different groups of people in terms of public transport accessibility and affordability in Dhaka. This disparity further contributes to further increase the inequality experienced by different groups of city inhabitants. Certainly, the concept of inclusive cities recognizes the differences among people living in urban areas regarding their access to urban services, resulting in varying degrees of social exclusion (McGranahan et al., 2014). Within this process, different groups of people can be "effectively excluded" from different services, even while living within the same

city. This situation has given rise to the notion of "rights to the city," as defined by UN-Habitat (2010). The concept encompasses four dimensions of equality: economic, social, political, and cultural, which, combined, will reduce inequality and enhance inclusivity. If the exclusion occurs in terms of mobility, specifically due to transport inequalities, it can have dire consequences such as economic deprivation, social isolation, and detrimental health outcomes (Lucas, 2011).

Thus, in Dhaka, there exists a mismatch between the delivery of public transport services and the expectations of city dwellers. This disparity contributes to inequality and exclusion among different segments of the population. Extensive research has already been conducted on transport services in different parts of Bangladesh (Andaleeb et al., 2007; BIGD, 2016; Hoque et al., 2006). Nevertheless, there remains a gap in understanding the actual state of public transport quality and the expectations of the people, as well as identifying influential factors for attracting private vehicle users towards public transportation options.

To bridge these gaps, this research aims to explore the reasons influencing people's reluctance to use public transport in Dhaka. By analyzing the current state of service delivery and examining relevant policies and their implications, this study aims to shed light on the factors that contribute to exclusion and inequality in transport service delivery. Additionally, the research explores peoples' expectations of public transport services, thus providing insights for improving the quality and accessibility of public transportation in Dhaka. The findings of this research will not only facilitate the development of measures to improve the public transport system but also make valuable contributions to the existing scholarship on understanding the services and policies related to public transport to make it more inclusive, resilient, and sustainable.

2 Methodology

This chapter is based on data collected in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) area through a large-scale questionnaire involving 774 transport users. The respondents were selected from various categories, including households, business centers, educational institutions, and offices. The sample size was determined by using the Cochran formula (Cochran, 1963), which indicated a sample size of 768 for Dhaka City (encompassing both the South and North City Corporation areas) based in Eq. (1). To maintain an equal sample size between the two city corporation areas, the final sample size was increased to 774 to ensure a balance between two city corporation areas. Equation (1) is as follows:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2} \times Deff,$$ (1)

where p = expected value of the indicator = 50%, $q = (1 - p)$, e = Margin of error = 5%, $Deff$ = Design effect = 2, and Z-score = 1.96 at standard of 95% confidence interval.

The survey focused on gathering information regarding the respondent's trip characteristics, including trip purposes, modal choices, travel distances, durations, and fares. Additionally, it aimed to identify the respondents' socio-economic conditions, behavioral issues, perceptions, and practices regarding traffic rules enforcement. In addition to the survey, approximately 100 Key Informant Interviews (KII) were conducted with various stakeholders in the transport sector. KII participants included officials from government organizations such as the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC), Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC), Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority (DTCA), and Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK). The interviews also involved politicians and academics as well as representatives from the transport sector including drivers, transport workers, drivers' associations, vehicle owners' associations, hawkers and hawker associations, driving schools as well as transport users including pedestrians, bus users, and private vehicle owners.

Additionally, secondary data and information were gathered from articles, reports, newspapers, and government office documents. In line with the research objectives, mixed methods, involving both quantitative and qualitative approaches, were employed.

3 Results and Analysis: Reasons to Avoid Public Transport

3.1 Insufficient Access to Public Buses in Dhaka

Various types of public transportation can be found on the streets of Dhaka. However, buses are the primary mode of public transport that caters to the daily transportation need of the majority of the population. According to the Strategic Transport Plan (STP) of 2004, bus services in Dhaka are divided into different categories, with designated percentages for each category. These categories include mini buses (41%), microbuses (30%), large buses (13%), auto tempo/laguna maxi (12%), and staff and school buses (4%). However, the available data indicates that the prescribed ratio of bus services in each category is not consistently maintained, and in many cases, private vehicle are given priority over public transport. According to the statistics from the Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA) in 2020, bus registrations accounted for only 1.52% of the total vehicles registered in Dhaka. In contrast, private car registrations represented a much higher percentage at 9.43%. In the approximately 291 bus routes in Dhaka (Daily Star, 2020), there are around 5407 buses and mini buses currently operating. This number is about 27% less than the permitted number of 7362 (BIGD, 2016). Thus, currently the streets of Dhaka have approximately 27% fewer buses and mini buses than the permitted number, resulting in a limited

availability of public transportation. To put this into perspective, only 30 buses are serving around 10,000 people in their daily trips. This number is significantly lower compared to other cities around the world. For instance, Delhi has 33, Kolkata has 44, Bangalore has 73, Hong Kong has 80, and London has 108 per 10,000 people (BIGD, 2016).

3.2 Inadequate Bus Route Management

According to BRTA statistics, Dhaka's 291 bus routes are controlled by 2500 bus owners. Generally, bus owners establish companies to facilitate the acquisition of route permits from the relevant authorities. On average, each bus company operates with a fleet size ranging from 11 to 30 buses (Mustaqeem et al., 2016). However, on the road, buses are individually controlled by their respective owners. This leads to intense competition among buses to attract more passengers, often resulting in behaviors such as disregarding traffic rules, speeding, making frequent and unplanned stops, and even blocking other buses from passing. This competitive environment and lack of coordination among bus owners contribute to chaotic road conditions and inefficient service delivery.

Additionally, there is an unequal distribution and overlapping in the allocation of bus routes among different companies. In most cases, the allocation of bus routes is not determined by public demand or the importance of the routes. Instead, data show that there are at least 50 bus stops in Dhaka City that are shared by more than 10 bus companies, including Shahbagh, Farmgate, and Motijhil with 46, 44, and 40 bus companies, respectively (Table 1). The high concentration of bus companies at specific stops leads to intense competition for passengers among individual bus owners. This competition becomes one of the main causes for not adhering to traffic rules, including making unplanned stops, and failing to stay in the designated lane, which, in turn, prevents other buses from passing.

Table 1 Number of bus companies and shared stops (BRTA, 2017)

SL	Place name	Bus companies (#)	SL	Place name	Bus companies (#)	SL	Place name	Bus companies (#)
1.	Shahbagh	46	6.	Malibag	36	11.	Press club	29
2.	Farmgate	44	7.	Mirpur-10	35	12.	Airport	29
3.	Motijhil	40	8.	Pallobi	30	13.	Gulisthan	28
4.	Jatrabari	39	9.	Ashadgate	30	14.	Gabtoli	27
5.	Sydabad	39	10.	Mogbazaar	30	15.	Shawrapara	20

3.3   Substandard Service Quality of Public Buses

In Dhaka, mini buses and large buses are categorized into two systems: ticketed and non-ticketed services. The ticketed service, also known as the gate lock service, operates with designated ticket counters and fixed bus stops. However, the fare for this service is comparatively higher. Examples of bus companies offering ticketed bus services include VIP 27, Himachol, Alif, Jabalay Noor, and Subasha. On the other hand, non-ticketed services, also known as local buses, form the majority in number and operate without ticket counters and fixed bus stops. In practice, these buses have the flexibility to stop anywhere to pick up or drop off passengers. However, the service quality of these buses is very poor. The interiors of these buses are highly congested, with limited seating capacity and dirty seat covers. In addition, these buses often have missing or broken windows as well as poor lighting and ventilation. There is no passenger limit enforced in these local buses, resulting in overcrowded conditions inside. It is common to witness passengers bargaining with each other or with the bus staff. Examples of local bus services in Dhaka City include *Winner, 6 No, 8 No, 7 No, Safety, Bikolpo, Shakolpo, and Bahon.*

In most cases, both ticketed and non-ticketed buses in Dhaka suffer from a lack of proper maintenance, regardless of the fare differences (BIGD, 2016). Furthermore, the specific needs of different groups of people, such as females, pregnant women, disabled individuals, and senior citizens, are not adequately considered in service delivery. For example, only a total of nine seats is reserved for women, disabled individuals, and senior citizens which is highly insufficient for their needs. Unfortunately, the poor service delivery in buses often creates an environment where physical harassment occurs, including inappropriate behavior and unwanted touching that targets female passengers. Moreover, physically disabled people also face significant challenges when attempting to use public buses. They either cannot secure a ride or are not allowed to board public buses in Dhaka, effectively excluding a large group of people from accessing the basic services essential to their daily city life.

To address the inequalities and poor service delivery issues in certain areas of the city, a special type of bus service called Dhaka Chaka, Gulshan Chaka, and similar initiatives have been introduced. This special air-conditioned (AC) bus service was introduced in August 2016 as a response to the security concerns following the Holy Artisan terror attack. In the aftermath of the attack, public bus services were temporarily banned in Gulshan and Banani areas for security reasons. However, it is worth noting that the bus services running in these areas before the introduction of these special initiatives were much cheaper. Subsequently, additional similar services, such as Green Dhaka and Iqbal AC bus services, was introduced, providing transportation from Abdullahpur to Motijhil. These services aimed to cater to the demand for more comfortable and air-conditioned buses; however, these buses are unaffordable to a significant group of people who used to depend on public transportation. Thus, this provision increases service delivery inequality and exacerbates issues of accessibility and affordability for certain poorer segments of the population.

3.4 Public Transportation Waiting Times

Most people in Dhaka City depend on public transportation to move from one place to another for their social, economic, or educational activities, even though the availability of public transport is limited. Consequently, they often experience long waiting times to catch the bus. Data show that approximately 22.35 and 19.20% of people are able to find a ride within 11–20 and 21–30 min, respectively. Nineteen percent of the population in Dhaka City have to wait more than half an hour. During the survey, business professionals, students, and government workers reported an average waiting time of over 20 min. However, around 17% of housewives reported a slightly shorter waiting time of around 15 min.

Furthermore, a few respondents shared their experiences of losing a significant amount of their time everyday due to multiple travels in a day. About 6% of business respondents complained that they had to spend over an hour on the road each day to access transportation, wasting a significant time daily. Similarly, the aggregate waiting time becomes even longer for students, service workers, and others who need to make multiple trips per day. This combination of transport scarcity and road congestion resulting from mismanagement contributes to passengers having to wait long periods of time to get a ride.

4 Public Transportation Policy in Dhaka

Based on the inadequate and unequal public transportation situation in Dhaka, this section aims to shed light on the policy aspects by exploring the connection between existing policies and their response to transportation challenges in Dhaka. Interestingly, our analysis found that unintended consequences of polices are sometimes related to the undesirable situation in Dhaka, as discussed below. The focus is to explore the policy landscape and understand how policy decisions have influenced the current state of public transportation in the city.

4.1 CNG Conversion and Subsidy

Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) was first introduced in Bangladesh in 1982 through a pilot project initiated by the World Bank (Hossain et al., 2011). The government also provided substantial subsidies in the form of easy loans and land to facilitate the establishment of CNG conversion workshops and refueling stations (Islam, 2008). These measures were implemented by the government to promote the use of CNG as an alternative to diesel fuel, specifically to address the issue of air pollution (Salma et al., 2011). As a result of these initiatives, CNG rapidly gained popularity within a relatively short period of time as the primary fuel in the transportation sector of

major cities in Bangladesh. This was primarily due to its lower price compared to diesel or octane fuels. However, the policy proved to be ineffective fairly quickly as it faced significant challenges. In particular, the significant cost advantage of cheap fuel encouraged many people to buy cars, resulting in a substantial increase in the number of private vehicles in Dhaka. On one hand, the policy inadvertently led to an imbalance where the number of cars exceeded the carrying capacity of the streets of Dhaka. On the other hand, it created an obstacle for improving the service quality of public buses, as there was insufficient interest from the public to pay extra for service improvements. This imbalance and lack of investment in public transport services further contributed to the challenges faced by the transportation system in Dhaka.

5   Public Expectations and Willingness to Pay for Public Transportation

Dhaka is ranked as one of the least livable cities in the world (EIU, 2021). With approximately 1800 new people arriving in Dhaka daily in search of livelihoods, the demand for public transportation has increased rapidly. However, the supply of public transportation has not kept pace, resulting in a significant gap between supply and demand. Suppliers in the transportation sector often take advantage of the existing infrastructure and strive to maximize their incentives. On the other hand, public transportation users have expectations of receiving better service from these suppliers. However, an analysis of their willingness to pay for improved services yields mixed results. The analysis reveals that the willingness of public transportation users to pay extra for better services depends on factors such as monthly income, monthly expenditure on transportation, and the purpose of their trips. In general, around 98.2% of respondents expressed their agreement to spend extra money on improved services, but a small percentage (1.8) were not interested as they believed it was the sole responsibility of the government. Approximately 53% of respondents showed willingness to pay an additional 5 Bangladeshi Taka (BDT) per trip, while around 30% were willing to pay less than 5 BDT; about 15% were willing to pay more than 5 BDT. Interestingly, individuals with higher incomes exhibited the lowest willingness to pay compared to those with lower earnings (Fig. 1). This is likely because higher income groups tend to rely on private vehicles and have less dependence on public buses for their transportation needs.

The analysis further shows that the willingness to pay extra for improved public transportation services is also correlated with respondents' monthly expenditure on public transportation. On average, about 80% of respondents reported spending around 300 BDT per month on transportation. Approximately 49.6% of public transportation users from the group with an expenditure exceeding 1500 BDT per month expressed a willingness to pay an extra 5 BDT per trip if road conditions were free from congestion. Among the majority of transportation users who spend within the range of BDT 1501–3000 per month on transportation, a notable 55.4% expressed a
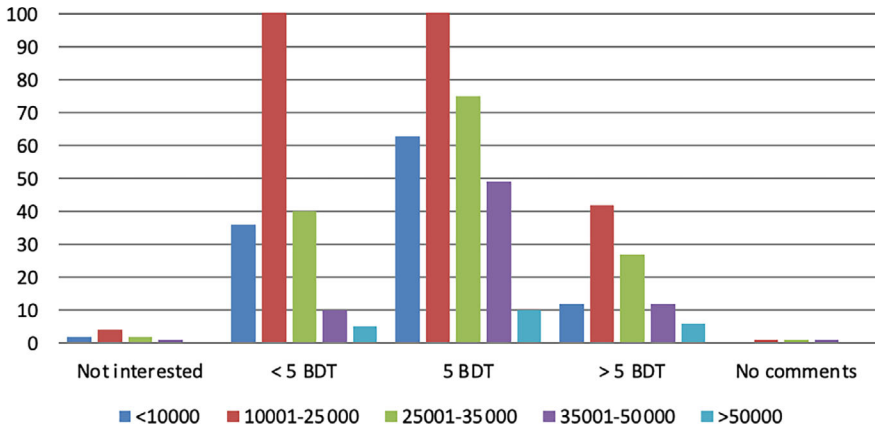
Fig. 1 Willingness to pay according to monthly income

willingness to pay an additional 5 BDT per trip while 30.9% showed a willingness to pay less than 5 BDT per trip.

Finally, the analysis revealed a correlation between the willingness to pay for improved public transportation services and the modal choice of the users. In general, around half of respondents expressed a willingness to pay an additional 5 BDT per trip for better service. Among public bus users specifically, this percentage increased to 53.3. However, a significant majority—83.3%—of CNG and auto rickshaw users reported a willingness to spend an additional BDT or more, as they are already paying higher fares for these transportation modes.

6   Conclusion

Similar to other major cities around the world, Dhaka faces the challenge of escalating transportation demand and limited road space. Meeting the individualized transportation preferences, particularly those related to privately owned cars and motorcycles, would require an unattainable expansion of road infrastructure. Consequently, rationing road space becomes inevitable. Although this has not been addressed in the past, there is an urgent need to prioritize the rationing of private cars and motorcycles in Dhaka. In order to achieve this, it is imperative to prioritize the enhancement of public bus services.

In addition to managing the demand, priority must also be given to increase the supply of high capacity, high-quality public transport in Dhaka, particularly buses and rail systems. The approach can be summarized as a combination of "carrot" and "stick," with good public transportation being the "carrot." In this vein, the two most important policy approaches are:

- Organizing the bus system into a coherent and well-planned public transportation system.
- Giving priority to public transportation and mass transport over private transport in policy formulation.

The revision of bus routes requires a comprehensive approach that involves conducting better surveys, route assessments, and implementing a transparent route allocation process. All stakeholders, including bus owner associations, city corporations, the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (Traffic), BRTA, BRTC, and commuter representatives, should be brought together under the leadership of the Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority (DTCA). Implementing well-designed and appropriate bus stops can significantly reduce the issue of ad hoc stops. Additionally, a ticketing system should be introduced for all public buses.

Moreover, in Dhaka's case, it is evident that although there have been efforts to improve the quality and services of public transportation over time, these measures have often catered to specific groups or segments of society. On one hand, the cost of these services makes them unaffordable for the poor, while on the other hand, the positive spillover effects generated by these facilities primarily benefit a specific group of people. Thus, Dhaka current state of fragmented and unequal public transportation systems contributes to the exclusion of certain segments of the population, which contradicts the concept of an inclusive city. In policy planning for public transportation, it is essential to prioritize sustainability and consider the needs of inclusion and exclusion.

Finally, based on the overall discussion, it can be concluded that the subpar quality of public transportation and infrastructure in Dhaka encompasses multiple governance dimensions. These include legal and institutional frameworks, public policies, and expectations relating to transportation supply and demand. Additionally, the political economy effects of various interest groups and challenges related to implementation and enforcement are significant factors contributing to the existing issues. Without a comprehensive understanding of the governance perspective and a holistic view of the different dynamics at play, piecemeal and sporadic efforts and interventions to improve the situation, including attempts to consolidate transport companies under a few major entities, will fall short of meeting the expectations of the general public. The dire state of Dhaka's public transportation system and the growing inequality within the sector can be effectively mitigated by improving governance of the entire system and by placing inclusion and exclusion at the center of policy planning in the future.

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Chapter 7
Urban Walkability and Equity in the Car-Centric City

Tamara Bozovic

1 Introduction

Launching the Synthesis Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the Secretary-General of the United Nations recently declared that "The 1.5° limit is achievable. But it will take a quantum leap in climate action" (United Nations, 2023). Urban areas play a key role in delivering this transformation by reconsidering how land use, infrastructure, and services can enable—instead of hinder—low-carbon mobility.

Walking is an obvious element of the solution. It is the most ubiquitous, health-promoting, and carbon–neutral mode of transportation and the simplest "last-mile" connection to public transportation. However, in much of the post-industrialized world, walking levels have been eroded by decades of car-centric planning and its consequences: traffic-filled and lifeless roads, difficult or dangerous conditions for pedestrians, and limited access to safe walking paths. These observations, made by Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, Donald Appleyard and others since the 1960s, remain valid to this day, due in part to the infrastructure inherited from that era. Globally and locally, urban strategies call for livability, walkability, modal shifts towards active modes, equity, and inclusion. All the right words are usually spoken but actions are at best inconsistent and at worst, at odds with these visions.

This chapter develops four main ideas. First, while walkability and walkable environments are urgently needed, there is a lack of consensus on what they are and how to identify key issues. The main barriers to walking are briefly presented and accepted as aspects of non-walkable environments (or our working definition of them). Second, non-walkable environments are presented as a key equity issue as they discriminate against entire demographic groups. Third, design decisions have led to

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inequities regarding feasibility and the experience of walking. Finally, a systemic approach to more inclusive and walkable cities is discussed as both possible and needed.

1.1 Walkability as a Non-consensual Idea

WalkScore™ and other algorithms offer to estimate "the walkability" of any given place. These algorithms stem from walkability research that has been booming since the mid-2000s. There is a consensus on the necessary (but often insufficient) conditions for walking as transportation, namely:

- The presence of desired destinations within "walkable" distance.
- The absence of barriers while also noting that the nature of barriers experienced by different demographic groups is not fully understood.
- A certain level of safety from traffic and crime, again without a thorough understanding of who feels unsafe, when, and why.

Andrews and colleagues (2012) have posited, however, that the notion of a "walkable" environment was plagued with assumptions. They urged planners and researchers to consider "how particular assumptions about physically, socially and culturally differentiated bodies and environments inform understandings of what a walkable environment looks like and thus how it should be measured. In sum, concern lies with the ways that specific assumptions about defining and researching the environment, and the ways that bodies inhabit and move around environments, has led to a disembodied understanding of what constitutes walking and why and where people walk" (Andrews et al., 2012: 1927).

Three major problems persist. First, there is a challenge in understanding the relative importance of the quality of the walking environment, compared to the availability of destinations. Second, there is a need to define and characterize environmental characteristics that have the potential to motivate walking as a mode of transportation. Third, understanding the barriers to access and how their definition varies across people, constraints, and trip purposes is limited.

Among many suggested definitions, Andrews and colleagues had the merit of seeing the built environment from the users' perspective: "In basic terms, walkability represents the extent to which the built environment facilitates or hinders walking for purposes of daily living" (Andrews et al., 2012). For this chapter, their contribution was extended, made explicitly more inclusive, and accepted as a working definition as follows:

> Walkability is a quality of both the built environment and the transport system, measured by the ease of walking as experienced by people of all ages, abilities, and backgrounds. Walking includes the use of any mobility device a person might need.

Reference to the transport system acknowledges walking as a mode and companion of public transportation, that public transport is a facilitator and enabler

of walking, and that traffic and traffic-related infrastructure are potential deterrents to walking. The assessment of walkability—or a lack thereof—is subjective and expected to vary across people. It is posited here that while the "ideally walkable" environment might not exist, understanding what is non-walkable and for whom is a crucial step towards equity of access and participation.

2   Non-walkable Environments: A Key Equity Issue

Acknowledging walkability as a subjective notion means that non-walkable environments are *experienced* by some or all people along different dimensions including non-feasibility, difficulty, fear, or concern. The environments can be disabling by discriminating against those who cannot navigate them. Disability can be understood as a social construct and a form of oppression, an idea that was at the origin of the now widely accepted social model of disability as illustrated in this excerpt from 1976:

> […] it is necessary to grasp the distinction between the physical impairment and the social situation, called 'disability', of people with such impairment. Thus we define impairment as lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body; and disability as the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities. Physical disability is therefore a particular form of social oppression. (Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation and The Disability Alliance, 1976)

Understanding disability as a man-made condition is an essential first step. This should lead to a critical assessment of inherited infrastructures and systems as well as a targeted and evidence-based retrofit. Referring back to Andrews and colleagues (2012: 1927), there is a need to understand how different people experience diverse environments, in which ways these environments may be disabling, and what barriers are perceived. This investigation might reveal demographic groups defined not only in terms of impairment but possibly also along dimensions such as gender, sexual orientation, and ethnicity.

Non-walkable environments are inequitable because they limit participation. In the Modernist city (discussed next), non-walkable areas are mainly car oriented, and therefore also expose their residents to noise, air pollution, bleak landscapes, roads that are difficult to cross, and road trauma. This legacy can have long-term impacts: in the USA, for example, pedestrian deaths have risen by 45% in the last 9 years, while walking levels have remained stable (Smart Growth America and National Complete Streets Coalition, 2021). Risk is highest for older, non-white, and poorer people, and can be attributed to infrastructure that is "dangerous by design" as well as to interactions with significantly bigger and heavier vehicles (Smart Growth America & National Complete Streets Coalition, 2021).

Those who drive or can afford rideshare services can escape non-walkable environments. Those who cannot are left with two choices: walk in dangerous or unpleasant

environments, or forego potentially beneficial trips. Car dependence is often associated with non-walkability and discriminates against wider demographic groups, including populations of the Global South as well as today's and tomorrow's children. These groups are already suffering or will suffer from the consequences of greenhouse gas emissions, climate breakdown, and the ensuing disruptions. Second, neighborhoods that rely heavily on cars create economic burdens for poorer populations when car ownership is a necessity, for instance, due to otherwise inaccessible jobs. Relationships with the housing market should also be noted: growing prices in central, well-serviced, and desired areas lead to gentrification and the selective displacement of less affluent people towards car-dependent urban outskirts.

Non-walkable neighborhoods therefore discriminate against disabled people, children, ethnic minorities, the elderly, poorer populations, and other groups, by reducing their abilities to participate in social life, education, work, or recreation, and by threatening their health and well-being.

3   The Complex Underpinnings of Non-walkability and Inequities

To gain an understanding of the root causes of inequities, we must consider who does the planning, who is being considered, who is consulted for input, and what is valued in the decision-making process. In much of the industrialized world, the second half of the twentieth century was marked by Modernist approaches to urban design and transport planning. Modernism rejected traditional forms of urban planning, saw driving as a symbol of progress that allowed easy travel between the now-separated zones for living, working, entertainment, and shopping. For that purpose, extensive networks of motorways, carparks, car-dependent suburbs, and other car-oriented destinations were built. Obvious synergies with the automobile and oil industries came into play.

Jane Jacobs highlighted the contradictions around Modernist approaches to planning which expended millions of dollars yet destroyed cities. In the USA, car-oriented infrastructure was often delivered at the expense of poorer populations and ethnic minorities in the 1960s (Jacobs, 1961). Modernist planning was associated with the clearance and replacement of whole neighborhoods, as well as with the construction of new, large-scale developments and whole cities (for instance, Brasilia), which were always articulated around a structure of motorways and roads. In the Modernist city, this car-centric approach to transportation did not consider the needs of children, older people, disabled people, or anyone without access to a car. These populations found themselves designed out, at all urban scales.

At the macro-scale, cities sprawled far and wide. This diminished the feasibility of walking to local destinations and obliterated the public transport system. After all, how would swathes of low-density neighborhoods be serviced? Where would bus stops be placed when so few people live near any given point? And perhaps most

importantly, why would buses be needed in the first place, given that progress—automobiles—has arrived?

At a more local scale, disconnected neighborhoods were built, featuring a stark contrast between high-density Corbusian visions of cities-in-a-park juxtaposed against low-rise dwellings. Roads formed large infrastructural barriers for anyone who does not drive. At the micro-scale, people encountered wide, traffic-oriented infrastructure, expansive intersections, and pedestrian walkways relegated to the sides, supposedly "protected" by high curbs and metal guardrails. Streets transformed into no-man's-lands, where pedestrian activity was scarce and limited oversight from houses was observed, often shielded by high fences and walls.

A significant portion of contemporary urban and suburban environments, as well as the associated planning norms, can be traced back to the Modernist era. This includes practices related to land use zoning, traffic modeling, and the establishment of minimum car parking standards. While Brasilia is often cited as the poster child of a Modernist city, examples abound in all parts of the world. These include freeways that connect single-use zones, the provision of (often free) parking, and the development of traffic infrastructure designed for maximizing traffic flow. Despite being 1950s relics, these environments and practices have been normalized and continue to inform current policy and management. For instance, transport-related funding decisions are often based on a narrow cost–benefit ratio analysis that primarily considers infrastructure costs, travel times, and maybe the anticipated reduction in fatalities and severe injuries. However, these decisions frequently overlook crucial aspects such as the impacts of climate change, the experiences of individuals utilizing modes of transportation other than driving, and the importance of promoting inclusivity. While very few people would opt to use a 1950s computer in their daily lives, we often fail to question how our inherited transportation systems adequately serve present-day requirements and aspirations in terms of equity, accessibility, and zero carbon mobility. We often hear that people living in car-centric cities "love their cars." Over time, driving has come to be associated with identity, rather than being a direct consequence of the redesign of transportation systems after the post-war era, which left driving the only viable travel option.

Modernism also changed the way we plan and deliver infrastructure. The delivery of large-scale infrastructure went hand-in-hand with a top-down approach led by all-powerful transportation departments. Jane Jacobs gained fame as a prominent figure leading the resistance movement in Greenwich Village against the plans of New York City's authorities, which included the demolition of the neighborhood and the construction of the Lower Manhattan Expressway, flanked by housing blocks. Decisions during that time were justified based on a now-discredited functionalist and "hydraulic" vision that likened traffic to an incompressible liquid circulating through pipes, which were roadways or thoroughfares.

The lack of citizen participation in planning and delivery process can be understood as the manifestation of power imbalance. This concept was theorized by Arnstein in 1969, in a paper now considered a landmark publication on participatory planning (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" spans from pure top-down approaches to citizen control, through different levels of engagement

(from tokenistic to more sincere). The authoritative side of the spectrum is associated with individuals or organizations which, while non-representative, hold power. Investment decisions may be based on cost–benefit–cost analysis that ignores any experiential aspect and does not consider the effects of isolation or exclusion of those for whom travel was made impossible. This prevailing approach continues to persist and is indicative of a top-down method that disregards the perspectives and experiences of everyday users.

Low walkability and the resultant inequities can be seen as the consequences of a system of policies, practices, and vested interests. This system involves multiple agencies, professional disciplines, and lobbies, with a range of hierarchical levels and at different urban scales. It produces decisions on aspects such as infrastructure, operations, or technologies, and further contributes shaping behaviors.

Recognizing the delivery of walkable environments as a complex system also entails accepting that there are no "easy fixes" and that it is not possible to accurately predict how interventions will influence behaviors. However, this challenge should not discourage efforts to transform the system and create inclusive environments that promote walking.

4   A Systemic Approach to Walkable and Inclusive Cities is Possible

Finally, the case of an imaginary city can be used to illustrate the process of change. City A underwent a 20-year transformation during which its car-centric infrastructure was retrofitted to become more inclusive. This systems approach recognized that the needs of the city's population's needs are shaped and affected by decisions made in various disciplines, including traffic engineering, transport planning, road safety, urban design, and architecture. This comprehensive approach was integrated across policy, governance, design, operations, and education to ensure a holistic transformation of the city.

The systems approach departed from the previous top-down approach, where user engagement was a tokenistic exercise. Instead, the Model Cities concept was used to empower and involve people in decision-making processes. Resources were allocated to empower people of diverse backgrounds, ages, and abilities, and care was taken to minimize the risk of power imbalances between agencies and citizens.

City A's policies acknowledge systemic complexity—for instance, transport and urban design strategies are fully integrated and developed after considering their impacts on social equity and public health. Metropolitan development was led and continues to be led by a multidisciplinary committee representing diverse authorities and, equally important, citizens. The multidisciplinary committee is responsible for establishing a long-term vision that integrates transportation, urban development, and public health, based on indicators for equity and carbon emissions outcomes. The committee also oversees meaningful citizen participation in decision-making

processes. Sectoral projects deliver this vision, which includes objectives related to modal split by area (e.g., what is the desirable percentage of people accessing a given area by car?). Projects implemented by the city effectively fulfill those objectives, for instance, by prioritizing investments in public transportation to make it more convenient than driving.

Design standards are informed by a universal design approach that acknowledges and provides for the diverse range of needs among individuals. At the macro- or meso-scale, effort is directed towards serving denser areas with efficient public transportation lines and improving street environments based on present and future use. The distribution of schools, jobs, shops, cultural and social spaces, residential areas, and green infrastructure is progressively adjusted to increase equity of access to everyday destinations around each home. Public transport networks, receiving sustained investment over time, provide connections at the desirable level of quality and achieve the modal split objectives.

The systems approach acknowledges the complexity and interconnectedness of different dimensions of public policy intervention and the sensitivity of outcomes to external pressures. Therefore, progressive transformation is based on careful monitoring and evaluation and is continually adjusted. Tactical urbanism and trials are key tools for testing street redesigns before committing to permanent interventions.

5   Conclusion: Three Future Agendas

5.1   Measuring What We Value

Strategic planning priorities should be reflected in indicators used for decision-making. City A went from using traditional cost–benefit analyses based on traffic data to a new set of measures that reflect the priorities of citizens. Environmental sustainability, equity, and inclusion emerged as key priorities and are now monitored through specific indicators that include user experiences by mode of transport and demographic sub-groups. These indicators measure the efficiency of interventions relative to a transition towards carbon–neutral modes, equity, better public health, and citizen well-being.

Data should be shared in an easily accessible manner, providing insights into the geographical distribution of desired metrics and their variations across demographic groups. Funding decisions should take into account both present and anticipated levels of user experience and broader outcomes. Trials and temporary interventions should be used as strategic opportunities to gain a better understanding of how interventions align with strategic priorities and deliver desired outcomes.

5.2   Aligning Delivery with Strategy

Currently, the link between strategic priorities and their implementation is largely theoretical; there is a lack of transparency and specificity regarding how strategies will be implemented; masterplans and projects are typically not justified based on their measurable contributions to the established priorities. Over time, City A metropolitan authority has facilitated the coordination of efforts, resulting in shared metrics of success and their use at all stages of the decision-making process. The outcomes of such efforts should be made publicly available and easily accessible, providing information on the following:

- How citizens' priorities and concerns are considered by taking into account the granularity of experiences of different groups, for instance, the interplay of age, disability, and mobility requirements.
- The focus of short- and medium-term interventions, and how prioritizing interventions remove walking barriers for some population groups.
- The equitable delivery of improvements based on monitored metrics.
- The measured outcomes that result from improvements.
- How the lessons learned will be used for future interventions.

5.3   Retrofitting Inherited Environments and Systems

With the primary focus on new construction projects, retrofitting the walking environment is often overlooked. Interventions in the existing environment are typically reactive in nature. Urban planning, for the most part, continues to follow a path first carved in the 1950s without significant questioning or re-evaluation.

The fictional City A decided to challenge conventional wisdom by actively capturing walking experiences and identifying areas of inequity. Through this evidence, specific disadvantaged demographic groups such as children, the elderly, disabled people, ethnic minorities, and non-drivers were identified, along with geographical "walkability deserts." These areas were characterized by significant barriers to walking and insufficient access to public transportation. Appropriate resources were allocated to progressively retrofit the urban realm. Evidence was used to drive the program and ensure that it delivered equity outcomes.

Recognizing the establishment of a walkable and equitable environment as a complex and systemic issue means accepting that there are no easy fixes, necessitating a different approach to transforming the built environment. However, the fictional example of City A illustrates four key ideas gathered from real-life cities that have kick-started successful transformations:

- Community engagement: Connecting delivery to strategy within a participative and transparent transition plan.
- Comprehensive vision: Successful transformations begin with a multidisciplinary systems approach.

- Data-informed decision-making: Measuring what is valued, with an emphasis on people's experiences.
- Iterative approach: Prioritizing the retrofit of outdated environments and systems.

The challenge for today's cities is to learn from the likes of City A and implement change in 10 instead of 20 years, using transitions thinking.

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Chapter 8
The Effects of Mega-Transportation Infrastructure Projects in the Jakarta–Bandung Corridor, Indonesia: Unraveling Displacement in Space and Time

Gede B. Suprayoga and N. M. Gilang Wargyawati

1 Introduction

During the Jokowi administration (2014–present), Indonesia has embarked on an unprecedented number of megaprojects compared to previous presidents. In 2015, President Jokowi unveiled his plans to liberalize foreign investment regulations and foster the development of modern and expansive transportation infrastructure networks through the implementation of mega-transportation infrastructure projects (MTIPs). The reason for these stems from the recognition that inadequate asset management and under-investment have led to a substantial deficit in transportation infrastructure, which hampers the country's economic growth (Ray & Ing, 2016). According to a report by the World Bank (2014), Indonesia's poor-quality infrastructure has contributed to a 1% loss of this growth since 2004.

Through the development of MTIPs, the government aims to bolster its global competitiveness by increasing connectivity both within and between cities and their transportation hubs. Project types vary, and include expressways, high-speed railways, seaports for logistics, and urban mass rapid transit. While the central government is the biggest investor in these MTIPs, private capital quickly flows into the construction sector to support project implementation. The consolidation of political power at the national level has helped the government gain political support for project proposals. In addition, a series of regulatory reforms in the land, housing,

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and finance sectors have significantly empowered the government to undertake such megaprojects (Dharma, 2016).

Poor management of the displacement effects caused by megaproject development appears to be a common issue in Indonesia, with a direct impact on the equitable distribution of benefits among city inhabitants. Delphine (2019) has shown that displacement has become a common practice both during project implementation and the post-development phase, resulting in a decline in the quality of the urban environment and the loss of employment opportunities for the urban poor. Davidson (2015) reported that the Trans-Java expressway project has resulted in the loss of productive agricultural lands and has had a detrimental impact on social cohesion, as affected neighborhoods were forcibly displaced. On one hand, megaprojects aim to broadly stimulate private business and boost the national economy. However, on the other hand, they inevitably lead to the destruction of natural landscapes and urban living environments. Unfortunately, displacement persists due to the less inclusive nature of Indonesian spatial planning processes, which often overlook the concerns and interests of the majority of the cities inhabitants (Delphine, 2019).

This chapter contextualizes the understanding of displacement by first viewing MTIP development as the state's attempt to expand the capacities of the "space of flows." Manuel Castells introduced the concept in (1989) to illustrate the role of advanced communication technology and transportation systems to make regions and cities productive and competitive at the national and international levels. Second, we argue that such development inherently involves displacement, resulting in asymmetrical (dis)advantages between stakeholders who navigate the "space of flows" while residing within the urban "space of places." Two MTIP cases from Indonesia are used to support our argument. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion and conclusion that emphasizes the significance of displacement across space and time, and further widens the gaps in equality between urban populations.

2 The Interactive Effects of Mega-Transportation Infrastructure Projects

Around the globe, transportation infrastructure projects have become central to the new politics of distance. These projects aim to ease the flows of people, goods, money, energy, and information. Once the projects are finished, the infrastructures can facilitate the movement of people and goods with fewer restraints. Because of the smoother flows, the space for interaction shrinks and creates opportunities to accumulate wealth for those with the right know-how. The policy of MTIP development in Indonesia appears to follow this pattern (KPIP, 2016).

The "space of flows" is a concept that was formerly used to depict the individual use of electronic communications devices, such as mobile phones and desktop computers that mediate social interactions and virtual transactions (Castells, 1999). With a similar illustration, airports and trains function as physical buildings that

channel people's economic and social activities into a space of flows. These flows are purposeful and repetitive sequences of exchange and interaction between the physically disjointed positions of people. Globally, the "space of flows" incrementally reorganizes urban spaces for the optimal functioning of economic activities. This re-organization is possible by advancement in communications and transportation technologies. The development of transportation infrastructure networks that connect metropolises in Java (Indonesia) is based on this "space of flows" concept. The networks organize urban space as nodes for a broader scale of economic interaction.

However, most people still experience the so-called "space of places." In this space, people attach to the self-contained boundaries of physical contiguity (Castells, 1999). People tend to construct their lives around homes and neighborhoods that preserve the quality of place. (Castells, 1999) argued that the space of places is fragmented, localized, and powerless vis à vis the versatility of the space of flows. The only form of resistance available to localities is to deny land rights of overwhelming flows. Such a defense can be a tiring and long-term political struggle for the vulnerable communities whose land rights are being removed. Therefore, bypassing and marginalization are common when dealing with any project development that destabilizes people's living places. This chapter conceptualizes this destabilization as displacement, which is inherent in MTIP development.

3   Displacement in a Competitive World

Literature on megaprojects has reported several deficiencies in MTIPs as creating displacement is common in such projects. For example, Flyvbjerg (2017) has highlighted shortcomings such as inaccurate impact predictions, limited scope and time horizon for assessing impacts, and insufficient organization and institutional integration of the environmental impact assessment (EIA) process within the overall project decision-making process. These issues generate interest in exploring how these inaccuracies affect powerless groups, particularly the displaced local communities and their living environments, where the tangible effects of transportation infrastructure projects are realized.

Gellert and Lynch (2003: 15–16) define megaprojects as "projects that transform landscapes rapidly, intentionally, and profoundly in obvious ways, and require coordinated applications of capital and state power." They broadly conceptualize megaprojects as inherently displacing and as ongoing dialectical processes in a temporal scale that can be differentiated into primary (direct) and secondary (indirect) displacement. Primary displacement is an integral part of megaprojects that is hard to escape, such as excavating soils and rocks for highway tunnels and evicting communities from neighborhoods along the site of a planned highway. Secondary displacement is the indirect consequence of development projects that is temporarily and spatially less immediate and results in path-dependent phenomena, such as loss of access to resources, unemployment, and psychosocial stresses. Moreover, this implies that

megaprojects are inevitably top-down and where the state and large capital enterprises are dominant players, while other stakeholders stand on the sidelines (Winch, 2017).

Globalization demands the flexible movement of people, capital, information, and goods and where cities must compete for the accumulation of capital. Cities in developing countries now try to leverage their global position by building MTIPs despite their lack of technical skills and managerial capabilities (Othman, 2013). Good internal and external connectivity allows these cities to extract natural resources and then process and export them as final products to global markets. There appears to be a common belief that the delivery of large-scale transportation infrastructure will instantly create new economic opportunities and flow-spaces that sustain economic growth (see Ray and Ing 2016 for the Indonesia Case). The landscape transformation for the development of the Trans-Java road network in Indonesia, for example, has meant that communities have lost their neighborhoods along with their long-established social capital (Suprayoga et al., 2020). The following section will explore how displacement occurs in two MTIP cases located in an essential economic corridor in Indonesia. Social protests and the depletion of the megaproject sites serve as indicators of he "losses" experienced in the "space of places," which are overshadowed by the dominant influence of the "space of flows" in the Jakarta–Bandung corridor area.

4 The Tale of Two MTIPs

The Jakarta–Bandung corridor is the busiest region in Indonesia, hosting many business and industrial complexes. Many of the MTIPs in this area are specifically designed to boost national economic growth. Two notable projects in this region are the Jakarta–Bandung high-speed railway (HSR) and the Jakarta–Cikampek (Japek) elevated expressway.

4.1 The Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Railway (HSR)

The HSR is a significant railway line with an estimated cost of USD 5.5 billion. It aims to reduce travel time between Jakarta and Bandung to approximately 40 min, covering a distance of 144.6 km (Fig. 1). In 2014, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) prepared a proposal and conducted the initial feasibility study for the project. China entered the scene in April 2015 with a counter offer after an intense lobbying effort. Subsequently, project implementation was entrusted to KCIC, a consortium consisting of Indonesian and Chinese companies. It is noteworthy that the project is being carried out until 2022 without a financial guarantee from the government. One of the primary concerns with the project is whether the high-speed railway investment should take place in this corridor or in another part of the country,
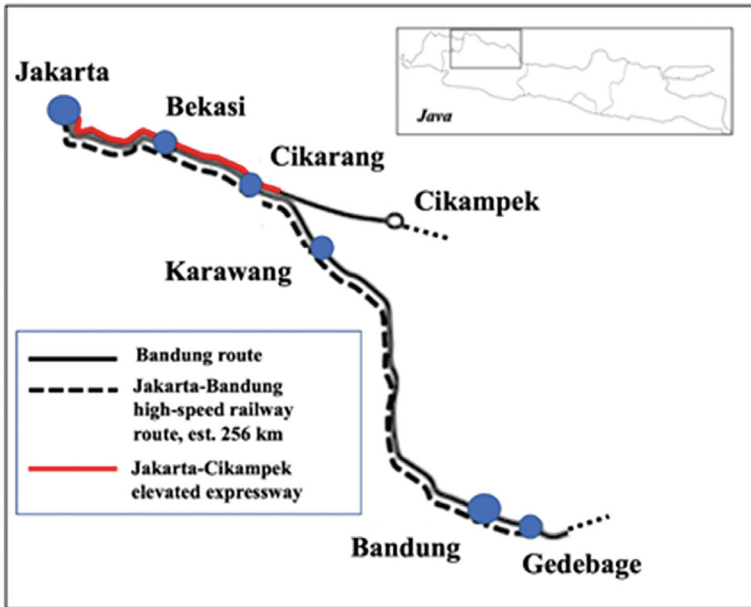
Fig. 1 The map of the Jakarta–Bandung corridor (*Source* Modified from Yachiyo Engineering & Japan International Consultants for Transportation, 2012)

as expressway tolls and rail links already exist here. Another controversy arises regarding the advancement of the project prior to the implementation phase, raising concerns about crucial planning processes, such as the integration of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) studies into spatial planning and ensuring the project's consistency with local spatial plans. Unfortunately, these processes have been cut short because of the political imperative to complete the railway link (Ray & Ing, 2016).

In conjunction with the planned railway link, approximately 2500 buildings and 974 families are affected, requiring the conversion of approximately 800 ha of forest land, gardens, rice fields, and other agricultural land for the project sites and railway (Simbolon, 2016). These land-use changes necessitated the revision of local spatial plans in nine municipalities along the railway route. This indicates that, rather than complying with the existing spatial plan, the project influences and directs the spatial plan. This aligns with what Winch (2017) suggests regarding the top-down nature of megaproject planning, wherein government authorities often make decisions with minimal public engagement, taking full ownership and control of the development process.

However, the truncation of project planning has, in turn, raised concerns about the potential displacement effects resulting from the project's implementation. For example, during the construction of tunnels and piers in Ciwidey, there has been an increase in the volume of soil disposed of from the excavations, affecting the

surrounding area (Nugraha, 2019). On another project site, the use of tunnel blasting methods by the project developer resulted in landslides and unanticipated geological changes. People have reported cracks on house walls and damage to housing structures within just a few days of the blasting activity. This example highlights the insufficient consideration given to the construction effects on the surrounding environment, which resonates with the argument put forth by Flyvbjerg et al. (2003) regarding the neglect of social and environmental impacts during the construction phase of most MTIPs.

According to the local spatial plans, some of the land allocated for the project should have been designated for agricultural use and preserved accordingly. However, the failure to do so has forced traditional farmers to give up their livelihoods without sufficient preparation for acquiring new skills and knowledge (Prasetiawan, 2016). Furthermore, the project poses a threat to the local area by depleting groundwater sources, as the railway and station occupy 1500 ha of land that is rich in groundwater (Simbolon, 2016). The operation of the HSR will significantly impact houses located within a distance of <20 m from the railway. These houses will experience elevated noise levels for an extended period once the HSR is operational. Land prices will also decrease as a consequence, resulting in financial losses for local land owners. This project exemplifies the dissonance between the country's aspirations for enhancing space flow capacity through investment and the ripple effect of displacement on the local space.

4.2 The Jakarta–Cikampek (Japek) Elevated Expressway

The Jakarta–Cikampek (Japek) elevated expressway is another significant project in the corridor, where some sections are side by side with Jakarta–Bandung HSR (Fig. 2). The national roads, particularly the arterial highways, account for <9.2% of the total road network but have a truly strategic function. Congestion on the arterial system slows the economy and increases costs for businesses and industries in the Northern Java region. The Japek expressway spans a length of 36.8 km and serves a vital section of the national road network, including a segment of the Trans-Asian Highway (AH2). The construction of the Japek expressway costs USD 1.12 billion and aimed to alleviate mobility constraints between Jakarta and Cikampek, which is densely populated with major industrial and housing estates. These constraints occurred because the expressway was unable to accommodate high-volume traffic. Prior to its completion, the travel speed in this segment of the expressway was relatively slow, with 51% of traffic moving at speeds below 40 km per hour (Ray & Ing, 2016). By adding four additional lanes above the existing right-of-way, the Japek expressway has improved its volume per capacity ratio (VCR) to deliver travel speeds of around 60 km per hour (Jasamarga, 2017).

During the construction phase, there was a substantial volume of daily traffic passing through the project site. Therefore, the developer applied a technology where flyover arms were strategically positioned parallel to the road below, effectively

Fig. 2 Jakarta–Bandung HSR and Japek expressway are located side by side in this corridor section (*Source* Detik, 2021)

managing the flow of traffic during the construction phase. The flyover arms were then rotated 90 degrees to avoid interference with traffic flows during the construction phase. However, despite the measures taken, congestion continued to burden the local environment and resulted in increased levels of dust and noise pollution. This was primarily due to the frequent mobilization of materials and equipment to the project site. The congestion was estimated to have cost approximately USD 83 million (Ronito, 2016). This observation aligns with the findings of Delphine (2019) regarding the unanticipated effects of megaprojects during the construction phase. In our case, these effects manifested as heavy congestion.

Since it opened in 2019, the Japek expressway has facilitated the daily traffic flow of 437,000 vehicles (Warsono, 2019). However, the spatial plans of the surrounding municipalities were not adequately prepared to fully harness the benefits of the additional lane capacities. As a result, there has been a concentration of new property development around the expressway gates, leading to an increase in land value in the surrounding area (Darmoyono, 2019). This development, comprising offices, houses, and apartments, primarily caters to daily commuters who work in Jakarta, a distance of 30–50 km away. Following this development, enclaved and gated neighborhoods with integrated facilities have emerged, resulting in the segregation of the local inhabitants (see Silver, 2008). Moreover, the conversion of preserved agricultural lands into other land uses has forced local inhabitants to change their occupations. This highlights the failure of the top-down approach to MTIPs in addressing the interconnections between multiple sectors, such as agriculture and equitable civic welfare (see Suprayoga et al., 2020). As a consequence, the implementation of this expressway raises critical questions regarding the actual benefits it brings to the local residents.

5   Unraveling Displacement Across Space and Time

The two cases show that displacement has become an inevitable consequence of the practices employed to realize the country's goal of enhancing competitiveness through the widespread development of MTIPs. Global actors, notably financial institutions and global firms, have major interests and roles in this development (Shatkin, 2019). Enhancing the capacity of "spaces of flows," such as uncongested highways and high-speed trains, can be a means to facilitate the creation of a functionally interconnected global economic system. MTIPs have become central to this practice. However, in the process of expanding the capacity of the "space of flows," most MTIPs tend to adhere to top-down initiatives and minimal public engagement. This dynamic creates conflicts between the initiators of the MTIPs and those who are under-represented in planning and execution processes. Our cases illustrate how MTIPs can lead to struggles for local inhabitants in safeguarding their neighborhoods, surroundings, and local economies. Farmers were expelled from their rice fields, and communities lost their social histories and communal interactions. These outcomes underscore the insufficiency of a sole focus on technical matters and highlight the need to establish relationships between sectors and consider the long-term effects of MTIPs.

The cases presented here represent some of the most prominent MTIPs that Indonesia has pursued in the past decade. While there exists a strategic narrative framework for these projects at the national level, detailed local strategies to cope with the risks and benefits are missing. One of the problems stems from weak top-level leadership, which has resulted in poor project implementation as various agencies and government levels operate without proper coordination (Ray & Ing, 2016). The integration of local spatial plans into project development plans is limited, reflecting a political gap in terms of access to the decision-making process. While a revised spatial plan may have been made available, it is worth noting that the new plan solely justifies the implementation of MTIPs without adequately addressing other important considerations or potential impacts. Therefore, there remains a lack of sufficient instruments for the public to assess and effectively mitigate the displacing effects that occur across both space and time. In other word, our argument emphasizes the need to create opportunities for greater public involvement, which enable multi-directional communication and foster reflection among stakeholders. This approach would result in a more legitimate alignment between the projects and spatial plans. By ensuring proper application and minimizing unintended impacts of the projects, we can achieve a more harmonious and effective integration of MTIPs with the existing spatial plans.

These cases illustrate that displacement cannot be viewed as a local phenomenon per se but is rather a more complex web of local to global interactions. Displacement spans space and time and so requires careful assessments regarding who benefits from MTIPs. In many countries, EIAs are mandatory instruments designed to mitigate and prevent significant social and environmental harm for city residents. However, the narrow scope and time horizon often associated with EIAs may result in the oversight

of adverse socio-environmental risks over an extended period and the spatial interactions among them. Furthermore, the post-auditing of project impacts is predominantly absent, rendering formal instruments inadequate in mitigating the interrelated effects of projects (Flycbjerg et al., 2003). The limited participation of inhabitant contributes to the degradation of place-spaces, as evident in the cases of local displacement. Imbalanced power relations further exacerbate this issue, resulting in a counterproductive planning process where those most affected are unable to exert control over their environment.

6   Conclusion

This chapter has shown that MTIPs inherently result in displacement, and the distribution of positive benefits across space and time is often incompatible. Proper planning should focus on the integration of comprehensive considerations of long-term impacts into formal planning instruments, aiming to minimize the risks faced by the displaced. Within an interconnected web of social actors, the role of "space of flows" plays a significant role in a nation's economic growth and advancement. However, it is crucial to ensure that this progress does not come at the expense of the well-being and development of the "space of places." Our coherent take-away from this discussion is that a more inclusive planning process is necessary to generate positive benefits for local inhabitants and reduce economic inequalities among urban populations. As the number of MTIPs continues to grow in emerging economies, the issue of equal distribution of their benefits in space and time emerges as an important topic for future research.

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Chapter 9
Including Women's Voices in Resettlement Processes: The Experiences of Kinawataka Women in the Kampala–Jinja Express Development Project

Teddy Kisembo and Kei Otsuki

1 Introduction

The Kampala–Jinja Expressway is one of five infrastructural development mega-projects that the Government of Uganda launched as an essential part of Uganda's second National Development Plan 2015–2020. This Plan aims to "strengthen Uganda's competitiveness for sustainable wealth creation, inclusive growth and job creation" (AfDB, 2018). The Expressway symbolizes this ambition because it links Kampala, Uganda's capital and largest city, and Jinja in the eastern part of the country. The Expressway, with a proposed length of 95 km and designed as a for a four-lane toll highway, forms a part of the East African Northern Corridor which connects inland Uganda to the port cities in neighboring Kenya. This development project follows an increasingly popular infrastructure development model known as the "development corridor." This model links isolated sites of production and extraction to cities, particularly port cities, for the purposes of export. African governments and international donors have been actively supporting and promoting this approach (Weng & Xi, 2013). The Uganda National Roads Authority (UNRA) is seeking to partner with

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the private sector to design, build, finance, operate, and maintain the Expressway (UNRA, 2018), through the establishment of public–private partnerships.

The project is expected to offer visible improvements in line with citizen's expectations and the government's vision. According to UNRA, road users will save 70–120 min on the drive between Kampala and Jinja as well as reduced vehicle costs. The development of the Kampala–Jinja Expressway also promises a notable upsurge in regional and local employment opportunities. During the construction phase, it was estimated that approximately 1500 jobs would be created with another 250 jobs created during operational phase (Negatu, 2018). The enhanced mobility facilitated by the Expressway is expected to contribute to the overall economic development of the country.

However, the right of way (RoW) or the Expressway cuts across the informal settlements of Kasokoso and Kinawataka and the Nakawa market. According to the 2018 census that was conducted for the planning of the Expressway construction, it is estimated that 29,983 individuals reside in 6177 households within the RoW. Alarmingly, the majority of these residents (67%) live below the international poverty line of USD 1.90 per day, while 43% live on less than half of this amount (Cities Alliance, 2020). According to the Resettlement and Livelihood Restoration Plan presented by UNRA, the informal settlements within the RoW contain the highest concentration of structures that require relocation (as seen in Fig. 1). These structures account for approximately 55% of the total number of structures that need to be relocated and constitute nearly one-third of the total number of affected households. Among the affected households, a substantial portion of approximately 70% (2923 households) live in the Kasokoso and Kinawataka informal settlements. The construction of the Expressway will result in the displacement of numerous households and small-scale businesses, leading to a significant negative impact on their livelihoods. The displacement is likely to result in increased impoverishment among the affected individuals and communities.

It is widely recognized that displacement and resettlement resulting from infrastructure development projects can become problematic when the potentially affected people are not adequately informed and provided with opportunities to engage in discussions regarding the available options (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018; Satirolugu & Choi, 2015). In Kampala, communities like Kinawataka, which are facing displacement due to the Expressway, frequently experience minimal voice or say in decisions regarding their displacement (cf. Terminski, 2013). Even in cases where affected communities provide consent, they often have little say in resettlement planning. Furthermore, the impacts of infrastructure development on a community are not evenly distributed, and they vary depending on the locations of households and livelihood activities in relation to the RoW (Plekker, 2020). Within local communities, power relations play a significant role in shaping the opportunities available to various actors to engage with the infrastructure project. These power dynamics influence how local actors are included in the processes associated with the project's construction, the handling of displacement, and their capacity to adapt to the challenges of displacement and securing sustainable livelihoods, at least for the short term (Randell, 2016).

Fig. 1 Image of the right of way in the informal settlements (*Source photo* Teddy Kisembo)

The asymmetrical power relations within communities disproportionately affect certain segments, with women being particularly vulnerable. They often bear the greatest burden of infrastructure-induced displacement and resettlement (Mehta, 2009; World Bank, 2019). Resettlement processes can disproportionately affect women, who often face additional challenges compared to men (Bisht, 2009). They not only have to navigate the difficulties associated with displacement but also deal with the disruption to their social reproductive activities including taking care of children and other family members. An example of the gendered dynamics in resettlement processes is the assumption that men are better suited to attend consultation meetings related to resettlement. This assumption stems from the belief that men have a better understanding of land market information and are more adept at navigating such processes (World Bank, 2019). These biases and gendered assumptions regarding women's participation have constrained their involvement in crucial aspects of the resettlement process, such as the design of compensation and restoration packages or new relocation sites, and housing and construction timelines. The exclusion of women's perspectives and experiences can have negative implications for the overall success of resettlement programs.

This chapter explores how to envision a mechanism that enables the meaningful participation of women in consultations throughout the infrastructure project cycle, and the resettlement process in particular. It draws on fieldwork conducted in the Kinawataka settlement within the project's RoW. By developing this mechanism, we hope to identify a more inclusive process of infrastructure development in African cities.

2   Methodology

To comprehensively examine the varied involvement and experiences of women in the RoW of the Kampala–Jinja Expressway project, we employed a qualitative research approach. The fieldwork, conducted in 2020, consisted of participant observations and informal, semi-structured interviews with seven key informants. Six focus group discussions (FGDs) with women and one FGD with men were conducted (Fig. 2). The interview sample was a purposive sample, that is, we selected respondents who were located within the RoW. The main purpose of these interviews was to understand the lived experiences of the relocation process, as well as to gather information about people's situation before displacement. The interviewees ranged from landlords, tenants, business owners, and community leaders as well as staff from the local civil society and advocacy organization called ACTogether and UNRA officials. Hence, the emphasis was on participants who could provide rich information about these issues. The women we interviewed ranged in age from their mid-20 s to their mid-70 s and were among the main landlords, tenants, and business operators, which enabled socioeconomic differences to be taken into account. This enables us to present a generalized account of the displacement experiences of these women.

To understand the differentiated involvement and experiences, we employed thematic content analysis, using in-depth interviews to describe involvement and experiences as well as descriptions of pre-displacement life and recommendations for an inclusive resettlement process. Some supportive data on the Expressway project

Fig. 2   FGD with women in the right of way (*Credit photo* Teddy Kisembo)

was provided by ACTogether Uganda, a partner of the Urban Action Lab of Makerere University. This organization has already been involved in various community initiatives in Kinawataka. According to their census, the informal settlement is home to 80,000 people living in 7000 housing structures (ACTogether Uganda, 2017). The settlement has a mix of residential, commercial, and industrial uses as follows: 3500 of the structures are residential, 500 are business, 2500 are mixed-use, and 500 are used for other purposes. Moreover, 40% of the land is owned by the municipality, while the church and the Buganda Kingdom each own 30%. The Kinawataka settlement has faced two eviction threats in the past, and there is currently a high-level threat of eviction due to the Expressway project (ACTogether Uganda, 2017).

3   Women's Perspectives on Immanent Displacement

First and foremost, it is important to note that all interviewees and FGD participants in Kinawataka expressed their lack of opposition to the land acquisition for the Expressway project and the potential consequence of resettlement. However, they are acutely aware that they have been living there for many years and will lose their homes and sources of income. In particular, the women currently have a certain degree of control over their everyday lives, even though they have to work hard. It is through their active participation in various everyday life spheres that they acquire a sense of autonomy within a patriarchal society. One participant shared during the first FGD:

> I'm involved in the waste collection business; I've lived in this settlement for a long time and the waste collection business has enabled me to support my family. [5 September 2020, 1st FGD]

If the women are displaced, they will lose income from the small businesses they have developed to support their families. In addition to waste collection, women in the Kinawataka settlement are engaged in various other small businesses, including businesses including selling homemade snacks, fresh vegetables, handicrafts, and poultry. The construction of the new Expressway and the subsequent displacement disrupt business channels and structures by dispersing clients and destroying business premises as well as by cutting off credit and supply channels and the existing social networks that enable mobility dynamics in the informal settlements (Plekker, 2020). As one member of the FGD puts it:

> I'm going to lose a lot because I've lived in this settlement for 20 years. This place is my source of income and livelihood. [5 September 2020, 2nd FGD]

Yet, the women are not necessarily against displacement per se, as long as their primary concerns are adequately addressed: First, there is currently a lack of fair, adequate, and timely compensation; second, they feel there is a lack of information made available to them; and third, they feel there is no mechanism that enables them to meaningfully participate in decision-making processes.

