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Urban Planning and the Spatial Ideas of Henri Lefebvre

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Table of Contents

COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
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Editorial

Henri Lefebvre, Planning's Friend or Implacable Critic?

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Abstract
This is the first issue of an academic journal, of which I am aware, to focus on Henri Lefebvre and urban planning. Urban spatial planning evolved as a concept to integrate the complex social, economic, environmental, political and land use conundrums of late 20th century society. Similarly, the spatial ideas of Henri Lefebvre encompass these issues but stress the importance of everyday life, production, culture and history. This thematic issue of *Urban Planning* is predicated principally on three of Lefebvre's major works: *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), *Critique of Everyday Life* (Lefebvre, 1947/1991) and *The Urban Revolution* (Lefebvre, 1970/2003). Lefebvre's ideas regarding the investigation of cities and urban society have been taken up most vigorously in the fields of geography, urban studies and latterly architecture. Despite this, it is clear that Lefebvre's five central concepts—the production of space, abstract space, everyday life, the right to the city and planetary urbanisation—provide powerful tools for the examination of urban planning, cities and urban society in the Global North and South. Anglophone urban planning first embraced Lefebvre's ideas in the 1980s. Surprisingly then, it is only in the last ten years or so that urban planning academia and research has witnessed a blossoming of interest in Lefebvre's ideas.

Keywords
everyday life; Henri Lefebvre; modern planning; production of space; spatial triad; urban planning; urban space

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "Urban Planning and the Spatial Ideas of Henri Lefebvre", edited by Michael E. Leary-Owhin (London South Bank University, UK).

1. Introduction

Henri Lefebvre is one of the most cited thinkers in the broad field of urban studies. His ideas have influenced academics in a wide swathe of disciplines. There have been significant impacts on various urban struggles and city politicians regarding Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the right to the city (Colau, 2016; Garbin & Millington, 2018). He is one of the few great 20th century European philosophers to engage directly with urban planning both in theory and in practice. The unique reasons for this are explained below. At times his censures of French modernist planning were fierce but well argued. The central question I pose here therefore, is the one in this editorial. This issue of *Urban Planning* seeks to contribute to and extend the debate regarding the application of Lefebvre's ideas to the current challenges and opportunities of urban planning. It follows the recent explosion of Lefebvrian scholarship in the broad field of 'the urban' (e.g., Brenner, 2014; Chiodelli, 2013; D'Ascoli, 2018; Stanek, Schmid, & Moravánszky, 2014).

The call for papers for this issue encouraged proposals that could cover a broad range of issues e.g.: governance, urban design, urban regeneration, environmental management, community participation, housing, policy making and evaluation, local/strategic planning, infrastructure, international planning, neoliberal urbanism, smart cities, land hunger, urbanisation, gentrification, urban poverty/inequality, the right to the city, new towns/cities, planning history, city management and the law. Articles were welcomed that displayed a critical engagement with Lefebvre's ideas and arguments and presented: new empirical research, critical reviews of current issues and theoretical developments. The result is a varied and stimulating thematic issue. The articles therefore, allow the authors to move the debate on in pro-

ductive and provocative ways. Before introducing the papers though, I present a brief summary of Lefebvre's interaction with planning (see Leary-Owhin & McCarthy, In Press) for a fuller account.

2. The Meeting Between Lefebvre and Urban Planning

Lefebvre was born in 1901 and grew up in the French Pyrenean town of Navarrenx in the traditional province of Béarn. He passed away in 1991. His scholarship ranged far and wide, but he was happy to be called a Marxist sociologist and philosopher. His unique and often misunderstood heterodox dialectical Marxism had complex elements of Hegelian Humanism and, drawing on Engels, he stressed the importance of the 'urban' much more than Marx. He appreciated the slow evolution, intimacy and community spirit of the historic town of Navarrenx, which was small enough to have a caring familiarity and comfort but large enough to be 'urban' and therefore different from the surrounding rural areas. Lefebvre's first foray into empirical research occurred during the 1940s and was in the field of the rural sociology of the Pyrenees. He used a combined archival, interview and ethnographic research methodology.

Then in the 1950s, the French government in partnership with the multinational Total petroleum company, started the planning and construction of a new town, to be called Mourenx, in the Béarn countryside close to his home town. Lefebvre was shocked and disappointed by various aspects of the French modernist new town programme and its implementation. He criticised the: top town 'expert' planning far away in Paris, unsettling speed of development, urbanisation impact on the Béarn countryside and rural everyday life, utilitarian monotony of the designs that seemed to inhibit community life and, perhaps most of all, the sheer boredom induced by the new town, with all the social dangers that it can engender. During this new town phase he wrote an often neglected paper, 'Notes on the New Town', (in Lefebvre, 1995; but see also Wilson, 2011), that sought to understand what he experienced directly but then filtered through his Marxism, experience and academic intellect