3.1   Lack of Fair, Adequate, and Timely Compensation

The UNRA is responsible for providing people in the RoW with fair, adequate, and timely compensation. This is formalized in the Resettlement and Livelihood Restoration Plan, which is in line with national and international compensation guidelines. According to the Plan, compensation must be provided prior to resettlement and affected persons must be given at least 3 months' notice. The livelihood restoration strategy is meant to improve—or at least maintain—people's living standards, income earning capacity, and production levels (AfDB, 2018). Both formal and informal types of land ownership are recognized under these guidelines, and different compensation mechanisms are in place for each type. In terms of compensation, the Plan does give special consideration to "vulnerable groups (which include women and female-headed households)" (AfDB, 2018). This entails training and capacity building, and each resettlement office is set to recruit female workers to support women's affairs in the resettlement process. People in the RoW will be compensated for the loss of their land and structures. Displaced landowners will be given cash compensation based on the market value of their property. Compensation for buildings and other structures will be calculated based on the type and age of the structure and the kind of development on the land. Although in theory the compensation process is fair, adequate, and timely, actual practice tells a different story. Land is often claimed by more than one person or entity, which leads to conflict and unfair compensation (AfDB, 2018). In most cases, men are registered as the legal owners of the land and structures, which excludes women from receiving compensation even though women are often the main users of the land and structures such as shops. According to one research participant:

> It scares us because there are land agreements with only the name of the husband, yet it's the wife that has built the house on that land. I heard that compensation will be given to the person whose name is on the land agreement. [13 September 2020, 5th FGD]

At the same time, UNRA recognizes the equitable interest of spouses in family land, as stipulated in the Ugandan Land Act of 1998. UNRA recognizes that compensation is key and must be paid to all persons with an interest in the land. To facilitate this process, UNRA advises couples to open a joint bank account where the compensation funds can be disbursed. However, as one FGD participant pointed out, after the compensation is paid, how it is spent and who spends it is another matter:

> Women will be most affected because the compensation money will be whisked away by men immediately after the payments are made, leaving us to suffer with the children on our own. [12 September 2020, 2nd FGD]

For individuals employed in enterprises and services within the RoW, the risk of losing wage employment is likely to be very high after displacement. Creating new jobs might be difficult in the new location and may require substantial investment. This is why fair compensation is the main concern of most respondents.

3.2 *Lack of Information*

People in the RoW were first informed about displacement in 2015, which means that they have been worrying about being displaced from their current place of residence for more than 5 years. This stress has been further exacerbated by the project's long gestation period and a lack of proper information and updates about their situation. This heightened stress has resulted in various psychological impacts, including feelings of uncertainty and fear. As a result, people face dilemmas when making decisions about even basic household matters, such as whether to add a toilet or a bathroom to their house or carry out necessary repairs. People continue to experience a lack of adequate information about the exact proposed boundaries of the Expressway project and the timeline for compensation, creating uncertainty and challenges for them as described by one FGD participant:

> We don't have the right information and when the information comes, it reaches the wrong hands. For example, when the information gets to the chairman, he doesn't take responsibility to disseminate the information. [5 September 2020, 1st FGD]

Limited information about the project has fueled local skepticism since its inception. According to UNRA, the affected persons are supposed to have access to all project-related information through their local leaders. UNRA communicates directly with local leaders, who are then responsible for disseminating the information to the affected persons. However, it is important to note that even the local community leaders have not received sufficient information about the project, as described by a local leader:

> I'll speak the truth: we do not have the right information about the project because UNRA has disappeared. We don't have any meetings with them. [Local leader, 19 September 2020]

The apparent "disappearance" or absence of accompaniment in the consultation process contributes to a significant level of uncertainty regarding information, particularly concerning compensation for landowners and tenants with different tenure systems. The residents claim that 70% of the compensation will be allocated to the landowners, who are absentee landlords. In contrast, the kibanja holders, who are customary tenants with equitable interest in the land in the case of sales agreements with another party, are expected to receive 30%. However, according to UNRA, verified that landowners will receive 30% while the kibanja holders will get 70%. In any case, some residents have already started counting on the information about compensation as indicated by one research participant:

> The government will compensate you according to the development that is currently on the land. So, people are developing their properties by building permanent structures to attract big cash. [13 September 2020, 4th FGD]

Of course, until the landowners or customary right holders really get what they are promised, they are not sure about the return on this investment. Meanwhile, their lives are on hold. Although they cannot stop thinking about the project, they are not confident that it is going to get off the ground soon. Due to this dilemma, they are reluctant to talk about the project with outsiders.

4   Meaningful Participation in Question

Respondents repeatedly reported that they we're not given the opportunity to actively participate in planning processes or engage in discussions about compensation packages. Instead, they primarily found themselves in a passive role, listening to talks and speeches given by project staff from UNRA during the initial information sessions, as well as from local leaders. This lack of meaningful participation has left the residents feeling vulnerable, as they perceive that their fate is solely in the hands of others and that they are not valued as stakeholders in the project. Residents also feel vulnerable due to the absence of government authorities who could provide timely and authoritative information and updates about the project. According to local leaders, they have only had three meetings with UNRA since 2016.

Women in particular were concerned that, since most of them are not household heads, they are likely to be excluded from compensation and assistance packages. The women fear inadequate compensation because the process of determining the compensation rates is not participatory. The compensation committee, comprised of technocrats from various governmental departments, establishes and determines the rates without involving or consulting the people affected by the project. In addition to concerns over low compensation rates, there have been instances where the technocrats from UNRA have arrived unannounced to value properties and unable to locate the owners at home. This has resulted in the omission of key, socially and culturally relevant items that the community, including women, considers to be very important and should be included in the compensation list (e.g., Price, 2009). This undermines community confidence in the compensation process.

5   Conclusion: Women's Agency and Inclusive Investment

The interviews and FGDs have shown that women have distinct concerns and issues that require attention and improvement. These include the need for clarity regarding compensation; access to accurate and timely information; and above all, meaningful participation. They feel excluded from Expressway project processes in general but the resettlement process in particular. First and foremost, it is vital for researchers and advocates of displacement and resettlement to thoroughly understand the complexities and nuances of the impact of displacement on different groups within affected communities. For example, it is crucial to approach the study of displacement through the experiential lens of the women affected and those within different tenure systems. It is equally important to understand the gendered livelihoods and social and cultural aspects of compensation (Zoomers & Otsuki, 2017). This approach highlights the women's voices and concerns about resettlement and could be useful in representing the women and other groups who are differently affected by displacement.

More concretely, the following points can be emphasized to envision more inclusive approach to investment in developing a city like Kampala:

- Create an enabling environment that promotes the meaningful participation of both women and men by carefully selecting venues, times, and the means and style of invitations.
- Ensure proper access and include gender-specific considerations in the implementation of compensation, resettlement, and livelihood restoration.
- Ensure that communication and training programs include content related to gender equality in terms of accessing and using compensation money.
- Document the views and concerns of women and men expressed in consultation meetings.
- Disclose information about compensation, assistance packages, and policies; use means that are easily accessible to women.
- Establish several information centers in project-affected areas to address the concerns of local people and build public trust.

After all, women are not passive spectators of urban development. Ignoring their specific needs and constraints in the resettlement process can exacerbate gender inequalities by restricting their access to property, assets, and opportunities to restore their livelihoods. This not only undermines their potential but also hinders the transformation of the city into a place of wealth creation and inclusive growth, as originally envisioned by the Ugandan government.

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Part II
Intersectinalities I: Towards Inclusive Infrastructures

Chapter 10
Joining the Conflicting Spheres: Travel in Balancing Work, Life, and Treatment for Female Tuberculosis Patients in Bengaluru City, India

Sobin George, Prajwal Nagesh, and Ajay Bailey

Abstract Evidence suggests that inadequate access to transportation services adversely affects labor market participation and healthcare accessibility for vulnerable populations in cities of the Global South.

1 Introduction

Evidence suggests that inadequate access to transportation services adversely affects labor market participation and healthcare accessibility for vulnerable populations in cities of the Global South (Weber et al., 2010; Fletcher et al., 2017). Lucas (2012) found that transportation planning in cities that neglect socio-spatial inequalities can exclude marginalized and vulnerable sections of the population. For example, the impacts of inadequate access to transportation can be significant for working women from lower socio-economic backgrounds since travel is an integral part of their everyday life. Drawing on the framework of the "right to city" developed by Harvey (2003), this chapter attempts to understand how disadvantaged laboring women access work and health care in the cities of the Global South. In these contexts, characterized by neoliberal urbanization and resulting inequalities, there is often a "dispossession of the urban masses of any right to the city" (Harvey n.d:12). Specifically, this chapter examines the access of female tuberculosis (TB) patients involved

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in informal work environments in Bengaluru, India, to transportation services. It explores how their daily travel experiences intersect with their work and health-care access, shedding light on the implications for urban exclusion and the balance between work, life, and treatment.

2   Methods

While this study primarily focuses on access to urban transportation, it also contextualizes other aspects of neoliberal urbanization, as described by Harvey (2003). These include spatial exclusion and marginalization of the poor to the peripheries of society due to capitalistic expansion, poverty, and precarious work and life conditions, as well as intersections with gender. Hence, the study adopts an analytical lens that focuses on the gender intersections of urban exclusion, poverty, and informality. Data for the study were collected through in-depth interviews with 80 female TB patients who were actively engaged in work and undergoing Directly Observed Treatment, Short-Course (DOTS) treatment. These interviews took place between January and August 2019 and were conducted at 18 public health facilities (DOTS centers) exclusively dedicated to TB treatment across four regions of Bengaluru City. Participants were selected purposively from a baseline survey conducted at the DOTS centers. Written consent was obtained from each participant prior to the interview.

The sample consisted of 35 pulmonary and 45 extra pulmonary TB patients, as indicated in Table 1 (also refer to annex). Out of the 80 female participants included in the study, 55 were between the ages of 15 and 34, while 19 were in the age group of 35–44. Among the participants, 10 were unlettered. With the exception of 6 individuals, all participants were engaged in casual employment in various settings, including small factories, retail shops, hospitals, small restaurants, schools, beauty salons; some engaged in public and domestic work. All Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed; each interview was translated to English from the local language of *Kannada.* The data were anonymized, and the names of the participants used in this chapter have been changed. The analysis of the data was conducted using the qualitative software *Atlas-ti 7.*

3   The Life World of Female TB Patients: Conflicting Spheres of Family, Work, and Treatment

Balancing the spheres of work, life, and health care emerged as a prominent theme from the interviews. Participants expressed numerous unmet needs and encountered challenges when it came to striking a balance between their work, life, and TB treatment. Managing household responsibilities, maintaining intimate relationships, and sustaining social connections posed significant difficulties for them after being

diagnosed with TB. Married and employed women often reported a pervasive lack of empathy and care from their family members. Despite being infected with TB, the expectations placed upon women regarding traditional gender roles remained unchanged within their families. They were still expected to fulfill tasks such as cooking, cleaning, preparing children for school, taking care of the elderly and small children, and providing special care for their husbands. Furthermore, these women were also expected to continue working and making financial contributions to their families. Despite experiencing fatigue, exhaustion, and an increased physical burden resulting from wage work, illness, and medication, patients within such families continued to carry out their routine household chores. These responsibilities persisted regardless of their physical condition, highlighting the gendered expectations placed upon them. The following interview excerpts highlight the untenable situation these women face on a daily basis:

> He [husband] refuses to come near me (*P73-Mubeena, 20 years old, garment factory worker*).

> My son has avoided me since I got TB (*P59-Santha, 47 years old, restaurant helper*).

> I do not mingle [with people] as before. I am scared of humiliation (*P16-Mala, 42 years old, worked in an incense factory worker*).

> I wake up at 6.00 [am]. I have four children. I make breakfast for them. Then I do all of the household work, cleaning, cooking. I will go to the DOTS center after that [to pick up medicine]. I go to work by 9.00 [am]. I come back at 7.00 [pm]. Then I eat food and take my tablets (*P55-Manjula, 41 years old, garment factory worker*).

Another significant sphere of conflict was the workplace, where all research participants reported hostile working conditions. The nature of their work was informal, lacking written contracts, social security entitlements, and job security. With the exception of a few participants employed at places like beauty salons, *anganwadis* [government run kindergartens for poor children], and households, the majority of workplaces were marked by physically hazardous environments with poor ventilation, sanitation, and resting facilities as well as dust and fumes. One participant highlighted the ongoing physical symptoms and challenges faced by TB patients in managing their health while balancing their work responsibilities:

> There is dust in my work area. I feel that it affects my health. I feel my health will get affected due to work as I am restless and weak, I can't work comfortably. Masks are provided so I use masks at work. The lump in my throat [resulting from TB] has not reduced [in size], it still has pus in it. I bandage it on a daily basis (*P2-Kala, 38 years old, garment factory worker*).

The work environments in which the participants were employed, such as small enterprises like retail shops, hair cutting salons, street vending, and home-based production units, were characterized by informal or non-existent employment relations. Factories, where some of the participants worked, predominantly employed casual workers who were hired through intermediary job contractors. In these settings, the organization of work makes it challenging to establish clear employer–employee relations, thereby allowing employers to circumvent labor laws (Hyde et al., 2020) and evade their legal obligations. These work settings, particularly factories, adhered to a stringent work organization that required employees to comply with

strictly defined deliverables, meet daily targets, and adhere to stipulated working hours. The spheres of work and treatment often conflicted for these individuals, resulting in poor compliance with their TB treatment since regular DOTS visits and taking medicines on time were not possible. Furthermore, the considerable distance between the patients' workplaces and the DOTS centers posed a significant barrier to accessing treatment for some patients. Rajitha, highlighting the difficulties faced by TB patients in managing their treatment alongside their work responsibilities, stated:

> The work times clash with the treatment times and so I struggle to get my medicine. Since the employers don't give me time off, it is difficult to reach the DOTS center on time. Commuting to and from the workplace to the DOTS center is also tiring and difficult to manage (*P30-Rajitha, 27 years old, garment factory worker*)

For Dhanalakshmi:

> Work prevents me from getting proper treatment. It is difficult to take medicine while working (P61-Dhanalakshmi, 30 years old, glass factory worker)

The everyday life of a female TB patient from a lower socio-economic background, living in the peripheries of the city, and engaged in informal work arrangements is marked by a constant negotiation among the spheres of family, treatment, and work. These women experienced debilitating symptoms of the disease while simultaneously coping with the burdensome tasks of household work. On one hand, they grappled with the physical and emotional toll of their illness, and on the other hand, they faced the constant worry of potentially losing their employment and sliding back into poverty. They confronted the unfavorable odds of all of these spheres at the same time.

4   Trudging Through Conflicting Spheres: Everyday Travel of Female Patient-Workers

Travel played an integral role as an indispensable everyday event that interconnected the spheres of work, treatment, and family and social life for the patients. Hence, factors such as travel distance, service availability, schedules, transportation types and modes, and affordability held considerable significance for the patients in reconciling these spheres. Our research has identified three major travel patterns among working female patients. First, there are patients who reside in the outskirts of the city without first-mile connectivity. Second, there are patients who work in places that adhere to strict worker timelines, such as retail shops and factories. Finally, there are patients who have relatively more control over their time management, such as those who are self-employed or work as domestic help.

Patients residing in the outskirts of the city often lacked access to bus services or any other suitable mode of transportations near their homes. As a result, they walked to the nearest public transportation service (see Fig. 1). The bus schedules also posed a significant concern for these patients, as the service was infrequent and unreliable.

This inconsistency in bus schedules often disrupted their daily household activities' rhythm, sleep patterns, and eating habits. Each day started in anticipation of a possible bus cancelation or delay. Additionally, these patients often had to change buses and rely on multiple routes to reach their workplace. Due to the limited availability of public bus services between their places of residence and work, these patients often prioritized reaching their workplace first over visiting DOTS centers. In order to accommodate their work schedules, these patients made their DOTS center visits during their lunch breaks. To ensure they could return to work on time, they hired auto-rickshaws which significantly increased their travel costs and burdened them financially. Furthermore, the participants revealed that travel to DOTS centers, in addition to their regular commute to work and back home—which included walking and multiple bus journeys—increased their fatigue.

Patients who worked in places where employees are expected to meet specific deliverables or targets within predetermined timeframes had less control and so faced challenges in meeting the requirements of both work and treatment. These work settings predominantly included factories, retail shops, beauty salons, restaurants, and hospitals. Visiting DOTS centers on work days posed a significant source of stress for these patients, as they were constantly worried about meeting the scheduling requirements of both places. For the majority of these workers, the primary travel obstacle they encountered was the lack of first-mile connectivity. This meant that they had to walk long distances to access motorized transportation options. During
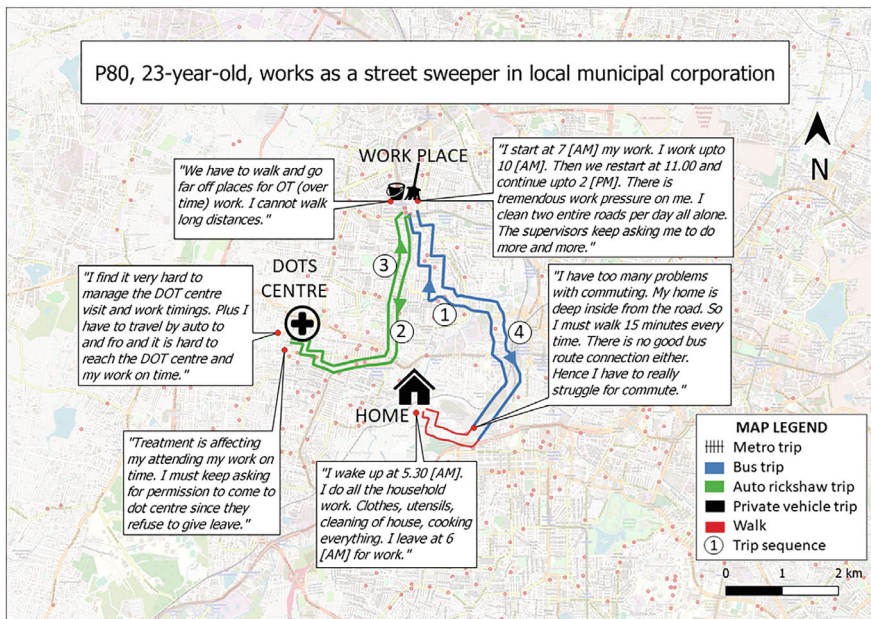
Fig. 1 Travel map of a female patient from the city's outskirts (*Source* In-depth interview with a female tuberculosis patient)

the interviews, it became evident that the prolonged walks added to the exhaustion experienced by the participants who were already physically weakened because of their TB infection. Hiring a taxi would considerably increase their travel expenses, leaving them no option but to walk. This was highlighted by one of the participants who worked in a factory, who explained:

> I wake up at 4 or 5 am, sometimes I get up to cook food, wash dishes, by 7.30 I walk about 4 kms to work. I am very tired from commuting; I walk as I cannot afford the auto fares. Before I never felt tired from walking but after these symptoms started, I feel weaker and tired. [*P12-Jyothi, 33 years old, clinic helper*]

We traced the everyday travel map of a patient who worked in a retail shop located within a shopping mall in the city. The shop followed a strict work schedule, which added further constraints to the patient's daily routine (see Fig. 2). The daily travel of the respondent entailed an initial walk from her place of residence to the metro rail station. From there, she traveled 30 min by rail and then walked again to her workplace. Once there, she worked—standing up—for nearly 10 h. During her lunch break, the respondent would visit the DOTS center, which was located far from the place of work. To ensure she could return to work on time, she would hire an auto-rickshaw, which she found expensive. The increased physical exhaustion resulting from the demanding travel routine often made it difficult for patients to effectively balance the spheres of work, life, and treatment. As a consequence, this patient eventually found it challenging to continue employment and made the difficult decision to quit her job.

Some participants also shared the fear of stigmatization which compelled them to choose DOTS centers that were located far from their residences and workplaces. This added to their travel time, exacerbating problems related to fatigue, stress, and increased expenditure. The need to maintain secrecy about their TB condition further added an additional burden when it came to quick and discreet journeys. However, due to limited transportation budgets, fulfilling this need was often unviable for the participants. To cope with these challenges, participants either reduced their number of visits to the medical facility or used proxy travelers to collect medicines on their behalf. One participant shared how she adjusted her schedule to balance her treatment needs:

> I visit the DOTS center on weekends [*P52-Uma, 22-year-old data entry operator*].

Geeta reported that she relies on her mother to pick up her medicine:

> Going to the DOTS center on work days is a problem since I never get leave. So, I have to send my mother who goes and collects the medicine for me [*P43-Geeta, 20-year-old office helper*].

Participants with flexible work schedules were comparatively better positioned to use convenient and affordable modes of travel to reach their workplaces and treatment facilities, which helped them to reduce work–treatment conflicts. This group of participants consisted of individuals who were self-employed, such as street vendors as well as domestic workers and a few piece-rate workers engaged in activities like
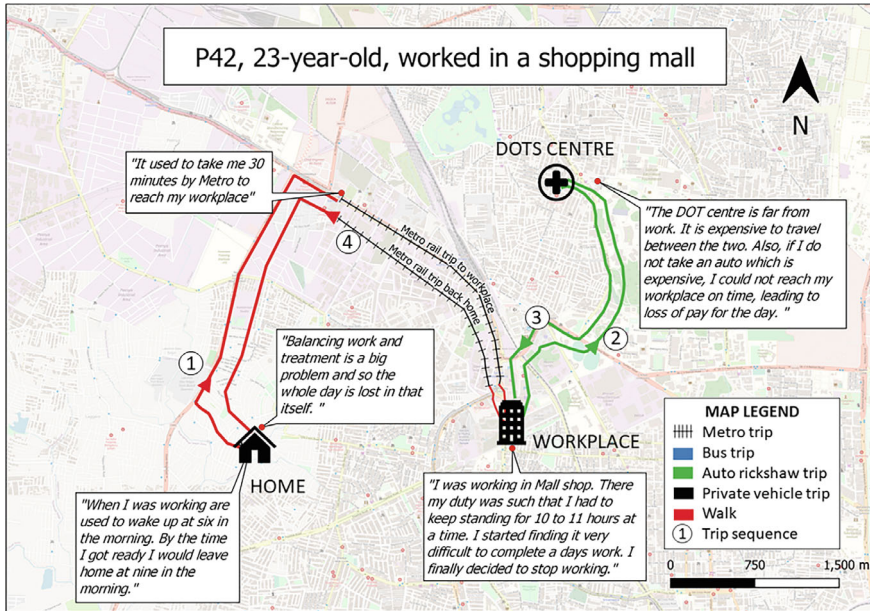
Fig. 2 Travel map of a female patient with a stringent work schedule (*Source* In-depth interview of a female TB patient)

making incense sticks. The travel map of a respondent who worked as a domestic helper is presented in Fig. 3. As evident from Fig. 3, the proximity to the DOTS center and use of public transportation to commute to work helped the patients reduce the financial burden of travel. They experienced less conflict in managing work and treatment as they had the flexibility to start work later or even take days off for medical care. However, it is important to note that occupations such as domestic help and street vending were characterized by varying levels of stability and uncertainty, and participants engaged in these occupations had to undertake multiple jobs in order to make a living.
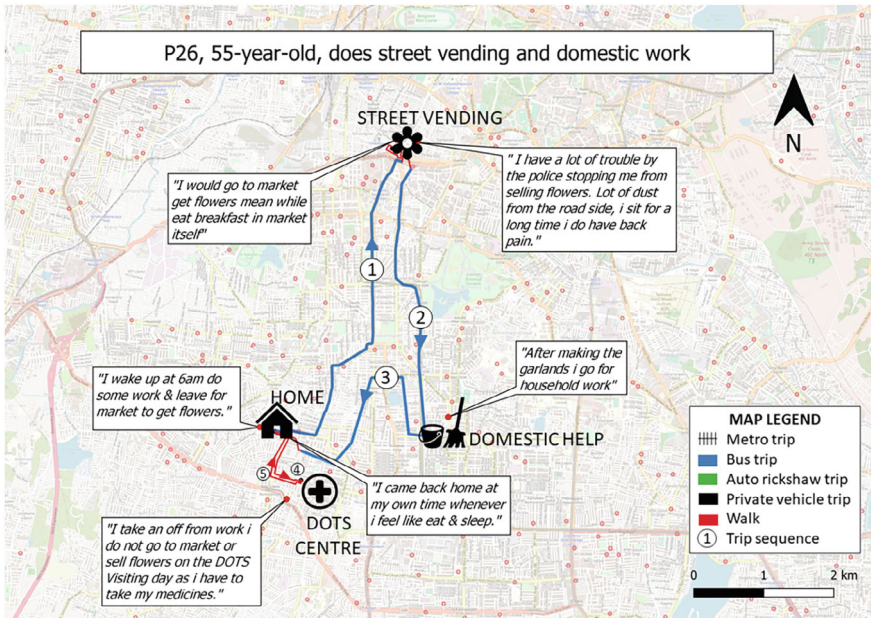
Fig. 3 Travel map of patients with flexible work schedules (*Source* In-depth interview with a female tuberculosis patient)

5 Conclusion

Harvey (2003) elucidated the relationship between capitalistic accumulation processes and the disenfranchisement of economically disadvantaged populations in cities. The present study highlights that limited access to transportation services, which hinders productive labor market participation and healthcare accessibility, is an additional manifestation of the dispossession experienced by economically disadvantaged individuals in the city. This phenomenon occurs at two levels. First, it is perpetuated by transportation policies that adhere to neoliberal values of privatization and cost recovery, resulting in transportation facilities that are less affordable for the poor. Second, it is exacerbated by the peripheralization of impoverished communities as part of the neoliberal urbanization process, which effectively excludes them from the city's transportation networks and restricts their access to essential services.

The study examined the gender intersections of peripheralization processes and their consequences for access to transportation services. The study revealed that the existing transportation infrastructure was inadequate in addressing the specific needs of women residing in the periphery, who often had multiple responsibilities and faced vulnerabilities. Consequently, women have faced prolonged travel times and heightened costs while accessing labor market and health services. Moreover, travel further exacerbated the burden of informal labor and treatment seeking. The urban poor, especially women in cities like Bengaluru, are concentrated in the informal sectors,

which are characterized by precarious work conditions (George & Sinha, 2017). The nature of work and informality significantly influenced their travel decisions. Stringent work schedules and tight labor control strategies are common in informal work environments, which made commuting to work and seeking treatment especially challenging. For instance, the participants had little autonomy to negotiate favorable conditions both at their workplaces and healthcare facilities, which would have made their journeys less stressful and more affordable. The majority of women employed in low-income jobs depended on private mini bus services as their primary mode of transportation to the workplace, which involved walking the first and last miles. Low-wage factory workers had limited agency and control over their time management. The physical debility caused by TB made even short walking distances tedious and challenging, thereby impacting their ability to access first-and-last-mile connectivity to public transportation services. Participants reported that they experienced fatigue and stress due to the combined challenges of TB; work; and haphazard, uncertain, and often expensive travel conditions. As a consequence, the participants experienced difficulties in adhering to their treatment plans. Existing evidence supports the notion that various social, economic, and cultural factors, including constraints associated with work status, act as barriers to the compliance with the DOTS regimen (Deshmukh et al., 2018). The present study found that the coping strategies employed by the participants, such as avoiding DOTS visits, relying on proxy travelers, and procuring medicine for an extended period, were adopted as a means to alleviate the burden of travel. The DOTS treatment regimen is designed to ensure the supervised administration of medication to prevent treatment defaults and ensure regular follow-up examinations for patients.

The study revealed that inadequate access to transportation posed a significant barrier for women laborers in effectively balancing their work, personal life, and healthcare needs. These female patients, especially when married, faced challenges in balancing family life and maintaining relationships. Family members, particularly spouses and children, were found to perpetuate stigma. Instead of providing support, they avoided the patients behaved unsympathetically towards them. Fatigue and limited time availability due to work, treatment, and travel requirements, and the fear of stigmatization collectively led some women to withdraw socially. The management of household responsibilities, coupled with the demands of travel from and to the DOTS center and work, created conflicting priorities for the participants. Due to limited resources for mobility, women from low socio-economic strata often encountered insecure livelihoods and inaccessible health care, or a combination of both, thus pushing them into health-poverty traps. Women who lacked family and spousal support struggled to manage household responsibilities, accessing healthcare services, and maintaining their workspace. Additionally, these women experienced a decline in earnings as they struggled to meet work targets and had to leave work without receiving wages. The combination of multiple responsibilities, inflexible working conditions, and inaccessible transportation systems (in terms of affordability and availability) resulted in arduous travel experiences, leading to a few participants withdrawing from work. However, quitting their jobs was not a viable option for all

participants, particularly for those who were the sole earners for their families. They feared that leaving their jobs could push them into poverty.

In conclusion, the everyday experiences and realities of female working patients in cities of the Global South, like Bengaluru, are deeply embedded within a context interplay of exclusion, patriarchy, poverty, and informality. Travel, with the limited and often challenging options available within these complex embeddings, does not provide an enabling experience for them as they strive to balance their work, personal life, and medical treatment. Conversely, travel conflicts with these spheres and gives rise to numerous challenges, such as difficulties in meeting work targets; lost work days and earnings; increased fatigue and mental stress; compromised treatment schedules; and disruptions in intimate, family, and social life. The everyday realities and nuanced experiences of female patients' life world are often inadequately addressed in existing policies and programs aimed at improving access to travel, health care, and the labor market. For instance, India has committed to SDG3—a Sustainable Development Goal of the United Nations—to end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, and other communicable diseases by 2030. India is similarly committed to SDG11, the goal of making cities safe, inclusive, resilient, and sustainable. The study shows that there is also lack of attention paid to the travel barriers of patients working in informal arrangements within India's national tuberculosis elimination program. Similarly, the challenges faced by poor and vulnerable communities living in urban ghettos in accessing the labor market and health services are often overlooked in ambitious city development programs such as the "smart city project" in India, which aim to fulfill SDG1111 (HRLN, 2018). The study highlights that equitable access to transportation is a crucial component in guaranteeing the rights of the poor to the city. It emphasizes the pressing need to initiate discussions on the importance of inclusive and affordable transportation for vulnerable populations in the cities of the Global South.

Ethical Statement   The study was approved by the ethics committee of the Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore in a meeting held on March 23, 2017.

Annex

Table 1 Sample profile

	No.	Respondent code
Age		
15–24	28	P3, P8, P9, P14, P15, P21, P23, P31, P36, P42–P44, P47, P50–P54, P56, P60, P66, P68, P69, P73, P75, P76, P78, P80
25–34	27	P1, P4, P7, P11–P13, P17, P19, P22–P24, P27–P30, P33–P35, P49, P57, P61–P63, P65, P70–P72
35–44	19	P2, P5, P6, P10, P16, P20, P25, P32, P37, P39–P41, P45, P46, P4, P55, P58, P74, P79
45–54	3	P38, P64, P67
55–64	3	P26, P47, P77
Education		
Unlettered	10	P1, P7, P26, P33, P37, P38, P59, P74, P75, P77
Primary	9	P13, P19, P21, P39, P40, P41, P45, P57, P78
Secondary	31	P2–P6, P9–P12, P16, P20, P23, P24, P28, P30, P32, P36, P44, P47, P49, P50, P51, P54–P56, P60, P67–P69, P73, P79
Higher secondary	13	P14, P15, P17, P18, P29, P31, P34, P43, P46, P58, P61, P70, P76
Graduation and above	17	P8, P22, P25, P27, P35, P42, P48, P52, P53, P62–P66, P71, P72, P80
Nature of work		
Personal care/domestic work	18	P24, P20, P39, P4, P21, P41, P57, P45, P75, P1, P37, P38, P40, P28, P7, P67, P5, P23
Self-employed	5	P26, P77, P22, P80, P35
Employed in factories	25	P64, P2, P15, P18, P30, P28, P33, P50–P52, P54–P56, P61, P66, P7, P69, P73, P78, P31, P32, P16, P14, P68, P47
Service sector	26	P49, P12, P8–P10, P29, P42–P44, P48, P59, P62, P70, P72, P76, P79, P11, P60, P36, P19, P27, P3, P17, P53, P58, P34
Professionals	6	P65, P46, P63, P71, P6, P25
Disease details		
Pulmonary TB	35	P1, P6–P8, P10, P15, P18, P21, P22, P26, P28, P31, P32, P35, P40, P41, P43, P46, P49–P51, P54, P56, P58, P59, P61, P63, P68–P70, P72, P74, P76, P77, P79
Extra-pulmonary TB	45	P2–P5, P9, P11–P14, P16–17, P19–P20, P23–P25, P27, P29–P30, P33, P34, P36–P39, P42, P44–P45, P47–P48, P52–P53, P57, P60, P62, P64–P67, P71, P73, P75, P78, P80

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Chapter 11
Is *Namma* Metro Age-Inclusive? Everyday Experiences of Transportation Inequalities for Older Adults

Prajwal Nagesh, Ajay Bailey, Sobin George, and Lekha Subaiya

Abstract Metro rail is envisioned as a core strategy in major Indian cities to address urban mobility issues such as congestion, air pollution, and lack of accessibility. Bengaluru, with its metro rail project, *Namma* Metro ("Our Metro" in English), begun in 2011, was one of the earliest adopters of this urban transport system in South India. Twenty-five other Indian cities will adopt the metro rail by 2025, with a total investment of $54 billion (IIR, 2020). The focus of the discussion on *Namma* Metro has largely been on the state-of-art technology used, the aesthetics of the train and the stations, and the efficiency of the system. There is scant attention paid to the everyday experiences, struggles, adjustments and adaptions made by heterogeneous urban dwellers while using the metro system, and even less to that of older adults with limited digital literacy. Using an intersectional approach, we examine how interlocking categories of age, gender, caste, class and metro infrastructure interact and shape the 'splintering urban' experiences for older adults in Bengaluru's metro. Based on sixty qualitative in-depth telephonic interviews with older adults, we explore interpretatively what *Namma* Metro means to their everyday mobilities and how they negotiate this 'modern infrastructural ideal.' We find that older adults' unfamiliarity with ticketing systems, technology-driven navigation processes and the new infrastructure environment of metro rail evoked an 'out of place' feeling, leading to anxious journeys. Further, a poor grievance redressal system and lack of trust in the government contributed to normalising barriers as a by-product of age. Lack of agency made older commuters circumvent such barriers by avoiding the metro system. Such exclusionary experiences have shaped older adult's perception of *Namma* Metro as designed for 'youngsters' and 'officials' and deprived them of the primary public transport network to access the city.

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1   Introduction

On April 9, 2021, the decomposed body of a 65-year-old man was found inside a duct at a metro station in Bengaluru. The older adult, who had diabetes, attempted to board a train without a "smart" card but was denied entry. Subsequently, he mistakenly entered an open duct on the first floor, assuming it to be a restroom, and fell to the ground, succumbing to his injuries (*Deccan Herald*, 2021). The incident is emblematic of the underlying dynamics that shape the everyday experiences of older adults as they navigate the metro rail system in the city. Given the escalating physical challenges and the unsafe driving environment, particularly in cities of the Global South, public transportation options such as buses and metro rail play a vital role in facilitating active aging among older adults (Musselwhite, 2017). In this context, public transportation serves as one of the key pillars of the age-friendly cities framework (WHO, 2007) and carries a substantial responsibility in connecting older adults to essential services and opportunities within a city.

In recent decades, policymakers have increasingly recognized metro rail as a core strategy to address pressing urban mobility issues such as congestion, air pollution, and limited accessibility in major Indian cities (Mohan, 2008). Bengaluru, home to *Namma* Metro ("Our Metro" in English), initiated its metro system in 2011 and emerged as one of the pioneering cities in South India to adopt this mode of transportation (Fig. 1). In addition to Bengaluru's rapid adoption, it is anticipated that 25 Indian cities will inevitably embrace metro rail systems by 2025, supported by a combined public–private investment of USD 54 billion (IIR 2020). Discussions surrounding *Namma* Metro often revolve around its state-of-the-art technology, aesthetics, and occasionally involves debates regarding the feasibility of metro systems in comparison to other modes of public transportation (Mohan, 2008). Scant attention is given to the everyday experiences, struggles, adjustments, and adaptions made by diverse urban dwellers when using the metro system. Given the rapid increase in the share of older adults in cities of the Global South, the development of age-friendly transportation infrastructure that caters to the needs of for economically disadvantaged older individuals is a major social policy issue (WHO, 2007). This chapter draws on the thesis of "splintering urbanism" (Graham & Marvin, 2001: 2499) which connects the role of changing political economies of urban transportation planning as a result of neoliberalism to the creation of "premium networked spaces" through modern transportation infrastructure. Our chapter builds on this argument to highlight the differential experiences of older adults with varied exposure to digital practices when navigating the metro system built with global–local investments. With the broader aim of enabling older adults' socio-economic and civic participation in the city, there is a need to engage with the user's perspective of concepts such as affordability, accessibility, availability, and acceptability within their lifeworlds (Carruthers et al., 2005). Using an intersectional approach, we examine how the interlocking categories of age, gender, caste, class, and geography intersect and shape older adults' user experiences with *Namma* Metro and, in turn, influence their relationship with the city.
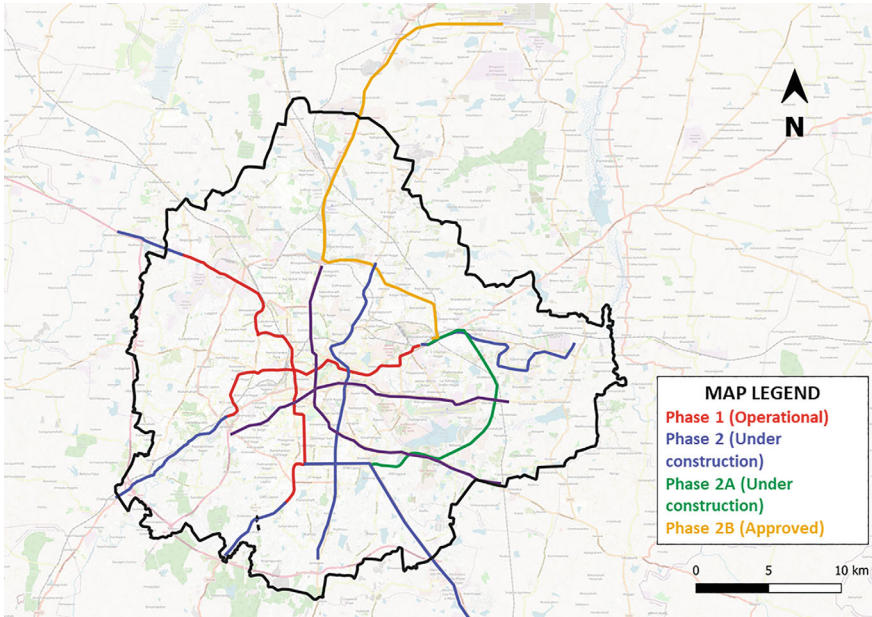
Fig. 1 Namma Metro's network. (*Source* author's representation based on Bangalore Metro Rail Corporation Limited (BMRCL) 2021)

2   Methods

We employed a qualitative research design to focus on the mobilities of older adults. Sixty telephonic interviews were conducted with older adults (aged 50–82 years) between June and November 2020. Prior consent was obtained before recording the interviews. Confidentiality and anonymity have been maintained throughout the research process. The audio files were transcribed verbatim and translated into English text. Open coding was carried out using NVivo 12 software and, based on the emerging themes, axial coding was applied to draw connections between the different codes. Furthermore, during the analysis, the assembled codes were used to generate themes which are discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter. Excerpts from the telephonic interviews were used to depict participant's mobilities in a spatial map created with QGIS software (see Fig. 2).

3   Results

We analyzed the everyday experiences of participants using the *Namma* Metro as well as the role the rail system plays in keeping older adults connected to the city. Special focus was dedicated to understanding how the intersection of socio-economic
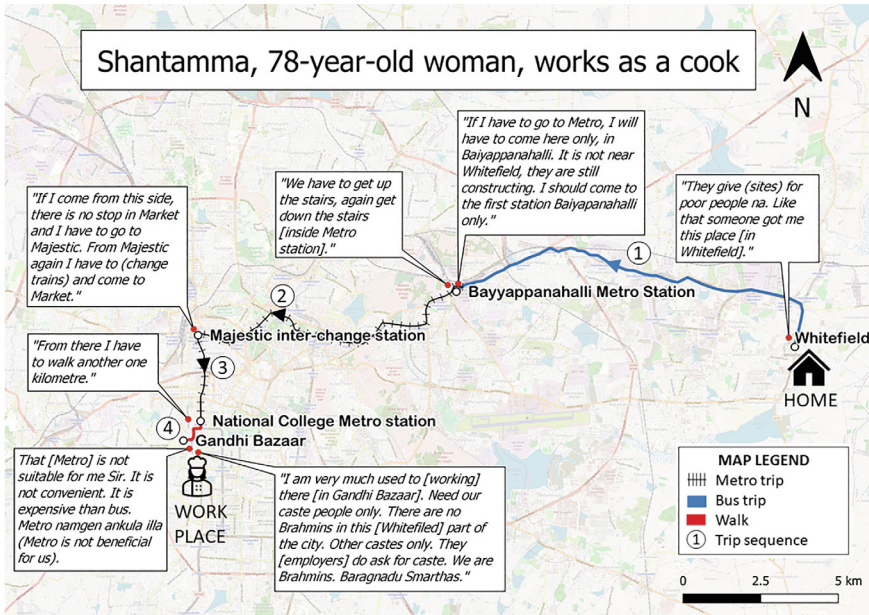
Fig. 2 Barriers to everyday use of metro rail for commuting to the workplace. (*Source* author's representation using excerpts from participant's telephonic interview)

factors shaped barriers, the strategies employed, and perceptions of the metro rail system.

3.1 Economic Class as an Eligibility Criterion and Affordability

The participants' economic class emerged as a differentiating factor in terms of the access to and everyday experiences with *Namma* Metro. Among the participants, the economic profile of *Namma* Metro users encompassed a range of older adults working in formal settings such as banks, government offices, and private firms as well as those engaged in informal occupations such as domestic work, small private shops, and homemaking. To visit her business clients, Anuradha[1] (female) takes the metro from a station located opposite to her office. She explains the benefits of using metro rail as follows:

Usually, I use the metro to visit Kanakapura Road. I had to visit a site there. From Navrang to that place by car will take more than two hours. But by metro, we will reach within half an hour. That was very comfortable. [Anuradha, 62-year-old architect]

Similarly, the metro was utilized for longer trips which otherwise would have involved multiple bus rides. Although these trips were infrequent, they held significant socio-economic importance. In many cases, the trips connected participants to life-enhancing opportunities and services, encompassing various aspects such as commuting to the workplace (see Fig. 2), attending business meetings with clients, visiting family members and the military canteen, or seeking specific health services. In the descriptions of these longer trips, older adults emphasized the importance of "comfort." The *Namma* Metro was appreciated for its cleanliness, air-cooling system, lack of pollution, absence of delays, and freedom from traffic congestion. These aspects made the journeys less strenuous and were often described as "*araamagi*" (comfortable).

Notably, many middle and higher income older adults referred to the absence of "*low-class*" (poor) elements on *Namma* Metro as a positive aspect. This class tension is evident in the account of Ramesh (male), who lives in Jaynagar, an affluent residential area. He shares his metro experience as follows:

> Only thing is the public needs to make use of it [the metro] properly. They should maintain it [the metro] well. People are not fine here. Some people are the worst people. They don't understand anything. They come inside the train. They act like *halli gamaadgal tara* (like a village fool). They [metro staff] have *paapa* maintained the rail cleanly. People do not make good use of. [Ramesh, 60 years old]

Similarly, Radha, a 62-year-old woman and retired bank employee, visits her mother in the city's western periphery. She says the absence of "*low-class*" people makes the metro "very convenient." This class exclusivity, which Graham and Marvin (2001: 249) term "premium networked spaces," is also the secession by the elite of space and place from the urban fabric. This exclusivity extends beyond passenger attitude to pricing policy, which acts as a gatekeeper. Apart from a few respondents who were employed in formal workplaces, the majority struggled with low incomes from part-time jobs, employment in informal labor markets, retirement or state pensions (approximately $13), or were dependent on family to meet their travel expenses. In this economic context, the absence of fare concessions for older adult passengers on *Namma* Metro renders it unaffordable for many individuals in this demographic. Older adults frequently drew a comparison between this scenario with the senior citizen concession pass provided for passengers over 60 years by Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC), a monopolistic state-run public bus service. Poorer older adults who needed to make essential trips within the city often referred to the lack of equity in the pricing policy exclusionary. For example, Shantamma, a 78-year-old Brahmin[2] woman living independently on the eastern periphery, works as a cook in a Brahmin household for a monthly salary of INR 7,000 (approximately USD 95). For her daily commute, she must first take a bus, followed by a metro, the change trains, and finally walk the remaining distance to reach her destination. According to her account, she describes how *Namma* Metro is physically and economically unviable for her commute, as depicted in Fig. 2.

Figure 2 portrays the complex spatial processes through which caste, class, and age affect people's infrastructural reach. Due to the caste norms surrounding purity

and pollution, Shantamma is compelled to work as a cook in Brahmin households only. However, the city's social geography is characterized by privileged middle and upper castes (*Brahmins*) residing in the core of Bengaluru and the vulnerable on the periphery. Despite being a Brahmin, Shantamma's class excludes her from housing within the core, pushing her residence to a peripheral area called Whitefield. This complex interplay of economic geography and housing gentrification necessitates these longer trips to work using public transportation. Shantamma, in a tired tone, explained that as she ages, she finds her everyday mobilities using the *Namma* Metro physically cumbersome and economically unviable. Her disadvantages accumulate from biographical factors such as increasing physical debility and societal factors such as declining income and poor family support as well as state welfare factors such as lack of social security and lack of concessions for older adults in the metro. Such forced mobilities at a later age result from transportation infrastructures that neglect the complex socio-economic geography and the everyday realities of low-income aging in cities.

3.2   Unfamiliarity, Affective Episodes, and Accessibility

Many research participants expressed that their lack of familiarity with the physical infrastructure of *Namma* Metro was a barrier, resulting in further consequences for their everyday mobility patterns. First, the automated elements in *Namma* Metro's physical infrastructure, such as mechanized entry gates, escalators, elevators, and automatic doors within the rail coaches, often led to feelings of anxiety and panic among older adults. In the excerpt below, Rajeshappa provides an account of the anxiety he experiences when boarding a metro coach with automated doors during peak hours:

> What happens, you know, it hardly opens for one or one and a half minutes, that's all, that duration at least if they mind, they can increase another half minute. Within 30 seconds, so many things may take place. Yeah, because of that too during peak hours, you know. Once they stop, people are all coming out, only after their exit you are supposed to get in… that duration may be slightly increased by 25–30 seconds, at least it will be helpful for people like us aged people …. [Rajeshappa, 67 years old]

Participants frequently drew comparisons between the automation of *Namma* Metro and the manual operations found in public buses. This comparison, mostly made by older adults traveling alone, sometimes carried a tone of self-guilt for not being able to use these automated features. Vertical mobility, such as using escalators from the station entrance to the rail platform, was a key issue for many participants. Muniyamma, a 65-year-old housekeeper, has a metro station opposite to her residence that connects her to workplace. The "fear of falling" on the escalator makes her nervous and dissuades her from taking the metro to work. Further, participants reported that several metro stations did not have elevators, thereby compelling them to use the stairs. Basappa (male), a retired military person, uses the metro to travel from his house in the southern periphery to the military canteen located ten miles

from the city center, to buy groceries. He said, "In Nayandanahalli, they have a lift to go up, but not to come down. Because, while getting down, we will have luggage. Problem will be bigger." Given that all metro stations are either situated underground or on elevated platforms, vertical mobility becomes a necessity. The absence of proper vertical mobility options causes physical and mental stress among many participants.

The digital ticketing system and automated gates were other unfamiliar automation processes for older adults. *Namma* Metro has promoted the use of metro cards by providing additional concessions in lieu of tokens bought for each trip. Sharanappa (male) said, "The Metro card is not user friendly. It is not for people who are illiterate. There should be more people to help them just because everything is automated." These cards were also the only mode of payment accepted during the COVID-19 pandemic, a disadvantage to older adults who did not have smartphones or had limited technological know-how. For example, Melinda, who works in a private company, described how she struggled to use the metro's digital payments system during the pandemic:

> Now we have to go online I believe, and I am not into online, I don't handle normally also. What I did myself, is I downloaded the metro app and my co-sister also helped me. I am a little scared, more than caring, I am scared to handle this online business because a lot of cheating happens. Uh you know---------(unclear words) some cheating, fraud, and all will be involved, so I am a little scared about this issue. [Melinda, 63-year-old woman].

On the contrary, older adults with higher education and income levels expressed considerable ease with accessing metro facilities. Their narratives highlighted that travel in the metro is "comfortable," "time-saving," and "reliable," while physical infrastructures, such as escalators and elevators, make their journey less strenuous, as described by one older woman:

> I feel it is comfortable. Because there is no traffic congestion and it is air-conditioned. Even if you stand, you will not feel discomfort. [Shobha, 60-year-old woman]

Despite encountering situations where they lacked information regarding exit and entry points or the process of changing trains, older adults seldom blamed the system. Instead, they acknowledged that they required more time than others to comprehend such instructions. They even normalized this experience by comparing it to "finding the way in a new shopping market."

3.3 Perception of Rights and Agency

At a later age, agency in terms of mobility is often curtailed for multiple reasons. One of the primary concerns raised by older adults was their self-exclusion, where they faced accessibility barriers for the greater benefit of the city as a whole. Irrespective of their individual experiences and encountered barriers, older adults from various backgrounds universally praised *Namma* Metro as the "finest thing," describing it

as "*araam*" (comfortable), and even as "god's gift to Bengaluru." There existed a widespread sense of aspirational pride associated with metro's "modern" infrastructure and the belief that it would solve the city's future mobility issues. However, while narrating their experiences, stories of embarrassment, shivering fear, lack of operational information, and unaffordability were common. Frequently, there was a conscious effort to refrain from attributing their individual struggles to the system itself. On the other hand, others expressed a lack of belief in both the system and the government's ability to address their grievances. When asked about grievance redressal, these concerns were met with laughter and remarks such as "we cannot expect anything from government" or "we cannot do anything." In some instances, participants even responded by questioning whether their feedback would lead to any actual changes. A prevailing sense of distrust towards the state was coupled with a perceived inadequacy of the grievance redressal system in transportation systems. However, one exception to this sentiment was Devappa (male), a long-time social rights activist. He said:

> In the metro train as well, they do not charge less for senior citizens. It is expensive, they won't believe if we say so. They should reduce [the fare]. We should protest that as well. We don't know [where to complain]. Maybe they will have their own depot and we should complain there. [72-year-old Devappa, retired security guard and a social-rights activist]

Alongside the lack of popular mechanisms for grievance redressal, avoidance emerged as the most common strategy to circumvent the issues of *Namma* Metro accessibility. For example, after an injury while parking his scooter, 68-year-old Ramchandra (male) never parked his scooter again in a metro station; after the episode of falling on an elevator, 72-year-old Shantamma never returned to metro again and 66-year-old auto-rickshaw driver Imtiaz believes the fare is unaffordable but would want his children to use it. Underlying the "bypassing" design of grievance redressal system common in cities of the Global South, older adults perceived that the accessibility for future generations is more important than their inclusion in the city. Given Bengaluru's history, there have been far and few political and civic assertions for the rights of commuters from the intersection of gender, caste, class, and age (Gopakumar, 2020). As a culmination of these factors, older adults, especially from the marginalized socio-economic category, perceived *Namma* Metro to be designed for the "officials" and youngsters. The missing element of equity in *Namma* Metro's vision could further restrict older adults' access to the city.

4   Discussion

The broader gerontological literature highlights the various responsibilities that older adults manage as they age, including having to work beyond legal retirement age, grandparenting, and social and civic participation. Processes that create spatial inequities within the city, such as peripheralization and gentrification, further intensify the pressures faced by older adults in carrying out these essential activities, as

they are compelled to longer journeys. Given that metro rail is a reality in rapidly expanding urban India, we have engaged with the question of equity and inclusion at a later age.

Public transportation can serve to make cities more livable for all citizens by being more efficient, affordable, and accessible. However, India's Metro Rail Policy (2017), while solving time-efficiency problems, lacks any discussion on equity issues, including those which affect older adults. This chapter highlights the fact that *Namma* Metro's policies are based on a homogeneous understanding of the transportation needs of urban dwellers, which inadvertently excludes individuals who are made more vulnerable by not being young, educated, or tech-savvy. In cities such as Bengaluru, a large section of older adults lives on the crossroads of intersecting disadvantages of poverty, social marginalization, including residing in areas on the expanding peripheries of the city. Not recognizing their specific travel concerns creates a vicious cycle of splintering in the urban fabric (Graham & Marvin, 2001: 383).

Participants in our study identified three types of barriers in *Namma* Metro—economic, infrastructural, and social—which affect the 4As of Carruthers et al. (2005). The study engages with the undercurrents and negotiations of these barriers while cautiously recognizing that barriers are dynamic. In the first place, *Namma* Metro's fare policy marks a departure from the earlier socialist policy that was followed in the public bus system, which provided subsidies for older adults. *Namma* Metro practices a one-price-fits all policy in its fare pricing. The only concessions provided by *Namma* Metro are digital top-ups, which exclude older adults who have lower levels of digital literacy. On the macro-policy front, we need to reflect on the changing funding strategies for public transportation in Bengaluru and across Indian cities. The inequitable ticket pricing could also result from the public–private model opted for the *Namma* Metro as opposed to the full public funding of public buses. However, by pricing out socio-economically vulnerable older adults, the flat pricing policy fails to recognize the economic precarity of aging and their digital space absence, which coalesce to create "premium transportation networks" (Graham & Marvin, 2001). This systemic exclusion further impedes access to decent work, health care, and social life, making it an urban poverty trap.

It is worth noting that the Metro Rail Policy (2017) consistently espouses technocratic solutions as a means to address the issue of accessibility gaps in metro systems. The technological infrastructures, particularly its "automatic" features, need to be deconstructed through the use of bottom-up experiences or the perspectives of marginalized users. We draw attention to the "virtual bypass" (Graham & Marvin, 2001) created for premium users by overlaying ICT on physical infrastructures such as "smart ticketing." Socio-economically marginalized older adults' lack of familiarity with the cumulative technological installation in *Namma* Metro evokes "out of place" feelings and creates anxious journeys. The hegemony of speed and technology edges out the relatively slow-paced mobility of older adults. The study participants' everyday experiences highlight this endless negotiation with the politics of space and pace that takes place within the physical contours of the metro system.

In addition to infrastructure-induced challenges, older adults also experience constraints to their agency in asserting their rights. As Graham and Marvin (2001) note, "bypass" strategies in these neoliberal infrastructures, such as lack of grievance redressal forums and the state's inability to address concerns, were evident from the everyday accounts of older adults using the *Namma* Metro. Further, the normalization of barriers led older adults to self-exclude and undermined their agency to articulate "resistance" (ibid: 387). The primary response was silent disapproval and avoidance despite everyday experiences of confusion, uncertainty, fear of digital infrastructures, and unaffordable fares. Though dynamic and remediable, these barriers receive insufficient recognition within urban debates and from transportation policymakers. In line with Gopakumar (2020), we argue that, to be an age-inclusive city, Bengaluru requires a heterogenous imagination of aging and a user experience-led approach to transportation planning. Unless intersections such as age, caste, and space are at the center of such discussions, there is a danger of perpetuating "splintering urbanism" characterized by the creation of exclusive transportation networks such as *Namma* Metro that primarily cater to the elite.

5   Conclusion

Older adult mobility within the city is already constrained by unsafe pedestrian walkways and driving conditions. This chapter presents empirical evidence of the transportation inequalities in older adults' experiences with *Namma* Metro and how this further impedes their ability to age well in cities. We highlight older adults' everyday struggles and negotiations to fit into this "modern" space. With more cities in the Global South opting for capital-intensive transportation solutions such as the metro, the question of equity and age-friendly infrastructure requires renewed attention. India will be witnessing two dominant trends of aging and urbanization in the coming decades. The absence of age-friendly public transportation attenuates the policy goal of building an age-friendly city (WHO, 2007). The lack of age-friendly infrastructure, particularly inclusive public transportation, may result in older adults from vulnerable groups in specific urban geographies being compelled to age in isolation. This isolation can lead to disconnection from vital opportunities and services in the city. In light of the absence of age-inclusive planning in *Namma* Metro, it becomes crucial for policymakers to address a broader reflexive question: Is *Namma* Metro envisioned as a policy instrument to mitigate growing urban inequities, or is it primarily perceived as a quasi-public transportation system?

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Chapter 12
Moving Towards an Age-Friendly City

Marlene van Doorne and Louise Meijering

1 Introduction

The increasing age of the world population has spurred the World Health Organization to advocate for the development of age-friendly cities. These cities strive to create environments where older adults are able to actively participate in society, interact with others in public spaces, and are valued and supported with infrastructure and services (Alley et al., 2007; WHO, 2007, 2015). The term "age-friendly" is used in this chapter as it foregrounds the social, physical, economic, and political inclusion of older adults in places (Alley et al., 2007; Buffel et al., 2012; WHO, 2007). Within the age-friendly city model, dimensions are defined that relate to the recent research on mobility. To get insight into mobility in age-friendly cities, it is important to study the everyday mobility experiences of older adults, which includes how older adults perceive their mobility in physical and digital spaces in relation to intrapersonal characteristics, such as health (Meijering, 2021). This aligns with the approach advocated by Menec et al. (2011), which emphasizes the importance of taking a holistic view of the lives of older adults and considering the impact of intrapersonal conditions.

Transportation and mobility enable older adults to venture out and enjoy different places. Research has shown that movement between places can contribute to active and healthy aging (Kwan & Schwanen, 2016). Furthermore, it can contribute to well-being as movement produces a sense of autonomy, self-reliance, choice, and social usefulness (Ziegler & Schwanen, 2011). Mobility is connected to age-friendly cities, since offering services and other amenities within neighborhoods ensures that older adults can reach these destinations on foot or, in the Netherlands, by bike. This ties in with the 15-min city model as proposed by Moreno et al. (2021), which advocates that, in a city, basic necessities need to be accessible within a 15-min walk or bicycle

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trip. Furthermore, mobility also occurs in digital spaces, for instance, through surfing on the Internet as well as (video) calling, texting, and email. In fact, digital mobility is inextricably linked with mobility in physical space, since both enable people to enjoy different people and places.

When studying mobility experiences in age-friendly cities, we foreground the capabilities that older adults have and use to be mobile. Capabilities refer to the "doings and beings" that individuals are able to achieve, such as experiencing happiness or feeling safe in traffic (see Sen, 1980). Therefore, when considering capabilities, we focus on what older adults can do to achieve well-being, rather than on what they cannot do. The aim of this chapter is to explore the mobility experiences of older adults in both physical and digital spaces to add to the discussion on the design of age-friendly cities in the northern region of the Netherlands. Therefore, we draw on in-depth interviews conducted with older adults from November 2019 to September 2020. Data collection was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, providing us the opportunity to examine the impact of the pandemic on the mobility experiences of participants.

2 Social Exclusion and Age-Friendly Cities

Age-friendly cities strive to be socially inclusive of older adults. Traditionally, the term social exclusion has been defined as the exclusion of minority groups from the social insurance of the welfare state (Silver, 1994). Over the years, social exclusion has become a broader concept, including exclusion from economic as well as political and social activities. Hence, the term social exclusion is used here to refer to the inability of an individual or a social group to participate in activities that are common in a society (Peace, 2001). The discourse on age-friendly cities promotes the involvement of institutions in interventions that encompass social activities, financial support, and political engagement for older adults (Buffel et al., 2012). Lefebvre's (1991) "right to the city" concept is used to emphasize the rights of older adults as city residents to participate in decision-making regarding the production of space (in Buffel et al., 2013). Moreover, literature has shown that spatial exclusion is an essential component of social exclusion. The neighborhood or village in which older adults live significantly influences their level of social inclusion, as they are physically and emotionally connected to their living environment (Buffel et al., 2013).

The age-friendly movement works to mitigate processes of social exclusion for older adults, striving for more inclusive cities. Age-friendly cities encompass several dimensions, such as housing, transportation, and the social environment, which includes the digital space. In their study, Menec et al. (2011) motivate researchers and policymakers to look at age-friendly cities from a holistic perspective which assumes that these dimensions are interrelated, and connected to personal and environmental conditions, which together influence social connectivity. Being mobile enables older adults to engage in social interactions in digital, social, and physical spaces (Ziegler & Schwanen, 2011), whereas a social network supports older adults with navigating

within the digital (Hülür et al., 2020) and physical spaces (Mollenkopf et al., 2004). Moreover, when examining mobility experiences, it is essential to consider social interactions and activities that take place while in motion (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Besides, movement in digital space is equally important, as communication and information gathering increasingly occur online (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The COVID-19 pandemic has made the use of information and communication technology (ICT) even more relevant for the social interactions of older adults (Seifert, 2020). Even though it does not occur physically in the city, digital mobility is an important part of mobility in age-friendly cities. As mobile technology continues to advance, older adults are accessing the digital world from various locations within the city, such as a home, the streets, public transportation, and shops. Therefore, we argue urban and digital spaces are inextricably bound together. Hence, this chapter reflects on the mobility of older adults in urban and digital spaces, in relation to their social interactions.

3 Methods

To gain insights into the mobility experiences of older adults, we conducted a qualitative study. We conducted two rounds of in-depth interviews with 17 older adults within an interval of around 6 months. This resulted in a data set of 34 in-depth interviews. Data collection took place between November 2019 and September 2020. As participants were interviewed twice, we obtained a comprehensive understanding of the everyday life mobility experiences of these older adults within their individual context. The sample contained 17 participants between the ages of 60 and 75 living in the North of the Netherlands. To develop a comprehensive and contextualized understanding of the mobility experiences of older adults in urban areas, we included participants from both villages and cities, specifically Groningen and Assen. The participants were either healthy older adults who experienced age-related issues or individuals who had memory issues resulting from brain trauma, such as a stroke, or early stages of neurodegenerative diseases. Starting from March 2020, several rules were implemented due to the COVID-19 pandemic. These rules included limitations on the number of visitors allowed at home, mandatory use of face masks in public transportation, and keeping a distance of 1.5 m from others in both private and public spaces, such as restaurants, cinemas, and theaters (Rijksoverheid, n.d.a, n.d.b).

Our research data have been analyzed with the use of Atlas.ti 8.4. First, we conducted a narrative analysis of the transcripts. Narrative analysis is used by geographers to understand the emplaced experiences of people in everyday life, and how these experiences are shaped by social norms, values, and power relations (Wiles et al., 2005). Second, Labov's (1972) evaluation method was used to analyze the transcripts to obtain an understanding of talk by conceptualizing themes and describing the context of what is said and done (in Wiles et al., 2005). These steps resulted in two overarching themes, which revolve around the capabilities of older adults: (1) their ability to navigate through a safe urban environment while remaining mobile

and (2) their capacity to engage in social interactions through movement in both urban and digital spaces.

4   Findings

4.1   Being Mobile in Urban Space

During the course of their everyday activities in urban spaces, our participants used various modes of transportation. It is noteworthy that the (electric) bicycle emerged as the predominant mode of transportation. They favored the bicycle because of its flexibility in maneuvering around in the city and its reputation as an active and healthy mode of transport. In fact, some participants went as far as substituting their cars with bicycles at the outskirts of the city to avoid traffic congestion and parking issues. However, some participants expressed a preference for using cars due to the convenience and speed they offer, particularly when covering longer distances. In contrast, Mrs. Gerritsen preferred public transport due to physical impairments that limited her ability to use bicycles or cars. She occasionally faced difficulties in managing her connections when certain facilities, such as elevators, were out of order. Other participants traveled between larger cities by train. The COVID-19 pandemic had a notable impact on the use of public transport. Participants expressed concerns about the risk of infection while traveling by train or bus, or expressed discomfort with wearing face masks. As a result, their willingness to travel longer distances was restricted. However, some participants still relied on public transportation either because they had no choice or did not mind the regulations. Mrs. Gerritsen even appreciated the less crowded trains during this time.

Not all participants were able to drive, especially those grappling with memory issues. In such cases, they often relied on their partners, family members, or social networks to assist them in covering longer distances between cities or villages. However, this dependence on others for transportation created limitations for the participants in terms of their mobility, as described by one older man:

> My mobility is restricted. I wanted to go to a birthday celebration in a rural village. Normally I ride along with my sister in law, but she did not want to go [because of COVID-19]. I said if you don't go, I will adjust my plans. [Mr. Pakvis]

Consequently, Mr. Pakvis depended on taxis to travel to distant places independently. As Mr. Pakvis explained, he used to ride along with people in his social network, but that was more difficult during the COVID-19 pandemic. Other participants with memory issues experienced fewer restrictions here, and having a social network enabled them to be mobile. For example, Mrs. Pietersen was able to travel to larger cities (e.g., Groningen) by riding along with her daughter. She expressed that her sense of safety while driving was limited to familiar and non-urban areas. Participants with a well-functioning social network were often able to move around.

Mirroring this, the lack of a social network can have a negative impact on mobility and result in a feeling of loneliness and inconvenience. For example, Mr. Kraima described how he missed his neighborhood network which made him feel lonely and overly dependent on public institutions for support.

By maintaining their mobility, our participants could interact with other people. However, it was not easy for all participants to be mobile. For instance, Mrs. Van Wijk explained how the sounds in urban space made it hard for her to carry out daily tasks such as going to the supermarket:

> Society is not designed for people with brain injuries, really. I am laughed at if I go into the supermarket with my headphones, cap and sunglasses. But I cannot go to the store with [the noise from] the slicers and the music and the cash registers that ring and the children who cry and whine, I just can't. [Mrs. Van Wijk]

Mrs. Van Wijk faced the distressing experience of being ridiculed by others due to her use of items that provided protection against the stimuli of urban space. This treatment left her feeling isolated, lonely, and socially excluded. To minimize exposure to the stimuli of urban spaces, she chose to venture outside during off-peak hours. Nevertheless, her determination to visit places independently remained strong. Despite her physical and cognitive impairments, she predominantly relied on walking because of her physical and cognitive impairments, but after a surgery she also managed to cycle, which was very valuable to her. Similarly, other participants, especially those with memory issues, valued going to places independently by bicycle.

Even though they valued cycling, participants sometimes also felt vulnerable when cycling, which jeopardized the independent mobility of our participants in urban space. Mrs. Gerritsen and Mrs. Scholten, for instance, felt unsafe when riding their bicycles because of their physical and cognitive impairments. As a result, Mrs. Scholten adapted her travel routine to avoid busy intersections:

> I would rather pick another route [than cross a busy intersection]. I have all the time so I can choose a more peaceful route where I avoid difficult intersections. [Mrs. Scholten]

City traffic restricted free movement for Mrs. Scholten: she had to alter her routes based on traffic conditions. Mrs. Scholten later indicated that she felt more secure and relaxed when cycling in peaceful in less crowded areas on the fringes of or outside of urban spaces. Another issue addressed by older adults experiencing memory issues was narrow cycle paths. Mr. Pakvis and Mrs. Pietersen felt their balance problems made it difficult to cycle on narrow paths, especially when encountering other cyclists. Mrs. Pietersen actually got off her bicycle and waited on the side of the path when she saw other cyclists coming towards her. Other examples mentioned by the participants are the challenges brought by steep tunnels, narrow bridges, and busy intersections. Mrs. Scholten expressed her frustration towards the local government for prioritizing the safety of car drivers over cyclists in the city. She would like the municipality to develop a better bicycle-friendly policy so she can be safely mobile.

These examples show that infrastructural design in urban spaces can contribute to feelings of vulnerability in older adults. As a result, the city becomes less inclusive for older adults, especially for adults with memory issues.

4.2   *Being Mobile in Digital Space*

The significance of digital mobility increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, as physical mobility among our participants decreased due to limited social activities. Information and communication technology (ICT) played a crucial role in enabling our participants to communicate with family, friends, neighbors, and colleagues during the pandemic. Given that our participants were relatively young older adults, many of them were involved in providing informal care for their elderly parents. Noteworthy in that context was the communication between family members about the informal care for their parents. Participants texted and called other family members to update them, or to ask for support. Furthermore, texting was used by some participants to make appointments with friends and family, especially with their children. Furthermore, during the pandemic almost all the participants used (video)calling to contact family members or friends, and to host meetings and speak with colleagues, even though physical meetings were preferred:

> Yes, we [voluntary organization] did online meetings at the beginning of the pandemic. And now there is a physical meeting for the first time … Yes, it is good to see each other again. And you notice that there is more interaction and commitment. And it is more inspiring. [Mrs. Roelofs]

Although Mrs. Roelofs is able to communicate online and engage in video calls, communication was better when meeting in person. Also, she felt less committed, both with herself and her colleagues, to being active and productive when online.

In addition to communication, the participants used ICT for work and leisure activities. Mrs. Blom used ICT for studying, Mr. Remmers for making a documentary, and Mr. Willems to work on a historical project. Mr. Koster used ICT to prepare walking routes and Mrs. Scholten played WordFeud. Additionally, some participants used ICT to gather information about products before visiting physical stores or to make online purchases. Some participants also used ICT while on the road, such as Mrs. Scholten who booked a hotel while being a passenger in the car, and Mrs. Gerritsen who worked on the train. Finally, ICT was used by participants to plan their trip before hitting the road. Hence, mobility in digital spaces enabled our participants to communicate with others, work, shop, and obtain information about their trips.

It is important to note that not all participants had the same level of proficiency or inclination to utilize ICT in their mobility experiences. Some participants chose not to use ICT. While individuals like Mr. Willems were proficient in using ICT, he expressed concern about other older adults who may have fewer digital skills or less familiarity with technology:

> I notice that other older adults, which I am myself, but let's say over seventy, are not engaged online or don't have a computer. But they are missing all the information from Facebook. I contacted my friend earlier and asked him how could we reach these people and provide them with knowledge [about ICT]? [Mr. Willems]

While Mr. Willems made efforts to include more older adults in the digital space, some participants with memory issues expressed feelings of exclusion. For instance,

Mrs. Van Wijk had trouble staying focused during online meetings because of her memory issues. She felt that others did not take this into account when she participated in online activities.

5   Conclusion

This chapter sought to offer valuable insights into the mobility experiences of older adults in urban and digital space in the northern part of the Netherlands. The aim was to use this knowledge as input to foster the creation of more age-friendly cities. We found that older adults, especially those with memory issues, experience restrictions around how to move freely and safely in urban spaces. These restrictions are caused by inadequate infrastructural design, heavy traffic, and noise. For these older adults, their social network is vital in enabling them to go to various places. Nevertheless, most participants enjoyed moving around independently from others as well, especially in spaces that are familiar and uncrowded. The bicycle is a suitable mode of transportation to achieve this. Our findings show that the (electric) bicycle enables older adults to move independently. With regard to digital mobility, ICT enables older adults to communicate, access information, shop, and relax, both at home and on the road. However, the pandemic made the importance of face-to-face meetings and social contact very clear, especially for older adults experiencing memory issues.

The implications of our findings for advancing age-friendly cities in the Netherlands can be categorized into two main aspects. First, the physical and cognitive impairments of older adults need to be considered when building both physical and digital infrastructure such as intersections, cycling paths, tunnels, train stations, online platforms, and Internet connections. Second, the design of peaceful and quiet zones in city spaces would enable older adults, especially those experiencing memory issues, to enjoy the city, without being overwhelmed by its many stimuli. This would enable older adults to be both mobile and able to build a social network, which is important when looking holistically at age-friendly cities (Menec et al., 2011).

One specific suggestion arising from our findings is the implementation of the 15-min city model, with a particular focus on ensuring the safety of older adults. This can be achieved through measures such as by providing lowered curbs, separate lanes for slow traffic to enhance safety, and creating peaceful spaces (Moreno et al., 2021). Implementing the 15-min city model, as suggested, would enable older adults to fulfill their basic needs independently and engage in social interactions more frequently. To conclude, to create more age-friendly cities in the Netherlands, it is crucial to provide services and opportunities for social interaction in close proximity to older adults' residences. Additionally, it is essential to pay attention to the specific needs and challenges faced by older adults experiencing memory issues in both digital and urban spaces. By addressing these aspects, Dutch cities can become more inclusive and accommodating for the aging population, fostering greater well-being and quality of life for older adults.

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Chapter 13
Inclusive Approaches for Inclusive Cities: Exploring Older Adults' Mobility in the United Kingdom

Thomas A. Lowe and Zeinab Sattari

1 Introduction

As urbanization in most countries grows, inequalities become more prevalent throughout the populations (Afacan & Afacan, 2011). With societies rapidly aging, older adults are becoming more susceptible to these inequalities in their lived environments (Nordbakke & Schwanen, 2014). Lack of social and spatial accessibility is one of the most significant factors of inequality among aging populations, leading to social and spatial exclusion. The opportunity to be mobile and move around in the city can enable older adults to access the places and social opportunities they desire. Understanding these opportunities through research is one of the critical ways in which policy can be developed to encourage older adult inclusivity in cities. In this chapter, we explore the inclusivity of using graphic elicitation, GPS tracker, pedometer, and activity diaries in understanding later life mobility for inclusive cities.

Mobility can be understood from the perspective of Cresswell (2010), who considers both patterns and experiences of movement in mobility. Mobility is a process and an outcome, influenced by physical movements, places, and social interactions. Maintaining mobility is crucial for the well-being of older adults, because the majority of older adults will "age in place," which means they will continue to live in their communities with limited formal care (Nordbakke & Schwanen, 2014). Thus, mobility is an indicative factor for their inclusivity in the city.

Inclusive cities remain a largely contested topic in academic discourse. In health geography, the socio-spatial approach to inclusion determines how various population groups, including older adults, can live and fulfill their needs in urban environments (Finlay & Finn, 2020). This approach can help foster age-friendly places and result in more inclusive cities. Mobility that meets the needs and desires of older adults is key to maintaining and improving social inclusion in cities. Therefore,

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cities need to transform into places that consider older adult mobility needs, particularly socio-spatial accessibility, to enable them to enjoy the state of well-being they desire. Finlay and Finn (2020) argue that simply altering the built environment is not sufficient to promote inclusivity. True inclusivity is achieved when additional considerations beyond the physical space are taken into account. By using our methods, we can gain insights into these intangible and personable considerations that make a place inclusive.

The authors of this chapter are Ph.D. researchers within the Meaningful Mobility project, based at the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant number 802202). The aim of the project is to develop and employ an integrative approach to explain mobility practices in later life in relation to well-being. The Meaningful Mobility project employs various qualitative and quantitative methods to understand the mobility patterns and experiences of impaired and healthier older adults. This chapter reflects upon the data collection methods we used in urban communities in the United Kingdom to provide a holistic view of everyday mobility in later life. In this chapter, we will explore the benefits and limitations of graphic elicitation, GPS trackers, pedometers, and activity diaries in terms of inclusive research. We will then discuss how our use of these methods inform the inclusive cities discourse.

2   Graphic Elicitation

Qualitative methods play a critical role in providing older adults with the opportunity to voice their opinions and become active agents in the data collection process. One qualitative method we used in the Meaningful Mobility project was graphic elicitation. This arts-based method involves engaging participants in drawing activities and subsequently facilitating dialog about the created artwork (Bravington & King, 2019). In our project, graphic elicitation was used with older adult informal caregivers in England. The participants were asked to create three drawings focusing on their past, present, and future experiences of being a caregiver. Minimum instruction was provided, and participants were encouraged to interpret the task according to their own preferences and understanding. The graphic elicitation activity was followed by a telephone interview, which centered on the drawings alongside more general inquiries about mobility experiences and social support systems.

Graphic elicitation encourages greater inclusion of participants in the research process and can lead to participants reflecting on their experiences and critically assessing their mobility experiences. We found it provides participants with the opportunity to reflect on their experiences over time. By taking their time with the drawings, in the comfort of their own homes and in whatever way they choose, the participant can think deeply about what they want to draw and why they want to draw it. Therefore, participants have near total control over what they draw, giving them the power to decide what they themselves think is important. The activity can help them

think about aspects of caregiving that may otherwise go unnoticed in an interview. Graphic elicitation is a focal point in the subsequent telephone interview. This is an important difference compared to a standard interview because it centers the interview on what the participant created and subsequently what they think is important. This means that the interview considers the participant's interests as equal or perhaps even more important than the researcher's, rebalancing the power dynamics and providing an inclusive environment to collect data. Graphic elicitation in any form can reveal aspects of inequality that may not have been acknowledged by the participants. In our research, the use of three drawings can highlight how inequalities may have changed over time and as the participant takes on a caregiver role. Drawing three pictures of different periods of life over time creates a storyboard to compare and reflect on how the participants' life has changed. This can be seen in Fig. 1, where activities have changed over the three periods and the emotions connected to that change can be seen.

Therefore, graphic elicitation has the power to highlight issues of inclusivity by encouraging the participant to think about what is important to them at different times of their lives. In doing so, accessibility in the city can be inferred from such drawings. For example, Fig. 2 emphasizes the use of a wheelchair in the present. This observation can be raised in the follow-up interview and the implications for access to the city can be discussed. As such, graphic elicitation brings out elements that the participants themselves think are important rather than the researcher imposing what they think matters. Hence, methods like graphic elicitation provide a positive step towards a more collaborative research process.

In its participant-centered approach, graphic elicitation emphasizes the agency of the participant. This can be both in terms of lacking and having agency, as Fig. 3 shows. This participant feels imprisoned by her caregiving role, which may be
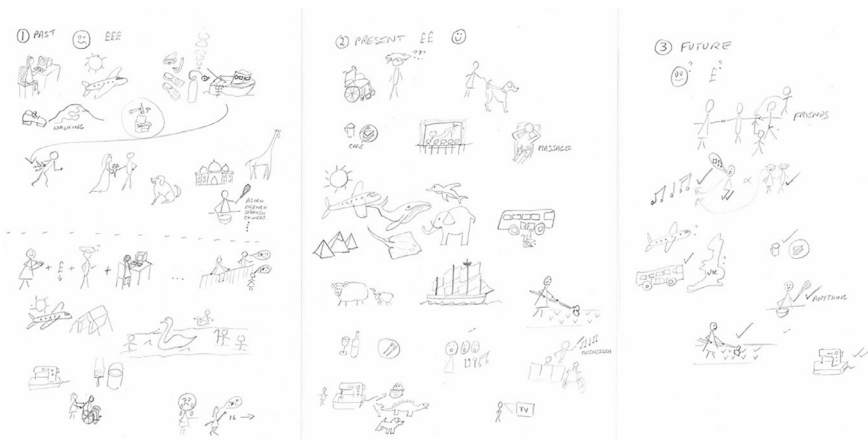
Fig. 1 The changes in emotions can be seen from the first drawing before caregiving to the third, which considers the future. This temporality offers participants the opportunity to reflect on their life over time
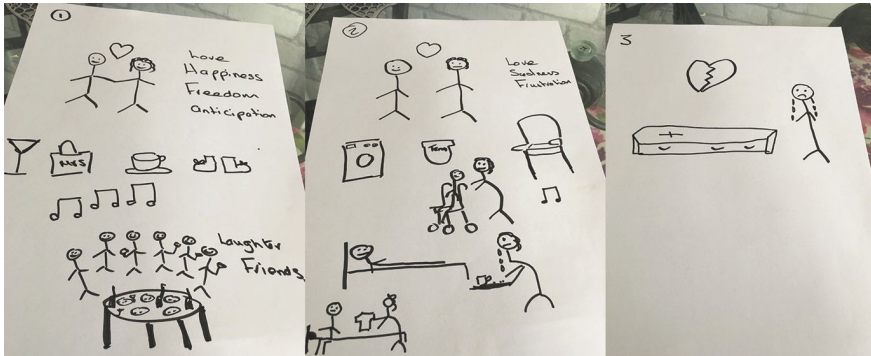
Fig. 2 The second drawing concerning the present life of the caregiver shows the participant pushing their loved one in a wheelchair and helping their loved one with every day, often personal activities, such as getting dressed

confounded by the environment she lives in. The use of temporally focused drawings provides an opportunity to see the participants' agency in action. How they illustrate the future drawing will show us what kind of agency they wish for, but also indicates what their agency is like now. All of which can be discussed in more depth in the follow-up interview. What graphic elicitation excels at is promoting the participant's perspective the way they wish.

Yet, if inadequately planned, graphic elicitation may compromise the inclusivity of the research process. The informal nature of graphic elicitation may be perceived by some participants as lacking substance, potentially alienating those who feel it is outside their comfort zone. In our research, we encountered instances where individuals were discouraged due to the graphic elicitation. To remedy this as much as possible, we made it clear how graphic elicitation is used during the telephone interview and its reflexive opportunities. This highlights a potential issue with arts-based methods: perceived informality may risk inclusivity. In response to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, we adapted the use of graphic elicitation to a remote format. However, this remote implementation posed an additional challenge for participants in securely sharing their drawings with the researchers. For example, in our project, we utilized Unishare, a secure platform for data sharing. While Unishare can provide a higher level of data security, it also can be a potential barrier for participants who may lack technological proficiency or feel uncertain about using such systems. Therefore, thorough planning and clear explanations were crucial in overcoming these challenges associated with graphic elicitation, whether conducted in-person or remotely.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that graphic elicitation is just one approach to include participants in the research process. Quantitative methods also play a significant role in promoting inclusivity. In the following section, we will discuss the utilization of GPS trackers, pedometers, and activity diaries, highlighting the opportunities they provide for inclusivity.

Fig. 3 The three drawings highlight how over time and as roles change, agency can fluctuate. This can play a role in the lived experiences of the caregivers

3 GPS Trackers, Pedometers, and Activity Diaries

In the Meaningful Mobility project, GPS trackers and pedometers were used to show the mobility patterns of older adults over a period of 8 days. An activity diary, which was provided for participants to report their everyday mobility, supplemented the GPS and pedometer data. The GPS tracker uses the participants' geographical location to show how they move about, while pedometers highlight how many steps are taken. Pedometer data can be used both indoors and outdoors, while GPS trackers are more suitable for outdoor mobility data collection. An example of various data collected by the above methods is illustrated in Fig. 4. The pseudonymized diary (top-left) shows 2 days of activities of a participant with memory issues, registered in a language and an order which were the most comfortable for that participant. The GPS data (top-right) provides an accurate record of the participant's location every 10 s, except for when they are inside buildings, over the course of 2 days.
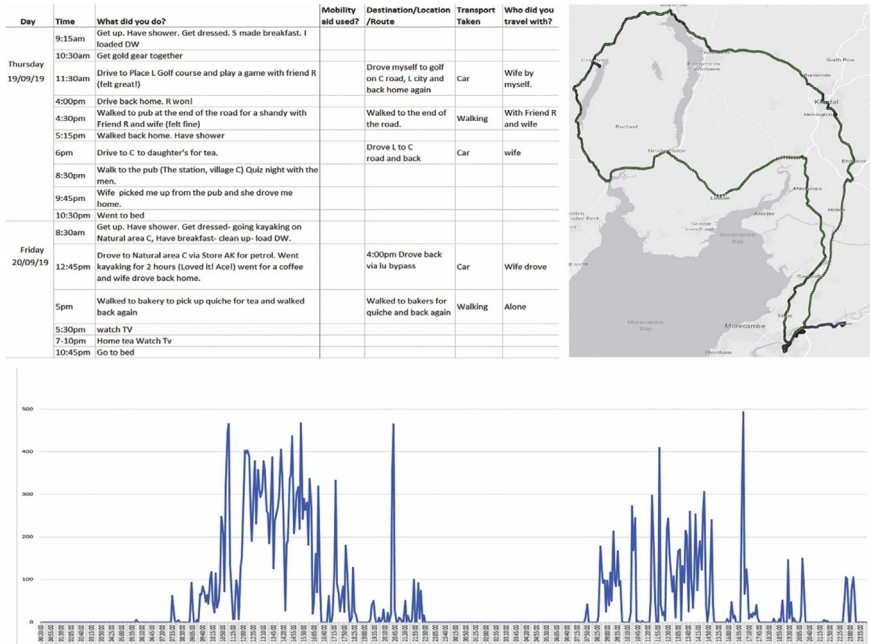
Fig. 4 An example of data generated by a cognitively impaired older adult using an activity diary (top-left), GPS tracker (top-right), and pedometer (down)

Concurrently, the pedometer data (below) captures the number of steps taken by the participant in 5-min intervals.

The collected data was used to characterize the mobility patterns of older adults in terms of their actual movement, including steps taken, time spent, and locations visited. Additionally, the quality of their movement was examined, encompassing activity types, individuals involved, and any equipment used to facilitate their mobility. The analysis of actual movement data shows the frequency and range of physical movement exhibited by older adults. On the other hand, the examination of movement quality focuses on identifying the factors that enable or hinder mobility. Understanding these two characteristics is crucial because both actual movement and movement quality tend to change as individuals age, which can lead to limited access for older adults within the city. An inclusive urban policy considers these characteristics and aims to tackle the limitations by providing social and financial support for later life mobility, while fostering the creation of age-friendly cities.

One major benefit of using GPS trackers and pedometers for data collection is that older adults have complete control over when and where they choose to wear or carry these devices. This sense of control allows them to exercise freedom of behavior during the data collection period, fostering a feeling of ownership over the devices and the research itself. Activity diaries further enhance this sense of personality and autonomy for participants as they are not restricted in terms of recording

time or writing style. Participants have the freedom to document their activities and experiences in a way that reflects their unique personalities and preferences. Similar to the graphic elicitation method, this balances the power dynamic between the researcher and participant, fostering inclusivity in the research process. GPS trackers and pedometers are valuable tools for capturing spatio-temporal information, which tends to be more precise and comprehensive compared to activity diaries. By relying on these devices, participants can feel empowered as they do not have to worry about missing details such as specific times, locations, and levels of movement in their daily notes. In addition, when research participants record their activities in diaries, they often become more cognizant of the degree to which their environments are inclusive for them. This heightened awareness is not only valuable for the participants themselves but also for researchers aiming to understand why some older adults, particularly those with physical or cognitive impairments, may face exclusion from accessing certain areas of the city and how this issue can be solved.

Despite the strengths of these methods, we found that in the recruitment and introduction processes, older adults reacted to our method's description differently. Some knew about our devices and felt confident using them, but many others were not as familiar. The latter individuals were not sure if they could manage the devices, resulting in feelings of exclusion and withdrawal from the research. A detailed demonstration of device use in simple language was presented by us, in person and on paper, to provide clarity and confidence in the older adults who were interested in participating. Collecting indoor data, using a combination of methods, was also an important matter in our research. Our findings revealed that older adults tend to spend a significant portion of their daily time indoors, yet these indoor environments are often less understood by researchers and policymakers compared to outdoor spaces. Thus, measuring indoor mobility poses technological and legal challenges, particularly when it involves private buildings or small everyday indoor spaces. Similarly, our GPS data could not provide accurate locations and movements inside buildings, which could lead to the exclusion of valuable insights about indoor mobility in later life. However, by combining the GPS tracker data with pedometer readings and activity diary entries, we were able to include indoor mobility in our research through data aggregation. Each dataset—whether it was the GPS tracker data, pedometer readings, or activity diary entries—contained unique information that complemented one another, such as social components, activity type, indoor activities and steps, as well as accurate time and location, which would have not been accessible through one data collection method alone. For example, Fig. 5 illustrates the aggregated mobility data of the impaired participant, as presented in Fig. 4. By utilizing these inclusive methods, we can assess whether the city in which our impaired participant resides provides social and physical access to everyday mobility, social interactions, and desired activities. Promoting such accessibility is essential in creating an inclusive city for older adults, particularly those with impairments.

These participant-led quantitative methods, along with graphic elicitation, share an important characteristic: both aim to empower participants and raise awareness of their lived environments. This has major implications for inclusivity in cities, which we will discuss in the following section.

Date	Location	Mode	Start_time	End_time	Duration	Duration (minutes)	Steps (pedometer)	Steps per minute	Activity type	Social component
	At home		0:00	9:15	9:15	555	217	0,4	SLE	
	At home		9:15	11:12	1:57	117	2800	23,9	HOM	non-soc
	outdoors	car	11:12	11:51	0:39	39	386	9,9	TRV	soc
	At the golf course	walk	11:51	16:00	4:09	249	14201	57,0	REC	soc
	outdoors	car	16:00	16:07	0:07	7	67	9,6	TRV	soc
	At home		16:07	16:15	0:08	8	231	28,9	HOM	n/a
	outdoors	walk	16:15	16:23	0:08	8	394	49,3	TRV	soc
	At pub		16:25	17:18	0:53	53	203	3,8	REC	soc
	outdoors	walk	17:18	17:23	0:05	5	333	66,6	TRV	soc
19-9-2019	At home		17:23	18:00	0:37	37	630	17,0	HOM	non-soc
	outdoors	car	18:00	18:23	0:23	23	173	7,5	TRV	soc
	Indoor (daughter's home)		18:23	20:37	2:14	134	605	4,5	REC	soc
	outdoors	walk	20:37	20:44	0:07	7	494	70,6	TRV	non-soc
	Indoor (Pub)		20:44	21:50	1:06	66	194	2,9	REC	soc
	outdoors	car	21:50	22:05	0:15	15	93	6,2	TRV	soc
	At home		22:05	22:30	0:25	25	193	7,7	OTH	n/a
	At home		22:30	23:59	1:29	90	0	0,0	SLE	
	At home		0:00	8:30	8:30	510	55	0,1	SLE	
	At home		8:30	9:49	1:19	79	1591	20,1	HOM	non-soc
	outdoors	car	9:49	10:21	0:32	32	24	0,8	TRV	soc
	In the parking	walk	10:21	10:35	0:14	14	686	49,0	REC	soc
	outdoors	car	10:35	11:34	0:59	59	65	1,1	TRV	soc
	Kayaking outdoor place	kayak	11:34	14:42	3:08	188	4977	26,5	EXE	soc
20-9-2019	Around the beach	walk	14:42	15:17	0:35	35	382	10,9	REC	soc
	outdoors	car	15:17	16:46	1:29	89	81	0,9	TRV	soc
	At home		16:46	17:45	0:59	59	1219	20,7	OTH	n/a
	outdoors	walk	17:45	18:05	0:20	20	340	17,0	TRV	non-soc
	Bakery		18:05	18:10	0:05	5	5	1,0	SHO	non-soc
	outdoors	walk	18:10	18:40	0:30	30	365	12,2	TRV	non-soc
	At home		18:40	22:45	4:05	245	680	2,8	REC	non-soc
	At home		22:45	23:59	1:14	75	344	4,6	SLE	

Fig. 5 Data aggregation result, showing the actual movement and quality of movement for a cognitively impaired older adult in 2 days

4   Conclusion

The methods discussed in this chapter have demonstrated their effectiveness in enabling older adults to feel included in the research process, empowering them to actively participate and recognize that their voice matters. Furthermore, these inclusive methods allow us to gain a more holistic understanding of the lived experiences of our participants, in contrast to more traditional researcher-led methods. These methods also facilitated the collection of high-quality data, allowing us to reveal more participant-centric aspects of later life mobility. Awareness of older adults' preferences and agency is the key outcome of such research methods. The use of inclusive, participant-centric methods empowers older adults, providing them with greater agency in the data collection process based on what matters to them. In part, this approach helps overcome the simplified understanding that the physical changes to a city can sufficiently achieve inclusivity (Finlay & Finn, 2020). Research like ours, which places the participant at the center of data collection, can encourage a meaningful approach to inclusive cities. Ross et al. (2005) discuss that such inclusivity can help policymakers identify the heterogeneous requirements of older adults, thus mitigating governmental and private costs. In turn, this may benefit the inclusive

cities' discourse with older adults lending their opinions and experiences to a topic that is becoming more and more preoccupied with the reality that inclusive cities will need to be age-friendly.

Indeed, all research methods face challenges, and it is our obligation as inclusive researchers to reflect upon our practice and suggest several solutions for future research. The limitations experienced with graphic elicitation highlight that there is still potential for improvement, especially in terms of inclusivity. For example, graphic elicitation could be used within a suite of methods. This would allow participants to choose how they contribute to data collection, with graphic elicitation being one of several methods available. The technological challenges encountered during our data collection process presented a risk of excluding certain groups from the research. This tends to be common, especially among older adults from low socioeconomic populations or with physical and cognitive impairments (Schmidt et al., 2019). Apart from the explanation we provided for our participants, future research could involve developing secure smartphone applications to collect spatio-temporal data about mobility or use other measuring devices with even less burden on the participant, such as smart insoles in shoes. These solutions might help participants be less challenged with the technology utilized in research.

In conclusion, the methods discussed in this chapter offer valuable opportunities to involve participants more actively in the data collection process, empowering them with greater agency. We anticipate that our methods will have direct and indirect effects on participants, including raising awareness about the importance of mobility in later life. This increased awareness may indirectly influence how they perceive and interact with their community and the built environment. Furthermore, participants may think more critically about how inclusive their cities really are and what should be done to make older adults more included in their communities. Furthermore, the outputs of our research have the potential to indirectly influence inclusive policy by emphasizing the importance of incorporating older adults' mobility requirements in urban planning and design.

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Chapter 14
Dementia-Informed Policy and Practice for Social Well-Being in Groningen and Nearby Villages in the Netherlands

Jodi Sturge

1 Introduction

As the global population ages and expectancy increases, there is a significant projected rise in dementia cases. Recognizing this trend, the World Health Organization (WHO) has prioritized dementia as a global public health concern. To align with the objectives of the global action plan set by WHO for 2025, every member state is expected to implement at least one public dementia awareness campaign, while half of all countries are encouraged to establish at least one dementia-friendly initiative (Dua et al., 2017). In parallel, numerous Western countries continue to transition care from secluded, institutional environments to community settings, resulting in more people living at home, including those with dementia (Low et al., 2011). People with dementia are often associated with a fear discourse and stigmatized as only experiencing loss and decline. Although there is no cure, several modifiable risk factors, such as a physically active lifestyles and social contact, may prevent some forms of dementia (Livingston et al., 2020). Further, psychosocial research has shifted the dialog to highlighting the strength and capacity of people with dementia. In particular, the concept of social health emphasizes the ability to adapt and self-manage the consequences of dementia (Huber et al., 2011; Vernooij-Dassen & Jeon, 2016). The social health framework provides a lens to understand how social resources can maintain and improve the capabilities of people with dementia (Vernooij-Dassen & Jeon, 2016). Within this framework, there are dimensions of social health, including having the ability to function according to competencies and talents, experiencing autonomy in daily life, and engaging in social activities (Huber et al., 2011).

There is an established relationship between the built environment and health. Accessible built environments and public spaces are important for the social health of people with dementia. Planners, public health practitioners, and architects create

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built environments based on design principles, guidelines, and theories. Public spaces can encourage mobility and social interaction between people with dementia through features of the built environment, such as well-maintained streets and sidewalks, clear signage, and traffic control measures (Brorsson et al., 2011; Sturge et al., 2021b). Further, through accessibility regulation standards, environments are designed to be more accessible for people with physical impairments. The built environment, however, can pose challenges for people with cognitive disabilities such as dementia. Design principles, such as familiarity and legibility, are recommended to make outdoor environments dementia-friendly (Mitchell et al., 2003). However, unlike attempts to make accessibility improvements for people with physical impairments, design principles to make public spaces more accessible for people with cognitive impairments are not universally understood or applied (Brorsson et al., 2011).

This chapter aims to make policy and practice recommendations to promote the social health of people with dementia in public spaces in the Netherlands. This analysis reflects emerging themes identified in a scoping review of international literature (Sturge et al., 2021b), an empirical research publication (Sturge et al., 2021c), and unpublished qualitative data from walking and in-depth interviews. Data were collected by a research team in the Netherlands during the first phase of the COORDINATEs project, an international, interdisciplinary research project with the aim to explore mobility patterns and the use of technology for decision-making (Sturge et al., 2021a). Data were collected over a 2-week time period using the following methods: (1) socio-demographic surveys; (2) walking interviews; (3) GPS tracking; (4) travel diary entries; and (5) in-depth interviews.

2 Policy Recommendations

2.1 Revitalization and Redevelopment Considerations

The redevelopment of sites and replacing infrastructure can negatively impact how people with dementia navigate, experience, and relate to public spaces. For instance, people with dementia tend to rely on landmarks with historical significance to navigate neighborhood settings (Seetharaman et al., 2020). The removal of these sites can impact social health. Meaningful sites, such as monuments, should therefore be preserved to recognize the history of a place and provide a sense of familiarity and an environmental prompt for wayfinding that supports autonomy. Planning regulations should ensure that public infrastructure is developed with a clear function and a lack of homogeneity. Similar structures can make it difficult for people with dementia to re-orientate themselves. Further, it is crucial to ensure that signage and alternate routing for construction are clear and easily understandable, specifically to prevent situations where individuals with dementia must solely rely on their intuition to navigate the site.

Alzheimer Nederland, a non-governmental organization, is dedicated to improving quality of life for people with dementia. In pursuit of their mission in Groningen, they enlisted the expertise of Mr. Wouters, who has extensive experience as a caregiver, to provide valuable insights and support. He stated:

> I was asked by Alzheimer Nederland to be a representative for the city of Groningen. In this role, I can knock on the doors of nursing homes, politicians, institutions, organizations, and the municipality to ask how dementia-friendly is Groningen.

In collaboration, these representatives, along with other individuals with experience in dementia, can form dementia advisory committees. These committees play a vital role in public participation and decision-making processes, providing valuable insights to inform the renewal and development of public space. Their involvement ensures that the evolving needs of the growing dementia population are met (Brorsson et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2016; Sturge et al., 2021b). This active contribution to planning processes, including a co-design approach as described in Part IV of the book, can enhance the social health of people with dementia and their caregivers by recognizing their competencies and expertise related to revitalizing and redeveloping public spaces.

2.2 Mixed-Use Residential Sites

Mixed-used planning is an approach that aims to designate areas where diverse populations and multiple uses of space can be harmoniously integrated. Mixed-residential sites, inclusive of different generations, can support or hinder the social health of people with dementia. For example, research participant Warren positively describes his neighborhood in the town of Farmsum as "quiet and social" with a mix of generations: "It is mixing a bit now. Younger people with two children already live there … They are also very social." However, a social mix of housing does not automatically support social health. Bea, a resident of Groningen, describes the significant demographic changes in her neighborhood. She has noticed that as they age, they are moving away from the neighborhood. Consequently, their houses are being purchased by working families who tend to be absent from the house and the neighborhood during the day. She stated:

> Here in the neighborhood there are only these awful whoppers of houses. They are all double earners with two cars. They buy a very expensive house and they have it renovated too. They go to work at seven in the morning to work, and then at eight the children go there [to school].

Therefore, when designing a mixed-residential site, planners should consider the daily routines of the inhabitants to avoid a sense of emptiness and a lack of social activity, which can negatively impact social health. The zoning and by-laws of residential sites can encourage activities and spaces for social encounters by designating park space, walking paths, and community centers. Additionally, planning guidelines can require the installation of distinct landmarks and furniture to support both the

autonomy and social activity of people with dementia (Seetharaman et al., 2020). Furniture, such as park benches, can support both autonomy (e.g., providing a space to rest or plan the way) and a place for positive interactions, resulting in more socially cohesive public spaces for all citizens (Sturge et al., 2021c).

2.3 Mixed-Use Zones for Transportation

There is a growing trend to promote multimodal transportation in public spaces. However, mixed-transportation pathways can be efficient yet overly stimulating which can negatively impact the social health of people with dementia. For instance, designated bike paths are a common physical feature found in the Netherlands. Across the country, cycling has become a prevalent mode of transportation, with dedicated bike paths being established to enhance convenience and safety for cyclists. These dedicated bike paths offer a separate space for cyclists, allowing them to navigate without the interference of car traffic. The evolving mix of transportation types on bike paths has introduced new dynamics and made them less predictable. For instance, the presence of electric bikes and scooters on bike paths has led to an increase in speed compared to the originally intended peddling speed. Research participant Netty finds cycling on these mixed-use pathways to be intimidating, particularly when the bike paths are busy with young people on their scooters. When asked if she is afraid of cycling in Groningen, she responded, "Sometimes. It depends on how busy it is and when those young people on that scooter, they are just crazy … Youth are flying from left to right, they don't care." Electric transportation modes, such as electric cars and scooters, can also make it difficult for people with dementia to walk in public spaces because they cannot hear them approaching (Sturge et al., 2021b). Land use and transportation planners should carefully consider the needs of all transportation users when designating pathways with a mix of transportation modes. Planners should also be aware that the amount of stimulation that can occur on mixed-transportation pathways are not beneficial for all citizens. For people with dementia, these sites can be overstimulating and can impact social health by creating a mobility barrier to public space access. Designating single, predictable-use pathways and calm areas in public spaces can promote social health for people with dementia.

2.4 Diverse Retail Environments

For people with dementia, shops are important places for social encounters (Sturge et al., 2021b, 2021c). However, not all retail environments are suitable for people with dementia, especially when the products are not suited to their needs or interests. For instance, Helena stated that the clothing shops in her town, Oudewater, do not appeal to her because they primarily carry cheap clothing for a younger generation.

She stated, "Well, there are shops here [in her town], but they are not shops tailored to our age. The town is bursting with clothing stores, but only young and hip disposable material." It is not only the product type that can create a social barrier but also the layout of products. Bea, a resident of Groningen, said, "I find it very difficult when things have been moved in the store. Then I have to search. That is just too much." If retail environments fail to cater to the preferences of individuals or present products in an intuitive manner, these socially significant spaces become exclusionary, inaccessible, and difficult to navigate. As retail environments are integrated into public spaces, the needs and interests of all citizens should be considered.

2.5 Automation and Technology

The advent of technology has brought about automation and transformation in public spaces. However, it is important to note that technology in public spaces can have negative impacts and can create barriers for people with dementia. For example, being directed to a self-service checkout can disrupt what is often a welcomed social encounter (Sturge et al., 2021b). Several participants from the COORDINATEs project described difficulties with using technology, such as remembering a pin code, doing online banking, pre-registering for activities online, and loading pre-paid transportation cards. These experiences resulted in frustration and embarrassment for some participants. The technology use of others can also make people feel socially isolated and ignored. For example, Harold, a resident of Groningen, shared his experience of being on the train with other passengers using technology. Describing this situation as interfering with the possibility of social interaction with fellow passengers, he stated, they are stuck with those awful things [referring to cell phones]. Similarly, Vera, another resident of Groningen, expressed a sense of disconnection from others when they are engrossed in their devices, stating, "Well, sometimes those are people too, young people, they are sitting there looking like that … most of them [young people] just watch their mobile." These quotes demonstrate how technology usage can create social engagement barriers that highlight the differences between groups in society. The digitalization of a younger generation, and how technology disrupts interaction between generations. Businesses should also carefully consider implementing technology where increased automation leads to decrease in staff interaction, which impacts the social health of a person with dementia (Sturge et al., 2021b). Also, to ensure technology does not interfere with social interactions, public awareness campaigns could be developed to remind people to look past their devices and engage with others around them in public spaces. Future research should explore ways to regulate technology use in public areas, such as designating tech-free zones.

2.6 Cultivating Dementia-Informed Societies

Public education can enhance the engagement of individuals with dementia in public spaces, mitigating stigma, and fostering supportive social interactions. For example, dementia awareness training of staff working in grocery stores, banks, and other public services has resulted in people with dementia feeling supported and more engaged in public spaces (Vernooij-Dassen & Jeon, 2016). Some people with dementia claims that general public awareness is the ideal way to inform the public that dementia is a disease in the community. Moreover, establishing a dementia-educated workplace can greatly contribute to the social health of individuals by enabling their continued participation in the workforce, which is often disrupted after diagnosis (Sturge et al., 2021b). Public awareness education, informed by lived experiences, could also mitigate stigma around other health conditions, such as tuberculosis as detailed in Chap. 10, or help better integrate and support the social health of migrants. By offering dementia "first aid" training, businesses can equip their staff to provide support to both employees and customers with dementia. This training helps create an environment that ensures safety, provides necessary support, and protects the dignity of individuals with dementia. Also noted, several participants from the COORDINATEs project describe the differences between themselves and younger people. This generation gap observed can indeed disrupt social encounters, indicating the need for comprehensive education throughout Dutch society. To foster a dementia-informed society, it is imperative to provide dementia education starting at primary school.

3 Discussion

People with dementia are a stigmatized group with invisible needs that have often been overlooked in public space design. The emerging concept of social health offers a promising approach to addressing and improving dementia-related symptoms (Vernooij-Dassen & Jeon, 2016). However, the concept is rarely applied beyond the bio-medical and psychosocial realms. While certain features of public spaces can support the well-being of individuals with dementia (Sturge et al., 2021b), there are several features of public space that can impede social health. Regrettably, this valuable knowledge is not always readily available or considered by planners, and the perspectives of people with dementia have often been overlooked in design principles. Drawing upon themes identified in a scoping review and data collected from individuals living with dementia across various settings in the Netherlands, six recommendations have been proposed to guide design choices and promote social health in public spaces. Further, this chapter introduces the term "dementia-informed," as an alternative to "dementia-friendly" or "dementia aware." This new terminology provides a sense of action, engagement, and empowerment.

While the examples provided may be primarily based on Dutch data, the concept holds global relevance. As cities and public spaces are planned to meet the evolving needs of citizens, adopting a dementia-informed planning process becomes essential. This inclusive approach involves engaging various stakeholders, including land-use, housing, transportation, and commercial planners, to remove barriers that hinder social inclusion and engagement for people with dementia. It is vital that planning decisions are informed and validated through the active involvement of a committee of experts who have direct experience with the day-to-day experiences of people with dementia and their caregivers. This level of engagement is one way to link knowledge of the lived experience into the public space design process. In addition, to foster a sense of belonging and support positive social health, it is crucial to minimize and reconsider dramatic changes to urban forms, such as the removal of monuments that may disrupt the familiarity experienced by individuals with dementia. Implementing these recommendations can significantly enhance the social participation of people with dementia, which aligns with WHO's action plan to create a dementia-friendly societal environment (Dua et al., 2017).

While this review focuses on people with dementia, it is important to note that many of the findings and recommendations are relevant to other groups with cognitive impairments. Individuals with brain injuries and autism spectrum disorder may also benefit from dementia-informed design principles and inclusive public space planning. By ensuring the planning and practice take into account the perspectives and needs of people with diverse impairments, we can drive positive transformations in future public space development. This approach emphasizes the importance of creating socially inclusive environments for people of all abilities. There is a pressing need to shift the focus of public space design beyond the physical needs of individuals and acknowledge the often-invisible cognitive needs. A crucial step in this direction is to expand universal design principles to be grounded in the day-to-day experiences and reflective of social health. By considering cognitive aspects such as wayfinding, sensory sensitivities, and social interactions, public spaces can become more socially accessible and inclusive for all.

4 Conclusion

This chapter marks the beginning of an important conversation surrounding the intersection of social health and dementia-informed public spaces. We have explored how changes in landscapes, design, and technology can have significant impacts on social health, particularly for individuals with dementia. Public awareness and education are fundamental initial steps in the development of public spaces that effectively support the social health of people with dementia. This knowledge can be translated into dementia-informed design principles, which can serve as guiding principles for the future development of public spaces. By integrating the insights gained from research, experiences of individuals with dementia, and best practices, we can shape public spaces that actively promote well-being, social health, and inclusion of people

with dementia. Although the focus of this chapter is specifically on dementia, it is important to recognize that the examples and suggestions provided have broader implications. The principles and recommendations for creating dementia-informed public spaces often align with the goal of developing socially engaged and sustainable public spaces for all. This focus on social health in public spaces is a timely discussion during the COVID-19 pandemic, where social encounters have been limited and reintroduced for all people. Public spaces will need to be socially accessible for all citizens and abilities to support a sense of belonging, safety, and confidence. Designing diverse, accessible public spaces around the concept of social health and inclusivity principles can inform the development of socially sustainable cities for all.

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Chapter 15
Leaving It to Fate: Biopolitics in a Low-Income Settlement in Bengaluru, India

P. Omkar Nadh and Gautam Bhan

Abstract The primary focus of this paper is to explore the distinct "politics of life" concerning access to health care and conceptualisation of life within the context of a low income settlement in bengaluru, India.

1 Introduction

KG Halli is a low-income settlement in the northeastern part of the Bengaluru City, which is often referred to as India's Silicon Valley. The neighborhood is home to nearly 45,000 people, with two recognized slums covering an area of just 0.71 km^2 (Bhojani et al., 2012). KG Halli is comprised of the local population as well as with migrants from the nearby state of Tamil Nadu and other parts of the Karnataka State. Moreover, it includes resettled individuals who have been displaced from other parts of the city as a result of the city's development projects. The most common spoken languages in this neighborhood include Kannada, Tamil, and Urdu. The neighborhood is largely comprised of Muslims, accounting for about 70% of the population, along with lower caste groups. It is also interesting to note that most people in this neighborhood can effectively communicate in all the three aforementioned languages, indicating generations of co-existence among culturally diverse groups. A majority of people in this area are employed as daily wage laborers, small business owners, car and truck drivers, domestic help, and other low-skilled occupations.

The KG Halli neighborhood is visibly distinct from other parts of the city in terms of its infrastructure, lifestyles, and overall built environment. Accessibility to essential services such as drinking water and sanitation in this neighborhood is a matter of serious concern. One of the most important components of the built environment in KG Halli is a large-scale housing project known as Corporation Quarters, constructed by the Slum Development Authority. These quarters consist of 11 four-story buildings, with each building comprising nearly 20 units. Each unit has

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an area of approximately 400 square feet. However, to this day, none of the residents have been provided title deeds (*Hanchike Patra*), despite the promises made by the local government a decade ago. The neighborhood also exhibits characteristics of what Caldeira (2016) refers to as peripheral urbanization, with various forms of self-construction activities taking place. One distinctive form of self-construction observed in this low-income neighborhood is the disproportionately large number of small shops that accompany resident homes. This scenario is highly unusual when viewed through the lens of economic supply–demand logic. These forms of self-construction also align with Caldeira's (2016) observation that peripheries "operate inside capitalist market … [but] bypass the dominant logics."

Furthermore, the highly dense environment of KG Halli represents a clustered and segregated space in contrast to the middle-class and elite neighborhoods in the city of Bengaluru. This segregation creates a social distance that is inherently exclusionary in nature, manifesting itself in various ways determined by larger socio-political and economic forces. These segregated spaces in mega cities serve as evidence of how pre-existing social inequalities are appropriated and reproduced. This has been an increasingly growing concern for over a decade, particularly in the Indian context, attracting attention from both academic and activist circles. Scholars have specifically focused on the politics within low-income settlements and how residents in these neighborhoods navigate the political landscape to secure basic services and exercise their rights over the city (Bhan, 2009; Jonnalagadda, 2021). Concerns have also been raised regarding the segregation and the consequent politics of exclusion based on religious and caste identities in India's mega cities, as highlighted in the well-known ethnographic volume on "Muslims in Indian Cities" edited by Gayer and Jaffrelot (2012). However, what is largely missing from this body of work on politics in low-income settlements in Indian mega cities is an examination of the biopolitical strategies that impact the well-being of residents in these neighborhoods—an aspect this paper attempts to address. Based on our field work in the KG Halli area, this paper delineates how even the most basic aspects of life become subjected to political calculations, despite being fundamentally guaranteed as rights by the Indian constitution. Our analysis shows that in the KG Halli area, individuals suffering from chronic conditions—specifically diabetes, hypertension, and asthma—have limited access to health care, which is primarily facilitated through charitable means rather than being recognized as a right. This type of healthcare access complicates the categories of inclusion and exclusion. While access to health care in the form of charity may initially seem inclusive, it simultaneously undermines the notion of health care as a fundamental right.

2 Life and Mortality in KG Halli

With the objective of exploring how chronic conditions are integrated into the everyday lives of individuals residing in low-income neighborhoods, in-depth interviews were conducted with 34 residents from the KG Halli area between January

and March 2021. Care has been taken to ensure that the sample is representative of the socio-cultural diversity within the population residing in KG Halli. During the course of the interviews, one of the questions posed to the participants was, "How did your life transform with the onset of a chronic condition?" In response, the majority of research participants equated their lives with work and provided extensive insights into how the onset of chronic conditions has impacted their employment status. In this low-income settlement, more than 65% of individuals diagnosed with a chronic condition between the ages of 40–55 had to give up their means of income, whether employment or self-employment. For instance, let's consider the case of Abdul Rehman (name changed), a 55-year-old individual who was diagnosed with diabetes when he was 45 years old. Mr. Rehman migrated from a village located 60 km away from the city of Bengaluru. He initially worked as a car driver and later became a bus driver for the Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation in 1984 where he worked until 2007. After the onset of diabetes, Mr. Rehman choose to take voluntary retirement, even though he had 11 more years of service remaining. He cited reasons such as declining strength (taakat kam hota tha) and blurry vision (najar thoda kam hora tha). "Taakat" and "chakkar" (dizziness) are the most commonly cited reasons why people from this settlement have either left their employment or significantly reduced their workload compared to their previous level of work.

> Abhi mera BP aur tabiyat bahut karrab hogaya isliye mein 5 years hogaya kaam chodke. Chakkar aata hein mereko, jaate jaate ghol ghumke mein do theen baar ghir gaye.
>
> Now because of BP, my health is affected. It's been five years since I left work. I used to feel dizzy so I fell down two or three times on my way to work.

However, our fieldwork findings also reveal that individuals who had given up their existing sources of income relied on their children for support. Nearly all of the respondents who had given up their sources of income mentioned that their children now support them. While in most cases adult family members stepped in to replace the primary income earners, there was one particular case that stood out. It involved an individual who was a tailor and a single father. In this situation, the responsibility of taking care of the family fell upon the shoulders of his 15-year-old son, who had to become a car driver. Two years later, this young boy got married to a young girl and is now the father of 1-year-old child.

The situation is even more distressing for individuals who do not have family members to depend upon. In such cases, subsistence becomes possible only by pushing beyond bodily limits. During our fieldwork visit to Suhana's (name changed) home, we observed that she borrowed two chairs from her neighbors who lived in the adjacent house. After carrying the chairs, Suhana was gasping for breath and could only speak to us after five minutes when her breath had stabilized. In our discussion with Suhana, it became apparent that, at the age of 13, she was married to a man as a second wife and had the responsibility of raising six children. Four of the children were from her husband's first wife ("badi wali" or big one), and two were her own after the first wife passed away. Later, Suhana's husband and her own son also passed away. The loss of her son is a pain that Suhana has been unable to overcome. Under such circumstances, Suhana was diagnosed with diabetes, and her blood sugar levels

reached over 400 mg per deciliter. Prior to the onset of her chronic condition, Suhana was employed as a domestic worker, providing services in 5–7 households per day. Due to the onset of diabetes and the absence of alternative support, Suhana had to continue working for her subsistence, albeit with a reduced workload.

These life experiences raise questions about the grand promises of our mega cities and the nature and extent of exclusion experienced in our cities. It also raises questions about whether the onset of a chronic condition has similar effects on individuals from different social and economic backgrounds, potentially leading to the cessation of their professional lives. Furthermore, the way in which healthcare access is facilitated for the residents in this low-income neighborhood creates a biopolitical space that raises issues regarding health care as a right and challenges the notion of life that is valued in itself. In the following section, we will elaborate on these aspects.

3   Biopolitics in KG Halli

For Foucault (1976: 241), biopolitics involves strategies to "make live and to let die" at a population scale. In the low-income settlement of KG Halli, access to essential healthcare services is shaped by biopolitical strategies. KG Halli encompasses approximately 35 healthcare institutions, including a primary and secondary healthcare center, a tertiary healthcare institution known as Dr. BR Ambedkar Medical College, and a well-known nonprofit healthcare institution that offers subsidized services. The remaining establishments consist of single-doctor private clinics. However, of particular interest here is the nonprofit trust known as Sarvanganga Health Care Institution (SHCI). During fieldwork, it became evident that despite the presence of publicly funded primary and secondary healthcare institutions in the neighborhood, people mostly depended on private clinics, which they often referred to as "family doctors." This scenario began to change in 2014 when SHCI, a nonprofit trust, was established in the neighborhood under the leadership of KJ George, the publicly elected representative of this constituency for the last three terms. SHCI initially started offering kidney dialysis services to poor individuals and later diversified to provide outpatient medical services to people living with non-communicable diseases (NCDs). The institution has a dedicated team of field staff who conduct regular visits to all households in the neighborhood, collecting information regarding the residents' health conditions and the treatments they are receiving. Regular screening camps are also organized to identify individuals living with chronic conditions as well as to provide necessary support through SHCI. The institution provides monthly check-ups and NCDs medicines free of cost for the poor and at a subsidized rate for others. Undoubtedly, the perception of SHCI among the residents of this neighborhood is largely positive, and its establishment has led to a decline in the role of private clinics. For people like Suhana, who are reeling under the conditions of extreme poverty, the charitable services provided by SHCI become a crucial source of sustenance. Without these services, their lives would be otherwise *left to fate* due to the inability to afford such healthcare services.

However, such organization of the healthcare system, particularly in low-income settlements like KG Halli, where access to health care is facilitated through charitable acts, reflects a politics of life that is contingent on the benevolence of certain individuals. This reinforces the notion of the precarious existence of healthcare services and their reliance on charitable support. This charity-based politics of life distinguishes itself from other common forms in which health care is accessed or advocated, such as through the lens of it being a commodity or a right. Accessing health care in the form of a commodity involves a set of politics that reinforces the notion that life is not an inherent right but something that must be earned. On the other hand, accessing health care as a right constitutes a politics of demand that recognizes the intrinsic value of life itself. For the residents of KG Halli, the commodity form of health care remains inaccessible due to their class position. As a result, accessing health care as a charity takes precedence over the notion of health care as a right. This stark contrast is clearly visible in KG Halli, where public health infrastructure is already available. Rather than making public health services more accessible, the provision of these services in the form of a charity by the elected representative, who is expected to uphold the Constitution that guarantees health care as a fundamental right, creates a paradox. Therefore, the problematic biopolitical space that SHCI constitutes reinforces and further strengthens the fatalistic notions of life, while simultaneously diluting the notion that life itself is inherently valuable. This has political implications for accessing health care as a fundamental human right.

4 Conclusion

KG Halli, a low-income settlement inhabited by people from vulnerable socio-economic backgrounds, is a segregated space in India's Silicon Valley, Bengaluru. This periphery distinguishes itself from core parts of the city in terms of its infrastructure, lifestyles, and overall built environment. The primary focus of this paper is to explore the distinct "politics of life" concerning access to health care and the conceptualization of life within the context of this low-income settlement. Our findings reveal that the provision of healthcare services in the form of a charity is constitutive of biopolitics. SHCI, a nonprofit trust established through the initiative of a powerful political leader, is an important means of sustenance for KG Halli area residents reeling under the conditions of extreme poverty. However, this charitable provision of healthcare services reinforces the notion that existence is contingent upon the benevolence of powerful individuals. This diminishes the intrinsic value of life itself and carries political implications for accessing health care as a fundamental right. Furthermore, the act of providing healthcare services as charity by an elected public representative seems paradoxical, considering the opportunity to strengthen public healthcare infrastructure. This could have promoted the notion of life as a fundamental right, as guaranteed by the Indian Constitution, to which this elected representative owes allegiance.

Ethical Statement The project obtained ethical clearance from the internal ethics committee at the Indian Institute for Human Settlements.

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Part III
Intersectionalities II: Agency and Place-Making in Cities

Chapter 16
Women's Everyday Struggles for Greater Inclusion in Pre-war Khartoum's Urban Landscape

Griet Steel, Gordon McGranahan, and Khadiga M. Osman

Abstract This chapter explores women's everyday struggles for greater inclusion in Khartoum by drawing on empirical case studies with single women, female street vendors, and female smartphone users that were conducted in pre-war Sudan, when President Omar al-Bashir was still in power. By focusing on the day-to-day struggles of these women (who are diverse in terms of age, race, class, and geographical background), the chapter illustrates the creative ways in which women continuously negotiated their access to public space, decent work, and housing in an urban context in which they have been structurally excluded from these assets. By doing so, the chapter contributes to broader discussions on how to create more inclusive urban environments for women from different socio-economic backgrounds.

1   Introduction

Inclusion has become an increasingly prominent aspiration in international urban policy statements. The term barely appeared in the UN Habitat II Agenda of 1996. But by the time of the next major UN cities conference in 2016, the shorter New Urban Agenda called for inclusion 47 times (McGranahan et al., 2016). In these calls, there is often the implicit suggestion that certain groups are being discriminated against on account of their identities, and that inclusion simply involves eliminating this discrimination. Women are one such group. All over the world, women's and girl's access to urban assets such as public spaces, housing, and decent work have been contested in gendered ways. Several urban scholars indicate how women's fear of violence has severely restricted their mobility on a day-to-day basis, how the global

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housing crisis disproportionally affects women in their quest to find access to affordable housing, and how a male-oriented labor market still pushes a large proportion of women to informal and unpaid labor opportunities (Chant & McIlwaine, 2016).

In Arab cities, Islam shapes certain gender norms. Women living in these cities must negotiate their position in the urban environment through these religiously defined norms or associated regulations. This is at least the case for Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, where *sharia* or Islamic law has been central to defining the position of women in public and private spheres of Sudanese society (Nageeb, 2004). Since the introduction of *sharia* in 1983, the "public order" law has prescribed on how women should self-represent in public, and what their domestic roles in marriage ought to be. For instance, the law very precisely elaborates how women should dress in public spaces and who must accompany them while outside the private home. Several authors indicate how the Sudanese government under the regime of Omar al-Bashir (1989–2019) has used this public order law "to police women's bodies" (Ali, 2019) and to "exclude women from public space" (Bahreldin, 2020). Although omnipresent in Khartoum's landscape, women (especially female migrants and women from low-socio-economic classes or from certain ethnic groups) have negotiated their right to the city on a day-to-day basis. In line with Lefebvre's (1996) definition of the right to the city, women in Khartoum have faced a permanent struggle to both the abstract right to belong to and co-produce the urban space and the concrete right to education, work, health, leisure, and accommodation.

From this perspective, claims to urban space and the exercise of rights must be analyzed as complex and often contradictory struggles for inclusion on the part of the multitude of different overlapping/intersecting groups and sub-groups who may be discriminated against. The experience of being gendered, for instance, intersects with race, ethnicity, class, age, and sexuality. It also varies across place, contexts, and political regimes. As a result, achieving greater inclusion is rarely simple. Within cities, greater inclusion can be achieved through the day-to-day struggles of excluded individuals and groups, through more formal appeals to rights to urban places, services, or political processes, or as part of larger scale revolutionary transformations. This chapter recognizes these three different dimensions of struggles for inclusion and greater rights to the city, while focusing in particular on women's everyday struggles for greater inclusion in Khartoum's pre-war urban landscape.

This chapter is based on daily observations and ethnographic fieldwork in Khartoum when President Omar el Bashir was still in power. While we acknowledge that women's day-to-day struggles for inclusion and rights to the city change according to changes in political regimes and historical events (such as the 2018–2019 revolution and the outbreak of civil war in April 2023), we provide relevant examples of how women in pre-war Khartoum negotiated their urban presence through shared accommodation, informal labor, and digital engagement. Also in war time, these result to be significant arenas where women's day-to-day struggle for better inclusion remain although the specific challenges in this period are not reflected upon in this chapter as it is hardly impossible to collect empirical material in this period.

2 Shared Accommodation

Important examples of the challenges women in pre-war Khartoum faced negotiating their place, both social and spatial, came from single women trying to gain access to accommodation. Despite global acknowledgement of the importance of secure housing, land and property rights for women and girls,[1] women generally gained access to land and housing under the auspices of men, with whom they cohabited. Single women, divorced women, and widows faced difficulties negotiating on urban housing markets because the legal system and the gender norms that informed it reinforce a dependence on male cohabitants. Men and women had the same formal rights when it came to owning and renting houses, land, or other property in pre-war Khartoum. However, conventional gender norms disapproved of women living outside of the family institution or male control. As a consequence, the search for affordable housing was problematic for most young single women, especially for female migrants/refugees not accompanied by men. Many female migrants from Ethiopia and Eritrea fall in this category. Generally, such migrants rented a room in mixed-group tenure arrangements where they shared the kitchen and bathroom (if there were any) with other tenants. They paid very high prices for this basic accommodation and were often also confronted with other vulnerabilities in their living conditions.

For instance, we interviewed Hiwot,[2] an Ethiopian girl who came to Khartoum in 2016 to escape from the military service in her country. She aimed to travel to Europe because finding work in Sudan was difficult. At the time of the interview, she had already lived in Khartoum for 2 years and 6 months. She had irregular employment in a bar, like many other Ethiopian and Eritrean women, and spent much of her time there. At the cramped home, she rented with three girlfriends, she had to share a bedroom and a bathroom, and had no kitchen. Her dream was to get out of Sudan: she was only there to make enough money to continue her journey. As she herself said, "In Sudan, I cannot be myself. It feels like I do not have freedom in Sudan." When we asked why she felt that way, she said, "It is the government. You have the constant fear of *kasha* [raids]." She explained that she was once working in a bar when the police came in and arrested her. Her residence permit had expired and she was detained in jail for 3 days until the owner of the bar paid the fine of 5,000 Sudanese pounds (roughly 75 Euros at the black-market exchange rate in 2018). She was then released to renew her residence permit. When we asked what she would change in her life in Khartoum, she said she would like to have official documents, a work permit, and the abolishment of the dress code. She suggested that the dress code was the aspect of Sudanese life most responsible for denying her personal freedom in Khartoum. She explained that she had to act like a Sudanese woman and to respect the dress and behavior codes for Sudanese women. She could not behave or dress

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[1] See, for instance, the specific targets and indicators in the Sustainable Development Goals, SDG 1 (no poverty), SDG 5 (gender equality), and SDG 11 (sustainable cities and communities).

[2] In this chapter, all names have been changed to pseudonyms to preserve anonymity.

differently in public, because any perceived difference could lead to harassment from the police and society in general (Interview with Hiwot in El-Jireif, October 2018).

Her testimony exemplifies the lived experiences of many of the Eritrean and Ethiopian female migrants in Khartoum. These are described in more detail by Grabska (2016) in a research report on adolescent girls' migration to Sudan. They must make themselves "invisible" in the city (some even do so literally, by wearing a headscarf and an *abaya* (a full-length outer garment) to gain access to basic urban services such as shelter, work, and free movement through public spaces. They shared accommodation, both to minimize costs and to protect themselves from harassment by public order police, Sudanese neighbors, and landlords.

Single Sudanese women also faced vulnerabilities and harassment as they tried to make a living in the city. Living alone as a single woman was associated with immorality in Khartoum society. Women who have been unmarried found it hard to rent a private room or apartment. As a consequence, many single Sudanese women who came to study in the capital and decided to stay during the first years of their professional careers "stayed stuck" in female-only shared student accommodations. These single women were generally exploited by older female hostesses who exerted control over their behavior. The hostess set a curfew in the early evening hours and no male visitors were allowed. In addition, the female inhabitants must respect the dress code and were restricted in their movements outside the house without a man to accompany them. And, like the young Eritrean and Ethiopian women we spoke to, they testified to the widespread abuse and harassment they received for being seen as "immoral" and "loose women."

3   Informal Work

A more visible way in which some women negotiated their urban presence in pre-war Khartoum was through informal vending on street corners, sidewalks, in public markets, and open areas in the city. These activities were important to their economic strategies. They allowed women make a living in a city that was afflicted by one of the highest inflation rates in the world and where women's productive work was becoming ever more important for families to make ends meet. The so-called "tea ladies" were probably the most prominent example of public female informal workers (Nagi & Alkabir, unpublished paper). Most tea ladies were Ethiopian and Eritrean migrants, although some were first- or second-generation internally displaced women who had fled from the southern and western regions of Sudan to Khartoum seeking safety and a better livelihood. Selling tea and coffee in Khartoum's cityscape had become a popular economic activity for these women, especially for internally displaced women who lost their husbands in the countries' violent conflicts or whose husbands worked in remote areas and only returned home on weekends and public holidays.

However, these informal vending activities were not without risks. Like any other woman working in the public sphere of the city, the tea ladies suffered from ill repute

in Sudanese society. They were subjected to sexual harassment and public insult based on religious and moral grounds. Because of their racial background and the fact that they worked on the street until late, these women were publicly accused of being prostitutes, bad housewives, and/or irresponsible mothers. In addition, their work was under permanent surveillance by the various para-police units of the Islamist regime (including the public order police, the security of society police, and the popular police). These units regularly organized raids, locally known as *kasha* or "sweeps" to evict tea ladies from their vending locations and to confiscate their merchandise and working equipment, forcing them to pay high fines to have these assets returned. Like other informal workers in the city, tea ladies had no official permission to work in the streets of pre-war Khartoum, and being a woman working on the streets was considered particularly degrading.

To protect themselves from harassment and socio-economic challenges, some tea ladies had organized themselves in associations such as the Tea Sellers Union. Often having to work clandestinely, these associations aimed to collectively defend their socio-economic interests and support each other in the gendered discrimination they faced in their everyday work. For example, they organized informal saving and credit systems, locally known as *sanduk*. In addition, many tea ladies had made informal arrangements with private landlords to get permission to work on their territory. This protected them from eviction and the risk of having their merchandise seized. Some tea ladies had even obtained permission to open private booths in private open areas in the city. This helped them to avoid the annoyance of having to transport merchandise and equipment around the city in Khartoum's highly congested traffic or *zaghma.*

4   Digital Engagement

A third strategy through which women in pre-war Khartoum negotiated their urban presence is situated in the digital space. Although no specific gender-segregated data were available, women in Khartoum had become important Internet and social media users. For women who had a smartphone and could afford an Internet connection, Internet and social media, in particular, had become part and parcel to their everyday lives. And without glorifying the transformative character of the digital, nor denying the existence of a digital divide, it is important to include the digital space in discussions on women's urban life. Especially in settings where physical access to and actions within the urban public space are highly controlled, the Internet provides an often important alternative space for women and minority groups to be politically, socially, and economically active outside state surveillance.

In pre-war Khartoum, the Internet had offered comparatively safe spaces for women to express their views on religion, politics, and culture in an urban society that was dominated by patriarchal modes of authority and where there was little room for women to participate in public debate (Kadoda & Hale, 2015). Women's groups active on, for instance, Facebook had also been important in mobilizing political change and organizing civil disobedience (see also Ali, 2019) as the digital

space remained one of the urban places where active governance surveillance was minimal (though the entire system could be shut down in times of conflict and civil disobedience).

In this sense, the Internet opened up new social spaces in which women could interact outside the male gaze. Especially for housewives confined to the house due to family responsibilities and conventional gender and class norms, the Internet was considered an important medium to engage in social-political activities from which women felt excluded in the offline world (Steel, 2017). This was exemplified by one of the women we interviewed. Wala, a housewife in her 50s, started to use WhatsApp and Facebook on her 10-year-old daughter's iPad. This offered Wala an important alternative to physically moving through space. As she reflected, "with WhatsApp and Facebook you find all that you want on the [Inter]net and there is no need any more to rush from here to there" (Interview with Wala, 13 December 2014).

For women like Wala, who generally came from a more privileged social class than the women described in the former two sections, leaving the house for work or shopping was seen with disapproval. They were supposed to have financially strong husbands who took full responsibility for outdoors activities. As such, the Internet had become an important tool for accessing new styles and fashions not available on the Sudanese domestic market and to replace physical shopping in male-dominated public markets that women preferred to avoid, not only due to traffic congestion and hot weather conditions, but also due to the risk of being criticized by their husbands and other male relatives for their public appearance (Steel, 2017).

Social media groups were also important for women's economic participation in real-estate markets such as renting furnished apartments and condominiums to expats and/or the Sudanese diaspora who temporarily came home to visit their families. It offered an opportunity to disguise the fact that women were playing an influential role in the formally male-dominated real-estate sector. However, did these digital engagement practices really challenged existing gender norms? Like other avenues that attempt to circumvent gender conventions in society, these practices might have also further immobilized women and reinforced gender norms confining them to the home.

5   Conclusion

The women described in this chapter were very diverse in terms of age, race, class, and geographical background. Their gender interacted with these characteristics in shaping how these women experienced their day-to-day life in pre-war Khartoum. This interaction also helped determine the diverse ways in which women negotiated their access to public space, decent work, and housing in an urban context in which their access to such assets was continuously under threat.

What became clear from the case studies is that women's struggles for greater inclusion in pre-war Khartoum ranged from the day-to-day struggles of excluded individuals and groups (such as the tea ladies), to more formal appeals to rights

to urban places, services, or political processes (such as women living in shared accommodation), or as part of larger scale revolutionary transformations (such as digital engagement). These different dimensions showed that gendered struggles of urban inclusion and exclusion typically had spatial dimensions. In this sense, Khartoum's urban space has been continuously being remade by its inhabitants at different scales through various (inter)national legislations and changing power relations. It has been a dynamic process in which these boundaries evolve over time and according to changing regimes.

For instance, women and their organizations participated prominently in the Sudanese uprising and the overthrow of Omar al-Bashir's 30-year authoritarian regime. This could have been an important step in making the city of Khartoum a more inclusive urban environment for women from all different backgrounds. But the brute crackdown of these political reforms with a state coup in 2021 and the outbreak of an enduring civil war in April 2023 show that Sudan still has a long way to go to push women's rights at the center of the political agenda. With the male-driven armed conflict, the position of women in the city of Khartoum, and Sudan in general, is more precarious than at the time fieldwork for this chapter was conducted. When opportunities for peace arise, it will therefore be all the more important to support women of all socio-economic backgrounds in their searches for adequate accommodation, remunerative work, and access to the Internet. In any case, this is likely to require the renegotiation of gender norms, making them more relevant to the enormous challenges that both men and women face living in and rebuilding a new Khartoum.

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Chapter 17

Temporary Solutions and Inclusions Through Informalities: Examining Children's Agency in an Urban Informal Settlement Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic

Aireen Grace Andal

1   Introduction

This chapter examines how urban inclusion can start with child-led informalities, albeit temporarily. In view of the "rights to the city" paradigm, socio-spatial inclusion is "earned by living out the routines of everyday life in the spaces of the city" (Purcell, 2002: 102). This notion of inclusion has been primarily associated with being conspicuous—asserted, fought for, and won over in broader scales such as urban policies and local resistance. This understanding of inclusion, however, glosses over the capacity of individuals labeled "marginalized" to foster urban inclusion through subtle informal ways. Thus, this work examines how urban informalities generate temporary solutions and inclusion (see Haydn & Temel, 2006) through the agency of slum-dwelling children. Children use the touchscapes of the slum to contribute to the creative vibrance of their neighborhood, even amid the anxieties brought about by the coronavirus pandemic quarantine. While the notion of "temporariness" has been criticized in urban discourses, this work explores how children challenge the binary of temporary–permanent acts of agency in the city. Using de Certeau's (1984) notion of "everyday tactics" or the art of managing everyday events despite hostile conditions, this work shows an alternative way to understand urban inclusion. It proposes viewing urban inclusion as a temporary strategy to cope with precarious situations. This chapter also builds upon existing literature on informal settlements that emphasize the "making do" culture (Goldgel-Carballo, 2014) and highlights the resourcefulness of slum-dwellers in managing their urban spaces (see

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de Antuñano, 2019). Slum-dwellers demonstrate the ability to harmonize and organize various aspects of their everyday lives, offering a fresh perspective on the concept of inclusion. As such, the focus of this chapter is on how children create their own sense of agency in informal settlements, turning away from narratives of victimhood to narratives of agency. Paying attention to children's agency within informal settlements is crucial to diversify the prevailing narrative that inclusion solely originates from those in positions of power. By doing so, we reclaim and acknowledge children's capacity to actively contribute as agents of inclusion. This approach is also relevant in recognizing and amplifying the voices of marginalized individuals within the urban context.

2   Site and Participants

This chapter is based on data collected through remote interviews conducted with children aged 9–12 residing in an informal settlement area in San Jose del Monte City (SJDM), the Philippines. It illustrates the connection these children have with the materiality of their informal settlement and how they cultivate a culture of solidarity for informal and temporary urban transformation. SJDM is a mid-tier city located in the province of Bulacan. The city has been witnessing rapid population growth, evident from the increasing population in the majority of its barangays (local administrative divisions). According to the City of San Jose del Monte (2020), it is projected that the city's population will increase by roughly 1.9 million people within the next 30 years. In SJDM, the population of young dependents (0–14 years old) in this city is around 151,786. As the density of children continues to rise, the city is grappling with the challenges of unprecedented levels of urbanization. One significant issue is housing, particularly concerning migrants from other provinces who have settled in makeshift houses situated in hilly zones in the city's periphery.

The research was conducted in collaboration with a local non-profit organization dedicated to serving the needs of slum-dwelling children. Prior to the research, thorough discussions took place with the participants and their parents, wherein detailed information about the study's objectives and the voluntary nature of participation was provided. Informed consent was collected orally from all participants prior to their involvement in the research. A remote interview was conducted, during which children were asked to share aspects of their informal settlement resources were useful for their artistic self-expression. To maintain a comfortable environment for the children, they were interviewed with their peers in groups of three or four resulting in seven triads and one quartet. Finally, the names of children are documented for record-keeping purposes but they are not mentioned in the results section to protect their anonymity. Every effort was made to ensure the safety and well-being of the children involved. Special attention was given to ensure the research process was enjoyable and that they felt confident about the contribution they were making. Participation in this study was voluntary, and participants were welcome to withdraw from the study at any stage of data collection process.

The average age among the participants was 11 years old. The interviewees came from relatively large families, with five persons per household, on average. Living in informal settlements, the children not only experience substandard living conditions such as lack of access to running water, clean toilets, and safe housing materials against disasters but also face the threats of displacement and dispossession. Their parents were physical laborers such as construction workers, shop helpers, retail workers, street vendors selling rags, and house cleaners for well-off families. While households received local government aid to feed themselves during the pandemic, some parents still engaged in informal work because government aid is not enough to make ends meet for large families.

3   Temporary Inclusion Through the Touchscapes of Informalities

During the community quarantine imposed during the pandemic, the city implemented stricter measures described as, "limiting movement and transportation, the regulation of operating industries, and the presence of uniformed personnel to enforce community quarantine protocols" (Modified General Community Quarantine (MGCQ), ITFMEID 2020 Sec 1.13). Children were highly encouraged to remain in their residences but were allowed to engage in outdoor physical activities as long as they followed minimum public health standards such as wearing masks and keeping physical distancing protocols. Yet the children expressed their anxieties about the disruption of their lives due to the pandemic, such as not being able to go to school or the loss of their parents' jobs. Given these conditions, slum-dwelling children demonstrated their ability to create their own forms of empowerment and inclusion systems within the materiality of their informal settlements. They exhibited solidarity through various means, at least two of which are discussed in the following sections.

3.1   Garbage Repurposing and Accountability

Garbage collection became a significant issue during the pandemic, leading to feelings of exclusion among children in the city. Even prior to the pandemic, the growing population densities in the area resulted in significant accumulation of garbage in their neighborhood. The initial months of the pandemic quarantine posed significant challenges as the regular collection of garbage became less frequent, and most times, garbage collectors by-passed their neighborhood altogether. Thus, garbage piled up in their neighborhood for longer periods of time than usual. To address these challenges, the children took the initiative to repurpose their household garbage. They informally conducted garbage sorting activities within their households, carefully selecting recyclable items for repurposing. Using materials such as stones, wood,

branches, or plastic straws, the children engaged in creative outputs and activities. Through these endeavors, they not only formed stronger bonds with one another but also fostered a culture of resource sharing within their community. Of particular interest is the exercise of accountability in terms of hygienic practices when repurposing their household garbage—a new sense of accountability they are not used to practicing. Prior to the pandemic, these children would often scavenge for discarded garbage on the hillsides and along roadsides and then sell any useful items to junk shops. However, due to safety concerns and adherence to pandemic protocols, the children made the decision to primarily focus on utilizing household and neighborhood waste. As one 11-year-old child mentioned, "Being poor does not automatically mean dirty. We're even more resourceful than other city dwellers." The agency demonstrated in this context involves the active participation of children, who engage in short-term strategies to cope with their circumstances. They do so with a strong sense of accountability and self-awareness, understanding that they are responsible for their actions. In the mid of the pandemic lockdown, these children exhibited resilience and creativity in dealing with their anxiety. They channeled their emotions into various forms of artistic expression, such as drawing in stones, recycling plastics for artwork, and creating handicrafts with dried leaves.

3.2 Micro-Gardens and Community

The children have also established a sense of temporary inclusion through their participation in urban farming. It is common for these slum-dwelling communities to cultivate small plots of informal land of 50–101 square meters, primarily for household consumption. With limited employment opportunities available for parents during quarantine, households have increasingly relied on micro-gardening for food security. Children in this community have actively participated by finding vacant areas on the hill to expand their farming communities and where the neighborhood can share farming resources. These children also managed to collect biodegradable wastes such as vegetable skins, seeds, roots, and dead insects for composting and producing natural fertilizers. Notably, the children are aware that their urban farms can only provide temporary food security. However, they view their involvement in urban farming as crucial steps towards environmental preservation and the reduction of landfill waste. Living in urban hills, they are well aware that their bio-cultural activities contribute to enriching the soil by improving root penetration and water-holding capacity. The children also ingeniously integrated their eco-friendly efforts with garbage repurposing by transforming items such as jars, cans, and bottles into pots for planting both edible and ornamental plants.

4 Revisiting "Temporary Solutions": Child Agency or Sugar-Coated Urban Tragedy?

The potential of children to engage with the limited touchscapes of their informal settlements has dual implications. First, slum-dwelling children are much more than docile inhabitants of their environment. They are aware of their agency and use their judgement to address their urban conditions. They create their own sense of inclusion by initiating ways to deal with the stresses and uncertainties of the pandemic. It is through such temporary—but nonetheless significant—acts that children open up alternative ways to pursue different yet legitimate forms of inclusion in the city. Second, however, these temporary solutions raise the question of whether there is a risk of romanticizing an urban tragedy while framing it as children's agency. This impulse is often observed in tourism within informal settlements, where the resilience of the community runs the risk of being interpreted solely as narratives of agency that overshadow spatial exclusions. This raises a significant concern about the potential glorification of children's initiatives in utilizing urban space in the guise of "resilience," which may inadvertently gloss over their temporary solutions to survive resource scarcity.

In light of these considerations, slum-dwelling children present an alternative perspective that helps us understand the nuanced forms of agency they exhibit. Far from sugarcoating the precarity of their urban conditions, slum-dwelling children are aware that what they do is only temporary and not lasting. They see temporariness and permanency not as opposites, but rather a continuum. Children do not see the "temporary" as necessarily futile just because it is short term. Rather, the impermanence of their "everyday tactics" (de Certeau, 1984) helps them to see what works and what does not in their urban context. Whereas discourses in sustainability usually dismiss temporary acts as band-aid solutions to broader structural issues, the children made it clear that temporary solutions are viable test beds because such short-term solutions allow them to see future possibilities that may work and, more importantly, their capacity as future leaders. They are fully aware that they run the risk of being evicted anytime while squatting, so their temporary solutions are easier to let go of when needed. Although this increases feeling of spatial exclusion, they still believe they do not need to accept their condition as vulnerable. Under this framing, children challenge the rigid binary that exists between celebrating permanence and demonizing the temporary. The ambiguity surrounding their actions is indeed valuable, because it opens up possibilities for children to expand the definition of "tactics" and explore alternative strategies to navigate informalities in urban areas. Rather, we see a negotiation between the notions of temporariness and permanency as mutually reinforcing strategies that children have taken to create a favorable outcome for themselves within their informal settlement context. Having the mindset of being "squatters" in their everyday lives, the children have practiced a "making do" culture by appreciating temporariness. They are aware that their situation of uncertainty pushes them to act, even temporarily, in order to survive slum-dwelling. These children know that their present response to their current conditions are not the best

solutions and adult authorities need to step in. But they also realize that instead of being liabilities, they can at least be of use by using whatever they have at their disposal as children.

Slum-dwelling children are agency-conscious beings who view themselves as the best judges of how to maximize their utility as children and best respond to their informalities. This reveals an alternative way of sparking the act of inclusion, in which children overtake a fragment of leadership in their urban spaces. By being aware of the limited acts they can do, they can match their kind of agency to the needs of their households and neighborhood. The children felt that through these seemingly temporary acts of empowerment, they transformed into valuable members of their neighborhood. Despite being aware of the temporary nature of their actions, these children enhance their understanding of informal settlements and develop a heightened sense of agency in navigating their fragile pandemic contexts. They also emphasized that they possess a comprehensive awareness of their broader deprivations and the anxieties they face amid the uncertainties of the pandemic. Yet, they believe that their acts of "making do" can turn future adversities and vulnerabilities into less hazardous conditions, even within a short period of time. When asked how they managed to overcome their worries and fears regarding the pandemic, most children said that they had not entirely conquered their anxieties. Rather, they revealed that they find solace in taking the pandemic one day at a time. Their informal settlement neighborhood has, therefore, become an arena where children can experiment with taking responsibility for the circumstances they find themselves in.

All of these observations indicate a shift in the narratives surrounding children, positioning them as problem-solvers rather than liabilities within informal urban communities. The narrative of children as agents of urban inclusion also coalesces with intersectional and child-friendly policy approaches that aim to integrate children's views on various urban issues affecting them such as green spaces, safe play spaces and mobility, child poverty, and child participation as urban stakeholders. This intention is not to romanticize or glorify the children's resilience forced upon them by their circumstances. Instead, it is to reveal the remarkable potential of children to cultivate their own sense of inclusion within their communities. The concept of temporariness offers an alternative lens "of making visible urban possibilities that have been crowded out or left diffuse or opaque" (Simone, 2004: 14). In contrast to typical narratives of impermanence that homogenize the "slum habitus" (Roy, 2011: 228), the case of children in SJDM City has shown that temporary solutions in informal settlements need not be condemned as derogatory responses. In contrast to being mere "self-help" acts amid the pandemic, these children have shown the potential of temporariness to reflect the resilience of poor communities. As children, contemplating temporary solutions such as urban farming or repurposing "waste" served as testing grounds for their future actions. Acknowledging the impermanence of their acts has also demonstrated the awareness children have about their capacities as agents.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how slum-dwelling children demonstrate agency and foster inclusion through their utilization of temporary solutions within informal settlements. Why should we bother to understand children's perspectives on promoting inclusive cities? Understanding urban inclusion through a child-oriented lens requires rethinking children's capabilities and a more nuanced imagination than current vulnerable-laden narratives about informal settlements within the broader urban settings within which they are found. Specifically, this work illuminates the potential of children to be facilitators of urban inclusion. Often, urban citizens do not have a firm grasp of slum-dwelling children, the level of infrastructure services they have access to, their sense of dignity and resilience within their dwelling units, nor the roles they perform as urban citizens. Yet, this kind of information is critical for the development of public policies that are all-age inclusive. The children in this study challenge the dichotomy between temporary and permanent responses to slum precarities, and rather see these notions as a continuum that continuously reshape how children perform their "everyday tactics" (de Certeau, 1984). Such seemingly trivial actions of children potentially bring a level of conviviality into an otherwise distressing urban space. This shows the potential of children to turn their spaces into an experimental site for material creativity, in stark contrast to the elitist notion of "art" in galleries and museums. This enlivens their community as children in the city's marginal terrains. Instead of shying away from their pandemic context, children constantly imagine how to best live within the possibilities afforded to them. However, these children are also agency-conscious beings who know their limitations as children and as slum-dwellers. Through their temporary solutions, children continuously negotiate the bounds of appropriate actions within their situation while being mindful of the impermanent circumstances of the slum. Adopting such a perspective can help us develop a greater sensitivity to alternative ways in which individuals make sense of urban marginal terrains, particularly during times when their mobility is restricted due to the pandemic. These findings provide a compelling basis for advocating children's participation in urban planning and design processes. It highlights the importance of supporting their involvement through diverse approaches of socio-civic engagement in the city. These observations overlap with a broader theoretical drive to expand our understanding of urban culture within marginalized groups, acknowledging their shifting and tenable material realities as integral components of the city (see Latham & McCormack, 2004). This work hopes to spark conversations about the ways in which urban children can nurture and preserve their creative culture amid the challenges and vulnerabilities of their environments.

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Chapter 18
Lefebvre Visits Joyful Kolkata? The Right to the City and Migrant Laborers

Sattwick Dey Biswas

1 Introduction

In late March 2020, with 4 h of notice, the union government of India imposed a complete nationwide lockdown, or containment measures against COVID-19 under the Disaster Management Act 2005 (especially its Sects. 8 and 10). The initial implementation of the state lockdown was very stringent, and within the next few days the entire informal economy, which employs roughly 90% of the Indian workforce, was closed (ILO & ADB, 2020). This left millions of informal laborers, a sizable portion of which are migrant laborers, jobless. In the absence of any comprehensive social security measures for these migrants, the following 3 months, millions saw their meager savings dry up, food shortages and the threat of being thrown out of housing provided by their employers. The state could not ensure that the basic demands of life were met. Millions of migrants walked, bicycled, or took whatever means possible to travel thousands of miles home. The painful photographic and video evidence, documented by news and social media channels, has served as a catalyst for our exploration. Inspired by Lefebvre (1968/1996), who in agreement with Nietzsche's proposition, suggested that if "God is dead, man too," we delve deeper into the subject matter.

In this chapter, we employ Lefebvre's (1968/1996) "right to the city" concept to understand the lives of migrants in the city. We specifically focus on the exploitation of social identity-based discrimination by the political sphere, the issue of social identity and class-based housing discrimination, and the challenges surrounding access to social welfare services. Our analysis draws upon a range of existing literature, including academic research and news media sources. Additionally, we conducted in-depth telephonic interviews with ten returning migrants and five migrant employers, with each interview lasting at least 40 min. To supplement our research, we also

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collected ethnographic data while traveling in local trains alongside the laborers working in the city. The participants of the study are connected to Calcutta/Kolkata, India. This city is popularly known as *the city of joy*, the title of Dominique Lapierre's much-acclaimed novel.

2 Migrants and Informality in the Indian Context

In independent India, the birth of the nation was marked by one of the largest and most brutal mass migrations in history, a result of the partition of British India which caused millions to travel across the sub-continent. The weak transitioning states of India and Pakistan failed miserably to manage this migration which has left its mark on the collective memory of the people. The constitution of independent India (1951) ensured that intra-country migration is protected by the state. Article 19(1) (d) ensured that "All citizens shall have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India" and (e) "to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India" (Constitution of India, 1950). Although there are some restrictions under the sixth Schedule of the Constitution that empower certain autonomous areas and states to have separate domicile laws to prohibit others from owning land and property in the jurisdiction, these laws do not restrict the rights to reside in other parts of the country, to work, or to have access to other fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of India. As a result, migrant workers from all over the country have historically flocked to the more economically active regions and high-wage regions, due to the pull factors outlined in planning theories, such as the megacities of India.

According to the 2011 census, the number of migrants in India was estimated at 139 million (Census of India, 2011; Sharma, 2017). About 9 million people migrated annually in the period 2011–16 (OECD, 2017). According to De (2019), "Despite the significant increase in internal migration recorded in 2011, the nature of movement remains relatively unchanged since 2001. The bulk of the movement (62%) is within the same district. Another 26% is between districts within the same state. Only 12% of movement is inter-state." The reasons behind the rather low rate of internal migration are (a) non-portability of entitlements (such as the Public Distribution System), (b) preferential norms in educational institutions, and (c) domicile requirements for state government jobs (Kone et al., 2018). As a result of these reasons and due to the nature of the Indian economy where the informal economy accounts for roughly 90% of the labor force, the majority of migrants are employed in the informal economy or precarious economy.

In 2018, informal service at the global level comprised 47.2% of the economy (ILO, 2018). In the Indian context, several studies have examined the nature of informal service sectors and the impact of the emerging gig economy in India (Unni & Naik, 2013). Researchers have not managed to agree on the exact scale of informal migrant laborers, but the numbers are staggering (close to 100–150 million). The estimation is complicated because it is very difficult to differentiate between the

formal and informal economies given that informal jobs have heavily penetrated so-called formal job markets and institutions. This informalization is further complicated by the existing caste system and multi-mode production in India (Harriss-White & Michelutti, 2019; Kosambi, 1954).

Most migrant workers, because of their precarious earnings in the rural economy and dispossession from existing means of production, either live in informal housing and slums or in the extreme outer layers of the city and industrial zones. Migration takes place with the hope that dispossession will be followed by a reabsorption into the urban labor market, however the precarious nature of life and living for the considerable number of migrants brings the realization of the aspiration into question (Patnaik & Patnaik, 2016).

The case study area central to this chapter is Calcutta/Kolkata. This city, built by British immigrants in India as their river port and warehouse city, features a small fort that was used to protect their business and later to expand British colonialism in India and South Asia. Long story short, the leaders of British immigrants in India or the East India Company bought three villages from the local landlords, namely, Sutanuti, Govindapur, and Kalikata. As a result, the name Kolkata or Calcutta came into existence. The area was already known to be a business area but the British developed it in the face of stiff Portuguese competition from more southern ports. The location was already known to be attractive for both the flourishing river-to-sea trade routes and natural fortification (Sen, 2019: 81–109). Therefore, it would be incorrect to consider Calcutta to be a brownfield project.

British Calcutta, as a port city and export hub heavily utilized by British immigrants in India, attracted thousands of migrant laborers also termed "coolies"' or "porters" who worked in the warehouses, and loaded and unloaded ships. Over the years, the small fort and warehouse became a city and then a (mega) city. Over the years, Calcutta has developed specific informal settlements and comparatively low-cost, bare minimum, and often unhealthy residential units for migrant laborers. Starting from three village settlements next to the Hooghly River, the areas have become a city of migrants with an estimated population of 15 million (2021).

The existing literature captures how various factors influence migrants' decision-making processes in choosing areas of residence and work. Migrants' nature and quality of employment broadly depend on the existing social network that brings migrants to these cities and the later developed professional networks. The social identities of the employers and employees, such as caste and religious affinities, influence whether these two groups continue to work (Harriss-White & Michelutti, 2019; Kosambi, 1954).

3 Us Versus Them

For many reasons, migrants constitute a significant proportion of laborers in Kolkata. Mr. Amol, a resident of an informal dwelling in the area near Subhas Sarovar Lake said that the majority of the laborers—he uses the terms "shromik" which includes all

types of manual laborers—come from the neighboring districts and specifically the states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, and Odisha. Only a minority of them arrived through family and friend networks. He asserted, but could not establish with evidence, that it is only people from Bihar and Odisha who come by way of network-assisted migration. According to his understanding, Bengali laborers from nearby districts typically arrive as a group, led by the main contractor who oversees a specific set of works. Politicians did not create identity-based inclusion and exclusion out of thin air; instead, they capitalized on pre-existing social predispositions regarding laborers from Bihar and Odisha, using them as a political weapon (Lefebvre, 1968/1996: 150). The predispositions suggest that these workers are stealing jobs from the Bengali migrants. The situation in Kolkata has not reached the level of hostility reported in cases from Mumbai (Balakrishnan, 2019). Ms. Kakali, who is Mr. Amol's neighbor, suggested that the laborers from Bihar and Odisha live together in a tight-knit community. Their social bonding is the reason they continue to receive daily work in the form of small contractual jobs as drivers, security guards, and beauty parlor workers. A vast majority of migrant workers are construction workers, electricians, and plumbers who work at the big construction projects in Kolkata's New Town area.

Multiple identity formations take place at the same time, becoming the touchstones of inclusion and exclusion within housing facilities, livelihood opportunities, and social networks. These differences are more observable between migrants and those with more secure, but often non-permanent, job contracts. There is a clear division between those with a relatively more permanent nature of living in the city and those who live as seasonal or very short-term contractual workers. At another level, a second identity-based inclusion and exclusion criterion is apparently visible between the Bengali migrants who consider themselves to have more rights to "exist" in the city than the migrants from other states who have historically contributed to the development of the city. The development of their existence in the city and their "rights" progressed from customs or prescriptions to enactment or codification during the British era (Lefebvre, 1968/1996: 157). These processes however do not deter the politics of identity to blossom wherever opportunities and different criteria for inclusion and exclusion are formed. The formations of "us," "them," and "we" play a crucial role in the realization of the right to the city, as they contribute to various barriers faced by individuals in accessing their rights. These barriers include the right to work, the right to settle, the right to form and benefit from social networks, and the right to access public services and facilities (Lefebvre, 1968/1996, 150–151).

4   Settling Down in the City

Migrants who come to work in the construction sector often strive to sustain their stay in the city by transitioning from one project to another. According to Mr. Satish, a migrant from Darbhanga, Bihar, with the presence of laborer leaders who hold group labor contracts or act as informal subcontractors poses challenges for laborers to transition from this employment model to working independently in the city. The

laborers find it difficult to break away from this system and establish themselves as independent workers due to the layered hierarchy, with multiple levels of subcontracting below the official subcontractor. In the construction sector, working with a labor-leader-subcontractor can be advantageous for securing employment consistently throughout the year. These people have valuable connections that facilitate the mobility of a team of workers from one project to another. Despite the benefits of working with a labor-leader-subcontractor, some laborers choose to move away from the group due to challenges they face in fulfilling their responsibilities to their families. One significant issue is the irregular and long delayed wage culture prevalent in the system. The newcomers in the group often face higher levels of exploitation compared to the more established members. The objective of these groups of laborers is to work very hard for around 12 years, or slightly longer, as beyond that point, the demanding and exploitative nature of the work environment becomes unsustainable due to their declining health. During one visit to a construction site in New Town, a 16-year-old boy was lying in bed with a fractured hand. I was first told by my contact that the boy was injured while working but a moment later a labor leader informed me that the kid was injured while playing. This example is not an exceptional case but rather a common occurrence highlighting the systemic exclusion faced by informal construction laborers when it comes to accessing essential medical treatment.

According to Mr. Tamal, a resident of Bardhhaman District who was involved in repairing the drainage system along the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass in Kolkata, it is nearly impossible for informal workers like himself to bring their families to the city. Migrants engaged in the construction industry, temporary factory workers, and utility workers frequently move from one place to another for work. Frequently, they are housed in temporary makeshift shelters located just a few meters away from their workplace. These migrants come without family and live to work every single day, except during the holidays of Durga puja and Eid. Inviting families to the city is only possible if one can climb the ladder and become "head-mistry" (head-laborer), a term colloquially used to describe laborers who have almost a decade of experience and now mostly do skilled finishing work or supervise many workers.

For migrant workers like Mr. Satish or Mr. Tamal, "The City of Joy," a romanticized name for Kolkata, is only joyful when you have money. For migrant laborers and their families, a safe neighborhood to live in is a dream or mirage. To quote Mr. Tamal: "The city is not interested in them, not interested in looking at their precarious living conditions. The city is only interested in their labor." Given the high cost of living, it is possible for a family of three to survive in very poor conditions with earnings of INR 15,000. However, many laborers prefer to support and maintain their family in their "desh" (native place/country) or "gram" (village) rather than subjecting them to a poor quality of life and hostile or insecure housing situations. This income barrier, along with the unavailability of affordable housing, creates an economic class division between those who can manage their lives and afford housing in Kolkata, and those who cannot.

Social identity-based divides are only becoming wider. Instead of bridging this divide by fostering unifying sentiments around apparently different social identity groups, the policymakers are making the private market responsible for meeting the

demands of the affordable housing market. The recent amendments made to allow securitization of informal land assume such market linkage will enable informal housing owners to develop their dwellings with bank-financed private developers (Sarkar, 2021). Even though such urban policies satisfy de Soto's idea of making the poor rich via formalization (2000), they fall short of Lefebvre's policy recommendation to deal with the segregation of the city based on social and class identities (1968/1996, 154). The social and political processes, beyond the scope of this chapter, ensure that the propertied class and local small-scale building contractors are given more importance in policymaking instead of meeting the wider objective of fulfilling the right to city via affordable and liveable housing for all. For this to happen Lefebvre demands: "Urban strategy resting on the science of the city needs a social support and political forces to be effective." The participants of the study could not see any such meaningful process taking place where affordability is more important than the interest of the propertied class.

5   Access to Welfare

The experiences of migrants reveal a multitude of barriers that they encounter. These barriers include the inability to read the official language; the lack of local contacts or networks; and non-cooperation from labor contractors, political leaders, and public servants. According to Mr. Maidul, a 19-year-old laborer from Mahidapur, Birbhum, who is employed in a leather factory in Kolkata, their immediate managers at the factory discourage them from using their Public Distribution System (PDS) identity cards. The reason behind this is that the managers do not want the authorities to know that the laborers live and work in Kolkata. Mr. Maidul's situation, and that of many others like him, is compounded by the fact that they do not have written work contracts. As a result, interacting with a public servant or seeking official assistance could potentially draw unnecessary attention. He added, "if the public official knows our status, or guesses our status, the words will fly and soon other officials will either force our company/*Boroda* to sign a formal contract or ask for bribes."

The challenges with PDS do not stop here. The process is further complicated by the issue of distance, as can be observed in the case of daily traveling migrants. In the case of domestic helpers, the hurdles are created by the location where they work and have developed social capital, as well as where they spend the night. Ms. Nirmala, aged 32, has been working as a domestic helper for a family residing in an upscale New Town condominium for the past 3 years. Due to her work commitments and the distance involved, she seldom gets the opportunity to visit her teenage son, who resides in Badkulla which is about 80 km away by train.[iii] Over the years, she has developed a good relationship with her employer. Over time, there has been a gradual breakdown in Ms. Nirmala's relationship with her relatives in Badkulla, who have been taking care of her son. Her work schedule extends from morning until night in New Town, and she lives in a slum in Belgharia. Currently, Ms. Nirmala is facing difficulties in receiving PDS supplies in both New Town and Belgharia. Living in New

Town presents a range of hurdles including lacking proof of address and the absence of PDS facilities in the area. These challenges make it difficult for her to access the benefits and resources provided by the PDS. Additionally, the unwillingness of her relatives to assist her in accessing PDS in Badkhulla further compounds the situation. There is a significant difference between her right to receive PDS supplies—in other words, the right to food—and the social realities which prohibit the realization of this right.

6 Conclusion

Written at the end of World War II, Lefebvre's (1968/1996) "Right to the City" still provides us with a theoretical framework to understand and interpret the urban areas of Kolkata, India. The pandemic has disrupted the past social and economic status quo. It is yet to be seen if Lefebvre's (1968/1996) idealization of the right to city, knowingly or unknowingly, inspires social and the political processes in post-pandemic Kolkata and in India as a whole. The right to the city cannot be simply conceived as "visiting rights or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (159). We do not know how the new equilibrium will look for migrants or how the new principles of inclusion and exclusion will arise.

Two questions remain unanswered. While it might not be possible to provide a comprehensive response to these questions within the scope of this discussion, it is important to acknowledge their existence. The first question pertains to the applicability of Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city in a non-Western context. The second question revolves around the applicability of idealization in light of the most recent urban and socio-economic developments. To apply Lefebvre's (1968/1996) idealization of the right to the city, we need to consider the reinterpretation of different worlds and consider them more widely. For example, Lefebvre never talked about the caste system in the city but he has extensively discussed class segregation. While applying Lefebvre's (1968/1996) idealization of the right to the city, we need to accept how caste-based or any other type of identity-based segregation operates in urban areas. Only then will Lefebvre's segregation be able to explain a city and its processes. To embark on the process of reinterpretation, it is essential to acknowledge that the caste system fosters multiple modes of production and that economic class is intricately intertwined within the caste system (Kosambi, 1954). Many state initiatives, laws, and regulations that have been put in place to address and mitigate segregation roles played by the caste system as well as those that aim to address similar discriminatory practices around the world. As an apparatus of the state, we the planners often believe that with enormous planning authority, we might be able to engineer social relations. Lefebvre cautioned about the urban planner's limited capacity in society and identified that only *praxis* has the power to bring social change (1968/1996: 151, 153). Here, Lefebvre attempts to make us understand the things we cannot change without substantial social support and political forces.

Second, we need to be open-minded to compare the effects of social developments and not restrict ourselves in comparing one world war situation with another one to prepare the context for analysis. By comparing the pandemic exodus with the post-World War II migration, pain, and hopelessness, I have attempted to show how a phenomenon that may not be a world war may have a similar psychological impact on society. On the surface, human society witnessed a rapid transformation after World War II. Extensive industrialization and massive deforestation, but also transformative improvements in communication technologies and overall improved quality of life have materialized in many parts of the world. However, billions of people still live in poverty and destitution. Given the complexities and evolving nature of urban dynamics, it can be tempting to ignore Lefebvre and instead gravitate towards theories that employ contemporary vocabularies. For example, the creation of urban space has evolved in the digital age, and social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter now play a significant role in shaping the urban discourse. While Lefebvre's era was characterized by physical campaign posters on city walls as a means of communication and expression, contemporary platforms have transformed the way people engage with urban space and participate in public discourse. However controversial it may sound, in many foundational ways, the human species has changed very little. We still have the same cognitive capacities and emotions. If Lefebvre's idealization understood and explained the *praxis* of cities during the mid-twentieth century, it should still have the potential to explain the same even though on the surface things have changed significantly. At the same time, it is the responsibility of the intellectuals to improve Lefebvre's idealization or replace it with a better one.

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Chapter 19
Racialization and Counter-Actions in COVID-19 Times: Experiences Among Asians in the Netherlands

Maggi W. H. Leung, Yanbo Hao, Özge Bilgili, and Rick Dolphijn

1 Introduction

As the coronavirus (COVID-19) made its way across the globe, stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination escalated in many parts of the world. Racialized physical or verbal assaults on people of Chinese or East/Southeast Asian appearance, and also on people of other presumed ethnic appearances such as Africans in China, were widely documented. Anti-Asian incidents were especially common in Europe during the early phase of the outbreak, often in big cities that take pride in their diversities. Some spoke of the "corona racism pandemic" (Goßner, 2020; Zeng, 2020) that was feared to have more long-lasting impact than the viral pandemic itself. In the Netherlands, large multicultural cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht—which pride themselves as being free, open, tolerant, and inclusive—have witnessed more of these types of discrimination incidents than other urban and rural areas (Discriminatie.nl n.d.). Racialized aggression has taken place not only in physical but also digital spaces. Stigmatized communities and their supporters have stood up to draw attention to and counter-racism, both in urban public spaces and through active online campaigns. As such, the COVID-19 pandemic has provided a stage for racialized discourses and aggressions, and for activism countering these.

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   This chapter draws on a qualitative research project we conducted in 2020/21. We carried out news and social media content analyses, (participant) observation and 20 interviews (in Chinese or English, as they preferred) with people of Chinese or East/Southeast Asian appearance in Dutch cities, to document their experiences connected to corona racism. We paid special attention to their daily experiences of racialization and engagement in counter-actions in urban public spaces and online spaces. In particular, our research participants pointed to places—such as supermarkets, streets, and parks—where their experiences are entangled with the discourse and contestations in digital spaces. Boundary-marking and in/exclusion processes in the physical and digital spaces conflate and constitute each other mutually and in a continuous manner (Bork-Hüffer & Yeoh, 2017).

2   Racialization and the Public Physical and Digital Spaces of Multicultural Cities

Public spaces in multicultural cities are commonly seen as places where people from different backgrounds can come together, build relationships, and create communities. It would, however, be too naïve to believe that urban public spaces are always conducive to convivial relations (Pettas, 2019; Sandberg, 2020). Many multicultural cities across Europe also became the locus of discrimination and racist practices as anti-Chinese/Asian sentiment flared up with the advent of COVID-19 (Cluskey, 2020; Damiani, 2021). In our interviews and some of our own experiences,[1] public spaces such as streets, parks, shops, and public transportation were often reported and seen as places where racist acts occur. Gaby (a 21-year-old female student in Utrecht) recalled:

> When I went to buy groceries with a face mask on in those days [i.e., during the first wave of the pandemic in March–April 2020), many children and teenagers ran away once they saw me. There were also times when I was walking on the street, people yelled "Corona!" and "China!" at me. This is quite normal, and I really got used to it.

During the height of the pandemic, experiences similar to Gaby's were reported widely in the news and on social media platforms by people of East or Southeast Asian appearance. For example, Rajagopalan (2020) reported a verbal and physical assault in The Hague, while Moca-Grama (2020) described a similar experience of a Dutch–Chinese woman in Tilburg. Such stories were also often heard in our interviews. Racialization experienced by our respondents took various forms; they could be "subtle"—such as distancing, unfriendly stares, or unconsented photo-taking (when our respondents had their masks on, which was still uncommon)—or overt, namely, verbally and physically aggressive, such as yelling offensive words, spitting, or even hitting.

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[1] Two of the authors are of Chinese appearance.

Fig. 19.1 Da Li's interview (*Source* Stop Asian Hate Amsterdam Instagram account [source: @stopasianhateamsterdam], used with permission)

There has long been discrimination against Asians in the Netherlands (Ruiter, 2021; Wong, 2021) but it has been considered by many as "hidden and underhand" (Marotta, 2020). The COVID-19 outbreak has provided a context for it to be unleashed and played out more blatantly in the public space. The common usage of the words "China" and "Chinese" as swear words aimed at people of East/Southeast Asian appearance signals the racialized nature of these micro-aggressions.

While there had been efforts to collect discrimination testimonies before COVID-19, online posts were much more common during the pandemic. New websites such as "Amsterdam racism map"[2] were set up to collate COVID-related incidents. The Instagram account "@stopasianhateamsterdam" posted an interview with Da Li, a Chinese migrant in Amsterdam (Fig. 19.1), where he wrote: "I hardly go to public places anymore because I no longer feel safe after several verbal and physical abuses in the subway and on the street" (Stop Asian Hate Amsterdam 2021).

Echoing the strategy of many other victims, Da Li avoided the places out of fear. The fear created by racist experiences in public spaces reconstructed his everyday geographies, both physically (as in where to go or not go) and mentally (as in how he sensed these public places). His experience resonates with the fluid nature of geographies of fear that change depending on where a person's identities and positionalities lie in the transforming social hierarchy (Madge, 1997). As Pain (2001) and Sandberg (2020) also concluded from their studies, race, gender, class, and age are some of

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[2] WeChat is a Chinese multi-functional social networking platform that allows users to form chatgroups. It is popularly used by Chinese people, including those abroad as well.

the key axes of differences that shape people's experience of fear in the city. Our research participants continued to visit public spaces, though less frequently and with more attention to how they appeared and behaved. Before the Dutch authorities introduced anti-COVID regulations regarding mask usage, whether to wear a mask or not placed Chinese migrants in a quandary. Zhu (22-year-old female student in Rotterdam) recalled:

> Every time I went outside before masks were compulsory, I needed to think twice about whether I should wear one. On the one hand, I did not want to get sick. On the other hand, I did not want people to look at me weirdly. But people also discriminated against us Chinese because of the face mask, so it was a difficult decision every time.

Zhu's dilemma was experienced by many people of an East/Southeast Asian appearance in deciding whether, and if so, when and how to enter public spaces during the pandemic. COVID-related stigmatization of "the Chinese" transformed public spaces into spaces of social exclusion and risk. Deng (23-year-old female student in Rotterdam) tried to deal with the dilemma by giving others a "guarantee":

> One time, I wore an N95 mask on the street [when COVID-19 had just arrived in the Netherlands]. I was afraid of being misunderstood by others, so I wrote "Just for protection" on the mask. But when a Dutch driver rolled down his window and told me to "Get out of the Netherlands," I felt hurt.

Deng's labeling herself as not infected demonstrates a kind of active effort a person in fear makes to prevent discrimination. Her failed attempt reminds us how difficult it is as a victimized minority to navigate public spaces with a sense of security. This exclusiveness of public space goes against the usual assumption, especially in multicultural cities of the "free," "open," and "tolerant" Netherlands that urban public spaces should be accessible for every individual. Contrary to the propagated inclusive potential of these spaces in facilitating multicultural interactions and understanding, the street became a painful site of rejection for Deng. Our other interviewees also shared similar episodes of rejection. Lee (27-year-old female, engaged in freelance sales and marketing in Amsterdam) was told by someone to "Stay away from me," while Gaby (21-year-old female student in Utrecht) was warned, "Don't enter the building with me."

Moreover, our interview data show that racialization is caused by, and leads to, complex power relations among individuals from different ethnic groups in urban public spaces. These relations cannot be explained by the mere conventional dichotomies of majority versus minority or native versus migrant. Gaby elaborated on who the attackers are, in her own experiences:

> I don't want to sound discriminatory. But I really have to say that most attackers are Turkish or other brown [sic] people. Very few of them are blacks. The whites are generally children, but they are just scared because they have not seen anyone wear a mask before. So, it is not really discriminatory. But brown people discriminate against me more in my daily life.

Most of our interviewees shared Gaby's perception that verbal and physical onslaughts in public spaces tend to come from other ethnic minority group members, including Turkish and Moroccan children and adolescents.

It is important to put narratives like Gaby's into context. Most of our interviewees, being young students or recent graduates, live in lower cost neighborhoods, which tend to have a higher migrant presence in Dutch urban contexts, where they conduct many of their daily activities such as shopping or getting exercise. Especially during the pandemic when mobilities were extremely restrained, their immediate residential neighborhoods were the very spaces where their social experiences were—unlike during pre-coronavirus times, when they would spend substantial periods of time at university or their workplaces. These poorer neighborhoods are places where the residents are also more likely to be deprived and perceive more threat, especially in times of crises and other uncertainties. Gaby's quote, therefore, should be interpreted not only as an issue of race/ethnicity, but also as how it intersects with other salient lines of differences, such as class and gender.

Gaby's words also illustrate how stereotypes, racialization, and stigmas run in different directions. On one hand, we are told how children from other migrant backgrounds are also guilty of racialization, under which they are also victimized. Reacting to these acts, Gaby (and many of our other interviewees) hit back with their share of racialization. Also important is how Gaby condoned the white children who were "just scared because they have not seen anyone wear a mask before" and "it is not really discriminatory." This benefit of the doubt was, however, not given to "brown" children. Here, we are reminded of how individuals and social groups position themselves and are positioned in particular and highly contextualized ways. These positionalities are determined in an intersecting and contextual manner by factors ranging from colonial histories, the global political economy, and various media, to physio-biological factors such as how the COVID-19 virus is transmitted. These in turn affect the in/exclusion processes that are played out, arguably more intensively, in urban spaces.

Contestations of identities and in/exclusions take place not only in physical but also digital spaces. We mentioned earlier that advocacy bodies (e.g., the RADAR foundation; https://radar.nl/discriminatie-melden/) and individuals who are affected by racialized assault make use of the online space to collate and raise awareness of such aggression and establish alliances for counter-actions. During the COVID-19 pandemic, people of Chinese or East/Southeast Asian appearance have also reported more incidents of online aggression, for example, in radio or TV shows and postings on blogs, in chatrooms, and on other social media. As researchers of digital geographies have argued, physical offline spaces and digital online spaces are interwoven in diverse, dynamic, and contextualized ways, even though they have their specificities and heterogeneities (Jackson and Valentine, 2014). Digital and physical spaces share a symbiotic relationship (Kitchin, 1998). They converge (Imken, 1999), conflate (Bork-Hüffer & Yeoh, 2017), or constitute (Massey, 2005) each other. Our research findings also reveal the entangled, interdependent nature of online and offline spaces. Online chats and micro-aggression can become "inspiration" for youngsters, including those from migrant and other minority backgrounds, to assault people of Asian appearance. The reports of these incidents in turn bring about more visibility, awareness, and further aggression, as well as solidarity in both online and offline spaces. The entangled nature of online and offline spaces exhibits varied spatialities

that often extend beyond the immediate life space of individuals. Wang (27-year-old male student in Amsterdam) told us about the unbounded nature of the geographies of fear:

> I remember some news about COVID-related racism in the US. The news didn't really bother me at first but bothered my parents a lot. They told me to be cautious about racists and even asked me to go back home. I said racism in the Netherlands is not as intense as that in the USA, and I believe it. But I am also more aware of these issues because if that happens to me, the damage will be forever.

Wang's narrative demonstrates that the information and imageries circulated in the digital media have a transnational impact on people's perception of the city and, hence, how to use urban spaces and interact with others in such spaces. Anti-Asian incidents in the USA can travel to far-away places to shape Chinese migrants' interpretations of their environment and cause anxiety about their safety. Online spaces become an important space where people's imaginaries of the world are formed and reshaped with a composite of realities, rumors, and imaginations. Transnational flows of anti-Asian aggression connect places across the globe. Categories of places are constructed in people's minds—especially those of actual or potential victims—on the basis of realities, labels, and stereotypes. As a result of recurrent racialized aggression during COVID-19 in "Western" and "ethnically diverse" cities, similar places were imagined as racist spaces by Chinese and East/Southeast Asian-looking people. As such, anti-Asian hate acts in the Netherlands, across Europe, and in other world regions converged to create fears of multicultural spaces in the Netherlands, which we observed in our research.

3   Public Spaces as Counter-Spaces: Protests, Representations, and Alliance Building

While public spaces have become spaces of fear for many people of Asian appearance, these are also spaces where stigmatized communities and their supporters have taken a stand against racism. To illustrate this, we spotlight two protests that took place in Amsterdam. On March 27 and April 10, 2021, hundreds of people—mostly people of Chinese or East/Southeast Asian appearance, but also supporters from various backgrounds—gathered in Museumplein ("Museum Square"), strictly in accordance with COVID-19 measures, to demonstrate against anti-Asian racism and xenophobia (Fig. 19.2). These protests were in response to COVID-related racism and Asian hate aggression, as well as to structural stereotypes and discrimination deeply seated in individual and institutional domains in Dutch society. We asked our respondents for their reflections:

> More than 200 people with an Asian background, Dutch background or other ethnic background participated in the protest [on 27 March]. They took it in turn to talk about their racist experiences on stage and chanted slogans together. I was very moved because a policeman of Asian appearance came to help preserve order that day. It reminded me that discrimination

Fig. 19.2 Stop Asian Hate protest on April 10, 2021, Museumplein, Amsterdam (*Source* stop Asian Hate Amsterdam Instagram account [*Source* @stopasianhateamsterdam], used with permission)

> is an issue no matter what your professional background is. The police work for the Dutch government and Dutch society. His presence made me feel that Dutch society hears our voices. (Lin, 22-year-old male student in Ede)

> The most memorable moment [during the first protest] is that an African lady appealed to the crowd to do something when anyone, regardless of his or her ethnic background, is bullied on a bus or somewhere else. It was very powerful. Not only the Chinese but every minority group experience racial discrimination. (Wang, 27-year-old male student in Amsterdam)

Strategically, Museumplein was chosen for the protests because of its central location, which thus promises visibility: it is Amsterdam's largest square and is surrounded by three major museums that attract impressive visitor traffic, even during COVID-19. Protests in busy public spaces bring together people from different backgrounds who are in different social positions. As such, public urban spaces are important places where in/exclusion is played out, negotiated, and envisioned. These open and safe (partly secured by the police) spaces allow the stigmatized and their supporters to share personal experiences and opinions, wave banners and placards, liaise and imagine common futures. These rare interactions across ethnic, class, and other social axes of differences enact (for the moment) and possibly inspire longer term inclusion and solidarity.

Liu (33-year-old female student in Rotterdam) envisioned the spatially and temporally unbound possibility of protesting in physical public space: "We are not content with the received attention confined by space and time." To this end, the organizers and participants established their digital presence in news and social media.

> This activity invited the local media in the Netherlands that publish in Dutch. I think this is very meaningful. The media will give its readers in the mainstream Dutch community an impression that Asians are not dumb. (Li, 28-year-old female student in Utrecht)

Raising awareness in the mainstream media space is an important step for anti-racism activism. In addition to exposure, reporting in the Dutch media also makes space for further collaboration across the native–migrant or majority–minority divide to combat anti-Asian racism and other injustices. The protests attracted attention from beyond the local and national levels, inspiring international artists and key opinion makers to speak out on social media against anti-Asian aggression.

Museumplein carries symbolic significance as a place with an active history of demonstration. The two well-attended protests at this particular place provided powerful materialities—crowds, conversations, interactions, placards and banners, photos, stories, etc. (see Fig. 19.3)—that are woven into the broader on/offline landscape of anti-racism activism. The two protests against anti-Asian racism were special for the Chinese and Asian communities in the Netherlands, as they occupied the city's largest square and used it to represent them and their histories, identities, positions, and struggles. By coming together from all over the Netherlands, people of Chinese and East/Southeast Asian origin created a strong sense of solidarity with their co-ethnics:

> I am happy that many Chinese people I already knew or didn't know joined the protest. I have a sense that being in a foreign country, we Chinese are still closely united. (Liu, 33-year-old female student in Rotterdam)

As social geographer Don Mitchell (2003: 35) noted, "Representation both demands space and creates space." In our case, the two protests transformed Museumplein into a site of political claims by people from Chinese/Asian backgrounds, creating a "moment of Asians," as Gaby (21-year-old female student in Utrecht) called it. This moment of Asian anti-racist activism carries COVID-19 particularities, unlike demonstrations in non-COVID times, with protesters in face masks holding placards declaring "We are not viruses" and standing 1.5 m apart. The gray markers on the grass (see Fig. 19.4) used for distancing remained visible for days following the protests. Even after they were removed from the grass, the community and the activism lived on in new digital spaces. Instagram accounts, Facebook pages, and WeChat groups[3] were formed to continue the process of countering anti-Asian racism.

> The WeChat group gives us a platform for communicating about racism. This WeChat group is still in use. Some people share their stories of racial discrimination. [This group] is like a harbor for the soul. We would support the victims by showing sympathy and giving advice, such as reporting to the police, when necessary. (Lin, 22-year-old male student in Ede)

These digital communities transform racism encounters in everyday online and offline life from an individual into a collective level. Public-facing social media (e.g., Instagram and Facebook pages) are lively countering spaces where personal stories, anti-racism artwork, and other relevant content are shared to raise awareness and widen public debates. On the other hand, private digital communities (e.g., WeChat

Fig. 19.3 The stage decorated with posters designed for the Stop Asian Hate protest on April 10, 2021, Museumplein, Amsterdam (*Source* stop Asian Hate Amsterdam Instagram account [@stopasianhateamsterdam], used with permission)

groups) function not as counter-aggression spaces, but as "family backyards" that provide emotional support and serve as "think tanks," offering advice and instructions on how to actively respond to discriminatory acts. All of our interviewees expressed a growing tendency towards direct confrontation with offenders and taking concrete steps, such as filing complaints with the relevant authorities.

4 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have underscored the multiple roles of urban public spaces in processes of racialization during the time of COVID-19. As our research among people of Chinese and East/Southeast Asian appearance shows, urban public spaces are both where racist acts happen and where counter-actions take place. Their experiences of racialization can only be understood through an intersectional perspective. As we have shown, their ethnicity, class, and gender identities and positionalities intersect in their experiences. We advocate, therefore, for the need to go beyond the usual dichotomies that simplify identity politics, contestations, and acts of racism.

Fig. 19.4 The social distancing markers on the lawn of Museumplein in Amsterdam for Stop Asian Hate protest (March 27, 2021) (*Source* stop Asian Hate Amsterdam Instagram account [@stopasianhateamsterdam], used with permission)

Furthermore, we have underlined the conflating nature of physical and digital spaces in our contemporary world. While we discuss the in/exclusive nature of urban spaces in this book, we must also make the necessary links to processes that take place in physical and digital spaces. In particular, as we have shown, the digital space helps deterritorialize aggression and counter-actions in physical spaces. Also, communication and imageries in the digital space engage individuals and collectives transnationally—and the effects are disparate, whereas digital networks can bring fear (e.g., racism in the USA) to far-away places, they can also link activism, creating a space for alliances and emotional support. In mutually constitutive ways, identity politics and in/exclusion processes in on- and offline spaces are shaped by and also produce multicultural societies.

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Chapter 20
Food on Display: Connecting Home (Land) and Identity Negotiation of the Rohingya Refugees in Brisbane City

Abdul Aziz

1 Introduction[1]

> *Mehmandari* (hospitality) is our culture. Food is at the core of our identity. It connects us with our home and memories…We, the Rohingya are proud of our food (A Rohingya refugee in Brisbane).

In 2020, I was invited to participate in a Rohingya food event called "Dinner with the Rohingya Community" in Brisbane City, Australia. I also visited several Rohingya cultural events, including the newly launched restaurant *Rua Haung Café* and other multicultural programs in Brisbane. During fieldwork for my doctoral project, my participants invited me into their homes, and I was greeted with warm hospitality and entertained with traditional, spicy Rohingya dishes. In addition to familiarizing myself with the research field and prospective participants of my project, I was more into observing the intersections of food practice with identity and integration. Later, during the data collection, ethnic food practices were recognized as an emerging theme related to identity negotiation in a forced migration setting. I have observed how they are proud of their traditional foods with a blend of *Arakanese* herbs as a form of identity that (re)connects their ethnic roots with Arakan (Rakhine) in Myanmar. In this chapter, I show how Rohingya food practices, through the food event and

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[1] In this study, the terms Burma and Myanmar as well as Arakan and Rakhine are used interchangeably. This approach is adopted to align with the participants' references and to gain a deeper understanding of the Rohingya community's ancestral roots.

There is an increasing number of social media platforms dedicated to promoting Rohingya food and ethnic culture. One example is the Facebook page of Rua Haung Café which can be found at the following link: https://www.facebook.com/RuaHaung

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Rohingya café in Brisbane City, contribute to building connections with the host community and their home(land) as a form of collective memory and resistance to their struggle of statelessness and for citizenship rights.

This chapter draws on literature related to identity, inclusion, and forced migration. Studies on migration and diaspora acknowledge the simultaneous embeddedness of "double consciousness" (Gilroy, 1993) and "simultaneity" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) in both home and destination countries. Based on this premise, this chapter sketches the role of food practices in evoking the collective memory of the Rohingya communities in Brisbane, Australia. In migration and diasporic contexts, food practices are studied through the framework of ethnic belonging and the construction of identities as Caplan mentions, "food as a marker of difference" and belonging (1997: 9). The appetite for food becomes an "edible metaphors" serving as an indicator of the nostalgia, revealing the notions of "home," identity, and belonging, and contributing to the sense of "diasporic consciousness" (Vertovec, 2000). Addressing the ritual practice among the South Asian diaspora, Jacobsen (2008: 1–11) has coined the notion of "religions on display" that focuses on the religious processions throughout the city and its streets. With the idea of "food on display," this study brings attention to both offline and online food practices in a diasporic setting that contribute to the lived experiences of prolonged displacement.

Scholarship in urban studies is limited to its focus on the economic growth and infrastructure that neglects the socio-cultural practices of marginalized groups like refugees and forced migrants. Moreover, many studies (e.g., Alencar & Tsagkroni, 2019) show how digital media has facilitated the settlement and inclusion of refugees and migrants in host societies, while digital and cultural aspects of food practices for identity inclusion remain overlooked. I address this gap by focusing on how culinary practices are utilized both online and offline to construct a sense of belonging and negotiate the "ethnoscapes" (Appadurai, 1996) and "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991) among forcibly displaced Rohingya refugees. Additionally, while existing research on the Rohingya hardly focuses beyond victimization, this study on the food event, the café, and digital food practices on social media provides new and innovative insights that emphasize their agency, identity, and inclusion in a context of prolonged displacement.

This study thus contributes to narrowing the gaps in existing literature on food, forced migration, and identity on one hand, and food, intercultural flows, and inclusion on the other hand, while highlighting the role of ethnic food in creating shared urban space and inclusive cities.

2   Methods and Research Context

This paper draws on my doctoral project (Aziz, 2023) that investigates the everyday digital media practices of the Rohingya diaspora, and how Rohingya transnational identities are shaped and negotiated in the context of inequality and social and spatial (im)mobilities. This chapter, specifically, aims to show how strategic food practices

and their mediation on social media (e.g., Facebook) are maintained to connect homeland and negotiate collective identity. At the start of my fieldwork in Brisbane, I intended to "hang out" (Rodgers, 2004) with the Rohingya community to understand their everyday life and experiences of settlement, exclusion, and the integration process in Brisbane. Being a citizen of Bangladesh, I am familiar with the participants' language, religions, and culture, which helped me to build trust and rapport with the participants. This paper is based on my short observation of the Rohingya food event and the café and a combination of field notes and semi-structured interviews with the Rohingya who were involved in the food practices in Brisbane. This study made every attempt to inhibit any potential risks to participants that were likely to take place while conducting this research. Finally, this research was approved by the Queensland University of Technology's Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number: 2000000774).

3 Rohingya: The Floating Lives in Exile and Survival

The Rohingya, a predominantly Muslim ethnic minority group in Myanmar, have been forcefully made stateless through constant, ongoing systemic, and institutionalized persecution and genocide by the Burmese government. After the 1982 Citizenship Act and up to today, the Rohingya have been denied any access to basic human rights, including the right to movement, education, and health in their ancestral homeland, Myanmar. The Rohingya are forced to leave their homeland, and on 25 August 2017, over 742,000 Rohingya refugees fled to Bangladesh. According to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), this is one of the most sudden mass forced displacements in human history leading to the Rohingya becoming the world's most persecuted minority.

Rohingya refugees have frequently appeared in global media headlines because of their perilous journey to the Asia–Pacific through the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal. In these reports, we see overcrowded boats capsize and sink off the coast as Rohingyas attempt to flee their homeland and migrate to other countries. While most of the Rohingya population took shelter in refugee camps in Bangladesh, many Rohingya remain scattered across the world including in South Asian and Asian-Pacific countries. For the last two decades, a significant number of Rohingya have moved to Australia, using different routes throughout Asia–Pacific. Australia's key response to the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar was to offer humanitarian aid. At the same time, a handful number of Rohingya refugees have been granted humanitarian visas and have resettled in Australia, while hundreds are being held in Manus, Nauru, or other places in Australia. Being stateless genocide survivors, a significant number of Rohingya managed to flee their homeland, Myanmar and settled in Australia through a perilous journey. It is estimated that around 800 Rohingya are living in greater Brisbane while there are approximately 6,000 Rohingya in Australia overall. Although the authority of Brisbane City recognizes the significance of cultural diversity, the Rohingya community may experience racism, xenophobia, discrimination,

and other forms of exclusion due to their ethnic and cultural identity. In this context, food practices keep the spirit of resistance alive in new generations of Rohingya, helping them to reclaim their identity and citizenship rights.

4   Food on Display: Identity, Inclusion, and Belonging

This section shows how the Rohingya refugees negotiate their diasporic identity as an everyday resistance through food practices in Brisbane City, Australia. In both the food event and the Rohingya café, the predominant observation was the development of cross-cultural relationships in urban space. The findings show that the food practices in the city are significant conduits of both intergenerational and intercultural transmission among the Rohingya community and beyond. I argue that sharing food with people from other cultures strengthens the shared and collective identity within the community, as well as contributes to a culturally diverse and inclusive city. Therefore, becoming a facilitator for intercultural interactions, food practices play a potential role in transforming a city into a more diverse and inclusive space.

4.1   Dinner with the Rohingya Community

I participated in the Rohingya food event organized by the Refugee Solidarity Meanjin (RSM) along with the support of the Rohingya United FC-Brisbane soccer club. The event took place in front of the Kangaroo Point Central Hotel (as shown in Fig. 20.1), where I met many participants and refugee rights activists, including those involved in the online-based refugee rights campaign (#FreeTheKP120) to fight for refugee freedom in Brisbane. During the event, I had the opportunity to interact with many Rohingya individuals who shared their traumatic experiences, expressed their pain, recalled their perilous journey, and voiced their deep concerns for their homeland and citizenship rights. Some of them also shared their everyday life experiences, including insights into their integration and settlement process in Brisbane.

During my visit to the Rohingya food event, participants from a range of backgrounds and nationalities lined up for food while both Rohingya and outsiders were chatting and taking snapshots and videos of the food. I observed that while some young Rohingya were serving food, other Rohingya members were roaming around the street, sharing their experiences of displacement with "observers" or "outsiders." Maintaining social networks became more evident as I witnessed many outsider participants—such as non-refugee members of the Brisbane community—enjoying the Rohingya food and taking photographs or being photographed with the Rohingya food and community members. Non-refugees, who are also known as Rohingya rights

Fig. 20.1 The organizing team of the food event posing for a group photoshoot after the event. The participants were seen wearing traditional Rohingya clothes, t-shirts with the "Rohingya" tag, and Rohingya football team jerseys in Brisbane (*Source* Author's fieldwork, 2020)

activists, wore t-shirts with the "Rohingya" tag on the back, which serves as a collective Rohingya identity performance in front of others, reinforcing *bonds* with the host community in Brisbane (see Fig. 20.1).

Such food arrangement can also contribute to an inclusive urban space that connects three critical practices of social networks (Putnam, 2002), namely, social *bonds* within the community, *bridges* with the host societies, and *links* to institutions and authority in an urban setting. The young Rohingya people, in particular, can negotiate everyday challenges in a new environment and find ways to "live productively together and create new kinds of solidarities and identities" (Harris, 2013: 143). In this way, social capital and networks provide a sense of belonging and spaces for sharing resources and place-making practices in the host environment.

My observation shows that organizing such a food event facilitates social networks that boost the sense of social inclusion. It facilitates the intergenerational transmission of the collective identity encompassing their suffering and traumatized memories to younger community members, including children who actively participated in the event. It also reflects Massey et al.'s (1993: 448) definition of migrant networks as "interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin." In particular, for the Rohingya who have been persecuted because of their ethnic identity, this event allows them to be visible in urban space and recognized by the "other." According to most participants, bringing traditional food to "others" symbolizes the hospitality of the Rohingya people and the place they come from. According to one participant, "*Mehmandari* (hospitality) is at the core of our culture." The Rohingya community members expressed that sharing traditional food with local communities brought them happiness and fulfillment. Thus, food practices serve as a means to (re)connect with the memories of daily life in *Arakan,* the region from which they have been displaced, thus remaining stateless.

4.2 Rua Haung Café: "A Taste of (Home) Burma"

Rua Haung Café, a recently established Burmese Rohingya Café, proudly promotes itself with the slogan "*A taste of Burma*" (see Fig. 20.2). The café specializes in serving authentic Rohingya food as well as a combination of South Asian dishes and *halal* food with vegetarian and vegan options. A team member of the café said expressed that one of the primary motivations behind establishing this café is to revive the ethnic food culture and preserve the identity for the new generation of the Rohingya community. Additionally, the café aims to raise awareness about the Rohingya crisis among the host community. Moreover, a portion of the profits is used to support Rohingya refugees facing challenges in Rakhine state and other refugee camps. I had the opportunity to inquire about the regular menu of Rua Haung Cafe and a team member graciously provided the following information: the café provides a variety of Rohingya food, primarily, *Maas Saloin* (fish curry), *Mohinkha* (yellow split chickpea soup), *pickled tea leaf salad,* and *Bayon Khoshee* (eggplant cooked with Arakanese spices)... *Maas Saloin* (fish curry), the red snapper fish is cooked in lemon juice with green herbs and spices…with roasted onion and garlic oil on top. Most dishes are cooked or baked with tropical *Arakanese* aromatic herbs and spices, including coriander and lemongrass, and sometimes oven baked in banana leaves.

While the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted the operating hours of the café, community members were observed actively engaging with other Rohingya and non-Rohingya people inside and outside of the café. The interior design of the café thoughtfully incorporates elements that reflect the Rohingya ethnic and cultural roots to Burma. In this regard, the café can also be seen as a reflection of their agency and

Fig. 20.2 The entrance to the Café. The wall was painted with Arabic and Burmese letters that reflect the Rohingya ethnic identity and roots with Burma ad Islam (*Source* Captured by Hamza Surbuland and used with permission)

inclusion in the host society. As Rohingya are persecuted due to their ethnic identity, such food spaces produce a sense of power and agency as well as a survival strategy in the host country. A participant said the café provides a space for food consumption in a "home(ly) atmosphere" that enhances pleasant feelings to alleviate the traumatic memories and painful feelings. Overall, maintaining such a foodscape helps the Rohingya community in Brisbane to reconstruct their identity by cooking, serving, and consuming their food despite being displaced from their homeland. In this context, the food practices reflect the idea of "transcultural capital," which refers to "the strategic use of knowledge, skills and networks acquired by migrants through connections with their country and cultures of origin that are made active at their new places of residence" (Triandafyllidou, 2009:102).

4.3 Digital Foodways

In addition to offline food practices, social media platforms have been an effective tool to engage the community around Rohingya food practices. A participant explained that the images and videos of the food event were shared in the Rohingya community's Facebook groups. Studying the Italian diaspora in London, Sara Marino (2018) shows how online culinary narratives and practices contribute to forming a sense of community and settlement in a new environment. In the context of the Rohingya, creative food practices (e.g., visual photographs and videos) provide significant insight into how urban spaces are perceived, whereas non-visual data cannot provide such a sensory experience (Rose, 2016). Additionally, Facebook features such as live streaming, creating events, and writing a review helped them to organize the public event and stay connected with the host community. Social media offer other opportunities to engage the public through public invitations, keeping updates, sharing locations, and disseminating images of food items among the Rohingya community and beyond (see Fig. 20.3). Food practices, technological affordances, and social networks provide collective and cultural places of belonging and integration as a form of "transnational urbanism" (Smith, 2000) and digital place-making as "creation of locality" (Witteborn, 2021). Additionally, the utilization of visual portrayals of traditional food through social media has emerged as an "affective netwroked space" (Aziz, 2022a) for the Rohingya community members living in the Refugee camps and beyond who have been displaced and separated from their family members back home. This affective practice encompasses feelings of grief, solidarity and longing for their home (land), serving as a means for negotiating visibility and expressing transnational identities online (see Aziz, 2022b). Through the practice of food, the negotiation of Rohingya ethnic identities and visibility extend beyond physical boundaries and find expression in the online realm.

Overall, traditional Rohingya food practices bring people from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds together, which fortifies social connections and networks in a host (Australian) environment. The findings expand the emerging significance of "translocality" as relations that "extend beyond the village community" (Tenhunen,

Fig. 20.3 Traditional
Rohingya food displayed on
Rua Haung Café's Facebook
page (*Source* https://www.
facebook.com/RuaHaung/
photos, Accessed on March
5, 2023)

2011: 416), and also help us to understand how the socio-cultural construction of transnational networks, flows, and social relations are locally constructed and maintained (Smith, 2000). Overall, food practices can be seen as a "weapon of the weak" allowing the Rohingya diaspora to get access to "hidden transcripts" and raise voices of resistance without challenging established political power and authority (Scott, 1985). Thus, while food is the most common shared experience for all of us, for Rohingya communities it constitutes both a metaphor of resistance and survival, and a means to negotiate identity and integration.

5 Conclusion

This chapter shows how traditional Rohingya food practices help the community to (re)imagine their home in Brisbane and symbolize familial and communal bindings. This study, on the one hand, explores how Rohingya refugees use food and food culture as a struggle and manifestation of ethnic identity in urban space. On the other hand, it shows a strategy to connect with as many cross-generational followers (insiders) and cross-cultural observers (outsiders). By applying a food practice approach, this chapter offers a significant overview and broader insights to better understand the place-based lived experiences and ways of survival of forced migrants in the context of exile and statelessness.

Further, this study suggests that maintaining food practices revives and embodies ongoing struggles and demands for citizenship rights globally. Within this broader context, the culinary practices of the Rohingya community in a "translocal site" such as Brisbane can be seen as a form of resistance and manifestation. Through their culinary traditions, the Rohingya assert their visibility and seek recognition of their unique identity, countering the notion of being perceived as the "other" in urban public spaces. The food event plays a vital role in creating significant "interstitial spaces" that foster interactions and relationships between the host community and various refugee communities. These events facilitate connections and dialog between culturally and linguistically diverse communities, bridging gaps and promoting understanding. Similarly, Rua Haung café provides a welcoming and comfortable environment where individuals from the Rohingya community and diverse backgrounds can come together to enjoy a meal and engage in meaningful interactions. In these ways, the act of sharing traditional food and collectively remembering the traumatic past plays a crucial role in the integration and active participation of the Rohingya community. Thus, food practices enable the Rohingya to situate themselves as active participants in the integration process and navigate the challenges they face in adapting to their everyday lives of refugees.

In summary, through the concept of "food on display," I argue that the showcasing traditional food culture plays a significant role in revitalizing the imagination of the Rohingya community's *"homeland."* This act of displaying their culinary heritage not only serves as a means of cultural preservation but also creates opportunities for inclusion and community building in urban spaces. Food practices serve as a reflection of the dynamic exchange of cultural identities and social capital between Rohingya refugees and the host society. This process strengthens intergenerational ties within the Rohingya diaspora, as younger generations learn about and embrace their cultural heritage through food. Additionally, the availability of social media platforms expands the scope for expressing collective solidarity and a sense of belonging among the Rohingya community. It offers an avenue for sharing their food culture which (re)establishes a connection to the memories of their home(land) in Myanmar. This chapter provides unique insights into the interrelationship between food, forced migration, identity, and inclusion in a context of forced migration, and illustrates how food practices contribute to an inclusive and multicultural city.

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Chapter 21
Inclusive Urban Foodscapes? Examining the Interplay Between the Corporate Food System and Access to Culturally Adequate Food Among Zimbabwean Migrants in Johannesburg

Sara F. Brouwer

1   Introduction

In the last three decades, global corporate food actors have played a key role in shaping food systems in African cities (Das Nair, 2021). Particularly evident in fast growing economies in Africa in the early 1990s, such as Kenya and South Africa, transnational food corporations have helped to create a food system that is characterized by industrialized production, excessive processing, mass distribution, and globalized trade, partly due to processes of trade liberalization, privatization, state deregulation, and corporate self-regulation (Hawkes, Chopra & Friel, 2009). Food corporations capitalized on the growing levels of urbanization on the African continent, as urbanization created not only a rising demand for food in cities, but also led to different food consumption patterns. Consumption of industrially processed foods increased, primarily thanks to a growing urban middle class with more disposable income (de Bruin & Dengerink, 2020).

A key manifestation of the corporate food system in Africa's urban environments is supermarketization. Supermarketization refers to a trend in which food exchanges increasingly occur through corporate owned supermarkets, demonstrating a (partial) shift away from food access through independent micro-retailers (also called "informal vendors"), open wet markets, and household food production systems (Berger & van Helvoirt, 2018). South Africa has been identified as one of the first African countries to experience high rates of supermarketization, at the

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expense of traditional foods and retailers and dietary diversity and nutrition among low-income urban residents (das Nair, 2021).

Relatedly, supermarkets are seen to be a strong contributing factor in the nutrition transition, characterized by a shift in dietary patterns towards high calorie, nutrition poor, and energy intensive processed food consumption in low-incomes countries (Popkin, 2006). Foreign food companies looking to venture into new markets were able to achieve high levels of efficiency by cooperating with large scale, and often transnational, packaged food suppliers. As profit-seeking entities, supermarkets have pursued the sale of prepackaged and processed foods, as they are marketable, have a prolonged shelf life, and allow for long-distance transportation (Hawkes, Chopra & Friel, 2009).

Against this backdrop, this chapter considers the implications of the increasing influence of corporate power and the commodification of food relationships for Zimbabwean migrants with a low socio-economic status in Johannesburg. This group of residents has a precarious and marginalized position within the city, as the majority of Zimbabweans in South Africa work in the domestic service industries under precarious working conditions and many have an undocumented immigration status. Furthermore, Zimbabweans in South Africa face discrimination in law enforcement, the labor market, access to basic social services, and state protections as well as xenophobic violence (Crush et al., 2015).

Drawing from data collected through qualitative interviews with 24 Zimbabwean migrants in 2017, this chapter presents experiences and strategies of food sourcing among low-income Zimbabwean migrants living and working in Johannesburg. I argue that food—through its social and cultural functions in everyday life and its importance to well-being in the city—can play a critical role in making cities more "inclusive" (SDG11), as promoted by the United Nations' New Urban Agenda and 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Watson, 2016). This chapter demonstrates the significance of access to food that reflects individuals' embodied, culinary, and place-based histories and practices.

2 Food Access and Foodscapes

In 2017, the year in which the fieldwork for this study was conducted, a large-scale food security survey carried out in Johannesburg and Cape Town revealed that more than 80% of the 500 Zimbabwean migrant households interviewed faced severe food insecurity and had low dietary diversity (Crush & Tawodzera, 2016). A large majority of Zimbabweans thus found themselves far from food secure, which is a situation where people, at all times, had physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that met their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (adapted from the FAO (2008) definition). The main causes of food insecurity were precarious employment with low and unpredictable incomes. Disposable income is important, as most households obtain their food through the urban cash economy (see also Blekking et al., 2020). The high costs of circular

migration patterns and the need to send money and food to support livelihoods in Zimbabwe additionally placed high burdens on the ability to consume enough and adequate food (Crush & Tawodzera, 2016).

By investigating the socio-cultural food preferences and food sourcing strategies of Zimbabwean migrants, this study contributes to a growing body of work that criticizes the dominant food security approach to studying urban food access in southern Africa. Food security research investigates to what extent different groups of residents have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious, and adequate food through assessing the relationship between neighborhood or socio-economic household characteristics on the one hand, and dietary diversity scales and food accessibility assessments on the other (Sgro et al., 2019). Several scholars have argued that the technical measurements of food relationships and the disproportionate emphasis on material aspects overshadow everyday realities of food sourcing and their gendered (Hovorka, 2013) socio-cultural and spatial nature (Brouwer, 2022; Legwegoh & Riley, 2014) in African cities.

The term foodscapes provides an analytical starting point to think through the connection between food sourcing, food environments, and inclusive cities. Even though the term foodscapes has been used in a variety of ways, the definition by Goodman et al., (2010: 1783) is used in this chapter, which describes foodscapes as the "processes, politics, spaces, and places of the praxis … embedded and produced in and through the provisioning of food."

The concept of foodscapes, thus, acknowledges the interplay between the lived realities, personal preferences and practices of food sourcing, and structural political and economic factors operating in the corporate food system, which shape food environments. In this sense, food sourcing is not simply a rational, uniform act in a neutral food environment. In this vein, Alkon et al., (2013, p. 127) write: "low-income people are not simply 'takers' of the closest [and cheapest] food access options." Instead, each person adopts social, cultural, political, and spatial values and practices during their food sourcing in the city and possibly beyond.

Furthermore, foodscapes highlight that food sourcing practices are enabled or disabled by power relations between eaters, sellers, and producers of food that come together in a certain place (Blake, 2018). As food justice scholars (Heynen, 2006) have also pointed out, food consumption is not a natural biochemical process, but a social process forged by power relations that determine who eats what, when, and how much. Especially considering the historical continuities of (post) apartheid Johannesburg (Robinson, 2021) and South Africa's deregulated, liberalized, and financialized food system (Greenberg, 2017), flows of power and exclusion characterize the city's uneven urban foodscapes.

However, as urban scholar Edgar Pieterse also argues in his writings on African urbanism (2013), the city emerges and is constantly being (re-)made by the individual strategies of (marginalized) residents in their daily lives. The urban food environment in which Zimbabweans find themselves after migration is shaped not only by corporate food players but also by their own (creative and inventive) food sourcing strategies.

Using the concept of foodscapes to study food sourcing can inform us whether individuals have access to socially and culturally adequate food, and in turn, whether they are able to live healthy and fulfilling urban lives. To this end, geographers have argued that urban food environments are intertwined with "expressions of conviviality" (Parham, 2015) and generational, gendered, and spatial identities (Riley & Dodson, 2016). Food sovereignty scholar-activists have highlighted that food is central to basic human rights, dignity, self-respect, and indigenous knowledge systems (Chappell, 2018). For migrants in particular, food consumption and food sourcing can be key to their identity, sense of place (Longhurst et al., 2009), feelings of belonging (Bailey, 2017), and connections to land as well as socio-ecological farming systems (Rocha & Liberato, 2013) and related social and environmental imaginaries (Hayes-Conroy & Sweet, 2015). While the gendered nature of food-work can also be experienced as oppressive and socially isolating, food can also be a source of "a gendered form of power rooted in culinary capital" for migrant women within their communities (Meah, 2014).

Studying foodscapes can highlight in what ways people are able to fulfill the key social attributes of well-being in human settlements, such as the ability to socially participate and engage, to have access to social infrastructures and spaces and to express one's identity (Shekhar et al., 2019). Furthermore, using a rights-based language in relation to urban foodscapes and migration raises questions about the intersections between urban food systems and social justice, which leads to the question whether Johannesburg's increasingly corporate food system is democratic and socially and environmentally equitable. I therefore ask: Are Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg able to fulfill their right to produce, inhabit, use, occupy, govern and enjoy just, safe and sustainable cities and human settlements (Turok & Scheba, 2019)?

3 Methodology

This research is based on 24 semi-structured qualitative interviews with Zimbabwean migrants employed in the service industry in an affluent and middle-class neighborhood in Johannesburg. Interviews were conducted between February and April 2017, engaging a total of 35 Zimbabwean participants. During the interview process, some individual interviews naturally evolved into group interviews. Due to the participants' busy and demanding work and commuting schedules, the majority of interviews were conducted during their breaks or immediately after their shifts in the service industry. The method of snowball sampling was used to identify and interview individuals such as taxi drivers, receptionists, gardeners, maids, security guards, waiters, vendors, till operators, and parking lot attendants. All participants gave informed consent and all names are pseudonyms. This study was approved by the Geosciences Ethics Committee of the University of Edinburgh.

Qualitative interviews proved to be a suitable method for understanding the experiences of food sourcing in Johannesburg, as this method allowed for the collection

of detailed, rich, and in-depth narratives and descriptions. Such interviews facilitated a comprehensive exploration of the complexity of people's ideas and practices surrounding food. The interviews were semi-structured and revolved around key topics such as food preferences, food sourcing rhythm, strategies and adaptations, and navigating the city.

Engaging in open and free-flowing conversations did not always unfold effortlessly, as my whiteness in the postcolonial context influenced the dynamics of the interviews, sometimes more noticeably than others. Given the legacies of colonialism, Apartheid, international development, and globalization, as well as my position as a highly educated, white European outsider affiliated with a Scottish university who posed questions, occasionally created an impression that I held authority and my perspectives were to be agreed with. When this happened, Tapiwa, my research assistant, intervened by explaining to the participant that there are no right or wrong answers and I was interested in the participant's personal experiences and thoughts.

4 Results: In- and Exclusions of Zimbabwean Migrants in the Urban Food System

The main themes emerging from my qualitative fieldwork in Johannesburg include the cultural and physical importance of Zimbabwean food to everyday well-being in the city, the exclusionary effects of the spatial distribution of supermarketization in the city, and the penetration of corporate power in the informal food system. The agency of Zimbabwean migrants in circumventing the corporate food system in the city also emerged as a key theme in the interviews.

4.1 Zimbabwean Food and Migrants' Physical and Socio-Cultural Well-Being in the City

Through encounters with Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg regarding their food acquisition practices, it became clear that accessing food perceived as typically Zimbabwean, or possessing similar characteristics, played a vital role in their socio-cultural and physical well-being within the city. Traditional Zimbabwean food is typically cultivated and prepared within the rural ancestral homeland known as *kumusha,* which is deeply connected to its specific socio-ecological context. Beyond a physical place where paternal family members live and have lived, *kumusha* and its land have strong spiritual and communal meanings in Shona and Ndebele culture (Chitando, 2018). Traditional foods include legumes and grains, indigenous green leafy vegetables, insects, and free-range meats. They described the food that they desired to consume as "simple," "original," "pure," "natural," "raw," "real," "healthy,"

"fresh," and "rural," emphasizing the natural qualities and traditions ingrained in them.

The interviews demonstrate that Zimbabwean food was considered important to one's physical well-being in Johannesburg. Taxi driver Sam, for example, explained the importance of his cultural and culinary heritage, and its inextricable rural origins, in living a long and healthy life:

> If you go to rural areas, they are still following that culture, the real culture. Only people that grew up in town, they like to adopt some other lifestyle. Like me, I grew up rural. I do believe that to eat veg is very, very good. Look at those people, the old people, our forefathers. Some of them they've got ninety to seventy years. They were eating vegetables, fresh meat, not like fast food.

A diet with wholegrains, fiber, and minimally processed foods was considered superior to fast food, which he conflated with the South African food he mostly encountered in Johannesburg. He connects "the rural" and "our forefathers" with "authentic" social and cultural ways of living that are place-based or *kumusha.*

Embodiment and the visceral aspect of eating also came up as an important theme in relation to the desire to eat Zimbabwean food. This is illustrated with a quote from taxi driver Kudzi:

> Rice I just eat it for entertainment. It's not that it's food that I can rely on… no, no, no. I must eat *our* pap [South African for the Zimbabwean staple *sadza*, maizemeal porridge]. I know that when I eat pap, even if I eat pap yesterday, today I can eat from morning up to sunset. I can be still strong. But rice doesn't last in my stomach. It's too soft. I can't stay for two days without eating pap, no, no, no, no. It's like I'm fasting!

Here Kudzi contrasts rice, which he associates with South African processed food, with sadza. He emphasizes *our* pap, because Zimbabwean maize meal is not as processed as South African store bought maize meal, as the Zimbabwean variant often still contains the entire grain husk and has thus a higher fiber content. *Sadza* is maize meal porridge, the main carbohydrate of Zimbabwean dinners. For men like Kudzi, gaining long-lasting energy from one's food and having a strong body were important factors in ideas of what makes good food.

Furthermore, many participants were concerned about the adverse repercussions of industrially processed foods—or in participants' words "chemical" and "fake" food—on their body and health. The following conversation with a mother, father, and their teenage son illustrates this:

> Mother: South African food is a poison. You get sick every time. You finish eating and you get sick. He is sick! [pointing at son]. He ate his rice two days ago. He is still sick until today. They just put, what do you call, spices, spices.
>
> Father: And all these chickens, probably they put injections so that they grow faster. Those injections which were injected in the chicken, will go into you! And what happens?
>
> Mother: you will become sick!
>
> Father: I will grow like a chicken! [everyone laughing]. You see, that's why there's cancer and all that, and what not.

The desire and need to consume Zimbabwean food went hand in hand with an aversion to the processed foods that their South African food environment readily offered them.

Except for the younger participants, most participants disliked the meat in Johannesburg, which according to them was "too soft," tasted "too sweet," and contained "too many chemicals," "water," "injections," and "spices." The vegetables also had "too much fertilizer," which made them "taste bitter." For example, Patience, who worked as a maid, told me:

> They put things inside the food and we eat them….. there's nothing you can do. It's a struggle to eat real sadza with real covo here.

Covo is a traditional green leafy vegetable.

Not only was consumption of natural, Zimbabwean-like foods central to participants' physical well-being, it also contributed to their social and cultural well-being. Consumption of what was perceived as authentically Zimbabwean foods was central to participants' sense of belonging and provided an avenue to share common cultural experiences and understandings. Furthermore, eating Zimbabwean food contributed to preserving cultural heritage. They were proud of where they came from and felt a responsibility to keep their tradition and personal and collective history alive. "You can't run away from your culture," research assistant Tapiwa commented with approval when a participant talked about his responsibility to encourage the consumption of traditional food to the younger generation as an elder.

Moreover, eating Zimbabwean foods reminded participants of their (rural) home in Zimbabwe. Themes such as homesickness, nostalgia, and sadness featured prominently in conversations on what type of food they preferred to source in the city. Eating familiar food ameliorated these feelings or consciously connected them to such emotions.

4.2 The (Spatial) Presence of the Corporate Food System and Access to Culturally Adequate Food

One key finding that arose from the interviews was that the corporate food system and its spatial ramifications in the city inhibited Zimbabwean migrants to eat food that aligned with their cultural and physical food preferences. Against the backdrop of the commodification of food in the corporate food system, which creates spaces where corporate conglomerates determine the availability and affordability of different types of foods, the "natural" and "traditional" food that Zimbabweans wanted to obtain had become, in supermarkets, part of an expensive organic niche market. As standardization is most profitable, supermarkets were structured around dominant palates and thus did not cater for Zimbabweans' specific cultural food preferences. The food that participants were able to afford in retail outlets that were most convenient (i.e., supermarkets) tasted, according to them, like "water," "fat," "spices," "chemicals," "injections," and "fertilizer," as also described in the

previous section. Commenting on the daily consequences of supermarketization and parallel standardization in supermarkets, Mathew, working as a security guard, said the following:

> Brouwer: So what could be improved in the food environment of Johannesburg?
>
> Mathew: They must also sell our traditional food, for *other* cultures, for *other* countries. They mustn't only sell their taste… you know. You go to Spar there, you find that they sell things that you don't like, which is not fair….not fair… really, it's not. We have to go all the way to Hillbrow [an inner city neighborhood home to a large Zimbabwean community] and it's not that safe there.

Another way that the corporate food system manifested itself in participants' lives was through the unequal division of food outlets that sell safe food products in highly segregated Johannesburg. As profit dictates where supermarkets choose to locate, low-income areas are not always an attractive option to sell the more valuable and high-quality foodstuffs. Tendai, a 40-year handyman offering his services along the road of a builder's shop, explained:

> Rich people have their own area. In our area, they sell expired foods. Like we have Shoprite [supermarket chain], but you can only buy products in bulk with a near expiry date. We should also have a competition of shops, for everyone to select what he wants. Now they are grading us.

Beyond supermarkets, the interviews demonstrate that the corporate food system was also present in the informal sector. The food that participants bought at independent micro-shops (*spaza* shops) and individual micro-retailers on their route from work or when they did not manage to do their (bi)weekly bulk shopping at the supermarket was also negatively described as "chemical." Both of these micro-food outlets mainly resell processed and energy-dense food products from supermarkets, but also offer fresh produce. Yet, this fresh produce also showed traces of the corporate food system in terms of diversity and quality. Participants could not find the dried beans or a specific type of sweet potato that they were looking for in their direct retail environment. Others resented the limited diversity of green leafy vegetables. "Here they only have cabbage and spinach!" shouted research assistant Tapiwa once while visiting a small independent food shop in the hopes of finding green vegetables *covo*, rape, or *muboora* (pumpkin leaves).

The quality of the food available in the informal sector was also frowned upon. The interviews feature many complaints about food "that tastes like money," fresh produce with "too much fertilizer," and "meat with injections" from corner shops and street vendors.

4.3   Creativity and Agency in Food Sourcing in the City

Yet, the agency of Zimbabwean migrants in navigating their exclusion in the urban food system due to corporate power should not be overlooked. Participants were able to obtain high-quality food with a natural taste or specific Zimbabwean products

through creativity, inventiveness, and concerted effort. The following strategies to still consume one's preferred Zimbabwean foods feature most apparently in my interviews. Some participants engage in urban agriculture and cultivate their own vegetables, mainly green leafy vegetables, in their own or shared garden. Others who do not have access to land buy or exchange home-grown produce from neighbors or acquaintances. Shopping at vendors, shops, and farms that sell Zimbabwean green leafy vegetables and maize is also a common food sourcing strategy. As Zimbabwean agricultural workers convince their employers to grow "their own" crops, more and more of these outlets are appearing in the city, one participant told me. Malawian and Mozambican shops also provide a good option to find similar produce as in Zimbabwe (e.g., sweet potatoes).

Others visit Hillbrow, an innercity neighborhood home to the first and largest Zimbabwean community in Joburg, biweekly to do a round of shopping. Due to its high crime rates, homemaker Tanya told me:

- 'It's possible if you are determined, quick and hold your handbag tight.'

Her family sometimes combines it with a family visit. Another popular, yet tricky, way of obtaining Zimbabwean food is via a visitor from Zimbabwe, an acquaintance who makes a return journey or through personal cross-border smuggling. Non-perishable food items are easier to obtain, since cross-border trade of perishables is prohibited by law. Yet, participants told me of their inventive ways of circumventing border officials. For example, beans are put in empty shampoo bottles and dried vegetables in handbags.

5   Discussion and Conclusion

In studying the interplay between structural socio-spatial processes in the urban food system, on the one hand, and individual capacity and agency, on the other, the dominant corporate form of food provisioning shapes the everyday food-related praxis of Zimbabweans in the city. The findings show that, due to the dominance of industrial food in the formal and informal sector, standardization and the spatial distribution of food outlets based on profits, Zimbabwean migrants cannot as easily and as often as they want to enjoy a central aspect of urban daily life, that is, acquiring, preparing, and eating their preferred and culturally adequate foods for several reasons.

As opposed to industrially processed foods, which were most affordable and easily accessible, participants preferred wholegrain food with a high fiber content and food that was produced with organic farming methods for reasons that related to their physical as well as socio-cultural well-being. These forms of well-being were intertwined with place- and land-based culinary histories that originated in participants' ancestral homeland, *kumusha*, and what was perceived as culturally authentic ways of living. Moreover, in Johannesburg's standardized and industrial foodscape, Zimbabwean migrants struggled to acquire food that contributed to their feelings of belonging, pride in culinary culture and (melancholic) connection to home. Lastly,

by having to navigate not only formal but also informal food environments dominated by supermarketization and corporate profit seeking in a highly segregated city, participants encountered in their vicinity homogeneous food options with low safety and quality standards.

Most food that participants engaged with on a daily basis, thus, does not fit in the "adequate" category within the right to food framework. Adequate food within the right to food framework as defined by The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) means that "the quality of food sufficiently satisfies the dietary needs of individuals" (CESCR, 1999) and that it is "acceptable within a given culture" (CESCR, 1999).

While the right to the food framework holds the state accountable to provide adequate food, participants, through their mundane food sourcing, actively worked towards fulfilling the right to food. Findings show that Zimbabwean migrants cultivate their own inventive and effective strategies to navigate and adapt to the increasing corporate food system in their cities through, for example, backyard or organized community urban farming, cross-border trading strategies, and combining and planning journeys in the city to visit, often informal, food establishments selling Zimbabwean or similar foods. In this way, participants challenged supermarketization and the unequal power relations in Johannesburg's food system between transnational food corporations and informal food establishments. They demonstrated that these power relations are still negotiable.

This creativity and agency that participants demonstrated in their food sourcing and consumption could create new conversations in various bodies of literature. Creative and hybrid food cultures counter the prediction within the nutrition transition framework that major cities in African countries are set to follow a one-dimensional trajectory towards an all-encompassing corporate controlled food system. Moreover, the creative forms of food sourcing show that foodscapes and culinary cultures are another interesting lens to study African urbanism. So far this body of literature has mainly used art forms such as literature and architecture (Bruyns, Graafland & Boyer 2012) and cinema (Mutata 2021) to understand how the city is (re-)made by individual strategies of (marginalized) residents in their daily lives. Lastly, the agency that Zimbabwean migrants demonstrate through their food sourcing could further inspire possibilities to use participatory planning and citizen-driven food policy formulation in urban food system governance in South Africa (Haysom, 2015).

This chapter shows that studying foodscapes can inform strategies to fulfill the right to adequate food for vulnerable groups. As duty-bearers to fulfill the right to adequate food, national- and city-level governing bodies in South Africa should in their urban food policy prioritize addressing the food system diversity that characterizes the countries' major cities as well as the various exclusions that occur due to the rise of corporate power within food systems. Simultaneously, the same state should also address the underlying structures of supermarketization and corporate consolidation in the food system, which it has facilitated through years of trade liberalization, privatization, state deregulation, and corporate self-regulation (Greenberg, 2017). At the same time, it is important to look beyond the food system and recognize that, parallel to the exclusions that the corporate food system creates, different

combinations of residential segregation, unequal public transport systems, socio-economic inequality, unemployment, precarious working conditions, low levels of state protection, inadequate basic social services, inequities in law enforcement, the pressure to send remittances, xenophobia, and corruption also influence Zimbabweans' foodscapes and constrain their ability to source their preferred foods. Any strategy to fulfill the right to adequate food for *everyone* should thus take into account that various economic and political structural factors are interrelated with personal everyday social, cultural, place-based, and embodied experiences in foodscapes.

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Part IV
Inclusive Cities For Sustainable Development

Chapter 22
A Citizenship of Sharing: Transformations of an Urban Patron Saint

Els Rose

1 A Citizenship of Sharing: Transformations of an Urban Patron Saint

Ever since the Christian religion was brought to the Low Countries in the early Middle Ages, the settlement of Utrecht related to the figure of St. Martin as a model and inspiration. St. Martin was a fourth-century officer in the Roman Empire who became bishop of the city of Tours (in modern day France) in the year 373. He was celebrated as a saint soon after his death in 397. Though not a martyr, St. Martin was commemorated for his radical ascetic lifestyle and his charity. The most famous scene from the *Life* that was written down after his death depicts his encounter with the naked beggar of Amiens, where he used his sword for charitable purposes and shared his military cloak to clothe the poor man. This scene is often interpreted as an act of Christian charity, but against the backdrop of its time, can also be seen as a radical transformation of civic relations and the social demarcations imposed by Roman citizenship. St. Martin's cult spread widely throughout medieval Europe and marked the development and transformation of many medieval cities. In this process, he became Utrecht's patron saint at the end of the seventh century. In the present chapter, we will see that, like medieval urban communities, post-medieval and even contemporary cities also developed and develop "new traditions" that present the urban patron saint as a relevant cultural and social phenomenon. In our time, such new traditions focus primarily on St. Martin as a symbol of sharing and civic participation, relating to social cohesion by involving vulnerable and marginalized neighborhoods, with culturally and religiously mixed populations, in the commemoration of the medieval patron saint. To be able to understand this phenomenon, it is important to

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understand how the figure of St. Martin was mobilized in repeated historical attempts at transforming the urban community into a healthy and prosperous community.

2   City, Saint, and Citizenship between Roman and Medieval Europe

Citizenship under Roman rule was an important marker of social, political, and legal distinction. The obligations and privileges that came with citizenship, as well as the hurdles that an inhabitant of the Roman Empire had to clear to obtain it, resulted in huge differences between citizens and non-citizens. At the beginning of the third century CE, when Emperor Caracalla issued a constitution that granted Roman citizenship to all free male inhabitants of the Empire, the difference between Romans and foreigners (i.e., inhabitants of the provinces annexed by the Empire) lost much of its edge (Lava 2019). With the generalization of citizenship, the very concept of citizenship opened itself to new definitions and interpretations. These new interpretations did not or could not replace Roman citizenship, but they did affect and modify the dividing lines between those included in the set of citizenship privileges and obligations and those excluded from it (Oakes, 2019).

One producer of new definitions of citizenship was Christianity. Originally a Jewish "sect"' that traveled through the Mediterranean realm, the position of Christianity within the Roman Empire fundamentally changed at the beginning of the fourth century CE. When the sole ruler Emperor Constantine (r. 306–337) embraced the new religion as the most effective reflection of his own ideas on imperial rulership, it soon became the dominant religion throughout the Empire. This development was clearly visible in the legislation of Constantine and his successors. During the fourth and the fifth centuries CE, Christian emperors built a legal system in which (the Christian) religion became closely entwined with the rights and duties of citizenship. Baptism became the passport to civic and private privileges that non-Christians had no access to. This way, the new definitions of Roman citizenship led to new divisions of civic offices and gradually, but fundamentally, changed the administration, governance, and law of cities and provinces within the Empire (Flierman & Rose, 2020).

In this process, the Christian bishop, originally the hierarchical leader of a local urban Christian community, came to play a major role. Emperor Constantine surrounded himself with bishops, summoning and presiding their supralocal gatherings and installing them as his representatives in the Empire's metropolitan cities and their surrounding dioceses. When the Roman Empire came to an end in the West, the bishops did not lose their power, to the contrary. The episcopal structure of cities is one of the most important inheritances of the Roman Empire in medieval Europe. Throughout the Middle Ages, episcopal structures supported cities and underlay their governance (Mostert, 2021).

Not all late Roman Christians cherished the way Christianity became interwoven with urban administration and civic governance. The relationship between Christianity and urban culture has been ambiguous from the very beginning, a tension with biblical roots. Among the sons of Adam, Cain built a city, but Abel "the righteous" did not do so, as the Book of Genesis emphasizes. Likewise, the patriarch Abraham was called to be a *peregrinus*, abandoning his home city Ur in favor of a nomadic life. The ambiguous and often downright dismissive attitude towards urban life came to full expression in the ascetic movements within Christianity, where "holy" men and women withdrew from urban culture into "the desert," to live a life of abstinence and spiritual purity. The paradox is found in historical persons who combined those two strands by which the history of Christianity is marked. So-called "ascetics" were often seen as heroes by the people surrounding them, and there are quite a few cases of episcopal elections in which the popular vote was given to an ascetic.

Such was the case with Martin of Tours, who became bishop of this metropolitan city in the year 373. To many of his fellow bishops, Martin was an alien. Rather than enjoying the privileges that came with the episcopal office in the fourth-century Roman province of Gaul, Martin shunned the political scene he was supposed to be a part of and infused his episcopal life with an ascetic flavor. According to his hagiographer, Martin rejected the episcopal palace in favor of a secluded monastic cell along the rocky banks of the river Loire. He preferred preaching and charity to banqueting with the Roman Emperor, and a sack cloth to a luxurious bed (Stancliffe, 1983).

This is not to say that Martin did not have anything to do with civic life. To the contrary, The *Life of Martin*, written by one of his admirers, the Roman aristocrat and lawyer Sulpicius Severus, towards the end of the fourth century, became the blueprint for the highly popular genre of saints' lives in the Middle Ages. It provides several examples of Martin's involvement with civic communities and their people. Among them, there are quite a few examples where Martin gave a non-citizen, an alien, or an outcast, access to civic life. The naked beggar at the city gate of Amiens, with whom Martin shared his military cloak, is one of them. The story made Martin famous and turned him into a symbol of sharing, as we have already seen above. When unraveling these stories through close reading, it becomes clear that they are not merely motivated by Christian admonitions to practice charity. They have a strong civic character as well, aiming at restoring, or establishing for the first time, a link between the outcast and the civic community—which, in Martin's time, largely conflated with the Christian community. This becomes visible, for example, in a less well-known episode of the *Life of Martin*. At the city gate of Paris, Martin encounters a leper. Like poverty, the occurrence of such a disease could make a person a non-citizen in Roman times. Martin kisses the leper and allows him to enter the city, and to participate in the urban ecclesiastical community and its cult.

In other stories collected by Sulpicius, other civic performances occur. Sulpicius presents Martin as exemplifying the civic virtue of *libertas dicendi*, or speaking up in public to confront rulers. This was, in Martin's time, not only a prerogative of Roman citizenship, but also a biblical value. Sulpicius gives a number of examples where

Martin speaks up in front of a (tyrannical) ruler, defending his choice to put down the weapons he carried ever since his father forced him into a military career. This choice equaled desertion in his time and could have earned him the death penalty. However, the unexpected withdrawal of the adversary allowed him to depart from the army and convert to Christianity. Other instances of Martin's advancement of free speech include episodes where Martin himself is not the one who performs this civic duty, but rather inviting other individuals—often voiceless because of their position in society, such as a person "possessed by an evil spirit"—to speak up publicly. These acts of mediated *libertas dicendi* are presented in the *Life* as beneficial not only for the individual who is encouraged to speak, but for the city as a whole that is liberated by this frankness (Rose, 2023). Thus, in his portrayal of Martin of Tours, Sulpicius presents a multi-layered approach to the city, the saint, and citizenship. On one hand, as an ascetic, bishop Martin shuns the city and its political ambitions. At the same time, and thanks to his ascetic discipline, he applies his thaumaturgic qualities to the well-being of the city and its community.

This image from late antiquity, depicting a close relationship between the city and the saint, has been transmitted to posterity and continually recreated in different generations. One example of the reinvention of St. Martin's legend and legacy from an urban perspective is the work of Radbod, the tenth-century bishop of Utrecht, to which we will now turn.

3   A Prosperous City

In the tenth century, the city and diocese of Utrecht were under the care of a bishop who acted not only as an ecclesiastical administrator, but was also a man with a gift for music and literature. Radbod of Utrecht (899/900–917) left a small but fine oeuvre of literary and musical compositions in which the local patron Saint Martin takes center stage. Radbod wrote a miracle story to tell of the "miraculous" liberation of the city of Tours from Viking attacks, and a set of chants to sing the praises of St. Martin during the summer feast (July 4) commemorating the transfer of the saint's relics. The chants were to be sung by the canons taking care of the liturgical services in Radbod's urban cathedral. "O prosperous city" is their script in Radbod's words, "o praiseworthy community that is the house to such precious relics."

Interestingly, Radbod composed his chants in a period in which his diocese most probably did not possess any material relics of his favorite saint. The body of St. Martin was laid to rest in Tours after his death in 397, while Charlemagne (r. 768–814) built a chapel in his famous palace in Aachen to house the relic of the cloak that Martin shared with the naked beggar of Amiens. Utrecht, however, had not received any material remains of the saint before the twelfth century. What kind of "precious relics" did Radbod have in mind when he placed them so centrally in his miracle story and the set of chants for the feast day celebrating Martin's holy remains? And why did he think such objects could make a city "prosperous"? For Radbod, the community commemorating their saints by telling and retelling the story of their life

and by singing their praises is what makes the memory of the saints tangible and materializes their meaning. For him, the miracle story he wrote and the religious chants that he composed, meant to be sung in Utrecht's Dom Cathedral, are the relics that count. He viewed them as reflections of the saint's virtues, intended to inspire and resonate with the urban community in their quest to create a "prosperous" city (Saucier, 2014). By emphasizing the importance of the immaterial relics of the saint, Radbod creates his own "prosperous city," one that is built on the saint's virtues and enacted by its citizens that try to imitate them.

4 War and Peace: St. Martin in the Twentieth Century

As we have seen above, Martin is depicted by his hagiographer as a representative of Christian renunciations of soldiering and military action for those who sought a religious life. Even if the historical trustworthiness of this event in Martin's life is a matter of discussion (Burton, 2017), the fact is that Martin became one of the earliest and most renown models of the *miles Christi*, or the soldier of Christ, that came to be a model of the spiritual battles against vices and temptations. In the reception of the fourth-century *Life of Martin* as well as in the medieval and post-medieval development of Martin's cult, both the saint's military past and his renunciation of bloodshed have left their trace (Pietri, 2019). Even if, in the saint's afterlife, the cloak became his most important identification, the sword with which he divided it was never fully absent. Hence, it was possible that Martin became the patron of peace as well as of warriors, as recent historical episodes illustrate. One of them is the date on which the armistice made an end to WW I on November 11, 1918. Historians have long assumed that the date was deliberately chosen to let the truce coincide with St. Martin's feast day. This assumption, even if recently deconstructed (Lalouette 2019), should at least also beg the question of whether this choice would feature Martin as a symbol of peace or, rather, as a triumphalist symbol of superiority, glorifying (France's) victory in battle. The latter attitude also supported the design and iconographic choices of the equestrian statue that the Catholic community of Utrecht ordered in the late 1940s to celebrate the end of WW II. Originally designed by the Belgian artist Albert Termote (1887–1978) to depict the charity of Martin, the definitive shape of the statue shows no traces of a beggar or a divided cloak. Instead, it features the perfect imitation of a mid-twentieth-century officer, trapping a dragon in order to "protect the city of Utrecht," as its inscription makes clear (https://standbeelden.vanderkrogt.net/object.php?record=UT22cy).

The twentieth-century examples show St. Martin's malleability as a symbol, serving both war and peace, as it served both city and desert in earlier centuries. How does the symbol work in a city and its community in our own twenty-first century?

5   City Walls Past and Present

The symbol of an urban patron saint seems to be an alienating relic of medieval times with little to no authority over—or even attraction to—a twenty-first-century city and its culturally and religiously diverse population. (Re) inventions of the Martin tradition, both in Utrecht and in Tours, dating to the very late 1990s and the first decades of the twenty-first century therefore raise questions. The celebration of Utrecht's nine-hundredth anniversary as an enfranchised city is a case study that allows the formulation of some of these questions.

During the year 2022, the city of Utrecht commemorated the charter issued by the German Emperor Henry V in 1122 to grant Utrecht a number of privileges that marked the city as "free." A town's freedom, at the time, primarily entailed the freedom to organize its own governance and to install its own court of law. One of the most visible and tangible results of Henry's charter was that the city had the right to build and maintain its own wall. In other words, it was now the urban community that could decide who could enter the city and dwell in it. The year 1122 marks the beginning of Utrecht's enclosure, still visible in the contemporary lay out of the city, especially since the restoration of its "singel" was completed in 2020. The motto chosen to celebrate the nine-hundredth anniversary of this medieval event was chosen in contrasting response to it: "Utrecht, city without walls." The motto raises the question of what connotations the concept of "wall" holds in the twenty-first century, and how it relates to the medieval urban ideals that link a city's enclosure with ideas of protection and autonomy.

While the motto of this urban anniversary relates to its medieval past, the period in which the city planned to celebrate it is another feature that refers to this historical period. The program of festivities started on June 2, the date on which Henry's charter was issued, and lasted until November 11 on "Sint Maarten" (https://www. ontdek-utrecht.nl/900jaar/). This demarcation of the festivities in the festive year raises questions about the relationship of the modern city with the medieval urban patron saint. What is the relevance of this historical cultural phenomenon to a modern city? And which civic or other values that serve sustainability and resilience does the figure of the patron saint convey in the twenty-first century? Most importantly, how does the symbol of a "patron saint" relate to questions of inclusion and exclusion? In other words, (how) can a figure so clearly rooted in Christianity be a symbol of an open and inclusive city?

The city parade, organized on the Saturday preceding November 11 from 2011 onwards, is an example of an attempt to relate present-day concerns of urban society via the figure of the urban patron saint. Taking Martin's charity and act of sharing as a point of departure, the symbolic value of this medieval figure is translated into the framework of the UN global goals. Every year, the parade featuring a large light sculpture inspired by the statue of St. Martin's created by Albert Termote, selects one of the Sustainable Development Goals as its theme. In doing so, it takes a stance against poverty and inequality while supporting the cause of sustainable cities and communities.

One of the most remarkable elements of the parade, in which thousands of Utrecht citizens participate either by carrying their own light sculptures or by lighting their windowsills along the route, is the remaking of Termote's statue. The original design, cast to stand in front of the St. Martin's Roman Catholic church at Utrecht's Oudegracht, features St. Martin as a Christian warrior. His outfit is a military uniform, his sword is clearly visible, and his helmet is adorned with a cross. Welmoed Wagenaar (2020) pointed out the "de-christianization" of Termote's design for the light sculpture created for the parade, where no cross is placed on top of the saint's head. Wagenaar qualifies this representation of the saint as "a-religious," and interprets it as an apparently necessary adaptation of the figure to function in a present-day urban environment (Wagenaar, 2020). One could argue, however, that the omission of the cross is not what strikes the eye most. After all, at the moment Martin shared his cloak with the beggar, he was not yet baptized and, therefore, not outwardly recognizable as a Christian. Many medieval images depict the well-known scene without any reference to Christianity. More remarkable, then, is the fact that the light sculpture in the St. Martin's parade does not feature a sword. Rather than an active de-christianization, the design represents a de-militarization of the urban patron, doing away with all attributes that in one way or another could refer to (religious) battle.

Is the figure of a medieval patron saint a suitable instrument to help support the transformation of modern cities into inclusive and sustainable communities? While the organization of Utrecht's urban anniversary chose the feast day of St. Martin to mark the celebrations, it remains to be seen whether and to what extent the figure of the urban patron saint can be embraced by "all" citizens of Utrecht. What has become visible in this short history of St. Martin as an urban patron saint is the malleability of this symbolic figure, mirroring and relating to the needs and concerns of a civic community in past and present.

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Chapter 23
By & for: Welcoming and Inclusive Spaces at De Voorkamer in Utrecht, the Netherlands

Shay Raviv, Pim van der Mijl, and Maggi W. H. Leung

Abstract Contrasting the politics and narratives of Fortress Europe, hundreds of thousands of people have taken to the streets across Europe to delcare "#WeHaveSpace" for refugees and other newcomers. Social activists (defined broadly) have co-created—often only after fighting uphill battles—diverse spaces where newcomers can feel welcomed and participate in building new futures together with the local communities. This chapter reflects on one of these welcoming spaces, namely, De Voorkamer ("The Front Room") in Utrecht, the Netherlands. We illustrate the strategies used by the community for maintaining and redefining their meeting space. We reflect on the importance of location, place, and space in De Voorkamer's work from social design and socio-cultural geography perspectives. Finally, we offer some critical thoughts on the ongoing challenges of welcoming initiatives such as De Voorkamer in creating sustainable (as in long-lasting and futureproofed) inclusive spaces.

1 Introduction

Contrasting the politics and narratives of Fortress Europe, hundreds of thousands of people have taken to the streets across Europe, especially after the fire in the Moria refugee camp on Lesbos in 2020, declaring "#WeHaveSpace" for refugees and other newcomers (Fig. 1). Social activists (defined broadly) have co-created—often only after fighting uphill battles—diverse spaces where newcomers can feel welcomed and participate in building new futures together with the local communities. This chapter reflects on one of these welcoming spaces, namely, De Voorkamer ("The Front Room") in Utrecht, the Netherlands. De Voorkamer was established in 2016

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Fig. 1 "#WeHaveSpace"—a slogan commonly used by demonstrators calling for newcomer-welcoming politics across Europe (*Photo Source* Noordhollands Dagblad, 2020)

as an open and inclusive space, designed by and for its community, where cultures meet to learn, exchange, and co-create.

In the following, we present a brief history of De Voorkamer, explain its key principles, and provide some examples of its activities[1]. This important backbone of the community was disrupted as COVID-19 swept across Europe in 2020. Here, we illustrate the strategies used by the community to maintain and redefine their meeting space and reflect on the importance of location, place, and space in De Voorkamer's work from social design and sociocultural geography perspectives. Finally, we offer some critical thoughts on the ongoing challenges of welcoming initiatives such as De Voorkamer in creating sustainable, inclusive spaces.

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[1] This chapter summaries the history, design principles and work of De Voorkamer. More details can be found in Raviv, van der Mijl and Woods (2021). For updated information of the initiative https://devoorkamer.org/en/.

2 Designing Inclusive Spaces

De Voorkamer is an initiative developed by two of the authors of this chapter (Pim and Shay), who are social designers and researchers[2]. Out of our discontent with the way newcomers were perceived and treated, we worked to co-create, alongside members of our diverse community, a safe place in which to belong and make new experiences. De Voorkamer opened its doors in 2016 in Utrecht's Lombok neighborhood. The initial objective was to provide an inclusive space to facilitate and stimulate the talents of refugees, asylum seekers with residence permits, and people living in asylum-seeker centers. We also aimed to connect people to the local community through their talents.

As social designers, we use design processes as a starting point for creating a new inclusive space. Specifically, we practice "social design," which emphasizes working *with* people rather than *for* them (Sommer, 1983). In her paper on designing inclusive cities, Julienne Hanson (2004) compares the characteristics of inclusive design with expert-driven design processes (Fig. 2), drawing on the work of Sommer (1983) and Imrie and Hall (2001).

At De Voorkamer, we work with designers' eyes and an emphasis on the creative process. Our approach allows us to observe and make sense of a given condition or situation in new and innovative ways. In generating ideas and designs from the observations around us, we believe that designers have the power and the responsibility to challenge, influence, and reinvent conventions and status quos.

We developed our initiative using design as a methodology by actively and prominently using our designer tools in different respects. We have designed an approachable and personable space, questioning assumptions about the spatial characteristics and perceived limitations of community centers and spaces. We have designed new approaches to share our stories and experiences, and to communicate our work to larger audiences with which we wish to engage. We have designed a model (or approach) for events and programs that addresses the challenges newcomers and locals face in meaningfully participating in society. Through this methodology, we actively invite those who engage with our initiative to be more than passive participants: we consider each participant a potential co-creator. This facilitates the making of an inclusive space designed not just for, but equally by, its participants. Together with the rest of the team, we see ourselves as enablers, mediators, and coordinators.

The role of design and the creative process in the De Voorkamer project is to encourage exchange and stimulate participation—crucial ingredients for the building of an open, equal, and inclusive community. Through a variety of projects, such as weekly language cafes and game nights, storytelling events, photography and visual

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[2] Our co-creative journey for this book chapter began when the third author, Maggi, learned about the work of De Voorkamer through her research project Welcoming Spaces https://www.welcomingspaces.eu/. The chapter builds on a conversation we began while preparing for and during a roundtable discussion 'Digital practices, materialities and migrant belongings' Maggi organised for the international conference 'Migrant Belongings – Digital Practices and the Everyday' in April 2021.

Inclusive design	Non-inclusive design
Concern with meaning and context	Concern with style and ornament
Participatory	Non-participatory
Orientated to people	Orientated to organizations or institutions
User-centered design	Owner as exclusive client
Low cost	High cost
Bottom-up design approach	Top-down design approach
Democratic	Authoritarian
Seeking to change design attitudes	Conforming to prevailing design attitudes
Use of appropriate technology	Use of high technology
Use of alternative models of the development process	Development process controlled by corporate interests
Heterogeneity	Homogeneity

Fig. 2 Inclusive and non-inclusive design (Hanson 2004, p. 22)

art and design projects, and music events, De Voorkamer facilitates creativity and talents, with the aim of establishing common ground to connect people from different backgrounds and co-create new commonalities, the community and all its activities. "By & For" is the underlining principle of this endeavor. We do so by working with small groups to establish valuable connections, through which participants share and exchange their inspiration and talents. In collaboration with local professionals, we design meetings and projects that bring our space to life and create events and objects that facilitate our activities. De Voorkamer changes its function, content, and objects according to the fascinations and interests of its participants.

3   Elements of Inclusive Spaces

Since its early days, De Voorkamer has evolved both through the lessons learned in our pilot project as well as those we continue to learn every day. Guided by these lessons and our project plans in the daily life of the initiative, we are rarely preoccupied with conventional principles and terminology—we just work! Reflecting on and distilling our past journey, we have identified a set of central elements that have shaped our work. At the core, as shown in Fig. 3, there are six key **building blocks**: *People, Program, Location, Space, Communication,* and *Network*. Each building block bears

Fig. 3 Building blocks and design principles of De Voorkamer. (*Source* De Voorkamer)

a series of nine core ***design principles***: *Approachability, Cultural/Contextual Sensitivity, Diversity, Gradual Engagement, Flexibility, Narrativity, Inclusivity, Ownership,* and *Visibility*. These principles form the common thread that runs through our work and guides us in decision-making processes.

3.1   Six Key Building Blocks

The six building blocks are intimately interrelated and interdependent on one another.

People—By definition, people are at the core of any social initiative. How an initiative engages with the people who participate in its program has a distinct bearing on its character and, ultimately, its success. Human interaction is the crux of all of our work. We reach out to new members of the community by establishing personal relationships with them. We do not recruit members; rather, we build a community, which is an ongoing process of personal engagement. As a meeting space, the fundamental activities of De Voorkamer involve hosting people, connecting people with one another, mapping people's talents and interests, creating with people, and making them feel welcome and at home.

Program—The program, or series of programs, of any initiative is the vehicle with which it aims to fulfill its objectives. Applying certain design principles when creating programs can ensure that they contribute to the larger intentions of the initiative, while achieving their immediate intended outcomes. In the case of De Voorkamer, the program is a crucial ingredient that makes the place into a vibrant meeting space. Since the start of the initiative, we have organized and hosted different activities that might not seem to be our core practice, but that eventually contributed to the formation of a community and the involvement of that community in talent development processes as a way to meet other people. For example, while the language cafe and football are not our core "businesses," we invest in such activities as we feel they are a good way to introduce people to the space and the initiative. Later on, when people know the space and its people, they are more likely to feel comfortable and motivated to participate in other, more complex activities that entail a higher level of engagement. Therefore, program is a crucial element of place-making. The programs of De Voorkamer are generated in many ways, with co-creation as a fundamental approach throughout. Internally, program initiators may develop ideas alongside participants and volunteers, while these roles may equally be reversed, with participants and volunteers introducing the ideas to be developed. A further strand of programs is introduced from external sources, as we collaborate with groups wishing to run additional programs, for example, film festivals, dance classes, and training focused on work and education.

Location—Finding a suitable location can have a major impact on the potential success of an initiative, and considerations ranging from cost and accessibility need to be weighed and balanced against one another. Although a central location can ensure that many people will find their way to the place, either deliberately or while *en route* to somewhere else, a more residential location helps the initiative become embedded in the local community. As these considerations differ greatly from place to place, exploratory research is important prior to choosing a location. As we wanted to provide a meeting place for newcomers to Utrecht, proximity to the asylum seekers' center was one of the main considerations in our decision-making process. Finding the optimal location in the multicultural neighborhood of Lombok has proved to be a fundamental factor that has facilitated and amplified De Voorkamer's work within the city.

Space—Here we refer to the physical properties of the spaces of encounter. Each space that an initiative inhabits can be highly tailored to individual programs or decorated to personal tastes, but it should also be designed according to principles

that will facilitate the aims of the initiative. Experimenting with the various ways in which an initiative uses space is also a valuable exercise to help identify the specific characteristics and qualities that may be required. As the content of our work is meant to change according to the ideas and projects designed with the community, we furnished the space with light, modular furniture that can be readily moved around. Every week, De Voorkamer is used by many groups in different ways—which can also create chaos and hinder the collaboration among different community members. We "solved" this problem by creating a map to help each group put the furniture back where it originally was. Such a simple and practical solution can be seen as a tool for designing and maintaining an inclusive space.

As shown in Fig. 4, De Voorkamer has a large window that faces the street. People who have been involved in the initiative consider it an iconic marker that signals it as a welcoming space. Other elements that community members consider as welcoming are the colorful furniture, the façade, and the texts written on the walls in various languages. The windows allow passers-by and team members to communicate with each other through hand gestures and smiles. This transparency triggers people's curiosity to learn about the place and people often come in for a coffee and a chat. Our walk-in approach is one of the features of De Voorkamer as a welcoming space.

Communication—Social media and digital platforms are an ever-increasing asset that initiatives must take advantage of. From the outset, our communication has centered on being visual, playful, personal, open, colorful, and fun. By establishing a voice and an identity for De Voorkamer, we have attracted an audience beyond those who you might consider the "usual suspects" in social initiatives. We have also used this tone and approach in communicating our successes and work among our network and to the wider interest in our initiative.

Network—A fundamental requirement for initiatives when starting out is the ability to form, become part of, and then draw on a wide network. Such networks

Fig. 4 Front window of De Voorkamer. (*Photo Source*: authors' own photo)

can assist in getting initiatives off the ground, as well as provide support and amplify the impact their output can have—especially in the case of initiatives engaged in social outreach programs, which by their nature, cannot and should not work in isolation. In Utrecht, we identified early on the need to be part of a larger movement. The city has a wealth of initiatives and individuals working hard with similar objectives. By working with a network, we have expanded our reach and impact. We have collaborated with a wide range of partners, organizations, funds, companies, and individuals from different sectors and with different focuses, ranging from local government, to universities, NGOs, cultural organizations, and grassroots collectives. Working at the intersection of different fields and disciplines is a factor that contributes to developing De Voorkamer as an inclusive space.

3.2 Nine Design Principles

Each of the building blocks is characterized by several of the nine design principles we have identified as guidelines when organizing, coordinating, and designing an inclusive space. In the following, we use the building block "Space" to illustrate how the design principles are worked out[3].

Space—*Approachability, Diversity, Flexibility, Inclusivity,* and *Narrativity* are particularly relevant to the building block Space.

Approachability—A person's perception of a space can greatly influence how they approach and engage with a program and the people within it; a person's behavior in a formal private space will differ greatly from that in an informal public setting, such as a park. It is important to understand the character of a space to ensure it will be approachable, open, and safe for the audience you wish to attract.

Diversity—A space can be diverse in various ways—the number of programs it can accommodate, the different groups of people who use it, its different configurations, etc. However, the expressive qualities of space can also be diverse, bringing together arrays of forms and colors and styles. A diverse space can help ensure that all the people and functions of an initiative are brought together.

Flexibility—The range of variables encountered in many initiatives means it is crucial to have a flexible space so as to accommodate as many scenarios as possible. A highly programmed and designed space may become a negative rather than a positive factor if the initiative begins to draw more people to the space than it is designed for, or is unable to serve the changing needs of its participants.

Inclusivity—Encouraging participants to engage in the way a space is used and even designed can help instill their sense of ownership and belonging to an initiative, further promoting the inclusivity of the space. This can also help address the sense of hierarchy and ownership that participants may perceive vis-à-vis the initiative designer. Visitors to De Voorkamer encounter objects made in collaboration with

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[3] For the other design principles, please refer to Raviv, van der Mijl and Woods (2021).

community members, such as cups, stools, tables, lamps, plates, curtains, and a bookshelf. Figure 5 shows the co-creation of a narrative wooden table.

Narrativity—Depending on the nature of an initiative or an individual program's aims, displaying the nature of, and activities within, a space may or may not be

Fig. 5   A narrative wooden table co-created by Shurooq Al-Qasemi and Pim van der Mijl, first as part of the theater play "Hoe ik talent voor het leven kreeg" ("How I got talent for life") and now a part of the interior of De Voorkamer (photo source: authors' own photo)

desirable. Do participants require anonymity and privacy, or is it important to exhibit and narrate the activities? What can a first-time visitor learn about the initiative by looking around the place? For example, the walls of De Voorkamer are decorated with many small portraits, all in the same format and style, which makes them engaging and not too "messy." People who enter the space like to see whether they recognize the people in the photos.

It should be emphasized that these block principle combinations are far from fixed. The community of De Voorkamer continually reviews the principles to ensure that the initiative achieves its full potential. Changes are also sometime imposed—by, for example, the COVID-19 pandemic.

4   De Voorkamer as a Meeting Space in the Time of COVID-19

COVID-19 meant that De Voorkamer had to reorient its core principle of meeting in physical space to learn, exchange, and co-create. The community adopted the following strategies to maintain, and even re-create, its meeting place and enhance the sense of belonging among community members during the pandemic.

Adopting a multi-local approach—Utrecht is fortunate to have quite a wide range of cultural and social spaces. As a community that runs such a space, we often struggle with finding common ground and opportunities to collaborate with other welcoming spaces in the city. In a way, every organization that manages a space wants to focus on its programming, attracting its own audience and ensuring a lively and active place of its own. The pandemic period opened up opportunities for collaboration, based on mutuality, among these "islands" at a new level. Initiatives with outdoor space hosted other partners, so that they could hold programs in a safe way for more people. Furthermore, sharing spaces also meant sharing programs across these communities at a time when many programs had to be cancelled. Collaboration was an effective way to create a lively program in a relatively short time.

A shift in thinking of "success" and "impact" as a sociocultural meeting space— During the enforcement of social distancing, we were not allowed to meet in large groups. Yet, we were forced to, and eventually appreciated this chance to, rethink the notion of "success" and "impact" in our work. Instead of seeing large-scale events as the only way to broaden our community, we now explore how to intensify our small-scale and recurring gatherings and workshops to boost the quality of the interactions and relationships built within De Voorkamer. We now put even more emphasis on quality, intimacy, and interaction and have started working in small groups or even one on one. While we consider this shift meaningful, and one that should be maintained in post-COVID times, we are also bound by some funders who measure our success in terms of numbers and growth in visitors.

Exploring the potential of online/offline engagements—The constantly changing regulations highlighted the importance of flexible working methods. We

designed new programs in a hybrid form of online/offline engagement. Programs function through group sessions and smaller groups, and sometimes in pairs, when there are exchanges and exercises between two people. The group sessions can be done online (if necessary) while participants are invited to meet up offline (if possible) for the one-on-one exercises. Online/offline space is seen and used more in intersection or conflation (cf. Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017, and the chapter by Leung et al. in this book). Participant evaluations show that they appreciate this compromising strategy, especially when there is a good balance between group events and one-on-one interactions. A good balance of these interactions, combined with content-driven programming, has proven to stimulate exchange and, in turn, a sense of belonging. Nonetheless, physical meetings are still far more valuable for sense of belonging and collectivity.

Designing creative solutions for offline events to stimulate playful encounters— During the pandemic, we were also pressed to find creative solutions during offline events to stimulate playful encounters. We did this by using the Corona restrictions as design principles. During the summer of 2020, we co-created with social designer Pauline Wiersema a special summer holiday program "Een Vleugje Vakantie" ("A Dash of Holiday"). As shown in Fig. 6, we tried to create a holiday experience for participants while they remained in Utrecht.

Pauline organized a tour through our neighborhood of Lombok, sharing personal stories and the home places of our community members. At the end of the tour, participants sent their postcards out and a dialog was created around a green screen showing the visited places. We asked participants which place they would like to travel to and why. Pauline then placed these places on the screen and let participants virtually travel to these destinations.

We thus turned the inability to travel into a playful element of the program.

5 Conclusions

In this chapter, we presented the six building blocks and nine design principles on which the cultural space and community of De Voorkamer is based. These key elements guide the building and maintenance of De Voorkamer as an open, inclusive, and creative space where people from all backgrounds—newcomers, not-so-newcomers and locals, and across other axes of differences such as gender, class, age, religion, and abilities/disabilities—can share their visions of, and efforts towards, achieving their new, shared futures. Charting the initiative's path up to now, one and a half years into the COVID-19 pandemic, we are reminded that community-building is an ongoing and never finished process. Global and local contexts change, people come and go, there are moments when the community is active and thriving, and moments where there seems to be less energy and involvement. This should be taken into consideration when thinking about the sustainability, growth, and impact of an initiative. Should numerical indicators, such as number of participants or activities, be used? How can we "measure" success and impact in other ways, perhaps in a more

Fig. 6 "Een Vleugje Vakantie" ("A Dash of Holiday"). (*Photo Source* authors' own photo)

organic and experience-centered manner? The identification of a set of core values, as operationalized in the building blocks and design principles of De Voorkamer, helps to chart the directions for future engagements.

The pandemic has also afforded us new insights into inclusion and place. As mobility was severely constrained for most people during the lockdown, the importance of micro-spaces—or "hyper local" places, such as neighborhoods—was made more obvious. Since the focus of De Voorkamer is quite local, the community members managed to maintain contact with, and even meet each other, during the pandemic. Initiatives working at different spatial levels might have had other experiences.

The dynamic nature of such a welcoming space became clear during the COVID-19 pandemic. De Voorkamer was pushed to reflect on the fundamental meaning and workings of such a social cultural space. How should "success" and "impact" be defined in a sociocultural space? And how can we achieve this? The reminder that quality reigns over quantity raises questions about what and how future programs should be conducted. Yet, initiatives do not always have complete freedom to depart from head-counting, as they are constrained by how funders measure success. The strategies implemented by De Voorkamer in dealing with the challenges brought by the pandemic not only help bridge this period, but they also serve as impulses for the initiative to be experimental and creative, also when the pandemic is finally behind us. As far as place and space are concerned, sharing (spaces with partner initiatives) and diversification (exploring online/offline as interesting spaces) are seen as new, productive ways. We can thus also see how the COVID-19 crisis has brought us new opportunities through the continuous re-creation of the welcoming space.

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Chapter 24
HabitARTE Program in Bogotá: From Art-Based Placemaking to Embellishment Projects—Can Color Transform a Place and Enhance Inclusion?

Silja Kessler and Jaime Hernández-García

1 Introduction

It is widely assumed that placemaking can be a powerful driver of urban regeneration, bringing significant social, economic, and environmental benefits. More broadly, placemaking can help foster social cohesion, engagement, and collaboration, and spur local initiatives for shared interests (Beza & Hernández-García, 2018). Based on this assumption, in 2017, the Municipality of Bogotá launched HabitARTE, a placemaking strategy that aims to enhance public spaces in informal settlements involving art and color. The program aimed to create inclusion through participation—consisting of social, technical, and artistic strategies. The painting was carried out through two types of interventions: small-scale murals carried out by artists in strategic and neglected public spaces in a supposed process of co-design, and macro-murals that covered entire neighborhoods visible from a distance. Both types of interventions were used as a strategy of social inclusion to improve living conditions in informal settlements. This chapter aims to generate a discussion about the program's contribution in a prioritized area: the informal settlement of Manitas, located in the peripheral district of Ciudad Bolivar.

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2   Inclusion Through Placemaking

This chapter draws on two general assumptions that have guided critical urban planning discussions in recent years, namely: (1) planning institutions and practitioners produce unequal distributional outcomes due to bureaucratic inflexibility and often fail to meet citizens' needs (cf. Fainstein, 2014) and (2) citizens have a remarkable advantage over professional planners in terms of local expertise that empowers them to become developers and placemakers themselves (cf. Healey, 2015). In this context, the question of "who shapes our future cities" arises, and the call for user-generated developments grows louder. Drawing on the basic assumption that urban planning often fails to address the needs of residents, especially those who are already marginalized and vulnerable, placemaking is perceived as an alternative planning approach. Considering the discussion on inclusion, we want to build on the connection between art and local community and introduce placemaking by analyzing the concept as a possible strategy that allows different actors to work together to foster inclusion by jointly shaping the future of their neighborhoods. In this context, we understand the art-based interventions of placemaking projects in a broader sense of the literal "making of places"—as an active shaping of the urban environment, a transformation of places. Placemaking, as articulated by Beza and Hernández-Garcia, can be considered a "socio-political and geo-specific community engagement process where value and meaning of a setting are used as a platform to achieve positive public space-related outcomes; in relation to the (re)development of social and physical settings in the public sphere" (Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018). In the Colombian context, studies have shown that placemaking, as an alternative form of participation and citizen involvement, can strengthen values such as place attachment and sense of identity, as well as social cohesion in informal settlements (e.g., Calderon & Hernández-García, 2019; Hernandez & Lopez, 2011). Furthermore, the collaborative work in such creative community projects is more appropriate for addressing residents' needs and the long-term and incremental processes are more adaptable and flexible than state-driven processes (Calderon & Hernández-García, 2019).

3   Regional Embedding and Case Introduction

Bogotá has a long history of addressing the problems of marginalization and segregation of informal settlements. HabitARTE, a government-led placemaking strategy, aimed to transform "the city's most vulnerable urban spaces, which at the time of their creation did not have all the conditions that apply to formal housing developments" (Cuevas & Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2019, translated from Spanish). The program went beyond the color of the walls with its underlying strategy, a large package of work and skill programs that improved the quality of life for thousands of people in Bogotá. In this sense, HabitARTE's main objective was to promote the consolidation of places to build trust, solidarity, and social integration through interventions

in public spaces using art and painting and participatory tools. According to official reports, HabitARTE was implemented in 83 low-income neighborhoods, where 95,000 facades were designed, and 141 murals and four macro-paintings were painted (Fig. 1). The program involved trainings in social leadership with its projects focused on culture, art, and mobile structures for the requalification and appropriation of public space (Cuevas & Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2019).

One of the program's target areas was Ciudad Bolivar (Fig. 2), the city's largest low-income district[1] with high poverty rates. This is an area where most neighborhoods have grown from informal patterns. This often-stigmatized district is located on the periphery, in hilly terrains, poorly connected, and in one of the most marginalized areas of the city. With the launch of an aerial cable car system in 2018, Ciudad Bolivar received one of the most emblematic infrastructure projects that for many materialized the city's commitment to improving living conditions of these poor and neglected areas. Alongside large investments in social infrastructure such as schools, community, and municipal service centers, HabitARTE was introduced as a complementing strategy to promote social cohesion, participation, and inclusion in an attempt to alleviate decades of lack of institutional presence and build a more just city. One of the prioritized areas of HabitARTE was Manitas, a neighborhood in the district Ciudad Bolívar with about 5,000 inhabitants, that is located around one of the cable car stations (Fig. 2). As Manitas is considered strategic for the municipality, this neighborhood was selected for this research.

4 Research Design and Key Findings

While the HabitARTE program, which ended in 2019, aimed to transform the most marginalized urban spaces through a comprehensive strategy that included painting and renovating public spaces (Fig. 3), little has been published about the actual contribution of the program. With this chapter we therefore discuss the program's contribution from the perspective of Manitas residents and by using a qualitative research design with semi-structured interviews to shed light on the actual transformation of the neighborhood. Our findings are based on data collected in 2021 through interviews conducted by telephone and video calls with seven key informants, five residents of Manitas, and two former city employees who were in office when the strategy was implemented. We focus on the voices of those who participated in, or were affected by, the program to present their different perceptions and thus paint a broader picture of the program than the one the municipality has portrayed so far. All interviews were translated from Spanish.

In this chapter, we place the debate of art-based placemaking in the context of a broader discussion on urban justice, as we argue that inclusion and participation are fundamental prerequisites to achieve just urban development. Following the interview results, we argue that although government-led art-based urban regeneration strategies have the potential to strengthen social cohesion, enhance inclusion, and improve the urban environment and foster participation, HabitARTE failed to comply

Fig. 1 Painted facades of the Barrio Manitas as seen from the cable car. (*Photo Source* Jaime Hernández-García, 2021)

Fig. 2 Aerial view of Manitas and its painted houses including a newly constructed cable car station at the bottom right of the picture. (*Source* Open Street Map)

with its expectations due to poorly implemented strategies, with unintended effects of marginalization and stigmatization. We affirm the interest of these types of initiatives in contributing to social justice in informal neighborhoods, but at the same time argue that if not properly implemented, they can do more harm than good.

The interviews show two different narratives, on the one hand, municipality staff involved in the project advocating for it, and on the other hand, the community being critical.

According to the insights obtained from municipality's staff interviews, the project strengthened the resident's place attachment, supported identity building, and enhanced neighborhood cohesion. The municipality's strategy aimed to enable residents to create spaces together. Part of this simple but effective strategy to promote community cohesion was described by a former municipal employee. Basically, residents were intentionally provided with an insufficient number of tools so that "neighbors had to organize themselves" and thus "got to know each other" as a result of collective action. Through the large-scale murals, the municipality sought to create a sense of community among residents, and according to a former municipal employee, to give residents a sense of being part of something bigger, thereby empowering them. This aspect of the project has been challenged by community member.[2] As the employee explained, the macro-murals had a "promotional character to give visible elements to the city […] to show how citizens doing small jobs can make themselves visible to the city." This aimed to create a sense of contribution to change and a sense of belonging. The strategy is action oriented and, according to the municipal employee, not primarily concerned with data and analyses. According

Fig. 3 Macro-mural of Barrio Manitas from a distance. (*Photo Source* Jaime Hernández-García)

to the reports of the employee, the residents are tired and irritated by the many studies, examinations, and surveys they were subjected to. Following his statement, residents no longer have the capacity nor the interest for further studies because they have already participated in countless studies and yet "they are still poor and [their] house is still unstable, [and their] street is still broken." The municipalities' strategy

is therefore action oriented, promising rapid change through its small interventions, by which, according to the employees' statement, it leaves "something tangible for people."

According to the staff interviews, this strategy seems to have been successful, as it has created visibility and thus a sense of belonging, as one resident described the "micro-territories were painted […] according to the agreement of the people who wanted color." However, this has also been contested by the community.[3] The interviewees comment on the transformations that have occurred as a result of the interventions, as the project has stimulated other changes and thus benefited the families—evident from the fact that some families have decided to renovate other parts of their house in addition to the facades. Besides the simple beautification of the facades, a local artist who was actively involved with his collective as well, highlights the empowerment aspect that HabitARTE has brought:

> The beautification […] generates another type of quality of life. A more dignified quality of life for many people who in the territory did not have the economic resources to paint their house. […] This changes the mentality of "we are a poor neighborhood" to […] "my territory is beautiful," [which] is very much appreciated by the people in the area and it generated new processes of territorial empowerment—Resident and member of a local artist collective

Yet, the program aimed to go beyond simply painting facades. Other project components included skills training for specific jobs such as architectural painting, some of which later enabled participants to find employment as one municipality employee explained. As a result, the municipality was able to provide its own work-force when negotiating with contractors, as they could rely on the residents they had previously trained in the courses. According to a municipal employee, this resulted in a win–win situation for the municipality as, "on the one hand [the municipality] invested money in these courses, but on the other hand [they] allowed these people to enter the labor market in contracts to paint facades." Referring to HabitARTE's advertising strategy, which stated that more than 95,000 facades have been painted, the employee concluded that the municipality additionally had provided training to 7,000 people.

On the community's side, the interviews revealed several benefits and advantages associated with HabitARTE. However, there was also clear criticism, particularly on the way the project was implemented. The interviews provide evidence that the strategy imposed a "new" identity, as subjects for painting were determined by the municipality and residents had little or no real decision-making power. The strategy exacerbated stigmatization, and rather than resolving it, triggered additional conflicts. A major criticism is that the existing art scene, and with it the identity of the neighborhood, got covered up by the new macro-murals. Residents and artists claim that the city administration has imposed its new identity on the neighborhood, as residents "used to paint their houses in certain colors, with certain designs." Through the project, the facades are colored in the same color scheme and design, with "a lot of the neighborhood's autonomy and the way of building" being lost. In this context, one of the main criticisms is that neither the residents nor the local graffiti artists were given adequate opportunity to participate in the process.

Another criticism is that the municipality's decision-making process for deciding which houses to paint was perceived by the community to be discriminatory. Boundaries were drawn where none existed, as the municipality strictly defined an area that was prioritized for the placemaking intervention, leaving houses outside of these boundaries untouched. Some residents had no understanding of the decisions made by the city administration because, according to one interviewee, the decisions were too rigid and static and did not adapt to the residents' needs. One resident stated that:

> Some people had the right to participate, and some people did not have the right to participate. These are things that need to be prevented because that is called segregation and it creates barriers, invisible borders, and is obviously contrary to the whole project and its goals– Resident of Manitas

Another resident reported directly experiencing this exclusion, as they were not selected in the painting of the facades. In addition, stigmatization was mentioned as a problem not solved but rather exacerbated by the program. Some residents accused the upgrading program of stigmatization because, according to them, their neighborhood was only painted for aesthetic reasons, so that residents in the wealthier areas of the city benefit from the "make-over." Some residents complained that in their neighborhood they cannot even see the artworks that often span over several housing facades; only people outside of the neighborhood can benefit from the intervention as they, for instance, see the macro-murals from the cable car.

However, according to the interviews, other elements of the neighborhood are more important than the art interventions and so needed to be addressed more urgently.

> We also experienced a bit of dissatisfaction […] because it is a neighborhood with many problems, only one access road for the whole neighborhood […]. So, [we think] that there are other problems to be solved rather than just aesthetic beautification—Resident of Manitas

5 Conclusion: HabitARTE Placemaking as a Tool for Enhancing Inclusion: Real Transformation or Superficial Embellishment?

We frame our discussion of this chapter around the potential of placemaking to enhance inclusion in the city by empowering the local community and building a fairer city. While recognizing that placemaking is only one of many approaches, such as improving access to public transportation and social infrastructure, its implementation can contribute to strengthening urban justice. According to Fainstein's (2010) concept of the just city, the key to just development lies in democracy, diversity, and equity. Citizen participation and involvement in urban development processes and placemaking can only contribute to justice if residents have a voice in shaping these processes and if those processes enrich their livelihoods. Although placemaking interventions are widely celebrated in urban studies for engaging civil society in planning processes, the use of placemaking as a tool to foster urban justice requires critical

reflection. Placemaking interventions should neither be romanticized nor presented as an ever-functioning instrument for improving neighborhoods. Here, we provide some notes for critical reflection on "just" development, based on our analysis of HabitARTE.

When both financial and human resources are scarce, placemaking brings many advantages, as it is a small-scale resource and budget efficient alternative to traditional planning. However, the top-down implementation of HabitARTE left little opportunity for adequate citizen participation. Although the city government's strategy intended to promote inclusion and participation, and aimed to strengthen place attachment, neighborhood formation, and social cohesion, the interviews revealed that implementation led to adverse side effects. Due to the imposition of the municipality, the residents were not allowed to choose colors or motives, nor to object and intervene. They were also unable to choose alternative interventions, and thus were not involved in the distribution of resources. Although the municipality intended to establish trust through the action-based strategy and its promise of rapid change, this did not succeed, according to the interview findings.

Moreover, when considering the question of aesthetics: who determines the aesthetics, themes, styles, and colors of the artwork? From the interviews, it is evident that the city government ignored local identity and instead pushed it aside to make way for larger scale artworks that are most visible from a distance. Accordingly, the artistic interventions contribute to the neighborhood's assimilation to more affluent areas of the city. Consequently, the program can be seen as a municipality-driven beautification strategy to make the neighborhood more attractive to outsiders. Therefore, it becomes critical to clarify for whom the project was designed and for whom it is intended to benefit. A radical interpretation is that the municipality holds a negative interpretation of urban informality and imposes the strategy because they assume to know the needs of the residents. As a result, the stigmatization is exacerbated rather than resolved, and HabitARTE's failed strategy continues to marginalize communities while potentially weakening existing communities and local initiatives. Given these factors, HabitARTE can be seen as a missed opportunity to identify, support, and strengthen existing and new cultural initiatives in an urban environment where creativity, ingenuity, and community engagement are at the core of the local identity.

Accordingly, while the underlying principle—art-based interventions—can be perceived as an encouraging strategy to foster citizen empowerment, the municipal-driven development project was inadequate in several key aspects related to transparency, decision-making, procedural openness, and the possibility of process adaptation. Taking Fainstein's words that all citizens can obtain the benefits of beauty, community, and democracy through the imposition of reason rather than through revolutionary means (cf. Fainstein, 1999), it can be concluded that Bogotá's HabitARTE strategy cannot be considered an "imposition of reason" as Bogotá's municipal government used its own "vision of the good city" as a benchmark, which did not necessarily match the vision of its inhabitants. Ultimately, the evaluation of the project is a moral judgment and remains a matter of opinion or, rather, depends on who is consulted. Nevertheless, this study revealed that considering Fainstein's

Just City concept, the implementation of Bogota's strategy falls short in its potential to obtain a just result.

Some critical reflection notes raise the question of whether local development processes initiated by the state or another top-down actor can promote just developments if implemented more democratically. In contrast, from the preceding arguments, it might be assumed that it is better to leave neighborhood development in the hands of the local community (with financial and technical assistance), initiated and organized from the bottom-up—since, as argued in this work, they are the local experts. However, and as also evident from the interviews, local actors often lack financial and organizational means and must attempt to claim these resources from the state. Following this argument leads to the contrary conclusion that unorganized communities will ultimately remain poor and unorganized if the state does not intervene. In this case, those who have the greatest necessity are excluded, as those who (can) apply for and undertake such projects are often better connected politically, or more privileged financially or materially.

Therefore, civic participation can also exclude certain members of society, as participation in such interventions usually requires specific financial and social capital. Following on from the discussion of the level at which justice is generated, or where the responsibility for achieving urban justice lies in this research, Fainstein identifies institutions as responsible. Consequently, the project's success depends on its process and implementation, namely, on who has decision-making power and who can actively shape the process. Therefore, we conclude that policymakers' ignorance and "inaction" will only exacerbate inequalities since policymakers must acknowledge obstacles and create opportunities that allow everyone the space to participate and contribute, empowering particularly those who are most vulnerable. Since institutions are responsible and accountable for future just development, such institutions must establish target concepts that specify what justice approach is being followed and why.

In this regard, institutions should not view the local community as a homogeneous group, nor should they strive for justice for all, which cannot be achieved due to different moral conceptions of justice. Since the operationalizations and principles developed by Fainstein are still open to interpretation, the conceptualization of urban justice is of particular interest for further research. Local governments need to define their justice standards to apply them and to create implementation strategies for the actualization of urban justice. While there is no guarantee of just development, as each case is different and depends on the project or site, unforeseen circumstances may affect project implementation and the (long-term) impacts.

There are some important general guidelines that can be followed. Resident participation and involvement throughout the process and a comprehensive monitoring strategy remain fundamental. Consequently, key elements that can positively influence placemaking projects include ensuring that ownership is at the local level and the local community is given the opportunity to be actively involved in decision-making. (Re)building trust is another important element for the success of placemaking projects, as projects can only function if different stakeholders collaborate and cooperate. In this context, it is important to note that placemaking projects

should be seen only as a starting point in a neighborhood improvement process, which must be embedded in a comprehensive strategy with a broad agenda and a follow-up strategy. If necessary, monitoring and adjusting the process throughout the project lifecycle is important to ensure long-term, sustainable development that meets citizen's needs.

Returning to the question raised in the heading of this chapter, we asked if arts-based placemaking projects can contribute to more just cities when implemented collaboratively. Beyond questioning the impact of the color on the wall of citizens' livelihoods, the more important question to consider is how the color got on the wall and whether the process and the outcome are inclusive. Consequently, the process can never be regarded as less important than the outcome when it comes to evaluating urban upgrading according to principles of justice. We want to conclude by stating that placemaking interventions can be seen as a collective catalyst for change and a creator of inclusive urban futures. However, their great potential for strengthening civil society and empowering the most vulnerable populations happens only because, and only when, citizens really play a part in them.

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Chapter 25
Tourism Development Strategies and Creative Industries: The Case of Creative, Thematic, and Tourism *Kampungs*

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Abstract In Indonesia, creative industries (CIs) have been strongly promoted through policies that strengthen national, regional, and local economic development. Bandung City has been one of the core cities carrying such an approach. It has a large presence of CIs, many of which are located in traditional neighborhoods—kampungs. These CIs represent an important cultural, social, and source of livelihood for much of the population residing in these kampungs. This chapter discusses three ways of how kampung communities engaged creativity and CIs as drivers for tourism development and economic promotion. The cases range from grassroots movements leading these initiatives to combined government- and community-led strategies. We investigate the case of Dago Pojok, a community-led "creative kampung" that emerged as an act of resistance against the exclusionary local government's urban development actions. Second, Binongjati is a historical local industrial center with a large professional community-led CIs association aiming to convert the area into a "tourism kampung." Thirdly, Cigadung, where traditional batik industries are clustered, is promoted as a "thematic creative kampung" by municipality-led strategies in close collaboration with strong local CIs actors. Interviews with kampung leaders inform the chapter. It explores similarities and differences in strategies followed by these three cases and investigates the involvement of the local community, associations/organizations, and the municipality to promote these kampungs as tourist creativity-based attractions. Finally, it reflects how community-led, community-driven, or community-informed

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tourism strategies are linked with local urban governance arrangements supporting these communities' inclusion in the city's wider identity-shaping discourses.

1 Introduction

In Indonesia, creative industries (CIs) include traditional cultural and "innovative" creative industries (Fahmi et al., 2016). These CIs have long been used to promote local economic development and urban renewal in Bandung City. The local government created a city branding strategy, "Bandung Creative City," to promote collaboration across all relevant urban actors. It has also aimed to address socio-economic and spatial transformations, especially in its urban *kampungs*[1] (Aritenang, 2013; Fahmi et al., 2019).

Fahmi et al. (2019) identified two main development strategies connected to this local branding initiative: 1) the *tourism kampung* and 2) the *creative thematic kampung (Bandung City Mid-Term Development Plan (*RPJMD) 2018–2023). Both aim to improve the quality of life of the kampung's residents through a mix of neighborhood physical infrastructure rehabilitation actions and local economic empowerment. However, the creative thematic kampung (e.g., *Kampung Batik Cigadung)* has been designed to ease the "procurement of creative events and the promotion of creative tourism" (Fahmi et al., 2019; pp. 103) while developing the "uniqueness" of the area by promoting one theme,[2] mostly within creative sectors (e.g., Art and Culture, Crafts, Culinary). Instead, the tourism kampung (e.g., Kampung *Rajut (knitting) Binongjati*) is seen as a strategy to transform areas of dominantly home-based industrial activities into areas where visitors interested in the products can also see the production processes and people behind it (ibid). In contrast to these two types of kampungs defined by the city's policies, we also observed a third type which is, from its start, community led: the *creative kampung.* The primary example of such type of kampung is *Kampung Kreatif Dago Pojok.* It emerged before the other two types were drafted in the city's policies as a community's effort to address the effects and take advantage of the city's development strategies (Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson, 2013).

The chapter is informed by five individual semi-structured interviews and one group interview with kampung and CIs associations' leaders where creative-based tourism is central to the kampungs' development. The interviews were done between September and November 2019.

The three cases reveal how urban governance arrangements in the kampungs engage with the creativity-based discourses promoted by local authorities as drivers

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[1] The term loosely translates as "neighborhood" and refers to sometimes unplanned, traditional settlements, with a diversity of cultural, social, and economic backgrounds.

[2] The definition of the theme is done through multi-actor and sectoral arrangements, specifically between the governmental agencies, local actors, community, and experts. It is expected to give the kampung an economic and touristic competitive advantage (Fahmi et al., 2019).

of local urban renewal and tourism promotion. The chapter explores how tourism emerges as an essential element permeating the development processes and strategies of the creative-based kampungs and their CIs. It also investigates the similarities and differences in the strategies these kampungs followed and discusses the roles of different stakeholder groups. The aim is to illustrate how creative activism and strong (professional) local cooperatives, and cooperative-like organizations work towards the involvement of the kampungs' (often informal) industries in the activities related to the definition of the identity-shaping strategies, defined at the municipal level.

2 Identity, Development, and Tourism Strategies

Our three cases are different in their creative identities and creative activities, actors involved in their creation and development, the challenges faced, and their future perspectives.

2.1 Identity and Development of Kampung Kreatif Dago Pojok

It started in 2003, led by an art collective—*Komunitas Taboo*—and the community actors and volunteers from each of the RTs.[3] Together they created the *Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok* organization to develop a locally grounded *kampung* at the intersection of art and urban activism (Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson, 2013). The local activities, products, and services, mostly home-based businesses, are derived from contemporary and traditional cultural practices—i.e., doll makers and puppeteers, batik producers, kite makers, traditional dancers, musicians and musical instrument makers, and painters (Fig. 1).

The creative kampung and its collective grassroots arrangements towards creating a community and professional organization rose from the city government's failure to involve the local community in the area development plans (Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson, 2013). It was a way to "*fight private companies indirectly through arts"* (Interview Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok), particularly those related to real estate speculation. It has evolved as "a place to accommodate [all] community activities" (interview Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok). The development stages of

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[3] A Rukun Tetangga (RT) corresponds to the smallest administrative unit within the broader Kelurahan (KL). RTs are part of Rukun Warga (RWs) another administrative subdivision within the KL. These are commonly used by the residents and city authorities. Each KL can contain several RWs and RTs. A *Kampung* is a more loosely defined geographical area, which may or not coincide with one or more KLs.

Fig. 1 **a** A painting studio/gallery, **b** street where most of the CIs are located, and **c** the community center where creative presentations and activities are carried out in Dago Pojok, Bandung, Indonesia. (*Source photos* Author Fieldwork 2019)

the kampung loosely coincide with leadership changes to the community-led organization and are marked by a specific development focus also led by the community. For example, from 2003 to 2008, "*[…] we focused on developing infrastructure";* 2009/2010 (first three years) *"[…] we focused on developing traditional arts in Dago Pokok. So, the point is we are trying to preserve art in West Java";* and *"[…] from 2017 to 2020 we have been focusing on developing the local economy"* (interview—Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok).

Due to its strong presence in the city and the success of this grassroot's creative kampung, the local government "officially" launched, in 2010, Dago Pojok as one of the city's *creative kampung*. Also, the *kampung* has served as a pilot and a model to follow initiatives that the city authorities would roll out to promote CIs and creativity-based *kampungs* in Bandung (Fig. 4).

The wide recognition of Dago Pojok and its creative activities brought several benefits and some challenges to the organization and its CIs. The increased visibility resulted in internal tensions between different interests. As a result, the kampung's organization has been less active in promoting tourism-related events expecting that this "break" will allow the different actors to refocus the goals and strategies of the creative kampung. Specifically, it was mentioned that "[…] *the system also needs to be changed. The system must be able to ensure that the kampung can survive with existing internal problems"* (interview Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok)). As future steps, the current leadership of the *Kampung Kreatif* organization aims to develop the *kampung* as an event organizer and promoter (interview Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok).

2.2   Identity and Development of Kampung Batik Cigadung

Cigadung is an urban kampung known for its *batik* production[4] as some of the city's most recognized *batik* businesses are clustered there (e.g., Batik Komar, Batik Hasan, Wonderful). Due to this, in a collaboration led by strong local CIs actors, the municipality targeted the area as a *creative thematic kampung "[…] to represent Bandung city in terms of batik activities…"* (*Kampung Batik Cigadung* (KBCG) member during group discussion). Hence, the area was promoted as an edu-tourism kampung, led by KBCG, Batik Komar, and Batik Hasan among other CIs. KBCG is the larger community-based umbrella professional cooperative organization that emerged, in 2018, from the above government–civic–business collaboration. It has smaller businesses and civic groups organized in each area's RWs working on batik production, with an area coordinator representing them in the KBCG committee. The KBCG activities are still heavily relying on the clients and reputation of the well-known large-scale batik businesses (e.g., Batik Komar and Batik Hasan).

The government involvement in the kampung's implementation process was mostly limited to its inclusion in some local policies to promote CIs in the area. It also provided support to batik-making training workshops organized by Batik Komar and UMKM (the city's Small and Micro Enterprises Agency). UMKM provided the trainees with initial capital and equipment (fabrics, buckets, coloring). Since then, Batik Komar and Batik Hasan have taken supporting roles. Also, the current batik production is home based, small scale, and mostly female led. The quality of these home-created products is not yet equal to that of the larger scale CIs, but they are in "a process of learning" (KBCG member during group discussion) (Fig. 2).

The development of the kampung into its edu-tourism identity is expected to transform the area into a place to learn about batik, its tradition, and ways of making it. Various activities have been proposed, such as "*to provide a batik tour"* and to create and promote local batik community and spaces for learning and exhibiting the products. Aiming to strengthen their creative product identity, each RW2 is developing one specific batik pattern to specialize the production (KBCG member). Despite these efforts and production arrangements, at the end of 2019, various members of the KBCG reported a decrease in the orders of their products.

The kampung faces a series of challenges to continue growing and consolidating, namely, attracting young people to keep up the tradition of Batik production and the businesses. Also, the local batik organization requires further spaces for production and showcasing to sell their products. Also, it needs to increase sales so that the CIs can be economically sustainable, and people find the field a viable profession.

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[4] Batik is a clothing painting technique using natural dye which has been defined as a traditional creative sector in Indonesia. UNESCO has recognized the Indonesian batik as intangible cultural heritage.

Fig. 2 **a** Batik shirts in a shop in Cigadung, Bandung; **b** Traditional printing motifs for Batik production. Cigadung, Bandung. (*Source photos* Author Fieldwork 2019)

2.3 Identity and Development of Kampung Rajut Binongjati

Binongjati is a historical local industrial center (*sentra*). The government defines it as one of the creative clusters in Bandung City (local Decree of the Mayor of Bandung No 1530/Kep.295/DISKUMPERINDAG/2009) (Fig. 4). Its creative and industrial development is currently the focus of several CIs-related city policies.

The kampung is known, since 1945, for its manufacturing activities, especially manual knitting. However, industries were badly hit by the 1998 financial crisis, which led to workers being fired from local factories. These workers took home their skills and knitting machines and continued the production (interview—KIRBI). This "informalization" of work was made possible because orders were still coming in, mostly informally, through their former employers. However, factories had officially shut down. Nowadays, most businesses are home-based industries where the knitting and tailoring activities occur on the ground floor, with the families living on the upper floors (Fig. 3a).

The peak in manufacturing production was in the early 2000s and has steadily declined since partly due to the rise in online shopping. Local factories find it hard to expand to online markets due to a lack of marketing skills tailored to the online environment. In addition, it is difficult to find workers because the younger generation is not interested in a job in the knitting industry (interview—KIRBI). Some entrepreneurs have resorted to adopting different types of technology to boost their businesses, and there are attempts to use social media to promote local products.

The large community-led business cooperative (KIRBI) aims to convert the area into a tourism kampung. KIRBI's leadership has created the association "Kampung Radjoet" as the brand representing several of the kampung's CIs knitting activities and promoting its efforts to become a tourism destination (Fig. 3b). One of its goals is

Fig. 3 **a** Interior of workshop in Binongjati, Bandung; **b** Kampung Rajoet, Binongjati, Bandung. (*Source photos* Author Fieldwork 2019)
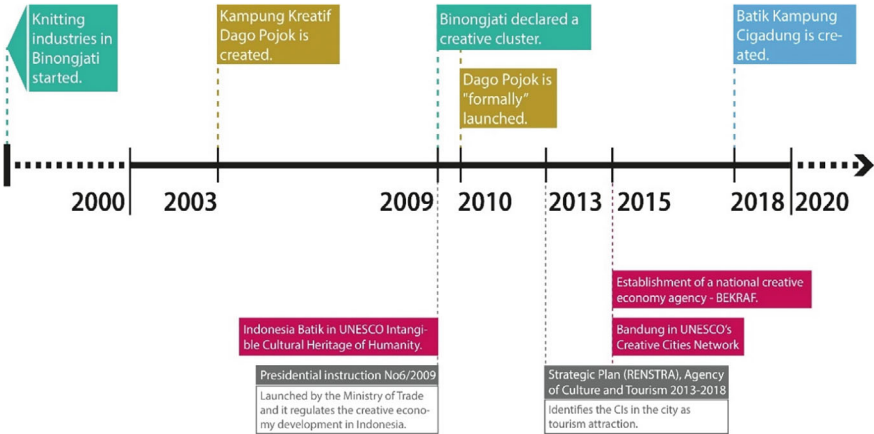
Fig. 4 Timeline of main policies and events affecting the kampungs. (*Source* elaborated by the authors)

to specialize the designs, similar to kampung batik Cigadung's strategy, and products to increase their competitiveness and appropriate market: "*[…] it's because we are homogeneous. […] We lack in terms of innovation. That is one of the reasons why we decided to establish a platform called Kampoeng Radjoet.*" (interviewee—KIRBI).

2.4   Tourism Strategies of the Three Cases

Each of the tourism strategies for these kampungs departed from their existing strengths. Dago Pojok was a creative artistic (traditional) kampung; Cigadung had a recognized batik production. Binongjati was already well known for the strong presence of knitting industries. Each of the kampungs developed packages, or aim to develop them, to attract tourists to visit the areas, with a mix of activities. For instance, in Cigadung, visitors can learn about batik making in workshops currently carried out in the spaces of the large-scale batik designers. Dago Pojok created workshops for several creative activities presented and had already operated home-stay options for visitors at local home-rentals (interview Komunitas Taboo). Binongjati plans on offering a tour of knitting making and home-rentals in the future as part of their strategy (interview KIRBI) (see Table 1).

3   Actors in the Creativity-Based Tourism Kampungs

The three cases make evident the center role that key actors within the community have in developing the tourism-oriented kampungs. In Dago Pojok, the CIs members of the association/organization share one common space—a defined geographical area of the wider kampung—and a set of goals to anticipate opportunities for their businesses for tourism promotion and link to CIs. However, the local community was initially excluded from the local government plan, for which they combined their community's social capital to promote local economic development. Thus, in 2003, *Kampung Kreatif Wisata Dago Pojok* emerged as a community association with a cooperative-like figure.

For the other two kampungs, the community figures are different. In Cigadung, we find an association with a cooperative-like structure (KBCG) strongly led by local figures with ties with the largest employers and businesses in the kampung. There is an area focus, but geography is less important than the industry and branding opportunity these strong local actors bring to collaborate with the local government. The emphasis is less on developing the local community and more on shaping opportunities for the local batik producers to grow and gain market and recognition. In Binongjati, KIRBI fits a very similar role as a cooperative that supports local economic development based on a specific industry—knitting—in collaboration with government agencies.

These (community-based) professional organizations had specific modes of work where they supported their CIs' members through easing access to training, spaces, or marketing and sales channels. These organizations centralized the promotion and sales channels and other activities of the kampungs or the CIs. Some of the organizations also had dedicated percentages (10–20%) of the revenues of the CIs when the sales were done through their spaces and channels. In Cigadung and Binongjati, the revenues were mostly dedicated to strengthening the organization and its members' development, its economic activities, and creating or maintaining common spaces

Table 1 Overview of kampungs' characteristics and tourism strategies. (*Source* Interviews fieldwork)

Kampung	Main activities	Type of Kampung	Main actors	Tourism strategies
Kreatif Dago Pojok	Mural painting, traditional dance, batik and handcrafts (e.g., traditional dolls, puppets, bamboo instruments)	Creative Kampung	Local community, Kampung Wisata Kreatif Dago Pojok, Komunitas Taboo	Led by: Community and their Kampung Wista Kreatif Dago Pojok organization. Branding strategy: *Kampung Kreatif* Strategies: – Builds upon existing CIs and activities – Tourist packages/workshop around promoted activities – Home-stay possibilities – Intentional geographical clustering (in RW 3) for better management of tourism flows
Rajut Binongjati	Knitted clothing	Tourism Kampung	Knitting Industries Cooperative (KIRBI) and its platform "Kampong Radjoet," and others in the local community, local government	Led by: KIRBI (mostly). Accompanied by local community and government (occasionally). Branding strategy: *Kampung Radjoet* Strategies: – Builds on existing CIs and activities – Landmarks "identification and beautification strategies." – Increase in public infrastructure (lights and CCTV) to increase safety for visitors – Tourist packages/workshop around promoted activities (expected) – Home-stay possibilities (expected) – Lobbying government for an exhibition hall/thematic center

for production and sales of the products. In Dago Pojok, the revenues were mostly for community development and revitalizing the neighborhood (building communal infrastructure and improving housing). These activities are due to the association being born as a form of local activism, explicitly stating that their main objective was to focus first on the local community's socio-economic development. The CIs and the related tourism-oriented activities are seen as means for such development.

In the three cases, the support from the emerging professional (community-led) associations overtook the one provided by government agencies or external civic organizations. The relationship with central/local government is also dynamic. The local government is simultaneously an enabler (first workshops in Cigadung, or the designation of a tourism kampung for Binongjati) or an outsider that threatens the kampung's community (the early start of the creative kampung Dago Pojok). There is also a dependency between the desired initiatives these associations wish to see developed (particularly infrastructure-related) and the local government's capacity to support these. The scale of the interventions deemed necessary to support these industries' and communities' development is quite a daunting task for these locally grounded associations. Therefore, the lobbying by local actors, for example, to build the necessary exhibition centers, galleries, and communal (working) spaces. But it is also in the best interest of the government to support these infrastructural projects that can enable the efforts of creative industries development in the city to be carried on in a more long-term perspective.

Additionally, the government had different roles in each kampung. It ranged from being relatively present in the definition of the kampung as creative area (Binongjati) to being (partially) involved in their development as such (Cigadung) to having a limited intervention in its creation and development as a creative kampung (Dago Pojok). The partial presence in Cigadung could be seen as the result of the close relationship between the local government and the local large-scale CIs. Instead, in Binongjati, the role of the government seems limited. Despite Binongjati being defined as a creative cluster by the city, focusing further on its development as a tourist destination seems to be, currently, more of an initiative of the professional local organization—KIRBI.

However, in most of them, these organizations had a relevant role in the current set-up of the creative activities in the kampungs. The strong link between local businesses and communities and locally based associations and cooperatives might be partially rooted in the characteristics of informality that shape much of how these businesses come to be and operate (Aritenang et al., forthcoming). These cooperatives and cooperative-like associations are providing a link between local communities and formal government agencies and programs.

The roles of these associations and cooperatives are dynamic and connected to the diversity of socio-economic "origins" of the area. Their actions might have different starting points (self-community improvement; align with government agendas), but they share similar paths—e.g., developing a local brand and using workshops and "edu-tourism"-like strategies to ensure tourists and recognition of the kampung as aspects coming across all cases. (Local) urban renewal also comes across as a structural and urgent measure, partly due to these areas' industrial, traditional, sometimes

unplanned character, and the perceived need to beautify them to better suit tourists and visitors' sensibility. Regardless of their differences, these organizations represent the diverse and varied forms of community-led and community-grounded experiences and governance settings present in the creative-based tourism strategies in Bandung City.

4 Identity-Shaping Strategies and Inclusion

Overall, this chapter illustrates the complexity of processes related to creating and developing kampungs as creative-based tourism destinations. The interplay of roles, presence, trust in, and support of the key actors in these processes (government, communities, associations, and creative businesses) challenges efforts to classify these initiatives as merely top-down or bottom-up. It is also difficult to call the diverse processes on these kampungs co-designed processes just yet. Apart from the relationship with the government, it is difficult to evaluate the actual type of involvement of the kampung residents, who are not related to these organizations.

Forms of creative activism and strong (professional) local associations are seen as drivers of these creative kampungs identity-shaping processes. Strategies towards this end, defined at the municipal level, can take hold due to these more local actors' efforts, creativity, and perseverance. These actors' efforts contribute towards building more inclusive cities by community-based actors actively initiating or participating in these identity-shaping strategies. Local communities and interests would otherwise risk alienation from these municipally defined strategies. This is particularly relevant due to the character of informality that permeates much of the economic activity in the kampung area and the bureaucratic challenges that derive from this informality.

Creative activism and strong (professional) local associations thus help to bridge the gap between (informal) activities and communities and broader opportunities set at the municipal level. They help address the challenges that emerge in these creative kampungs and their relationship with the local government. Such a relationship is often non-linear and requires mediation (by local associations), which mutates with time and the institutional actor with whom they are interacting. They are, in a sense, agents of inclusion.

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Chapter 26
Building Climate-Resilient Communities Through Water-Sensitive Public Space Design and Activation: Public Parks Program in Bucaramanga, Colombia

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1 Introduction

The impacts of climate change in urban areas have become one of the main challenges for city planning in recent years (UNEP-DTU, 2020). These changes affect the environmental ecosystems of the urban areas and their peripheral zones (urban–rural borders), and ultimately also have a profound impact on the quality of life of urban dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2018). Informal settlements in urban areas are bearing the brunt of these effects, as they are usually located in high-risk areas of the city, where the land is cheaper or is not adequate to locate housing or other activities (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2011). Many times, these areas are also located in environmental borders of the city, where the ecosystem services required to sustain urban life are being affected by the degradation of native forest areas containing important water systems for the urban water cycle (Brodnick et al., 2018).

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The lack of public space in informal areas is a common issue in many cities in the developing world (Duque-Franco et al., 2020). The public space index per inhabitant is usually one of the lowest in urban areas, as the informal and unregulated growth does not plan for parks, squares, or open public spaces, causing a severe deficit of areas where the community could interact and perform recreation or sports activities in open spaces (WHO, 2017). Precisely because of this deficit in public space, it is even more important to increase the potential for the few public spaces existing in those areas to become not only places for recreation or community gathering, but instead to become multifunctional public spaces that could support the environmental recovery of the urban ecosystems, especially related to urban water cycles (Wong et al., 2016). Green Infrastructure is one the main strategies to address this challenge, as it facilitates the reduction of the environmental impacts of urbanization and human activities through a large toolset and fit-for-purpose designs (Prescott et al., 2020). Community participation in informal settlement revitalization is one of the main factors behind the success and continuity of these interventions (Ramirez-Lovering et al. 2018, Marino et al., 2024). Usually, the process of addressing urban challenges in these areas occurs in a top-down manner, where the city administration decides the best approach to address these issues, often without significant community or only seeking community approval for minor decisions (Hugel & Davis 2021). Active community participation in the decision-making process promotes a healthy relationship between city planning and the people living in these areas. It also enhances good governance, fosters a sense of belonging to the place, and improves the overall quality of life (Dooris & Heritage, 2013; Jacobs, 1961).

2 Case Study: New Public Parks and Educational Infrastructure Transformation in Bucaramanga

The city of Bucaramanga is situated in the Oriental branch of the Andes Mountains in Colombia, at an elevation of 955 m above sea level (masl). The city was developed on a large plateau (meseta) known as the Bucaramanga Plateau, with significant sloped areas to the west and north of the city. The total population of Bucaramanga is 528,000 inhabitants, spread over an area of 165 square kilometers (km2). The city has a population density of 6,207.44 inhabitants per km2, and the Ginni index, which measures inequality, is 0.432 (2018). Moreover, the index of public space per inhabitant in Bucaramanga is 3.62m2 (PMEPB 2018: 202). This index falls well below the minimum requirement for an effective public space index, which is 15m2 per inhabitant according to the National Public Space Policy (Document CONPES 3718 of 2012). The projects presented in this case study analysis seek to improve the index of public space in the areas with the greatest deficit in Bucaramanga, specifically located on the western edge of the plateau (Ramirez et al, 2018).

The city of Bucaramanga is part of the Metropolitan Area of Bucaramanga (AMB), which includes the municipalities of Girón, Floridablanca, Piedecuesta, and

Rionegro. The city is well connected through large urban corridors, facilitated by a BRT (bus rapid transit) transport infrastructure known as "Metrolinea."

Bucaramanga experiences an annual rainfall of approximately 4426 mm (174.3 inches). The city's water system is complex and very diverse. It is intersected by east–west river systems, with the northern and western edges of the Bucaramanga Plateau serving as catchment areas for the runoff from the urban area. These rivers drain into the Surata and Rio de Oro River Basins, located in the northern and western regions of the Bucaramanga Plateau, respectively.

This research focuses on three case study areas in the city of Bucaramanga to showcase the design and development of new public open spaces adapted to face the challenges of climate change and have a better relation with the urban water cycle. These spaces are planned with a community participatory approach and integrate green infrastructure to improve quality of life, reduce climate change-associated risks, and promote the environmental recovery of urban ecosystem services.

Our first case study examines the Rio de Oro Park, situated in a peripheral area of the Chimita Valley to the west of Bucaramanga. This park is designed to provide new public open space for the surrounding neighborhood of Villas de San Ignacio. Villas de San Ignacio is a low-density social housing project that was constructed during the previous administration and is home to approximately 8,500 residents. However, it lacks public space and green areas for its inhabitants. The Rio de Oro Park spans 3.6 hectares, with a green surface coverage of 28%. It incorporates green infrastructure to collect and store rainwater for irrigating the park's green areas.

Our second case study focuses on the Inner Yards of the Damaso-Zapata Technological school, located south of the city at the border of the Bucaramanga Plateau. This project involves the integration of green infrastructure, such as green walls, rainwater collection systems, and infiltration and storing mechanisms, in the school buildings and open spaces within the school area. More information on the green infrastructure and its performance will be provided in Sect. 5 of this paper.

3 Research Methodology

The impact analysis of the urban interventions described in the previous section was conducted using various social and environmental indicators. These indicators were selected because they provide insights into changes in community quality of life and environmental performance, before and after the start of the revitalization process in the new public spaces (Streimikene, 2015). The selected indicators include community well-being, public space utilization, social interaction as part of the social dimension, increase in green areas and surfaces, rainwater capture and infiltration, and percentage reduction in potable water usage. These indicators were specifically examined in two areas of analysis: Rio del Oro Park and the school yards of Damaso-Zapata Technological School.

To analyze the results, a mixed method approach was employed. Content analysis was used to evaluate social participation, while statistical analysis was applied to

the data collected from the measurements of the environmental performance of the selected sites.

4   Public Space Design and Green Infrastructure for Water Collection, Treatment, and Reuse

The new urban agenda places special emphasis on the development of sustainable cities, where the health of ecosystems, not just humans, is considered in the planning and management of current and future urban populations (UN-Habitat 2020). The relationship between water and urban areas is often challenging, as urbanization brings about changes in water ecosystems that have significant impacts on urban communities, especially those living in vulnerable areas at the urban and urban–rural borders (Wong & Brown, 2009).

In the case of Bucaramanga, the unplanned growth of the city towards the north has also affected the water systems of the lower catchment area of the Surata River. This area has experienced a concentration of informal and formerly illegal settlements, which have gradually become legalized over time with land tenure status. However, the urban infrastructure to meet the needs of this population is often lacking or nonexistent, placing additional pressure on the development of new public infrastructure such as parks, streets, walking paths, schools, and water energy systems.

To address these challenges, the city developed a program aimed at increasing the amount of public space per inhabitant from 3.4m2 to 10m2. Although this falls short of the usual standard of 15 m2 of open space per inhabitant, it represents a threefold increase from the current levels, thereby narrowing the gap towards a better and more sustainable urban area.

The three projects that served as the basis for our case studies were designed as multifunctional spaces, serving not only as areas for community recreation and interaction but also as platforms for the environmental recovery of local ecosystems services, particularly related to water systems. These projects incorporated green technology solutions to address the needs of the local population.

In our first case study, the Rio de Oro Park (see Figs. 1 and 2), located in the Chimita Valley to the west of Bucaramanga, this concept was integrated through the inclusion of green coverage areas and landscape designed to collect the rainwater from ground surfaces. The stored rainwater is then reused for park irrigation, while also serving as a measure to control potential flooding in the area. The Park is situated adjacent to the Rio de Oro River and borders informal settlements, marking the boundary between Bucaramanga and Giron municipalities, making it susceptible to flood events.

These new systems have the potential to achieve a 32% reduction in household water usage in the houses connected to the green infrastructure. They also help minimize the waste and mixing of urban rainwater streams being with the sewage water system, which is a common issue in the area.

Fig. 1 Rio de Oro Linear Park—Location plan

Fig. 2 Park community use. (*Source* Colectivo Taller_Lab de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de Bucaramanga. TABUU)

Our second case study focuses on the school yard of the Damaso-Zapata Technological public school, located near the northern border of the Bucaramanga Plateau. The school has a large campus configuration, however, over the years, the building and public space infrastructure have been neglected and are in urgent need of revitalization.

The project for this case study incorporates green technology in some of the renovated buildings. This includes the installation of rooftop water collection systems, treatment facilities, and reutilization of the collected water for irrigation purposes. Additionally, new green walls are attached to the existing building blocks, and permeable green areas were created within the inner school yards and pathways (see Figs. 3 and 4).

Currently under construction, the project expects to increase the percentage of green covered areas at the school by 27%, while also providing a renovated habitat for many species of local fauna present in the area, including squirrels, possums, and more than 34 different bird species. The installation of green facades (see Fig. 3), covering a vertical surface of 250 m2, will also reduce the inner temperature of the buildings. This in turn will reduce the amount of energy used for cooling, especially considering Bucaramanga's average year-round temperature ranging between 25

Fig. 3 Damaso-Zapata
retrofitted school yard

Fig. 4 School green
infrastructure. (*Source*
Colectivo Taller_Lab de
Arquitectura y Urbanismo de
Bucaramanga, TABUÚ)

and 32 Celsius. By reducing energy usage, the project will help minimize carbon
emissions released into the atmosphere (see Fig. 5).

Both projects were designed to improve the city's overall performance in terms
of reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, providing better living spaces, and
supporting the ecosystem services necessary to sustain urban life in the city of
Bucaramanga.

5   Co-Designing Public Spaces and Improving Quality of Life for Vulnerable Communities

The implementation of these projects was a part of the municipal strategy to enhance
livable and inclusive public spaces and adopt more innovative ways to strengthen
community and stakeholder participation. It is important to note that the plan involved
various public institutions in Bucaramanga, including the municipal government, the
private sector, and NGOs. These entities played a crucial role as agents of city trans-
formation, actively participating in co-design processes and other activities. Among
the key players in these processes was Taller de Arquitectura TABUU (architecture
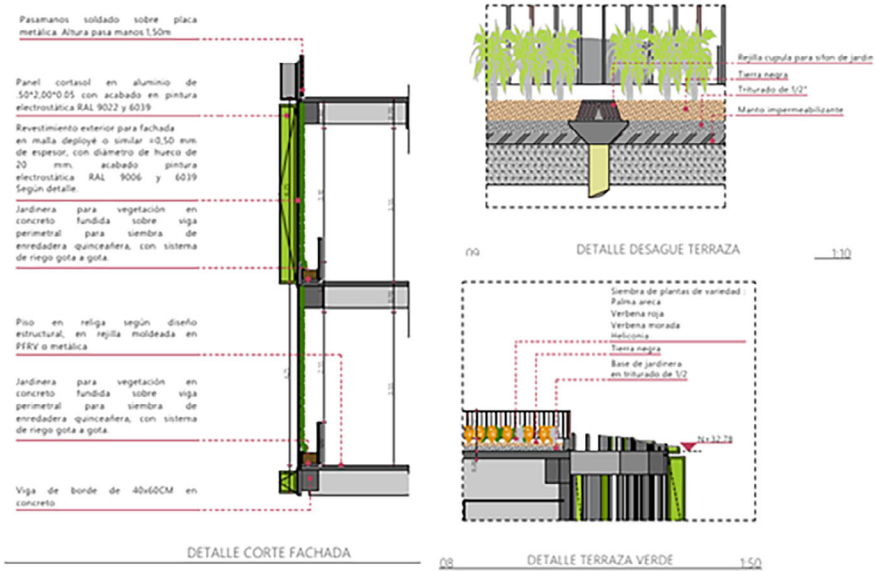
Fig. 5 Green wall support systems and green roof details. (*Source* Colectivo Taller_Lab de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de Bucaramanga—TABUÚ)

and urban design studio), which provides design consultancy services to the Secretary of Infrastructure of the city. This studio comprises a multidisciplinary group of architects, engineers, social scientists, and urban planners. They oversee and facilitate all the processes, ensuring effective interconnection between the community, stakeholders, and the development of urban master plans for public space and strategic projects in the city.

The methodology for social participation developed for these projects is based on community-level social integration procedures known as "social landscapes" (Conrad, 2017). This approach encompasses human integration and community workshops conducted before, during, and after urban interventions. The urban planning instructions developed by the local government play a significant role in determining implementation priorities and informing the city's infrastructure budget. These instructions take into account aspects such as public space, environmental recovery, and sustainable mobility infrastructure. The funding for these projects primarily comes from the local municipal budget generated through local taxes.

During the period 2020–2022, impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic made financing the project more challenging. As a result, alternative national and international funding sources were integrated into the budget, with a long-term vision of 25 years, under a co-responsibility scheme. This multidisciplinary and innovative initiative is unique in the context of Colombia and Latin-American, as it brings together a wide range of disciplines and municipal offices such as architects, engineers, social scientists, and government officials. All of these stakeholders actively participate and contribute as part of the strategic design board collaborating in co-creation,

co-design, and co-execution processes with urban communities in areas susceptible to urban renewal and rehabilitation. This approach aims to foster urbanism with co-responsibility qualities.

Another tool that has been developed and implemented in the projects is the participatory budget (Martínez & Arena, 2013), intended to make public investment a transparent, equitable, and rational process. Through citizen participation, facilitated by the codesign strategy with more than 300 stakeholder that came together to discuss, decide, and commit to resolving local problems based on the most appropriate, ethical and fair solutions. This process follows a Focus Group Discussion methodology (FGD), and involves diverse groups representing different demographics, including age, gender, and ethnic minorities to promote effective articulation and dialog within the communities (Marino, Nys & Riveros, 2022).

Participatory workshops and seminars were designed to engage communities and develop a vision for the future of their areas, with a focus on increasing public space, green infrastructure, enhancing accessibility, and promoting sustainable mobility. In terms of project monitoring an evaluation, measurements and follow-up indicators are carried out by both the municipal and national government. These indicators are used to establish the city's performance goals each year.

6   Conclusions

We have summarized our conclusions and recommendations from this research into three main topics, namely, climate change adaptation and resilience, social inclusion and community participation, and urban governance. We elaborate on each topic in the sections below.

- **Climate Change Adaptation and Resilience.** Nature-based solutions offer effective means to address the challenges of climate adaptation in cities and settlements. Understanding that cities comprise interconnected systems, including public space, is crucial for appropriate planning, design, and management that allows for resilience and strong connections to the surrounding place and its ecosystems (Gehl 2016). In order to apply these approaches, two types of dialog are needed: technical, based on evidence and social, involving multiple stakeholders. A multi-dimensional dialog ensures inclusivity and encourages ongoing reconsideration of the concept of urbanization. The focus is on reducing the ecological footprint, preserving urban ecosystems, and implementing green urban infrastructure within a sustainable framework that embraces circularity in production and the economy.

  Furthermore, the conservation and promotion of ecosystem services play a vital role. This necessitates interconnecting systems and networks with public space networks, active mobility options, and the ecological structure of the city. The objective is to preserve biosphere connectivity. This chapter presents several examples that illustrate the potential for a better relationship between urban activities, the urban water cycle, and green areas. These explorations align with concepts

such as the city-sponge urban approach, which prevents also risks associated with floods in urban areas.

- **Social Inclusion and Community Participation.** The health dimension is increasingly connected to global warming and relies on the development of sustainable cities to support a quality life. The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the need for implementing community places suitable for recreation and human interaction activities (Marino, Vargas & Flores, 2021), both intended to promote personal and community well-being. In this regard, the implementation of a strong public space agenda is especially important now, as is the design of tools that could accelerate its development and deployment. One of the most important strategies implemented by the city of Bucaramanga was the participation and involvement of local communities; undoubtedly this was crucial to promote and prioritize the recovery and increase of public spaces. The processes of participation and co-design became an accelerator in implementing the public space agenda since they informed the demands of communities by gathering a multiplicity of actors and disciplines with the purpose of looking at feasible solutions. Between 2016 and 2019, more than 60% of the municipality's vulnerable population, or 406,701 people, has directly benefited from new public space infrastructure. By 2023, this number is expected to nearly reach the entire current population experiencing a deficit of public spaces.

- **Urban Governance.** The public space projects implemented in Bucaramanga serve as successful intervention case studies, not only revitalizing physical space but also rebuilding people's trust in the public sector. Historically, the government sector has been characterized by the lack of transparency and disconnection from the social realities within local communities, especially the most vulnerable. The methodologies employed to conceive and create new public spaces have embraced co-design processes involving a wide range of stakeholders, with a strong focus on benefiting both the community and ecological systems. This approach has fostered new forms of more inclusive and horizontal governance in the city.

   Bucaramanga has witnessed the emergence of a more participatory and inclusive governance model, where the concept of the "public sphere" is supported by its inhabitants. Citizen participation, pedagogy, social integration, and the promotion of climate awareness and sensitivity are encouraged. The impact of these efforts becomes increasingly visible in the short term, as the city strives to transition towards a more harmonious relationship with nature and achieve sustainable growth. By embracing an urban model that integrates and designs around the natural systems, Bucaramanga is overcoming challenges and obstacles to create a city model based on and designed from the natural integration of urban life and natural systems.

Finally, our research illustrates that, by prioritizing climate change adaptation and resilience, promoting social inclusion and community participation in the design of public spaces, and strengthening urban governance, cities can effectively navigate the challenges of urbanization and create the sustainable, resilient, and equitable urban environments needed to adapt our cities and communities to climate change

and prevent risks associated with floods in Colombian cities, and cities in similar geographical contexts.

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Chapter 27
The Taste of Inclusivity: A Food-Led Strategy for Cardiff's Urban Transformation

Zeinab Sattari

1 Introduction

Ongoing changes in the three sectors of social institutions, namely, the market, the state, and civil society (Steurer, 2013), have always transformed cities, with an increasing pace since the industrialization period. The market produces and exchanges economic resources and includes entrepreneurs and businesses. The state is a territory for governance, which includes local and national legislators, while civil society unveils the interests and demands of citizens and includes families, NGOs, and independent educational centers. Some institutions have the characteristics of two or three sectors. The market has been changing remarkably since the emergence of capitalism and neoliberalism. The state shifted from top-down governance to post-modern approaches, such as inclusive and bottom-up governance, while civil society experienced cultural innovation. These changes have always influenced the physical features and quality of life in cities. Postmodern urban planning aims to avoid the undesired transformations by proposing clear strategies which lead to sustainable and inclusive cities (Ernst et al., 2016).

Although there is growing attention towards the health and security aspects of food in planning, the potential of food systems as multi-dimensional and inclusive planning tools in urban transformation is largely unnoticed. Food systems are a combination of stakeholders and actions around the food value chain and consist of three major sectors, namely, production, service, and consumption. Change in any sector can influence the agency of social institutions, and consequently the quality of life and physical structure of the city. The global population is expected to increase to over nine billion by 2050, and is expected to mostly live in urban areas, which means that providing enough healthy food for everyone (food security) will become critical (Beddington et al., 2012). Following the recent rapid urban development,

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food production has disappeared from cities. This process poses an excessive threat to the food security inside the city and excludes urban stakeholders from playing a key role in the production of their food. Food processing and service sectors have also changed at the local to global scales. As a result, cities have become arenas for a new socioeconomic culture characterized by large supermarkets, products with unknown sources, and countless food chains. Food consumer behavior has mostly shifted to a demand for larger quantities and (if possible) higher qualities in recent decades. Access to this desired food might influence urban health and well-being, market performance, and state expenses.

A strategy for the inclusive transformation of urban food systems can engage and empower all food stakeholders and regulate food production, service, and consumption. This would likely lead to the stronger agency of each institution, learning from various stakeholder experiences, and contributing to quality of life and equality in cities. Therefore, this book chapter seeks to examine a novel approach to urban planning by providing a food-led strategy for transforming the city of Cardiff into an inclusive place.

2   Inclusive Urban Transformation and Food Planning

Cities resemble living organisms in that they continuously change in their requirements, relationships, and forces during various periods of time. These changes usually result in the transformation of urban features, including physical and institutional structures. Physical changes gradually alter zoning patterns, land-use distributions, and urban landscapes. Changes in institutional arrangements can influence governance and economy in the short term, and culture, livelihood, and behavior of the urban population in the long term (Maassen & Galvin, 2019).

The current agenda of urban transformation focuses on reducing polarization and increasing inclusivity in decision-making and implementation. At the end of the last century, many urban governance forms shifted from dependency on state power to inter-institutional cooperation. This resulted in urban empowerment in the form of a decentralized state, public–private partnerships, and active local institutions in decision-making (Baker et al., 2007).

2.1   Inclusive Food Planning

The American Planning Association (APA) brought the matter of food systems into action through guidelines outlined in the "Policy Guide on Community and Regional Food Planning" (APA, 2007). These guidelines aimed to combine culture, politics, science, and economy with the food and city contexts. Food systems involve resources and stakeholders—the institutions, groups, and individuals within urban areas—but their transformational capabilities are usually understudied and unused.

Urban institutional sectors propound the governmental and socioeconomic importance of food in inclusive urban planning. The governmental importance of food involves considering the preferences and benefits of various groups and individuals when deciding about food security, social justice, inclusion, food safety, and land-use management. The socioeconomic importance of food builds upon various aspects, including the potential for sustaining health and well-being in cities, creating and enhancing social bonds, and enabling ethnic groups to represent themselves and create a dynamic multi-cultural community. The dining table, metaphorically, can function as a significant socio-political arena for gathering together individuals and groups with various preferences to share food and time.

Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015) suggest that food planning can contextualize the connections between the state, the market, and civil society. Following that, the multi-functional character of food can enable inclusive food planning by using a multi-stakeholder engagement approach. Campbell (2004) addresses a major struggle in food planning, namely, the "epistemological, political, socioeconomic, spatial, and organizational" conflicts in decision-making (Campbell, 2004: 341). Such conflicts occur in various situations, including when there are different power positions and levels and contradictory preferences among stakeholders, as well as when the stakeholders lack a mutual agenda and discourse. For instance, compared to civil society the state usually has a stronger financial and legal position in planning. Also, and in contrast with the priorities of the civil society, the market might prioritize economic growth over quality of food in outlets.

2.2 Urban Transformation Embedded in Food Policy

Urban transformation is a general agenda which requires a specific approach in planning and implementation. As discussed, the multi-functional nature of food systems enables urban planners to use food governance to connect various social institutions and regulate structural changes in the city. According to Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015), food can lead to an inclusive and holistic governance strategy for urban transformation. This will likely have a positive influence on urban consumption patterns, help secure food production and business and maintain (or increase) public health, preserve ecological connectedness in the city, and bring more democracy and justice into governance. The food-led strategy for urban transformation will be a continuous and long-term process, specifically in terms of cultural and behavioral changes; therefore, it requires ongoing observation and sustainable decision-making and implementation systems. In conclusion, food systems can create an inclusive transformational strategy, yet, there is a gap in understanding the mechanism of such planning.

3 Research Context and Methodology

In order to understand the mechanism of developing a food-led strategy for inclusive urban transformation, this section introduces a case study in Cardiff City, the United Kingdom. Various food and planning stakeholders in Cardiff were interviewed in semi-structured conversations. The interviews aimed to identify the existing food conditions in the city, as well as its main drivers, potentials, and barriers which could contribute to a food-led strategy for an inclusive transformation. Afterwards, the existing policy documents containing Cardiff food regulations were reviewed to understand the current food regulations in Cardiff.

Employing an inclusive approach in data collection, we selected 11 food and planning experts for the interviews. The market stakeholders consisted of an operator and manager from a farmer's market, the head chef and manager of an Indian restaurant, and the head of commercial services at Cardiff University. The state representatives, who worked at the executive levels of Cardiff Council, represented the Sustainable Development Group, the City Operations Department, and the City-center Management Team. Finally, civil society stakeholders consisted of a principal health promotion specialist from Public Health Wales and two professors at Cardiff University, one of whom was an expert in human geography. The other was a professor in urban planning and connectivity.

After transcribing and anonymizing the interviews, the resulting texts were analyzed at three stages, namely, data reduction, categorization, and conclusion. First, unrelated information to the research was excluded from the texts. Then, the texts were categorized and coded through thematic content analysis. At this stage, keywords were used to discover stakeholders, potentials, barriers, and key factors of planning for the food strategy. Finally, various stakeholder responses were compared to identify the main themes, mutual viewpoints, and conflicting ideas.

Several policy documents, at the national and city levels, were reviewed to find relevant strategies for Cardiff urban planning and food policy. Eight documents were found to contain explicit or implicit discussions related to food regulation and urban transformation. The documents included: Food for Wales, food from Wales; Well-being of Future Generations Act (WFGA); Tackling Poverty Action Plan; Healthy Eating in Schools; Cardiff Livable City; Cardiff Food and Health Strategy; Cardiff Local Development Plan (Deposit Plan); Public Health Retail Criteria; and Premises for Eating, Drinking and Entertainment in Cardiff City Centre.

The policy documents were inspected by using a combination of content analysis and function analysis approaches. For analyzing the contents, the food-related and transformational strategies were identified and their purposes were summarized into themes, such as sustainability, profitability, equality, and inclusivity. After that, the function of those strategies was explored in relation to interviewee ideas about a food-led and inclusive urban transformation.

4   The State of Food in Cardiff City

In Cardiff, food production encompasses three main activities, namely, home-growing, managing allotments, and community gardening. However, the majority of the food consumed in the city is sourced from farms outside of the city and from around the world. Reflecting the global trend, food services in Cardiff strive to provide people with "whatever they want, whenever they want it" (state stakeholder). This included large supermarkets as well as food outlets and chains across the city. Notably, Cardiff boasts one of the highest numbers of independent cafés per capita in Europe, showcasing a vibrant food culture (as highlighted by a civil society stakeholder). In recent years, there has been a gradual increase in local, multi-cultural, and healthy food options, particularly evident at the farmers' market (Figs. 1 and 2), and in public institutions such as schools and hospitals.

The state of food consumption in Cardiff was not widely known by research participants. A market operator described it as a culture characterized by a "big chain mentality" while several other participants highlighted the presence of unhealthy food options. Some food institutions have attempted to increase awareness around social food responsibility, which relates to selecting sustainable, healthy, and local options.

There was a growing concern among various interviewees about the influence of Brexit on the labor force in food systems and the accessibility of food for everyone.

Fig. 1 Cardiff local market with growing attention towards multi-cultural and home-made food (photograph by Ngan Phan)

Fig. 2 "On the streets of Cardiff we have some great assets, we have got the farmers' market which is a fantastic asset in three parts of the city; and that is a really great job of bringing people together as [a] community." (a civil society stakeholder) (photograph by Ngan Phan)

Accordingly, Brexit could add to the issues caused by 10 years of austerity after the global financial crisis in 2008, which cut local government's capacity to engage in securing food.

The existing food regulations, influencing Cardiff, consisted of one strategic plan for urban food systems (Cardiff Food and Health Strategy) and several general food security and hygiene regulations. The data about existing food conditions and actions in Cardiff revealed a slight progress in food planning, but this was not cohesive among urban institutions. As one state stakeholder pointed out:

Overall, I think when you think about something as important as food, it is chaotic [in Cardiff]. It is like you would not have that for educational attainment or for any of other areas, but actually for something as important as food, there is no public strategy or health strategy coherently for the city.

Numerous institutions, such as National Health Service (NHS), universities, and Sustainable Food Cardiff, were identified as potentials partners for fostering collaboration in food planning and guiding the city's transformation.

5   Multi-Stakeholder Engagement in Cardiff's Food-Led Strategy

The interviewees identified several food stakeholders in Cardiff, categorized here into four main institutional groups:

- State sector: This group comprises the Welsh government, various Cardiff Council departments (specifically the City Operations, Sustainability Team, Planners, Case officers, City Centre Management, Business Improvement District, and Economic Development) and other local authorities.
- Market sector: This sector includes local food markets, catering businesses, event operators, food suppliers, food producers, street food traders, and other related businesses.
- Civil society sector: The civil society sector encompasses Cardiff University and other research institutions, Public Health Wales, Sustainable Food Cardiff, as well as press and media.
- Other individuals: This category includes individuals involved in public and private land ownership, as well as those who create links between individuals and institutions.

Most of the listed institutions have not been actively involved in both food planning and urban decision-making. Some were involved only in urban planning, unaware of the food potentials in urban decision-making; others were never involved in planning procedures despite their valuable experience and knowledge about food. Emphasizing the need for collaboration between food operators, a market stakeholder commented that, "It is just easy when you work with partners. Any [city] council could be a partner if they want. Organizations like us in this city or any city can come in and create something. We co-exist." Another market stakeholder added that "These [food actors] need to be connected and there is a conversation going around that. So, part of the challenge is how we bring these different groups together and who does that. That is interesting and you should be talking to [each other]. Talk!" (market stakeholder).

The participants had various suggestions for multi-stakeholder partnerships for food planning. First, participants believe that the state should lead the process of planning and implementing the food strategy. It was suggested that Cardiff Council collaborates with top food operators as well as university researchers to make the main decisions. A cooperative plan led by the state can join various food services, support food businesses in providing healthy and sustainable food, as well as facilitate the legal requirements. Research institutions and other civil society actors can work with the state to train people and businesses on improving food options.

Policy analysis for this study showed that policy documents touched on the concept of inclusivity in their strategies. For example, the *Cardiff Liveable City* acknowledged the importance of a fair, just, and inclusive society, but neglected to mention how various institutions can create such a society. The *Tackling Poverty Action Plan*

suggested creating a partnership between key actors in food systems (e.g., a think-tank). The *Wellbeing of Future Generations Act* aimed to improve equality in the country by including individuals, from the community and from any socioeconomic background, to fulfill their potentials and needs. The *Food for Wales, Food from Wales* suggested a collaborative partnership among institutions for supply chain efficiency.

The findings also revealed suggestions for Cardiff's food strategy, including changing production, service, and consumption through multi-stakeholder engagement, which consequently can facilitate the transformation of the city into a more inclusive place. Accordingly, food production needs to focus on using public and private open spaces for growing and rearing food. Community gardens and allotments as well as private yards and balconies have potential for this aim. When production is impossible inside some urban areas, local food from nearby farms can suffice. A certain level of horticultural knowledge should be created and maintained in communities for this aim, supported by legal and financial assistance. Furthermore, food services need to provide healthy and sustainable options for Cardiff residents in food outlets (e.g., shops, restaurants, and cafés). The existing vibrant café culture can play a crucial role in promoting the availability and desirability of healthy, local, and environmentally friendly food options throughout the city. Such change requires strong financial and educational support from the state and civil society, respectively. To bring about a change in food consumption requires a change in food choices, which mostly depend on people's knowledge about food as well as their socioeconomic power. Awareness should be raised among various generations about the source of their food and the influence of food on their health and well-being. All institutional sectors need to engage in providing educational and financial support for improving the food consumption culture.

Research participants expressed high expectations regarding the transformative results that could be achieved by implementing the Cardiff food-led strategy. These results have the potential to improve inclusivity within the city, and encompass the following aspects:

- Flexible growing and rearing permits: Participants anticipated the introduction of flexible permits for growing and rearing food in new dwellings. This would provide opportunities for more residents to actively engage in food systems and contribute to local food production.
- Increased local and urban food products: The participants believed that promoting the production and consumption of local and urban food products would empower the local economy. This focus on local sourcing can enhance economic resilience, support local businesses, and foster community connections.
- Multi-functional and connected green infrastructure: The establishment of a multi-functional and connected green infrastructure was seen as essential to increase residents' access to green and open spaces for residents. This development would enhance the availability of recreational areas and contribute to overall well-being.
- Cultural innovation and inclusive decision-making: Participants envisioned a cultural innovation embedded in inclusive decision-making processes and responsible consumption. This would involve engaging diverse stakeholders in shaping

food-related policies and practices, as well as fostering a culture of sustainable and mindful food choices.

- Balanced power distribution among institutional sectors: The participants emphasized the importance of achieving a balanced power distribution among several institutional sectors. This would promote the agency of food operators and create inclusive partnerships within the city, enabling collaboration and shared decision-making.

The Cardiff food-led strategy faces several governance and socioeconomic barriers that could hinder its planning and implementation. The most significant governance obstacles included the financial barriers, the conflict of interests between various food stakeholders, and the absence of former urban food-led strategies. Moreover, no specific department in Cardiff Council devoted their focus on food regulations. These barriers might pose a risk to planning and implementation of a comprehensive food strategy. The main socioeconomic barrier was the prevalence of the unhealthy and non-local food culture due to the accessibility and affordability of such food. Changing to healthier and more sustainable options required significant financial resources, training, and a long-term plan. With constant changes in institutional structures (new people in powerful positions), securing such a long-term plan is likely to be challenging.

6   Conclusion

This chapter introduced a food-led strategy for an inclusive urban transformation. The multi-dimensional nature of food can involve and empower various social institutions in food systems. Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015: 1558) discuss that a food-led governance can transform cities into "spaces of deliberation," which bring different stakeholders together to provide urban justice and sustainability.

The city of Cardiff was explored in this chapter to find potentials for developing the food-led strategy. The existing condition of Cardiff's food system consisted of insignificant local and urban production, a dominant trend of unhealthy cheap food, and, consequently, a poor consumption culture. Participants' concerns around the influence of Brexit on intensifying austerity measures related to food highlighted the importance of including urban food planning in governance planning and implementation. Several public policies and institutions tried to improve the state of Cardiff's food system through various actions, such as tackling poverty, encouraging healthy food options in public institutions, and supporting the production and consumption of local food. However, these actions were not completely successful due to lacking connectedness, cohesion, and comprehensiveness. The mentality of state-centered planning, which was also a dominant theme among the interviewees, usually results in a scattered and incomplete agenda for urban food because many food experts are excluded from policy-making. This finding aligns with Morgan's (2009) discussion, which emphasizes that food planning does not just belong to "professionals who are

striving to integrate food policy into the mainstream planning agenda" (state sector interviewee), it also includes anyone who is a food actor in any institution (342).

In conclusion, adopting a multi-stakeholder approach to developing the food-led strategy increases the likelihood of successful implementation by involving diverse social institutions with their respective requirements and priorities within the city. Such an approach can shift the perception of food from *what is the fastest and cheapest choice* to recognizing the importance of *who produces, provides, and consumes the food* and *what is the quality*. Moreover, decentralizing food and urban planning potentially become more feasible by granting legal and financial authorities to the market and civil society sectors. This shift in authority can lead to a transformative socioeconomic and governance shift in cities, fostering inclusivity and ensuring that decision-making processes encompass a wide range of perspectives.

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Chapter 28
Popular Control and Social Movements: When Local Civil Societies Mobilize in Support of Migrants' Demands for Human Rights

Giorgia Trasciani

Abstract Often perceived as a threat to employment, public order and safety, immigration is still a high priority on the political agenda of the European Union Members States. However, even because conceived as a concession, little is said about the quality of reception for asylum seekers, and the respect for their rights. This work focuses specifically on the reception systems of two cities, Marseille, and Naples, and how civil society, tired of silently observing the harassment suffered by migrants, organised in order to support migrants' struggles, asking for a decent service of reception and integration. Based on semi-structured interviews with local social movements, associations and different members of civil society, this work aims to shed light on acts of solidarity that take place daily in our cities, contrasting the selective migration policy and the increasingly privatised service of reception promoted by national public authorities.

1 Introduction

A significant share of citizens of the European Union (EU) Member States is apprehensive about immigration, often perceiving it as a threat to employment, public order, and safety (Diamanti & Bordignon, 2005). This is also the result of institutional and mainstream actors' discourses, which defined the refugee crisis as the most difficult challenge the EU has ever faced, far greater than the euro crisis (Hansen, 2017). On the other hand, the report on social security and insicurity shows that the migration phenomenon continues to be much covered in the news (Osservatorio Europe della sicurezza, 2017). When significant attention is given to the impacts of immigration and the emergency narrative, there is often a notable lack of focus on the quality of reception and integration services.

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This chapter examines the reception systems in Marseille and Naples, where civil society, weary of passively witnessing the mistreatment of migrants, organized to advocate for their rights, demanding dignified reception and integration services. Although migration policies are dealt with at the national level, however certain aspects have been devolved to the sub-state level, most notably, migrants reception and integration services (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014). In this framework an analysis on an urban scale proves to be crucial in understanding the dynamics of solidarity and resistance from below. As a matter of facts, although institutional discourse particularly focuses on the good practices, the systems of reception, across EU, registers significant shortcomings. It is worth mentioning the alarming and unsettling cases recently reported by the Refugee Council. The Refugee Council's report based on a survey of more than 400 asylum seekers, described the dehumanizing treatment reserved for migrants and although migration policies are dealt with at the national level, however. But this is just one of many cases. In a trend woefully common in Europe, Italy registered several abuses. One recent and tragic incident involved Moussa Balde, a Guinean boy who was first beaten by three people outside a supermarket in Ventimiglia on May 9. Later, on May 23, Moussa tragically took his own life by hanging himself in the CPR (Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio) in Turin on the May 23, where he had been detained as an irregular migrant. It is important to note that upon his arrival in Italy, Moussa was initially placed in an asylum accommodation center (CAS), where he did not receive any form of legal or psychological support.

In addition to cases of abuse, there have also been reports of misappropriation of public funds. The ongoing "*Mafia Capitale*" scandal, which first came to light in 2015, continues to make headlines, revealing instances of corruption and financial irregularities. The case exposed a deeply disturbing network of corrupted politicians and managers of social cooperatives engaging in illegal activities and rigging public tenders to profit from the growing refugee crisis in the Mediterranean. As a consequence, a vast system of corruption infiltrated the Rome City government, leading to a severe decline in the quality of services provided to the hosted individuals. These individuals were subjected to living in unacceptable and unsustainable conditions, further exacerbating their already challenging circumstances. To address the unmet needs left by public authorities and selected management bodies, activists established various services to support migrants. These efforts not only provide practical assistance but also empower migrants in their struggles to assert their rights and promote equality for all workers and citizens. This article is organised as following. Firstly, we will show how the reception services are organised in the two city of Marseille and Naples. The third part is dedicated to the so called popular control, namely the activists' activities, to visit migrants in the reception centres and ascertain their health conditions, to check the facilities, and the salubrity of the spaces. Finally we will conclude with a reflection on the role played by civil society in this context, which instead of being an exception characterises the reception of asylum seekers and refugees of many cities in Europe.

2 Delegation and Control in Outsourcing Reception Services

Who is responsible for controlling the quality of services? And how is it defined? In the ever-expanding landscape of the migration industry (Andersson, 2014), it becomes increasingly challenging to discern the exact responsibilities and roles of various actors involved. On one hand, the introduction of public tenders and market mechanisms has led to an increase in the number of actors involved in the migration industry. This phenomenon has been accompanied by a multiplication of reception facilities observed in both France and Italy. The newly established reception facilities are generally less expensive, and their short-term contracts enable swift adjustments to the conditions of service (Borrelli et al., 2019). In many cases, Third Sector Organizations (TSOs) and other private actors responding to public tenders are required to sign highly detailed contracts that outline a specific list of tasks, thereby limiting their freedom of action. Furthermore, various indicators, primarily quantitative in nature, are developed to monitor and control the actions carried out by management bodies in terms of performance and cost containment. However, in this system of contracting out services, various state and non-state actors operating within the milieu of migration management have the discretion to interpret and apply policies according to their own distinctive vernaculars (Eule et al. 2019), often without control mechanisms in place. In cases where decision-making powers are transferred to another organization through contracts, control is expected to be an integral part of the delegation process. Advocates of New Public Management (NPM) practices are enthusiastic about supporting the delegation system (Hood 1991), while also stressing the importance of putting in place a reliable control mechanism to ensure delegates are constantly monitored (Gilardi, 2008). However different types of control could be observed in the field of reception. While in Italy, control is lacking altogether, whether concerning the quality or use of funds, in France, control mechanisms primarily focus on efficiency and cost containment, paying little attention to the quality of the services. This void created by public authorities seemingly prioritizing an emergency logic has prompted civil society to step in and operate at a dual level on the one hand, Civil society organizations have taken on the role of monitoring reception centers, and on the other hand they provide services that are not adequately provided by existing institutional structures.

It's important to notice that very often reception centers tend to be located far from city centers and community meeting places. These centers can be seen as "*non lieu*" (Augé, 1995) or spaces characterized by a lack of meaningful relationship between individuals and lived experiences. Consequently, developing a sense of belonging becomes difficult for the newcomers, as these (non-)places often tend to make feel migrants as guests, and their exceptionality compared to the normal life of urban citizens, highlighting the exceptionalism of the migrant condition. Furthermore, public authorities seem to design these places precisely to avoid fostering connections, aiming instead to maintain a detached contractual relationship with migrants (Trasciani and Petrella, 2021).

However, although these non-places are isolated, activists strive to re-establish relational and supportive bonds, transforming these spaces into shared concerns that extend beyond those who inhabit and suffer from them, but for humanity as a whole. Reception in both in France and in Italy is based on a binary system. In Italy, there is an ordinary system that relies on the voluntary involvement of local authorities in establishing a network of hospitality projects. These projects are co-developed with TSOs and are designed to promote local networks that engage many stakeholders. I addition, Italy also manages the emergency aspect of reception through CAS centers. These centers are imposed by the Prefecture through public tenders and are typically managed by private actors, including both TSOs and for-profit organizations. In 2016, 85% of asylum seekers were hosted in CAS (Report SPRAR 2016). The reception system in France follows a similar structure, with CADA serving as the dedicated structure for ordinary reception. Alongside CADA, there has been a significant increase in the number of emergency asylum seeker accommodations established in recent years, totaling around 10 or more such facilities. Among the various accommodation facilities, it is noteworthy to mention PRAHDA (Reception and Accommodation Program for Asylum Seekers), which is a specific structure designed to host people under the Dublin procedure. In both cases, the service is entirely outsourced to external management bodies, with limited participation from public authorities. In the Italian context, there is no official externalized system of control for the reception centers, which ideally should be developed by the prefecture. On the other hand, in the case of Prahda, authorities have established a control system that primarily focuses on financial criteria. However, it is important to note that this control system, carried out by public authorities, is predominantly structured as a financial accounting mechanism, aimed at assuring the efficiency and effectiveness of the structure.

3   Popular Control in the Municipalities of Marseille and Naples

Due to the absence or limited involvement of public authorities, social movements and activists have taken it upon themselves to engage in what they refer to as "Popular control." For example, in Naples in the late 2010s, in response to instances of abuse towards migrants within the reception centers, several small associations collaborated with social movements, activists, and other civil society actors. They conducted activities in support of migrants, including the popular control of the reception shelter for asylum seekers and refugees during the North African Emergency period. This period was characterized by daily scandals, but certain organizations fought to expose the management bodies, which were not correctly implementing their role. According to one activist:

And at that time, we very much opposed this emergency management of reception. Therefore, these organizations emerged out of nowhere, devoid of adequate competencies, and requirements. The public bodies [n.d.r. Civil protection] have entrusted them, monitoring neither the competencies nor the actions of these actors! This has been a political choice, in order to rapidly solve the so-called emergency, without taking into account the long-term consequences. The choice to continue funding the emergency reception instead of doing a serious and concrete investment on the ordinary reception, the SPRAR, which instead will be weakened. (interview_italian_activist_1).

In doing so, "the CAS become extra-territorial devices in the city" (Municipality of Naples_1_2019). Managed by a ministry that has no competence in social services, both civil society and the city council underline the absence of ex-post controls: "They [the authorities] rarely come to check who you are, and in Naples we have had a lot of reports and judicial enquiries" (Municipality of Naples_2_2020).

In this context, the responsibility for ensuring the quality of service is in the hands of the managing body of the reception centers. With the absence of prefectural control over service quality in Naples, popular control initiatives have emerged to organize visits to the CAS. According to one of the activists, "Through these visits, we try to shed light on the need to respect the rights and safety of the migrants hosted in these structures" (Interview_Italian_activist_2). The activists not only observed poor quality of food and exposure to racist abuse, but also a total lack of legal and social assistance. This lack of support could have detrimental consequences for migrants in terms of obtaining legal protection and regularization of their status. Furthermore, numerous incidents have been documented where individuals have entered the centers and subjected asylum seekers to harassment and verbal abuse. Furthermore, there have been cases of racist attacks perpetrated by anti-migrant groups targeting asylum seekers residing in hotels.

To address the unmet needs arising from public authorities and management bodies, activists have established several services to support migrants. These initiatives aim to assist migrants in their struggles to assert their rights and promote equality of all workers and citizens. For example, to provide crucial support to undocumented migrants, a help desk service has been implemented. This service aims to inform individuals of their rights and educate them about the various options available to obtain legal documents, and, in turn, regularize their status in Italy. The structure is organized and operated by volunteers, who sometimes lack formal legal training. However, it is common practice for volunteers to receive training that provides them with a basic understanding of legal matters before they begin their work. Migrants are offered an initial consultation to assess their profiles, with more complex cases referred to lawyers who specialize in immigration law. In total, more than 7,000 migrants having benefitted from this spontaneous form of civil organization, including support for work-related issues. Migrants often work illegally, and it is crucial to consider the importance of the work contract in acquiring a residence permit. Within this framework, migrants are encouraged to participate in meetings that involve other categories of workers as well. The purpose of these gatherings is to foster cross-cutting claims and break the isolation often experienced by migrants. Activists, together with grassroots unions, have played a significant role in promoting

and continuing to advocate for collective demands. These efforts extend beyond day laborers and encompass other categories of workers. Limited access to information among migrant communities is often attributed to language and cultural barriers, which contribute to their marginalization. To address this issue, organizations strive to overcome these barriers by providing language courses specifically tailored for asylum seekers. Due to the high demand and demonstrated success, these language initiatives are now organized by activists several times a week. In a similar vein, to address medical care needs, a free people's medical clinic run by volunteer doctors and nurses was established. Located in a very poor district of Naples, the clinic is free to the entire neighborhood. The activists involved in these initiatives include Italians, Italians of foreign origin, and migrant foreigners. They actively participate in the monthly assembly of the social center, where various working groups meet, such as the work group, health group, and the culture and popular theater group, among others. The assembly serves as a platform for interaction and collaboration on activities and events.

A similar scenario has been observed in France, where social movements operate in a comparable manner, providing services to asylum seekers. In the Marseille area, activists are organized into different teams, with some activists regularly monitoring the activities and conditions within the Prahda facility. The fact that activists monitor the Prahda facility may not be explicitly acknowledged or endorsed by the public authorities responsible for overseeing it. It is important to note that a significant number of migrants hosted in these facilities are subject to so-called Dublin procedures. This procedure is based on the principle that if migrants have crossed a European country before arriving in France and have had their fingerprints registered there, they are legally required to apply for asylum in that country, according to European law. In France, after a quick examination of their file, migrants may be "readmitted" to the first country they crossed—Italy or Spain in most cases—where they will have to resume their asylum application from the beginning.

Activists who regularly visit the Prahda have reported an alarming situation regarding both the living conditions and the treatment of asylum seekers within the facilities. The accommodations, often repurposed Formula 1 Hotels, are described as having very poor living conditions. Furthermore, the asylum seekers hosted in these facilities have also been subjected to dehumanizing treatment. The uncovering of unacceptable and unsustainable conditions within the Prahda has revealed a detrimental impact on the mental health of asylum seekers. The lack of clothing is also a challenge faced by asylum seekers in the Prahda, while a total absence of legal support is contractually agreed upon entering. The activists confirm that the service is minimal "There's nothing here, no activity, no help with papers. Actually, the Prahda is for leaving France" (Interview_French_Activist_1).

This structure and operation of the Prahda seriously undermine the rights of asylum seekers and impede their chances of obtaining legal recognition and regularization. Furthermore, they are far from cities, difficult to reach, and almost invisible to the rest of society. Officially, the Prahda is intended to accommodate individuals who are not eligible for CADA. However, in practice, there are instances where asylum seekers in "normal" and "accelerated" proceedings are also hosted in the

Prahda. People who fall under the Dublin Procedure are not allowed to be hosted in CADA.

According to activists, the establishment of the Prahda is founded on the idea of avoiding the so-called "appel d'air" (Interview_French_Activist_1). This concept is linked to the idea that a generous reception policy has an attractive "pull factor" on migrants, potentially leading to more migrants coming to a particular region or country. For this reason, activists think that the deliberate provision of poor-quality reception services is a strategy put in place by public authorities, in order to control the number of newcomers. They argue that such a deliberately shaped reception system reinforces the precarity of migrants, who lack social support and cannot access their basic rights. The activists observed that migrants are abandoned in inadequate accommodations for many weeks and even month, without access to appropriate support, including basic health care, clothing, and essential legal and social services. The insufficient number of social workers available to care for all individuals present in the reception facilities is a major concern. Due to the low cost of the service, the managing body is constrained from increasing the number of workers; the cost of the service in the reception facilities is notably lower, specifically 16.50 euros compared to 27 euros in CAO centers of reception.

This Kafkaesque situation of waiting and neglect experienced by asylum seekers in Prahda facilities is further compounded by the geographical distance from the city center. The remote location makes it challenging for both activists and beneficiaries to access the facilities. Adding to their difficulties, the beneficiaries are required to sleep in the structures under the constant threat of being reported and eventually expelled. However, despite these obstacles, a group of them, against all odds, decided to join the Marseille collective to take part in the weekly general assembly in order to organize protests and other efforts to claim their rights.

4 Conclusion

It is a common observation that political agendas have often mirrored public anxieties and security concerns rather than prioritizing the quality of reception services and effective integration of newcomers. This has resulted in a mismanagement of public funds and the consequent low quality of services, which in turn has a negative impact on the ability of migrants to obtain regular legal status. However, while this study highlights the issues of exclusion and abandonment faced by migrants in inadequate reception facilities, it also underscores the presence of inclusion and solidarity. This chapter emphasizes the crucial role of cities and local actors in promoting and advancing human rights. Civil society organizations in particular play a major role by providing emergency relief and reception services for asylum seekers, migrants, and refugees, as well as ensuring access to social services and international protection to their longer term integration into society. In addition, civil society organizations also take on the role of monitoring and overseeing public bodies responsible for providing reception services. However, in this specific case of principal–agent problem, there

is a notable asymmetry of priorities between the management body (agent) and the state (principal). The management body may be incentivized to display moral hazard behavior due to the lack of stringent oversight or consequences for subpar service quality. On the other hand, the state tends to prioritize efficiency and cost containment rather than emphasizing the quality of the service provided. This situation coupled with poor reception services could be perceived as a strategy of the state to discourage new migrant arrivals. At the very least, it signifies a schizophrenic system divided between respecting international agreements on human rights and the willingness to control undesirable foreigners. Regardless of the challenges and complexities within the system, civil society organizations play a crucial role in taking action to ensure that the actors responsible for providing reception services respect the human rights of migrants.

5   Ethical Procedures

Prior to the interviews, written informed consent was obtained from all individuals. In addition, in order to guarantee as much privacy as possible, the names of interviewers and organizations have been anonymized.

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Chapter 29
Political Apathy or Political Exclusion? Malaysian Youth, Generational Barriers and Inclusive Political Participation for Urban Development Planning in Penang

Bart A. M. van Gils, Lisa S. Pijnacker, and Azmil Tayeb

1 Introduction

When a city or state government undertakes a large-scale development project, such governments may initiate or support activities that foster participation of the inhabitants. Participation is deployed as a policy method to ensure a prospected project is inclusive, and by extension, for the city to become more inclusive as a whole. Ideally, by creating a platform that takes the concerns of the (affected) inhabitants into consideration, the otherwise potentially forgotten issues, or otherwise excluded people, are thought to be accounted for. In practice, this is often less straightforward, particularly in societies where political liberties and civic space for its citizens are limited. The effectiveness of participatory activities depends on how receptive the authorities are towards unsolicited or unwanted advice and critique—activities we can refer to as "political participation," in contrast with solicited "citizen participation." To a political activist, their concerns voiced through activism cannot be properly addressed through state-initiated channels of participation. Yet, for a participatory development project to be truly inclusive, one could argue activist concerns should still be properly addressed, regardless of the political ambitions of the state, that may underpin the project. Furthermore, the quality of inclusive participation

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in development is related to the demographic makeup of those who are and those who are not able to give voice to their concerns. Particular groups in society can be excluded from participation—both implicitly and explicitly—based on their political position of ascribed and achieved statuses, for example, their occupation, class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and age. In other words, inclusive urban development can be established through participation, given the participation is inherently inclusive in itself; that is, if citizens are equally unobstructed in voicing their solicited and unsolicited views and concerns.

It is not new to research inclusive participation vis-à-vis the political status of groups associated with ethnicity, class, or religion, yet one defining aspect in this process is often overlooked: generational exclusion. By discussing a case study on Penang, a city-state in Malaysia, this chapter explores the complexities of establishing politically inclusive development, by addressing the intersectional barriers that hinder young adults' participation in political activities. The limited research done so far on political participation of Malaysian youth[1] suggests that younger generations are much less politically active than their elder counterparts, but insufficiently explains why. With Malaysia's median age of 28.9 years (in 2019), the absence of young adults in political arenas implies that close to a quarter of the population[2] is not (enabled in) expressing their ideas publicly. As such, this seriously dilutes the inclusive quality of urban development if such inclusion, understood as the state enabling and being receptive to solicited and unsolicited citizen input, is limited to those with political power in the first place.

Globally, scholars researching (political) participation have recognised the disengagement of youth with politics, as well as traditional forms of activism, describing a shift in the ways young people conduct participatory practices (Harris et al., 2010). This is also applicable for Malaysia; various quantitative studies argue that Malaysian youth are less politically active than their older counterparts.[3]

Furthermore, Mohd Hed and Grasso (2019) make a distinction between more political faction-oriented "conventional forms" of participation (e.g., voting and party membership), vis-a-vis more activist-oriented "unconventional forms of participation" (e.g., joining in boycotts, attending demonstrations). They report that, particularly regarding conventional participation, 21–40-year-olds participate much less than Malaysians aged between 41 and 70. Indicatively, 92.2% of Malaysians between 41-and 70-years-old voted in the 2013 elections, compared to 65.4% of the age group between 21 and 40.

Still, what is less well established is how and why young people in Malaysia seem less politically engaged, especially towards "unconventional participation", or activism. Various studies suggested political apathy among youth, with Salman

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[1] For example, Salman et al. (2017), Mohd Hed & Grasso (2019).

[2] Twenty-seven percent are aged between 15 and 29. Department of Statistics Malaysia, July 2019. Accessed on June 10, 2021. https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemeByCat&cat=155&bul_id=aWJZRkJ4UEdKcUZpT2tVT090Snpydz09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVSZklWdzQ4TlhUUT09A

[3] Ibid.

and colleagues (2017) even mooting that youth do not participate "due to the lack of interest in politics, who are by and large comfortable with their lives and go unbothered by issues related to politics." Instead, based on our fieldwork research in 2019, we strongly argue the contrary. Even more so, regardless of whether Malaysian youth were interested in politics or not, the institutional barriers set by the (federal) state, university, and parental advice, strongly impacted the possibility for young people to openly express and engage with political issues at that time.

This case study research is situated in Penang, a geographically small state that houses Malaysia's second largest conglomeration of 1.77 million inhabitants as of 2017. The state has seen rapid economic growth and urban development over the last decades. As this led to issues regarding housing, traffic congestion, and public transport, the state government announced various large-scale development plans over the last 10 years. One example is the "Penang Master Transport Plan" (PTMP), which consists of a LRT system, various elevated highways running across hillsides, and an undersea highway tunnel. Another development project, the "Penang South Islands" project (PSR/PSI), aims to reclaim three large artificial islands, allowing the urban conglomeration to further expand, while financing the aforementioned mobility projects.[4] These plans are propagated as part of the state's development strategy "Penang2030," of which one of the four strategic "pillars"[5] aims to "empower people to strengthen civic participation." The strategy emphasises that "youth participation in decision-making and civil society will lay the foundation for the next generation of leaders." Yet, even though the development plans are promoted as sustainable and inclusive, they have been strongly opposed by various Penang-based civil society groups, who are concerned about the potential negative social and environmental effects. Notably, young adults have been almost absent in such civil society efforts.

The chapter is structured as follows. The next section sets the context of how ethno-religious tensions and paternalistic federalism shape Malaysian orientations towards inclusive policymaking. The subsequent section then discusses the generational barriers that young adult Malaysians encounter in their daily interactions with the state, university, and parents that hinder political participation. These findings are derived from an ethnographic research conducted in 2019, which involved over 50 recorded ethnographic encounters through (participant) observation by the authors. Additionally, more than 40 interviews were conducted with civil society members, university students, and recent graduates with the latter two groups ranging in age from 18 to 30. The third section provides a detailed ethnographic account of Malaysia's first climate strike, offering valuable insights into the conditions that foster a sense of comfort and willingness among young adults to participate in political activities. The fourth and final section concludes this chapter by discussing the prospects for the political inclusion of youth in Penang's development strategy, which

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[4] The PSI project, which aims to reclaim over 1,800 hectares of land at sea, is previously known as the Penang Reclamation Project (PSR), will provide the financial means for the expensive PTMP projects through expected land-value addition.

[5] Those include "increase liveability and quality of life," "upgrade the economy to raise household incomes," and "invest in the built environment to improve resilience."

explicitly aims to include young people in their projects. The overall case study exemplifies how a semi-authoritarian political culture rooted in ethnic inclusion shapes often-overlooked generational barriers for youth to politically participate. In turn, this requires policy efforts that improve political inclusion of young adults in urban decision-making processes.

2 Malaysian Politics, Federal Paternalism, and Ethnic Inclusion

Like elsewhere, Malaysia's local development discourses do not occur in isolation from national politics, and therefore affect the possibilities for inclusive participation in the former. In particular, two characteristics of Malaysia's national politics shape and define the boundaries for participation in local urban development projects: paternalistic federalism and ethno-religious tensions.

Historically, in comparison to Malaysia in general, Penang has had a very lively activist scene that originated in the 1970s and 1980s. While these activist groups generally come forth with a rather critical agenda against state development plans, Penang's state-governing parties and activist groups have regularly become allies in opposing the federal government (Cheng et al., 2014). Malaysia practices a highly centralised form of federalism that skews heavily towards the federal government in Putrajaya (Loh, 2010). The states, to one degree or another, are dependent on the federal government for (urban) development, due to the latter's control over financial resources. This unequal dynamic allows the federal government to play a paternalistic role and exert tight control over many aspects of life in Malaysia.[6] In doing so, centralised federalism directs the marginal efforts of political activism against a federal juggernaut that holds control over laws, university, police, and all coercive powers they wield. These are oftentimes perceived by civil society groups as draconian, overwhelming, and severely punitive. This stifles prospects of political reform and limits the influence of civil society and (opposing) state governments to establish such. In other words, Penangite civil society groups may oppose state plans in local development, while simultaneously cooperating with the state government on federal issues, both restricted by the limited space for contestation that the federal government permits. Moreover, the tight federal control on political activities increases the threshold for citizens to voice on topics considered politically sensitive, which limits the support civil society groups could otherwise receive in their local development efforts.

A second defining and related characteristic of Malaysian politics is the dominance of ethno-religious discourse in the public sphere. As a multi-ethnic nation-state, ethno-religious tensions are present as a result of so-called consociational

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[6] How Malaysia copes with the COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, is a manifestation of this highly centralized form of federalism.

politics. The interests of the main sectarian groups[7] are represented at the top eche-lons of government, primarily in the form of singular ethno-religious-based political parties (Lijphart, 1969). The lopsided ethno-religious dynamic mainly centers on the relationship between Malays and non-Malays, and by extension, Muslims and non-Muslims. Political parties and their supporters find it extremely difficult to move away from engaging in ethno-religious discourse, which in turn detrimentally affects the public sphere and how citizens in daily society interact with each other. While the chief aim of consociational politics is to dampen the majoritarian tendency of the main ethnic and religious group, and be inclusive of minority voices in the governing process, it often ends up hardening sectarian divides, since the relationship between political parties is not equal to begin with.

While the political space is highly restrictive, there are "pockets of activism" that are deemed "less threatening" by the federal government and are therefore tolerable to a certain yet limited extent. Activism that draws attention to issues related to urban development or environmentalism, are such pockets. For example, in regards to the Penang South Reclamation (PSR/PSI) project, many civil society protests have occurred over the years. Yet, a strand of discourse pits poor Malay fishermen against the ethnically Chinese-dominated state government, pressing for inclusion of a particular ethnic group. As such, urban or environmental issues can easily devolve into an ethno-religious discourse due to the sectarian nature of Malaysian politics, and thus curb the eagerness of people to join in activist political participation.

Consequently, many young Malaysians are hesitant to engage actively with the political discourse. Seeing it akin to navigating a minefield, a common perception is that it is easy to offend the sensibility of others, with the risk of incurring the wrath of the federal government by running afoul of its repressive laws. In this sense, ethno-religious tensions serve as a justification for repressive federal laws, as a necessity to maintain national stability. As such, we build towards the argument that the efforts to be politically inclusive on ethno-religious terms may be at the cost of the available political space for inclusion of other determinants for exclusion, like class and gender—or in this particular case, age.

3 Political Participation by Malaysia's Young Adults

On one of my first meetings to establish a network of research participants, I make my way to a popular Chinese-oriented food court. People from all stripes of life flog down to get a cheap meal. Here I meet James, a former classmate and a 23-year-old Chinese-Malaysian economics student. After exchanging pleasantries, I explain my interest in youth perspectives on Malaysian politics. Although James responds with enthusiasm, his body language changes. Almost whispering, James shares his

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[7] In Malaysia, three ethnicities are most prevalent and represented through one or more political parties, namely: Malay (Muslim), Chinese, and Indian. Less prevalent are the Orang Asli (indigenous groups).

vivid ideas on what has happened during the 2018 elections. Every minute or so, the student scans his surroundings, ensuring no one is eavesdropping. When the topic lands on the ethnic tensions in politics, I can barely hear James speak.

We decide to go to the car park, where James' volume noticeably increases. I ask why the secrecy was necessary, to which James responds: "You'll never know if someone is listening. Better not take the risk." Surprised at why he insisted on sharing his insights nonetheless, I ask what he thinks about politics. "All I want is a house, a job and a car," James tells me. "You know a lot about politics though," I reply. James responds: "I think politics are important, but I try not to care too much. But we do need change. And that change won't come for a very long time. Malaysia isn't ready for it." Without any encouragement on my part, James continues to vent his frustrations, ideas, and suggestions for the future of his country.

During this research, which was conducted in 2019, the authors addressed an ongoing debate on political participation by youth. One strand of the debate argues that youth have become increasingly politically apathetic, while others argue that youth have taken on "new" or "alternative" forms of political participation (see Mohd Hed, 2017). For this research, we interviewed both young adults and civil society members. In describing the former, one of the interviewed civil society members argued: "I think a lot of young people look at it from a sense of "What is in it for me? If I don't see a need or necessity, I will not speak out."" Though understandable, we strongly argue that the disengagement of Malaysian youth in politics cannot be solely attributed to apathy, as it provides an insufficient explanation. The vignette featuring James above, from a fieldnote of one of the researchers, displays the positionality of many young adults in Malaysia. It demonstrates that even the most basic acts of political engagement—such as privately discussing one's political ideas in public— are met with utmost caution by most young people, rather than disinterest. As such, we seek to elucidate the disengagement from participatory activities by looking at the external factors that limit youth participation in politics, rather than perceiving their disengagement as a characteristic inherent to the group itself.

Like James, most of the 22 young adults we interviewed told the researchers that they followed political news, discussed political matters with like-minded friends, and also cautiously shared articles on social media (in the political context of 2019). Young adults would be more likely to engage in political discussions if they are in a safe environment, especially when the topics being discussed are sufficiently distanced from ethno-religious matters. In other words, they prefer engaging in discussions in a manner where their words and actions cannot do harm. In a low-profile environment, many of the students and graduates have no problem with sharing their opinions. The interviewed young adults have demonstrated their preference for low-profile and non-controversial initiatives by actively engaging in activities such as volunteering at language programs in impoverished rural areas, raising funds for Palestinian refugees, or volunteering at welfare-providing (religious) NGOs (Salman et al., 2017). These findings demonstrate that the participants possess a political orientation, display an overall interest in politics, and possess knowledge about political issues. Consequently, they have the potential to engage in political discourses, as long as their actions do not cross the boundaries that are deemed by society as "sensitive."

When comparing the activities initiated by youth with the more "traditional forms of participation" carried out by Penang's activist civil society groups, many of the interviewed youth shared their reluctance to participate in protests or rallies, because engaging in such activities could jeopardise the successful beginning of their careers. Additionally, students mentioned the disapproval of parents as a significant factor that deterred them from getting involved in political protests. Some parents cautioned against engaging in such activities and instructed their children to "bide their time." Furthermore, as expressed by Hannah, a woman in her late 20s: "Of course, time and work are a limitation to join a protest, but I am also scared that they are arresting people. I don't want them to arrest me and get a record and stuff. That will affect me in my future, and I don't want that." In comparison to most of the interviewed civil society members, who were predominantly over the age of 30, established in their careers, were financially stable, and had resided in Penang for a longer time—the interviewed youth represented a different phase of life. Thus, in comparison, the decision of youth not to participate can be seen as a rational choice, influenced by their age-related positionality and status within society, rather than being driven by apathy or disinterest.

Due to their aging demographic, various civil society activist groups have an outspoken desire to attract more youth to their cause, but without much success (as of 2019). The absence of young adults in grassroots activism has led to frustration among civil society members, with much of this frustration directed towards Malaysia's educational system. One of the key reasons cited is that Malaysia's educational institutes do not provide political education to their students (Mohd Hed, 2017). Interestingly, when asked about their visions for Malaysia's future, many young adults expressed similar views to those of civil society members. Not only did the young adults aspire for greater transparency and accountability in politics, but they also emphasised the need for an improved education system. They believed that such a system should lead to "more critical thinking" (sic) among their fellow citizens. Many participants suggested the establishment of a political education program at schools.

In a similar vein, civil society members generally perceive educational institutes as fostering a docile and paternal relationship between students and the (federal) state, rather than igniting their political participation. According to one civil society member, "Activism against state plans is taught as 'a bad word' at schools." Another member argued that the "[federal] state influence in schools and universities discourages critical thinking, and gives the idea that [federal] politicians know how to govern and protect their best interests." As such, young people, and especially university students, experience the paternalism of the federal government most prominently on campus. The federal government exercises direct control over universities by appointing Vice-Chancellors and implementing measures to control and limit politically charged student activities. This control is facilitated through the Universities and University Colleges Act (UUCA), a law designed to sanitise campuses by suppressing elements critical of the government, with potential consequences such as expulsion for those who defy these regulations. As such, the federal state, the university, and,

indirectly, worried parents, impose significant limitations on the opportunities for youth to engage in political organising whenever they desire to do so.

In conclusion, Malaysian youth appear to be influenced both directly and indirectly towards a passive form of political invisibility, where they are encouraged to remain unseen and unheard in political spheres. Indeed, while some students may be unperturbed by these limitations, excepting them as given, others feel varying degrees of frustration towards them. Still, on both sides of the spectrum, Malaysian young adults are not politically apathetic. Instead, they navigate the boundaries of a political culture that restricts the possibilities for their active participation in the first place. Nonetheless, they find ways to engage within these limitations, demonstrating their interest and willingness to be politically involved despite the challenges they face.

4   Experimentation at the Boundaries: Malaysia's First Youth Climate Protest

"Do you think more people are going to show up?" asks a young woman, in her early twenties, as she glances doubtfully over her shoulder. Where normally just two would be present, about fifteen university guards are lined up at the university's entrance, dressed in blue police-like uniforms. The university had obviously gotten word of Malaysia's first youth climate protest.

While some of the participants worry about the guards or pondering if enough people will show up, one of the protest organisers opens the trunk of his car. A colorful pile of protest signs appears, with messages like "Save Penang, save the world," "A better climate starts with you," and "We want green cities." The leader adjusts his bandana, looks around the group, and asks: "Are we ready?".

Astonished students pass by as the protesters move towards the gate. While they take their position, another small group of students arrive accompanied by a few lecturers with colorful signs. Some female students start to call out to the cars that drive by, pointing towards a sign that says "Honk for the climate." As the first cars honk, the girls scream in celebration. A brief ten minutes later, a large group of civil society members joins the demonstration, wielding signs with slogans such as "No more land reclamation" and "Cancel the master plan" to oppose the state's development plans. By combining forces, the assembly is now about sixty-headstrong.

Eventually two police officers arrive at the scene. Most protesters notice them, and some get nervous. To their relief, the officers do not intervene. After asking some questions and noting down some names, the officers start managing the traffic on the street. Many civil society members are amazed by the ease of the situation. The protest can go on.

This scene at the university in March 2019 was a remarkable event for many reasons. It marked Malaysia's first climate protest[8] and also witnessed a notable

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[8] Oriented around the movement started by the young Swedish activist Greta Thunberg.

group of young adults joining forces with Penang's middle-aged civil society groups in an assembly for the first time.[9]

This vignette demonstrates how perceptions and willingness towards political participation can undergo a transformation, as many participants experienced joining such "high-profile activity" for the first time. Four external factors can be identified for why some young adults joined the protest, despite the general reluctance of their age group to participate in such events.

First and second, while the turn-out of young adults was limited in comparison to that of civil society members, those who did participate felt encouraged to join, possibly due to the presence of supportive lecturers. The presence of these lecturers may have provided a form of guidance and reassurance, creating a supportive environment for the young adults to actively engage in the protest. Since the rally took place just outside the university and not on campus grounds, students were therefore also less likely to get into trouble. Presumably, although the university guards were alarmed by the event, they did not consider the protest to fall within their jurisdiction or violate any legal stipulations that required their intervention.

Third, the thematic approach of the protest, being part of a global movement rather than directly targeting or opposing Malaysian or local politics, positioned the participating young adults as advocates of a relatively safer and somewhat apolitical (non-ethnic) statement within the perceived "activist pocket." However, there was a contrast between the sign messages displayed by civil society members and students during the protest.

Finally, the timing of the event in relation to national political events was likely also a relevant factor. The rally was organised about a year after the last general election, which marked a brief period during which the coalition of federal opposition parties, which had been governing the state of Penang since 2008, temporarily gained control of the federal government (May 2018–February 2020). Their national victory led many to believe federal reforms were on the horizon and a "New Malaysia" was imminent. Various restrictions on political participation, including the law curbing the political activities of students, were expected to be eased. Thus, in the context of a national momentum that promised better political circumstances, and considering the local circumstances of the protest that minimised the risk of retribution by the police or university authorities, some young adults dared to challenge the norms surrounding political participation for their age group.

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[9] Moreover, the event was also the first sizable student-oriented demonstration held near the campus, taking place in a political climate that had seen the opening of political space following the unprecedented electoral upset of 2018 in the federal government.

5   Penang2030: Paving the Way for a New Political Culture of Inclusive Participation?

The climate strike discussed in this chapter serves as an instructive case study on fostering political engagement among youth, aligning with one of the goals of "Penang2030," the development strategy of the state government. The strategy emphasises that "youth participation in decision-making and civil society will lay the foundation for the next generation of leaders." It also states that "… In order to make democracy a way of life, public space must therefore be widened" (5).[10] Yet, as demonstrated in the sections above, various barriers hinder the political participation of youth in the first place. We conclude by suggesting that the positionality of youth can be improved through policy action that addresses four barriers discussed below.

Negating Federal Control

Despite the federal electoral momentum experienced by Penang state's parties in 2018, often referred to as a period of longing for "New Malaysia," significant federal reforms that promised increased political freedom remained largely absent. After 22 months, the national government entered a political crisis, wherein the parties that opposed the Penang state government regained control over the federal government.[11]

As such, paternalistic practices and repressive laws did not change over time. Thus, for Penang's state government to spur youth activism, or even to provide a platform for youth to voice their concerns, the state government still needs to negate the institutional obstacles in the face of its federal counterpart.

Steering Away from Paternalist State Roles

If these federal barriers can be negated, one should be wary that the state government's efforts do not simply shift the currently paternalistic role from the federal to the state level. The Penang2030 manifesto cites the focus of Penang's government as "the defender of democratic values and of multicultural inclusivity, which had been a key strategy in Penang, must [now] shift towards nurturing of democratic mind-sets and behavior" (Penang State Government, 2019: 4). This may suggest that the state government feels responsible for taking over the pedagogic function currently operating at the federal level, rather than widening political space for a checks-and-balances system through political participation. More specifically, Penang2030 seeks to boost youth volunteering at civic NGO-like organisations; even though young adults reported feeling more comfortable with the more passive civic participation over political activism, this should not be the sole modus operandi. A balance ought to

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[10] With Penang2030, Penang's development plans (PTMP, PSI) have been propagated by the slogan "a family-focused green and smart city that inspires the nation" (2019: 2) that "leaves no one behind as Penang moves on towards greater heights."

[11] In February 2020, a political crisis unfolded as the former opposition parties lost control of the federal government due to a coalition schism and defection to the former government parties. Unfortunately, many of the election promises aimed to addressinstitutional barriers to political participation have not been fulfilled.

be maintained between taking the lead to encourage political activity and preserving the political autonomy of citizens. This could be achieved if both governments abstain from dictating the political narrative of Malaysia's youth. The state government could thus make a good start by moving beyond old or new forms of paternalism, while facilitating the conditions in which young people can freely, and without dictation of the government, discuss their political ideas both in interaction with state institutions and in daily life.

Positive Encouragement Towards Challengers of Culturally Embedded Political Muteness

Given the deeply embedded practices of a political culture that discourages people from speaking up, resulting in even the reluctance of young adults to participate in everyday political conversations, it will indeed be a challenging objective to include youth in participatory decision-making processes. In fact, the policy ambition to attract youth to participate requires a socio-cultural behavioral change. As mentioned earlier, the majority of participants suggested improving political citizenship education in schools. However, since school curricula are determined by the federal government, the sphere of influence of the Penang state government is limited in this regard.

Still, other channels may be utilised to provide positive encouragement and easily accessible opportunities for youth to participate. The authors suggest that, by prioritising less sensitive "activist pockets" such as climate change or urban development, and by approving and supporting relevant initiatives whenever possible, the efforts of "early adopters" can be highlighted in a positive light. This can contribute to fostering a better socio-cultural image for youth participation. Furthermore, considering Malaysia's highly active online social media landscape, with an average usage of 3 h a day in the late 2010s—there are possibilities to explore of digital participation may be explored. The use of safe and anonymous platforms, as well as easy-access methods for digitally participating in decision-making processes, could be an avenue worth experimenting with.

Re-Approaching the Intersection Between Generational and Ethno-Religious Political Inclusion

Lastly, the ethno-religious tensions in Malaysian society were frequently cited by interviewees as a reason for not participating in political activities. Indeed, while it is important to prioritise inclusivity towards different ethnicities, policymakers must be cautious not to inadvertently neglect other important criteria in their pursuit of inclusivity. In other words, it is not favorable to have an ethnically inclusive gerontocracy where efforts to boost youth participation are overshadowed by the priority of maintaining ethno-religious stability. An inclusive political climate should allow for both a focus on multiculturalism and the presence of open space for state criticism.

In conclusion, inclusive policies should prioritise lowering barriers for youth to participate and express their voices, even in the face of challenges for the state government. These challenges include the complexities of federal–state relations and their

pedagogic positionality, the perceived duty to maintain ethno-religious stability at any expense, and a prevailing political culture that relegates youth to the (political) background. The case study of Penang, a city-state, demonstrates the challenges that policymakers in urbanised regions may encounter when it comes to identity politics, federal relations, and everyday civil practices in their efforts to improve political inclusion of young adults in urban decision-making processes. By recognising the significance of youth and moving beyond stereotypes of apathy or political disengagement, cities have the potential to create an inclusive political environment that promotes positive urban development. By setting an example and challenging national common beliefs and practices, cities can lead the way in fostering meaningful youth participation and shaping a more inclusive and dynamic political landscape.

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Chapter 30
Reconstructing Beirut's Port: Urban Traumas in Lebanon's Capital

Bob Rehorst, Elias Bou-Issa, and Mees Hehenkamp

1   Introduction

On August 4, 2020, 2,750 tons of negligently stored ammonium nitrate caught fire in Hangar 12 in Beirut's Port. While the source of the fire is still heavily debated, the subsequent explosion obliterated nearly half of the city's most densely populated areas. The blast damaged nearly 12,000 buildings, claimed the lives of more than 200 inhabitants, and left over 6,000 people injured. These numbers are rough figures because we are yet unable to grasp the magnitude of the damage that will be done by the estimated 100,000 to 750,000 tons of contaminated material that was dispersed into the air, water, and soil as a direct consequence of the explosion (Basbous, 2021).

It took only a few minutes to transform the heart of Beirut into an eerie scene reminiscent of the last days of Beirut's 15-year civil war. This time, however, there was a surprising initial homogeneous conviction that the sitting government was to blame. "My government did this" was, and at the time of writing still is, a common framing maintained by aggrieved citizens. Amid countless unanswered questions, one of the world's worst economic crises, fuel shortages, and increasing desperation, a hopeful slogan towers from the freeway over the rubble: "Beirut Will Rise." Regardless of the bleak outlook projected by the World Bank (World Bank Group, 2020), the level of resilience and endurance of spirit is often referred to as characteristic of Beirut's citizens (Larkin 2010: 425). We have no doubt that Beirut will indeed rise once again. The only question that remains then is, "to become what?".

In April 2021, a collective of German development firms laid out a detailed proposal for the reconstruction of Beirut's Port. The proposal followed what is now commonly referred to as *The Beirut Port Blast*. This proposal carries promises of

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"[…] bringing back social cohesion through urban planning" as well as the "repair of the old City […]" (Overview Presentation April 7, 2020). However, the question arises: does the proposed cityscape of Beirut's revamped port truly bring back social cohesion and inclusion among its citizens or will it be a repeat of the much-contested reconstruction of Beirut's city center 30 years ago? For many, the proposed plan does not indicate "reparation" of the characteristic neighborhoods as such. Nor does it seem to indicate any inclination to embed the memory of August 4 through a memorial or other mnemonic artifacts. Rather, it invokes reminiscences of Beirut's central district's reconstruction efforts, widely critiqued for its top-down implementation, the absence of the inclusion of memory work, and subsequent alienation of Beirut's citizens in favor of supermodernism and spectacularism. Amid a destroyed urban landscape where reconstruction is imminent, and the collective memory of a wounded city (Till, 2012), the struggle for the "right to the city" is reignited.

This chapter will highlight the importance of memory work in inclusive citizenship in the context of urban reconstruction by using Beirut as a case study. Large cities such as Beirut are often considered to challenge the homogeneous perceptions of citizenship among its inhabitants (Holston & Appadurai 1996: 194), thereby emphasizing that citizenship is becoming an individual pursuit of authenticity. If we accept that urban identity is not merely the answer to the question, "Who or what are you?" (Demmers 2016: 20), the case also symbolizes the social relationship with its environment through the process "'being" and "becoming" (Jenkins, 2014: 18–19). Therefore, referring to Osler and Starkey (2005: 11–14), we argue that the dimension of feeling ascribed to one's citizenship represents the subjective nature of the pursuit of one's identity. Towards the importance of memory work, Szpocinski (2016) argued how the urban fabric should "have something to say" about its citizens through the means of collective memory (2016: 248). Additionally, Till (2012: 8) argues that there is often a public demand, by citizens, to give voice to the past in the context of the city as a means of representation of the individual or collective memory. We contend that the competition for the interpretation and representation of memory through the construction of identity between the city and its citizens is undeniably intertwined.

The chapter discusses the making of contested urban spaces in Beirut through reconstruction efforts since the end of the Lebanese Civil War in 1990, describing how inclusivity through memory work gives rise to increasing contestation among its citizens. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Beirut in 2019 prior to the October revolution, and combined with more contemporary activist's accounts, we argue how rebuilding Beirut's port in the current political landscape will do more harm than good to its aggrieved citizens. We support this argument by exploring the concepts of supermodernity (Augé, 2008; Elshetawy, 2008) and the right to the city (Lefebvre, 2009 [1968]) in the context of memory work and asymmetric Lebanese power relations. In doing so, we provide a comprehensive account of how Beirut's characteristic neighborhoods are transformed into lavish neighborhoods with little regard for addressing the needs of Beirut's citizens; they are rebuilt to serve consumerism rather than to integrate its current population. In order to grasp the layered character of controversy surrounding Beirut's reconstruction, let us first take a brief look at the incongruous reconciliation attempts that were made directly after the civil war.

2 Amnesty and Amnesia: Reconciliation After the Civil War

The Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990) came to an end after the signing of the Ta'if peace accord by the remaining Lebanese Parliamentarians. The accord, named after the Saudi resort where it was signed, ushered in a period of relative stability. However, some scholars argue how the underlying reason for the war's end lies more in a notion of war exhaustion rather than a decisive victor of any kind (Nagel, 2002: 721).

While the accord carried numerous constitutional reforms, only few were implemented and others never materialized. For example, while the former commander and sitting president Michel Aoun rejected the accord at first, other military-political leaders accepted it, including Druze leader Walid Jumblatt and Shiite leader Nabil Berri, despite critiques that the accord favored the demands made by Sunnite groups. Even though the accord was widely approved, some of its articles were not honored, such as the demilitarization of certain militias and the retreat of Syrian troops.

Additionally, in his book *War is Coming*, Northwestern University Professor Sami Hermez argues how the accord followed a peace-keeping practice of "no victor, no vanquished," derived from the Lebanese prime minister's strategy during the 1958 civil war, also known as the *Lebanon Crisis* (Hermez, 2017). This implies that amnesty was ensured for all factions that took part in the war (2017: 6–7). Such a strategy infers that no party could eliminate the other, but it also implied that none of the warring factions were ever sanctioned or punished. Hermez critiqued the "no victor, no vanquished" slogan by characterizing it as a "Hobbesian practice for keeping violence at bay," and that the idea that no winners or losers could ever emerge could only imply that no reconciliation can ever be reached. He predicted that this feeling of unresolved past political violence carries a danger of being reignited in the future (Ibid.: 6).

As a consequence, former military-faction commanders were put in parliamentary positions with relative impunity—life simply carried on, aiming at reducing violence rather than sustainable and constructive societal improvements within a divided city. In 2019, we conducted an interview in Beït Beirut, the first attempt at a War Museum on the Damascus Road that once divided Beirut into East and West. In response to addressing the war memory, one of the activists behind the initiative said: "Until today … We do not have an official narrative of the civil war. Our school students just learn that there was a war between 1975 and 1990, that's all. We don't do well at that subject" (interview with Lisa, * February 27, 2019). As a consequence, through processes of enculturation, parents or close peers will pass on *their* truth about the civil war without any form of curricular counternarratives in Lebanese schools or colleges. In Beirut, the *memory* that is the civil war nowadays is indeed a collective trauma of contestation and a source of continuous conflict within Beirut's society and Lebanon as a whole.

3 To Remember or To Forget: Beirut's Reconstruction Efforts

To remember, one needs others. This is because the group to which one belongs serves as a system for recalling, recognizing, and ensuring the continuity of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950). In a divided society like Beirut, however, the continuity of multiple groups' interpretations of the past is a continuous practice of contestation. Collectively remembering is always a practice which has to occur in the present, but it borrows data from the past (Halbwachs, 1950: 69). To remember, in this sense, is not to revert into the past but bring interpretations of the past into the present. Such reconstruction—that is, the recollection of old information with human interpretations—closely resembles the notion of nostalgia, which generally includes a yearning for it. It is the pursuit of the "vanished world of yesterday" (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002: 258).

In the aftermath of Beirut's war, the various factions continued to uphold various interpretations as to what happened to whom and where and, in more general terms, what it means to be a citizen of the city. The struggle for Beirut's legacy after the Ta'if agreement means that the city, and specifically the destroyed city center, represented a "[…] battlefield in the long-running struggle over national identity and sectarian inequality in Lebanon" (Nagel, 2002: 719). In other words, laying claim to Beirut's legacy is an act which is inherently contested because of the absence of hegemonic memory among Beirut's inhabitants.

After the Ta'if accord, the reconstruction of Beirut's heavily damaged urban landscape was executed by one company, namely, *la Société Libanaise pour le Développement et la Reconstruction de Beyrouth* (commonly referred to as Solidere). Solidere, founded on May 5, 1994, followed the visions of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, aiming to bring back the city's pre-war cosmopolitan identity (Nagel, 2002: 722–23). Granted the sole right to reconstruct Beirut's Central District (BCD), Solidere was legally backed by government decree. One can read here the nostalgic yearning to return the city to "what it was before the war" which implies a subjective interpretation of the reconstruction of Beirut. Solidere continued to, quite enthusiastically, reconstruct authentic urban spaces along with a large-scale campaign of "cleaning up" the city (Makdisi, 1997: 667).

Saree Makdisi, in his critical examination of the early stages of Beirut's reconstruction, explains how "cleaning up" "[…] involved the destruction of some of the district's most significant surviving buildings and structures, as well as Souk Al-Nouriyeh and Souk Sursuq and large sections of Saifi without recourse to official institution […]" (Ibid.). In doing so, although granted the sole right to reconstruct the city, Solidere was forced to cope with the issue of remaining property owners, squatters, and the inhabitants of the damaged area. The company as a central actor favored a narrative of a "healing agency," attempting to make Beirut recover from its afflictions (Makdisi, 1997: 675). However, in reality, Solidere is often accused of expropriating property owners from their homes and demolishing about 80% of the damaged buildings in downtown Beirut. Some scholars (e.g., Makdisi, 1997) and

respondents have pointed out that Solidere's bulldozers have done more damage to Beirut's central district than the war.

The right to the city, in general terms, can be understood as the power to lay claim over the processes of urbanization (Harvey, 2008: 1–2). But in investigating the concept of "the city," we understand it by following Lefebvre's interpretation as "[…] constituted by its inhabitants through the ongoing act of making places (Lefebvre 1996 [1968]). In such terms, one could argue in favor of "utopian urbanism" where the inclusion of citizen's voices is key in order to have its inhabitants make the places in which they are ultimately destined to live. In reality, however, citizens rarely play decision-making roles and, at the very best, are allowed to provide feedback and suggestions. Contemporary urban developments are led by individualist ideas aimed for passive consumers rather than inclusive urbanism for its citizens.

In Beirut's case, we can understand that laying claim to the urban landscape that was the stage for much of the civil war is to lay claim to its memory, its urban identity. The ideology behind Solidere's reconstruction efforts in Beirut was to provide "[…] a therapeutic role by founding the city on a sort of salvation-like amnesia that would protect it from the old ghosts which caused its destruction" (Haugbolle 2010: 86 in Nagle, 2017: 158). In doing so however, a collaboration of the state and the private sect has failed to openly address the collective traumatic memories which are most vivid among Beiruti citizens (Nagel, 2002: 723). Indeed, Solidere's BCD has done little to address the collective memory of Beirut's most recent history, no memorials or mnemonic artifacts of any kind and, as a product, one can interpret it as built to forget rather than to remember. Such absence of inclusive memory work in the city's reconstruction now carries the consequence of excluding the inhabitants who want to see their collective identity intertwined with the representation of the war in the urban fabric.

4   Contemporary Beirut: A City of Spectacles

> For me and many like me, this project [Solidere] was what we call an urbicide. It's the death of a city. Because Solidere was a project that actually addressed the physicality of the city and not the social aspect of it. The people were sent out and the buildings remodeled. There was no attention to what a city is made of. It is not made of buildings. It is made out of people—*Respondent in Beït Beirut, February 27, 2019.*

Beirut's city center, in its current form, is often criticized as being "not built for Beirutis." This carries numerous connotations, of which the absence of inclusive memory work is just one. Another aspect of this is the observable fact that much of Beirut's city center is generally empty. By empty, we mean that terraces are often empty; streets are relatively quiet for the "heart" of a large city; and at night, most high-rises and windows, such as those in the towering "Beirut Terraces," show little sign of light or life, which is shown in Fig. 1. One explanation is the fact that, during political turmoil, including the October Revolution of late 2019 and still present at

Fig. 1 Beirut terraces' near Bab Idriss, opposite the damaged holiday inn hotel, showing towering high-rises largely uninhabited (*Photo source* Photograph taken in March 2019 by Bob Rehorst)

the time of writing, the city center is closed off with concrete blockades to protect the Parliament located in the central *Nijmeh* square. Some interviewees have claimed that, because of recurring blockades, they simply stopped trying to return to the center.

Another explanation is the commonly held interpretation that Beirut's reconstructed areas are built for the elites and not for average citizens. An example of this is the end product of Zaytunay Bay, Beirut's northern port area (Fig. 2). Along the north-eastern part of BCD's reconstructed area, Solidere built a private yacht club and marina. According to an interview with Solidere's public relations officer, "[…] it is important to have a marina if you want to become a lifestyle destination. The marina was built to complement BCD, which is all part of Solidere's Diamond Experience" (interview with Jason, February 19, 2019).

This way, underneath all of Solidere's attempts towards "reviving the city" and "returning Beirut to its former glory," Beirut is slowly transforming into a high-end and super modern destination for the rich. While Solidere, on occasion, allows for certain bits of historic fragments to remain within their urban design, the actual emphasis lies in luxury retail and cosmopolitan restaurants in order to attract international high society. The result is, in a super modern tradition, "a city of spectacles" (Elsheshtawy, 2008: 166) that focuses more on capitalist consumerism than the inclusion of its citizens. In fact, prior to the hyper-inflation of 2020, the average Lebanese individual earned little more than USD 1,000 per month, whereas the reconstructed areas uphold a level of luxury only accessible to the affluent. Adding this to a lack

Fig. 2 Zaytunay Bay as seen from Saint Georges hotel garden, showing a luxury marina at the northern edge of Beirut (*Photo source* Photograph taken in March 2019 by Bob Rehorst)

of memory representation within the newly acquired "glamourous" urban landscape allows us to understand a feeling of alienation—or even active exclusion—from the city among Beirut's inhabitants, as they are no longer able to identify with their own city.

Beyond Solidere, slowly but surely, much of Beirut's critical infrastructures have become subject to state-run privatization (Kostanian, 2021). From urban development projects, to the maintenance of its electrical grid, to its publicly accessible beachfront, Beirut's politicians are dividing monopolies among themselves with the aim of personal enrichment. We believe that the corruption that has haunted Beirut for decades resulted in a missed opportunity in the city center. Its reconstruction offered the possibility for a reunited Beirut. Instead, due to a reluctance among Beirut's politicians to break from obsolete centralized power structures along sectarian lines and the continuity of a kleptocratic governing system, it further reinforced Beirut's consistent tense atmosphere. Such a "war of nerves" continues to this day and is partly to blame for the eruption of civil unrest and revolutionary [*thawra*] tendencies from October 2020 onwards.

Even when presented with the opportunity to integrate memory in a more identifiable modern manner, Solidere and the Lebanese government failed to gain support because of their amnesia-oriented approach towards urbanism.

5 Lessons Learned: "Reconstructing" the Port?

"Beirut will Rise" … "To Become What?" Such is the central question in this chapter following the Beirut Port Blast of August 2020. The German proposal for the reconstruction of Beirut's port shows idealistic images of high-end neighborhoods with towering high-rises, grand boulevards, promenades, and surprisingly many swimming opportunities. Under the "guiding principles" of *Authenticity*, *Diversity*, and *Quality of Life*, the German collective aims to "rebuild" the destroyed neighborhoods of Gemmayze and Mar Mikhael and reinvent them collectively as "District St. Michel."

Regardless of the fact that, at the time of writing, these are mere proposals and projections, they invoke much frustration among critics. To a discerning observer, it appears as if this project is yet another continuation of the alienation of Beirut's inhabitants through the construction of luxury areas for lavish consumerism rather than *actually* rebuilding after a tragedy. Given Beirut's recent track record in reconstruction efforts, it is not unthinkable that efforts to rebuild Beirut's port neighborhoods will be a repetition of the urbanistic trauma that its inhabitants have suffered through since the Civil War. To rebuild Beirut through such practices is not to rebuild it to become an inclusive city for Beirutis. Lebanon's dire economic situation shows little signs of improvement in the near future, its government is in and out of political deadlocks, and reconciliation opportunities have never ceased. This has resulted in Beirut's inhabitants having to continuously relive moments collectively associated with the decades-long hangover from the Civil War.

As a consequence, an initial answer to the central question would carry a bleak outlook at best for those aggrieved citizens who can no longer identify with their own city. If District St. Michel is the ambition, the fear is that a beloved part of the city will be rebuilt for the few instead of fostering social cohesion and inclusivity among its citizens as is postulated in the original plans. Perhaps a question we should ask is: *Are we rebuilding Beirut, or are we building a new city on a space that once was Beirut?* For me and many like me, this project [Solidere] was what we call an urbicide. It's the death of a city. Because Solidere was a project that actually addressed the physicality of the city and not the social aspect of it. The people were sent out and the buildings remodeled. There was no attention to what a city is made of. It is not made of buildings. It is made out of people—*Respondent in Beït Beirut, February 27, 2019.*

Ethical Considerations The ethical considerations made in this research are primarily concerned with protecting the identity of participants. This is because the information provided to us by some participants throughout our research, as well as exposure of real names, could inflict harm. As such, participant's names are protected through the use of a pseudonym, which is recognized through the asterisk "*." While this chapter does not expand extensively on some of the more sensitive information provided, we have taken these measures to protect from the possible "worst-case scenario consideration for subjects" (Ragin & Amoroso 2019, pp. 93–94).

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Jason*—Public Relations Officer at Solidere. Interview with authors on February 19, 2019 in Beirut, Lebanon.

Lisa*—Beït Beirut activist. Interview with authors on February 27, 2019 in Beirut, Lebanon.

Chapter 31
Building Inclusive Cities for and from Undocumented Migrants? The Experiences of Madrid and Barcelona Under the Commons' Municipalist Governments (2015–2019)

Keina Espiñeira and Belén Fernández-Suárez

Abstract Cities and their local policies possess the capacity to create more inclusive, safe, and sustainable environments than other levels of governance more distant from citizens. Consequently, urban social policies must prioritize the inclusion of vulnerable and socially excluded groups at the forefront of their initiatives.

1 Introduction

Cities and their local policies possess the capacity to create more inclusive, safe, and sustainable environments than other levels of governance more distant from citizens. Consequently, urban social policies must prioritize the inclusion of vulnerable and socially excluded groups at the forefront of their initiatives. As noted by Gebhardt (2014: 2–3), cities are pivotal in integrating newcomers by tailoring programs and services to embrace diversity and promote social equality, thereby fostering inclusive communities. Hence, cities could potentially play an essential role in the inclusion of undocumented migrants. However, the reality often reveals significant social exclusion experienced by undocumented individuals within urban settings.

Within the European context, the terms "undocumented migrants," "non-status migrants," or "irregular migrants" refer to individuals from non-EU countries who do not comply with the standard administrative procedures for stay and residence. This circumstance may arise due to unauthorized entry into the European Union, to non-compliance with stay conditions, or because the person falls into an irregular status during permit renewal processes. While irregular immigration constitutes <1% of the EU27 population, it tends to be concentrated in major urban centers (Spencer, 2020:

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188–189). Moreover, cities serve as central hubs for pro-migration social movements, immigrant associations, and third sector entities, which play a significant role in combating social exclusion.

The management of irregular migration often involves imposing legal restrictions on access to welfare services, aimed at discouraging irregular arrival and stay (Spencer, 2020: 190–191). However, it also serves to further configure a new social category of non-citizens marked by the condition of living in hiding. De Genova (2019: 94–96) points out how this category of "irregular migrant" is also a condition formed by the threat of being detainable and deportable, which puts into crisis the very notion of citizenship. Moreover, under the current paradigm of late Neoliberalism (Porta et al., 2017), how states regulate citizenship is strongly influenced by the principles of austerity, scarcity, and racist presumptions that provoke the consolidation of what is called a "hostile environment" for migrants (Bowling & Westenra, 2018: 64). Hostility is understood in this context as a condition of fear and uncertainty that increasingly penetrates different aspects of everyday life, from the very presence in public spaces to access to essential goods such as housing and health. Thus, the day-to-day life of migrants in cities is grueling for those who are not in a regular administrative position. Should they try to find a job, open a bank account, access health care, or rent a room, they would face the requirement of having a valid residence or work permit. The hostile environment in which undocumented immigrants live comprises two elements, as we attempt to analyze in this contribution. Firstly, it encompasses a series of legislative measures designed to complicate leading an ordinary life. Secondly, it involves an expansion of policing and immigration control systems through practices centered around identification, criminalization, and detention (Wonders, 2017: 7–10).

In this scenario, progressive alternatives have emerged at the city level, aiming to build more inclusive and sustainable societies. Certain cities have embraced an inclusionary approach to integrate the foreign population in irregular administrative situations. Networks of cities have even formed for this purpose. For instance, initiatives like Fearless Cities or Sanctuary Cities have been established globally, serving as inspiring examples. These networks forge bottom-up alliances to enact radical urban policies that advocate for human rights and the common good. As Wonders and Fernández-Bessa (2021: 10–12) underline, the significance of sanctuary cities lies in their strategic effectiveness in amplifying their goals and fostering unity of action among them. This unified action results in an amplification of debates surrounding human rights and the right to mobility across borders.

This inclusionary approach is manifested through various initiatives aimed at ensuring access to essential services for "irregular" residents. However, the extent of inclusivity or exclusivity in granting access to public services and programs is often influenced by the political leanings of elected municipal representatives. Center-left parties tend to adopt a more inclusive approach, while center-right parties lean towards a more exclusive stance. Delvino (2017: 8–10) outlines diverse reasons for cities to adopt an inclusionary approach, including legal obligations, humanitarian, or ethical considerations, the pursuit of general policy objectives such as social cohesion, public health, and public order, as well as the need for efficient management

of public service provision. Services offered to irregular migrants by certain European cities include providing information, legal advice, and representation, subsistence support such as through food banks as well as night shelter, health care, and language skills training.

In Spain, amid this context of austerity and incipient hostility towards immigrants, the 2015 local elections marked a shift with the establishment of new progressive municipalities led by citizen platforms. These candidacies were born through the support of left-wing parties following the wave of social mobilization known as "*15M*," also called *Indignados* [Outraged] Movement. These movements gained traction in numerous medium and large cities, including A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Cádiz, Pamplona, Barcelona, and Madrid. Known as the "Cities of Change," or "New Municipalism," they are characterized by policies that promote proximity, inclusiveness, and social equity. In this chapter, we examine the Spanish case, with a specific focus on Madrid and Barcelona, to delve deeper into the potential for cities to expand and safeguard the rights of undocumented migrants. Madrid and Barcelona, being the most populous cities in the country, attract a significant number of foreign residents. Both cities were governed by forces aligned with the new municipalism movement during the 2015–2019 legislature.[ii]

2   Policies Aimed at Non-status Migrants

When the New Municipalism took over cities governance in 2015, they encountered state austerity policies and budget cuts that significantly impacted social inclusion policies. In response, municipalities sought to bolster social funds, primarily targeting the improvement of living conditions for vulnerable populations and enhancing care services through municipal assistances offices. Alongside efforts to maintain local reception and integration policies, they introduced new specific measures to safeguard the rights of undocumented migrants. Until then, municipal policies had primarily been designed for regular migrants, those with residency or work permits. However, this raised the question: what about non-status migrants?

In our study, we highlighted six new actions implemented to protect the rights of non-status migrants. These measures were primarily aimed at facilitating access to public services and offering protection against practices of criminalization and identification control.

2.1 Guaranteeing Access to Registration by Developing a Proactive Policy to Incorporate Non-Status Migrants into Official Records

The municipal registration system enables access to essential social services for all residents, regardless of immigration status. It guarantees the right to access public services and municipal resources for individuals excluded due to their non-resident status. This register does not imply the acquisition of a residence permit since it depends exclusively on the Ministry of Home Affairs (along with nationality procedures). The Municipal Register (census) is just a record under the responsibility of the municipalities, aimed at collecting the number (and profile) of inhabitants mainly for statistical, provisionary, and financial purposes. However, to the extent that such registration gives access to welfare and social services, it became a controversial area of political control and differential inclusion, particularly in universalistic welfare states.

The approach of inclusive citizenship perceives irregularity as an obstacle for reception, inclusion, and integration. In this vein, the activists and politicians of the New Municipalism we interviewed argue that the Spanish National Aliens Act institutionalizes irregularity.[iii] Aiming to balance this, the municipal census appears to be the mechanism local administrations use to build more inclusive communities. For this purpose, population registration is highly encouraged, particularly for individuals who lack a fixed address. This includes homeless individuals, people living without a lease or those residing in infra-dwellings or occupying houses. The counterpart to incentivizing registration is the guarantee that it will not involve police persecution.

In 2015, the city council of Barcelona modified the registration procedures in the municipal census. This was one of the basic demands of the *sin papeles* [without papers] movement that manifested itself with public interventions in the city, as shown in Fig. 1. The primary aim of the Barcelona City Council's revision of municipal registration procedures was to formalize the status of individuals lacking a permanent address. Furthermore, municipal officials conduct inspections to verify the regular use of housing without requiring a rental lease or the owner's authorization. These inspections and subsequent reports have facilitated a significant increase in the number of individuals under such circumstances being registered in the census. Over a period of two years, the registered population in these circumstances doubled, demonstrating the effectiveness of these measures in promoting inclusion and recognition for individuals without traditional housing arrangements.

In Madrid, the city council initiated a pilot project to issue neighborhood cards, starting in the downtown area and later expanding to other districts. As part of this initiative, the city council entered into agreements with social entities, allowing individuals at risk of exclusion to use their headquarters as an address for registration purposes. City officials highlight the significant guarantees provided by this neighborhood card, as it serves as a valid document to certify social roots and helps prevent

Fig. 1 Graffiti in favor of immigrants without papers in Barcelona, 2019 (*Photo source* Photograph by Belén Fernández-Suárez)

detentions. Nevertheless, despite the efforts made through proactive municipal registration policies, it is important to acknowledge that certain groups of foreigners in particularly vulnerable situations of irregularity may have been left out. These individuals may require specialized care and attention to address their specific needs, including female prostitutes[iv], domestic workers, and unaccompanied minors whose care is institutionalized through specialized centers under regional competence, and therefore are out of reach of the municipalities of Madrid and Barcelona.

2.2 The Issuance of Municipal Reports to Prevent Potential Expulsion Orders

In addition, to proactive registration policies, the cities of Madrid and Barcelona also adopted the issuance of Neighborhood Reports. Non-status migrants can request

these documents from the local administrations as a means to prove their social roots. These reports are promoted as a form of documentation that offers protection during police identification, arrest, and even detention in the Internment Centre for Foreigners (CIE, the Spanish acronym). In 2018, the city of Barcelona issued about one thousand neighborhood reports.

2.3 Reforming Police Ordinances to Minimize Raids and Ethnic Profiling

Measures were also taken to improve the living conditions of non-status migrants. In Madrid, the city council responded to the death of the Senegalese street vendor Mame Mbaye in March 2018 by introducing initiatives aimed at addressing the challenges faced by this vulnerable group. Immigrant activist organizations, such as the *Asociación de Sin Papeles* [Association of Undocumented People] and the *Sindicato de Manteros y Lateros* [Union of Street Sellers], persistently raised awareness of the police harassment that targeted informal street vendors. Mbaye's death became a catalyst for a protest campaign demanding an end to the criminalization and violent persecution of street vendors, leading to numerous expressions of solidarity in the neighborhoods of the city's central district, as shown in Fig. 2. As a result, the first action was to modify the Street Sales Instruction, which included the prohibition of motorized police persecution. The city council also implemented regulations requiring that police actions be ordered and planned by command, thereby discouraging autonomous police interventions. Furthermore, all interventions must be accompanied by an assessment report, which ensures accountability and responsibility for the actions taken. Additionally, the city council initiated a pilot project aimed at preventing identifications based on ethnic/racial profiling. This project involved implementing a protocol of good practices and the elimination of indicators of effectiveness meeting numerical targets in arrests. The city council carried out these reforms to move towards a model based on community policing.

2.4 Public Labor Formulas to Facilitate the Renewal of Work Permits and Preventing the Fall in Irregularity for Those with Legal Status

The measures taken to prevent a recurrence of irregular status are significant and include proactive registration and labor training policies. Barcelona, in particular, has been at the forefront of these efforts. The city council has demonstrated innovation in seeking employment alternatives, such as extending contracts aimed at social integration and implementing public recruitment initiatives. The objective was to stabilize the regularization of individuals by generating public job opportunities that
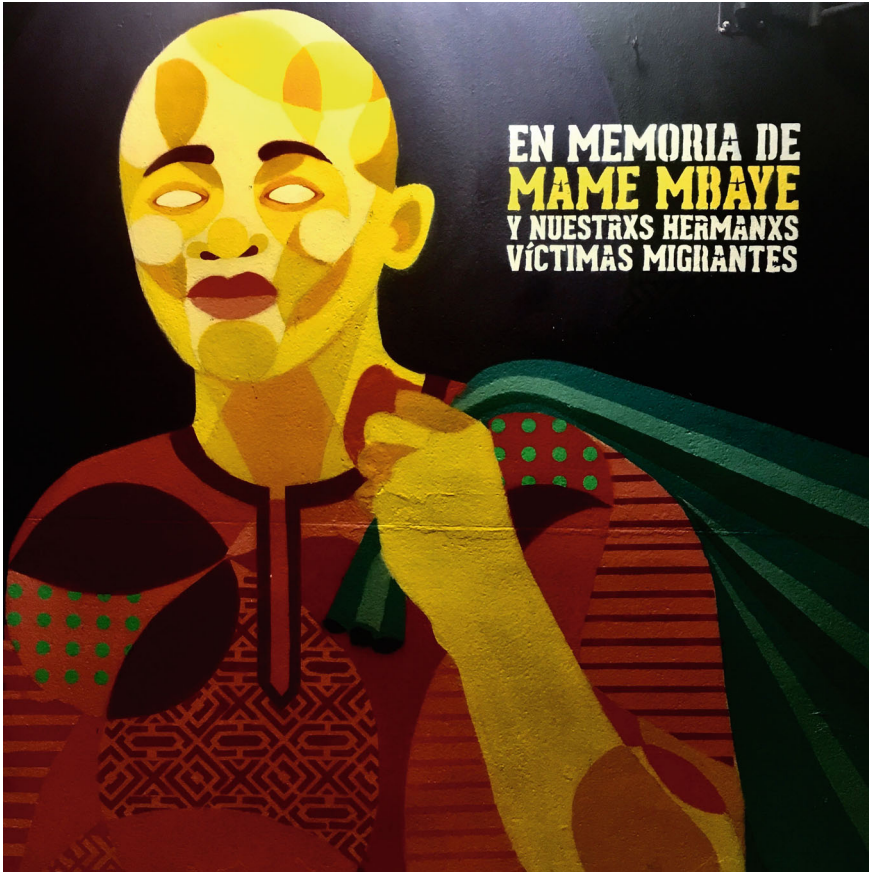
Fig. 2 Mural dedicated to the memory of the *mantero* Mame Mbaye in Madrid 2019.[v] (*Photo source* Photograph by Belén Fernández-Suárez)

guarantee work permits. This measure successfully regularized approximately 100 people in the city.

However, the value of this program lies more in its qualitative impact rather than its quantitative outcomes. This is because the primary cause of irregular status in Europe is the challenges and limited mechanisms for obtaining residence and work permits. The renewal of permits is a key factor in this regard. In response, Barcelona's city council implemented prevention protocols to identify individuals at risk of non-renewal of work permits as well as proactively refer them to municipal employment services.

2.5 Responses to Address Health Exclusion

In addressing health exclusion, the experience of Madrid under the Common's governance standed out, particularly in guaranteeing access to welfare policies in health care. The city council launched a campaign titled "Madrid does care—Madrid Free of Health Exclusion," aimed at combating health exclusion. The campaign involved accompaniment and training program to assist individuals in accessing public facilities and medical care. The main goal was to ensure that all people living in Madrid have assigned medical professionals. In its first year, the program successfully incorporated 20,000 people into the health system.

Several actions were undertaken as part of this initiative. One involved training municipal staff to guide and support citizens in exercising their right to health. Moreover, the city council funded workshops to educate various social actors on the importance of restoring the universality of health and the existing mechanisms to achieve it. Communication campaigns were also implemented, utilizing informative materials to explain how individuals can access the healthcare system.

2.6 Closure of Immigrant Detention Centers

Another potentially transformative response to improving the rights and well-being of undocumented migrants in Madrid and Barcelona was the proposed closure of immigrant detention facilities. For instance, the Barcelona city council made efforts to shut down the Foreigners Internment Centre (CIE). The strategy involved several measures, such as issuing neighborhood documents to undocumented residents to reduce the risk of arrests and changing police intervention protocols to make deportations from Barcelona more difficult. Additionally, the council sought to revoke the facility's operating license, an action within its municipal authority. However, the legal process to close the CIE became drawn out, with lengthy bureaucratic delays making it impossible to suspend the center's activities during the government legislature.

3 Limits in the Agenda of Cities for Change

As we further explore the institutional changes initiated under the New Municipalism, it is important to recognize the limitations and constraints that affect the implementation of local progressive measures. Despite the efforts made, certain factors hinder the full realization of the intended transformation.

One key limitation is that the actions outlined in the municipal agenda for change have not led to a complete overhaul of the migrants' marginalized position within the labor market. Additionally, the logic of persecution against undocumented migrants

remains a challenge. While municipal governments can enact progressive policies, the enforcement and attitudes of police forces and bureaucrats, who operate under different levels of government (regional and national), can perpetuate discriminatory practices and hinder the full implementation of inclusive measures.

Furthermore, looking beyond the political agenda, we encounter the local institutional machinery. Activists often describe the city council institution as a complex apparatus characterized by established political-administrative inertia, limited capacity for innovation, and a hierarchical structure. These factors can pose challenges to the effective implementation of the political agenda.

The complex frictions driving the institution are believed to impact "the project's essence," in the words of a political advisor from *Ahora Madrid* [Madrid Now], the new municipalist platform ruling the city council. A prime example of these complex frictions can be observed in the demand for the closure of immigration detention centers, a central issue for migrant struggles. Despite the significance of this demand, the long durations of the judicial process have made it virtually impossible to materialize the closure, highlighting the challenges faced when trying to translate political will into concrete action.

The emergence of the New Municipalism also revealed the tensions both inside and outside of the institution. This gave rise to frictions in defining and communicating the political agenda, making it even more difficult to differentiate between the movement's voice from the institution's actions. Moreover, conflicts arose when the priorities of the movement clashed with those of the government on specific issues.

One significant clash occurred regarding the use of urban public spaces by migrant street vendors, known as *manteros*.[vi] The conflict began in 2015 when the mainstream media portrayed the growing number of *manteros* as a public security problem. This portrayal led to accusations of permissiveness, which prompted the local government to enforce a regulation on the use of public space, prohibiting concentrations of street vendors. Interestingly, the government had promised in its electoral program the immediate repeal of this regulation.

The conflict caused a rift between the government and social movements, eroding mutual and giving rise to suspicion towards the institutional sphere once again (see Fernández-Suárez and Espiñeira, 2021).

Indeed, the context of austerity imposed significant constraints on the capacity for action. Municipalist administrations found themselves subject to budgetary stability measures that limited local autonomy (Law 2/2012). This law imposed a spending ceiling on city councils and restricted their ability to include new services in their budgets. Consequently, the adoption of a comprehensive catalogue of innovative policies could not be adopted. This limitation is particularly noteworthy in explaining why certain strategic services could not be implemented. Since previous administrations had not developed these services, the capacity for innovation within cities was limited.

Another major constraint that emerged was the resilience of the bureaucratic-administrative structure and its ability to perpetuate itself, making changes in its functioning difficult. Street-level bureaucrats have indicated that these constraints are set by "the structure itself," referring to an administrative system that makes

transitions difficult. They also referred to the sluggishness of the institutions, resulting in lengthy procedures and slow execution times.

Interviewees stressed the need to address resistance coming from within the institution as a means to overcome these limitations. While resistance to change was more pronounced in conservative sections such as the Police Department, it was also present in areas like Social Services. For example, when implementing the proactive registration policy in Barcelona, some municipal workers interpreted the law more conservatively than the city government, necessitating internal pedagogy, sensitivity, and even training to align their understanding with the desired approach.

4   Conclusion

The aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent economic downturn in Europe highlights the harmful effects of austerity measures and racist rhetoric. Rather than promoting fair and cohesive communities, these policies have led to divided and fragmented societies. In terms of immigration policy, such approaches have resulted in punitive and restrictive measures, fostering hostile environments for migrants. The living conditions of individuals with irregular administrative status are exceedingly precarious, posing long-term sustainability challenges. Recognizing undocumented individuals as de facto residents of the cities they inhabit is imperative in addressing these issues.

Our analysis explores the innovative measures put forth by municipalist civil platforms within Spain's Cities for Change from 2015 to 2019. In particular, it zooms in on Madrid and Barcelona, illustrating how these cities have moved beyond mere resource allocation to existing services like care offices. Instead, they have introduced novel measures aimed at safeguarding and broadening the rights of non-status migrants.

An essential intervention has focused on the introduction of proactive registration policies, designed to facilitate access to municipal services and assistance for migrants lacking legal status. Additionally, cities have enacted municipal regulations to prevent exclusion and the loss of legal status among migrants. This involves amendments to police ordinances aimed at ending ethnic profiling and quota detentions. From the perspective of urban policymakers, municipal employees, activists, and migrants alike, the creation of inclusive spaces for all migrants is regarded as a significant objective. These municipal responses at the city level have the potential to foster more inclusive societies in the long run, building trust among law enforcement, municipal agencies, and migrant communities. Nevertheless, considerable bureaucratic and institutional hurdles remain at the local level, hampering the ability to challenge the entrenched systems of order and power prevalent at both the state and global levels. The globally circulating undocumented labor force serves as a key illustration, prompting scrutiny of the viability of reversing ingrained logics of social and labor exclusion inherent in the global capitalist market. This raises inquiries into the extent to which cities can oppose and contest these dynamics.

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Chapter 32
Conclusion: The Inclusive Future of Global Urban Transformation

Kei Otsuki and Ajay Bailey

1 Introduction

This book argues that the concept of inclusive city merits attention in the theorizations and imaginations about the rapid urban transformations occurring worldwide. It is imperative to critically examine the concept of inclusion to unravel its complexity and wickedness. When we include one group in a particular agenda or space, there is the possibility of excluding others. Moreover, it is crucial to explore how inclusion can both enhance and restrict opportunities for certain individuals to participate in the future of urban planning and development. Discussions about how to make cities more inclusive often lead to interventions that focus on particular "boxed" groups of people such as the urban poor, women, or low-income populations. However, we know that we cannot assume that people belong solely to one category or a fixed identity. The concept of intersectionality—or multiple intersectionalities—has gained traction in contemplating inclusive cities (Rigon & Castán Broto, 2021). This is because urban dwellers encounter diverse challenges that vary across time, space, and context in their everyday lives. Inclusion in urban life thus should be studied from an "actor-oriented" perspective (Long, 2001). Instead of assuming people's identities, grouping them, and planning urban development *for* these groups, we, the researchers, need to conceptualize people as corporeal beings who actively engage in deliberation and self-identification regarding their preferred urban living (Archer, 2010). Furthermore, it is essential to involve residents in the co-designing of infrastructures; neighborhoods; and, ultimately, urban development policies and planning practices (Corsín Jiménez, 2014).

The necessity for deliberations on inclusion has become even more pronounced in light of recent multiple crises. When we started this book project, cities worldwide were grappling with the profound consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic

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(chapters by Leung et al. and Andal) and enduring the aftermath of disasters like the Beirut explosion (chapter by Rehorst). The authors of the chapters on smart cities and digitalization discuss the potential for enhancing the efficiency and carbon neutrality of cities and infrastructures worldwide. They explore how cities can transform into centers of investment and innovation, particularly amid the global climate crisis and deepening inequality. These emerging processes allow us to critically examine the meaning and impact of inclusion in the context of cities and their transformation. In the face of local lockdowns, global climate crises, and geopolitical challenges, we are currently witnessing the profound empirical and analytical significance of external forces in relation to local agencies and the creative expressions of everyday lives. Cities are comprised of the lived-in places of various groups of people who experience urban spaces and infrastructures such as public transportation differently. Based on people's experiences, we need to address social inclusion and exclusion and possibilities of co-designing cities as lived-in places.

This book has specifically focused on intersectionalities and the potential for co-design precisely because diverse groups of urban dwellers are not passively waiting to be included in existing cities through infrastructures and innovations imposed by external experts. Instead, they actively negotiate and navigate their way through the urban fabric in different ways by including and thrusting themselves into urban life. Researchers thus have a valuable opportunity to bring to light the ongoing agentive processes of inclusion, thereby contributing to the improvement of how cities are co-planned and co-created by experts. Cities are increasingly becoming hubs and networks of opportunity, and we should not let new modes of gentrification and gated enclosures limit the distribution of benefits to the rich and powerful. At the same time, we are aware that local livelihood opportunities are being altered constantly and quickly, more often than not by factors from the outside. There is a widening gap between what is currently happening in various cities and people's wishes and aspirations, such as the active exclusion of migrants, the disabled, and older adults (chapters Nagesh et al., George et al.). There are also frequent chains of displacement due to urban renewal and property speculation in cities (chapters by Kisembo & Otsuki, Suprayoga &Wargyawati). New opportunities such as digitalization and smart city making can lead to the privilegization of already wealthier groups (chapter by UDI Writers Collective) as well as ad hoc interventions to upgrade cities leading to frustration and local indifference (chapter by Kassel et al.). By examining the trends of the past decade, it becomes evident that both the internal and international mobility of migrants has rapidly increased in cities across the Global South and North, with various implications (chapters by Brouwer, Biswas). As we have discussed elsewhere, this is also related to the increase of financial capital flows, including foreign direct investments into infrastructure development, trade, aid money, new charities, and remittances (Zoomers et al., 2021). Together, they have contributed to large-scale spatial, political, and socio-economic transformations, which have helped people to not only improve their lives but have also led to growing inequality.

Indeed, as demonstrated by various chapters in this book, an examination of the evolving geographies of urban development on a global scale reveals the dual

nature of globalization. On one hand, it has expanded opportunities and possibilities for individuals and communities. On the other hand, it has also imposed new restrictions, perpetuated inequalities, and exposed people to vulnerabilities and risks. In an increasingly fragmented world marked by escalating levels of exclusion, the chapters in this book provide rich empirical examples that highlight the need for reflexive understandings of urban development processes. These chapters demonstrate that, in light of planetary boundaries and new and unexpected realities, the future of global urbanization hinges upon the ability to develop innovative solutions *rooted in the everyday experiences of diverse urban dwellers.* Achieving such a goal necessitates a transdisciplinary approach that engages a wide range of stakeholders including citizens and non-citizens, policymakers, urban planners, business investors, development practitioners, and civil society activists, who can inform what it means to be living in particular cities in the changing climate and political economic context. Through this book, we aim to foster ongoing inquiry, reflection, and critical engagement with two key questions: how can we collectively comprehend and channel capital flows towards inclusive urban development? Additionally, how can we address not only the need for excluded individuals to be included in decision-making processes but also empower them to generate their own solutions to everyday challenges? This requires the support and involvement of those with resources and power, who can actively contribute to enabling marginalized communities to find sustainable solutions to their unique problems.

2   Inclusive Cities in Contemporary Urban Development Policymaking

The questions we have addressed in this book are not only relevant for theoretical discussions but also hold significance for the practical realm of urban development policymaking and planning practices. Currently, initiatives such as the New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Development Goal Number 11 (sustainable cities and communities) exemplify the contemporary policy agenda for urban transformation. These frameworks emphasize the importance of inclusive and sustainable urban development—the city for all—and have been promoted at both the national and the local levels. The global recognition of the importance of inclusivity and sustainability has prompted a shift towards a more balanced approach in today's urban development policies and planning. It is now widely acknowledged that urban development must address both social and environmental goals to achieve truly sustainable outcomes. However, while pursuing global agendas for inclusivity and sustainability in urban development, it is crucial to be mindful of the long-term impacts that these pursuits may have on different localities. It is important to recognize that the pursuit of global agendas can inadvertently shape and influence the ongoing process of the urban frontier expansion. A notable example is the growing trend of utilizing cities as technological and infrastructural solution to address climate change at the expense

of social justice and equity (as pointed out by Long & Rice, 2019) and as means of financial value creation through densification (Shih & Chiang, 2022). However, these processes also lead to increased displacement and relocation, land speculation, gentrification, and segregation of areas with varied living conditions and access to quality urban services.

Current policy debates on sustainable urban development often narrowly focus on how to build sustainable and green cities with new infrastructure development. In this context, social impacts are described mainly in terms of access to infrastructure services while a city is conceived as spatially bound, plannable, and legible by the state and its experts (Mitchell, 2002). The current approach to urban transformation often emphasizes the role of citizens with established rights in accessing infrastructure, while neglecting the agency and participation of diverse groups of citizens and non-citizens as active shapers of their own cities on a daily basis. While some local governments actively acknowledge the existence of non-citizens such as migrants in their cities and their importance (chapter by Espiñeira and Fernández-Suárez), many remain invisible in the new city and in infrastructure planning. Furthermore, a deepened neoliberal political environment has made both citizens and non-citizens consumers and customers of public services, which has exacerbated inequality between those who can afford quality services and those who cannot.

In this context, it is imperative to envision new approaches to urban development interventions. This involves generating a comprehensive understanding of people's life histories and livelihoods, anticipating both the intended and unintended consequences of specific projects on both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries as well as paying attention to both the short- and long-term impacts of interventions. Transformation truly stems from how people experience interventions, reflect on the consequences, and plan their future actions, which collectively contribute to changes in the fabric of cities from *within* (Otsuki, 2016). The "success" of transformation, encompassing both environmental sustainability and socio-economic inclusivity, depends on the capacities of policymakers and planners to effectively steer the "inside-out" changes aligned with local priorities. This involves fostering the ability to communicate and collaborate with decision-makers at all levels and sectors. Investments should not only be focused on the hardware of sustainable urban development, such as infrastructure, but also on the capacity development and sustained engagement of city planners, urban movements, and community initiatives. It requires a shift in practice towards a new approach that prioritizes inclusiveness in urban development and transformation globally.

In order to further solidify the possibilities of global urban transformation from within, we outline three principles of the new approach to inclusive cities as follows.

Inclusive Cities Require a Translocal Perspective

We are increasingly aware that a city is not a bounded entity, but has porous borders. As people build livelihoods in and out of the city's administrative boundary, we cannot take a localized approach. If we reflect on the history of a European city (as shown in the chapter by Rose), the city was walled yet the wall was not an absolute boundary. In contemporary cities, even if a person is not physically mobile,

digital technologies also enable people—especially excluded groups of people such as women in certain societies—to be actively undertaking various activities (e.g., chapter by Steel et al.). The urban development intervention thus does not operate spatially nor temporarily in isolation. We propose applying a translocal perspective to emphasize how different localities within and beyond cities are connected to each other at various scales. For example, it is not only the "global city" as defined by Sassen (2005) that is connected to other "global cities" (here, the discussions tend to focus on cities with significant financial influence in the Global North such as London, Tokyo, and New York). Today, every city in the world can be a global city to some extent, and citizens and non-citizens alike are mobile, and their knowledge exchanges and social networks are multi-layered and multi-directional. In other words, localized urban development opportunities are largely determined by what is happening in other places and vice versa, and they are also changeable over time as people, goods, and information move between localities within and beyond a given city. Urban development interventions thus need to account for the constant changes that occur in a locality through individual people's life trajectories to anticipate and accept any unplanned consequences.

Inclusive Cities are Sensitive to New Vulnerabilities

Vulnerabilities are constantly renewed. Every crisis—caused by war, climate change, a pandemic, or political uprising and protest—shows that cities demonstrate constant vulnerabilities as infrastructures are destroyed and existing institutions fail some groups of people. As we write, it is disheartening to witness such language and rhetoric being used by the French riot police to describe protesters demanding justice for a teenager who was shot dead by the traffic police in Paris as "social pests" (BBC news, July 2023). The recurring presence of exclusionary rhetoric in the media highlights the persistent view held by existing institutions that cities should primarily serve certain privileged groups of people rather than addressing the grievances of marginalized communities and individuals such as those with migrant backgrounds, whose income is relatively lower, or those with disabilities. Adopting a theory of change in urban development that aims to foster inclusivity requires continuous adaptation and the ability to reset objectives based on the voices and concerns raised by vulnerable groups. Riots and protests often emerge as expressions of frustrations and grievances, shedding light on the vulnerabilities and injustices experienced by marginalized communities. Inclusive cities must take these voices seriously and recognize them as crucial indicators of the need for change.

Inclusive Cities are Possible Through Longitudinal Research and Intervention

Any development intervention is temporary, and impacts observed at one point in a particular intervention can change over time. This is more so in cities as they are embedded in translocal networks and flows of various movements of people, money, and goods as well as in the moving contexts of property as well as vulnerabilities. Therefore, long-term perspectives for urban development interventions are imperative to observe and analyze the various consequences of development interventions for the following generations. For example, when it comes to the SDGs, the timeframe

for achieving the goals is set as 2030 while new interventions, with a projected duration of 3 to 5 years, are constantly proposed and implemented. However, the long-term environmental and social consequences of urban transformation may extend far beyond this timeframe. How do we sustain ongoing observation, collection of evidence, and analysis of impacts over an indefinite period, considering the evolving lives of individuals along the way? While many cities have established city labs or living labs, these initiatives often suffer from short-termism and often are not sustainable. Efforts need to be taken to preserve and develop these co-creation spaces to study, debate, and execute interventions that align with the context and the history of the city or neighborhood.

The involvement of city-based or local organizations is crucial for effective urban transformation. This includes city governments, urban citizen movements, neighborhood organizations, and collectives as well as universities and educational institutions. In the words of the United Nations (2018: 4), "The pledge to leave no one behind is seldom disputed in principle, but the complexity of its practical implementation is often insufficiently acknowledged." In envisioning inclusive cities, we need to be aware with *whom* we work towards realizing the inclusive futures of global urban transformation. Civil society organizations can work as intervention watchdogs; sometimes they replace both the government and the private businesses where they do not have strong influence in providing basic services to citizens. Citizens themselves are constantly taking the necessary action that transcends the project boundaries, and researchers and observers like ourselves need to connect different actors based on our observations in order to realize the cities' full potential for inclusion. As various chapters of this book have shown, various citizen initiatives are taking place, and they should be supported as the citizen agenda that has long-term development potential from within.

The three principles of inclusive cities necessitate a strong commitment to capacity development for local researchers and research institutes, including universities and schools where analysts can facilitate dialog with different citizen groups. In particular in the Global South, a lack of financial resources for research and project implementation still impedes such a commitment. Supporting local universities within the context of development intervention policies is essential to strengthen their budget and human resources, enabling them to establish and maintain an infrastructure for knowledge exchange, co-creation, and co-designing of inclusive cities. We then envision a global network of knowledge exchange by conducting different case studies. This book hopefully was an initial step in this direction.

3   Final Reflections

Cities across the globe are undergoing transformative changes, driven not only by physical alterations resulting from development interventions but also by the fact that a significant proportion of the world's population now resides in urban areas. Within

these cities, people engage in diverse livelihood activities that accumulate a multitude of values at the household level. The households then reinvest in other activities, perhaps beyond city' boundaries, extending the possibilities of urban development in various directions. In this development process, which emerges from within but is influenced by external forces, diverse groups of urban dwellers strive to include themselves in various citizen agendas and advocate for resources to realize these agendas. Therefore, establishing the process of inclusion necessitates that urban dwellers frequently establish effective connections with external actors who are willing to share their resources and benefits to address both current and evolving vulnerabilities. Ultimately, strengthening local control is paramount in fostering inclusive urban development. As university researchers, we recognize the significant potential of local researchers and their institutes to play a role in changing the policy orientation and to reduce vulnerabilities for certain groups of urban dwellers. Fostering greater collaboration between universities and research institutes from the Global North and South, as well as between different countries within each region, is crucial for accompanying long-term urban development and transformation. Long-term collaboration is also important because crises are ever-present, and it is crucial to collectively anticipate disasters and counter exclusionary institutional development.

This book, comprising empirical case studies from diverse regions around the world, represents an initial step towards fostering such collaboration. It is our hope that we continue collectively observing the cases presented in the book, because they allow us to delve deeper into how inclusive cities could develop globally. This exploration is vital for different groups of urban dwellers whose identities and livelihoods undergo constant transformation over future generations. By maintaining an ongoing examination, we can further our understanding and contribute to the development of inclusive cities that address the evolving needs and aspirations of diverse urban populations.

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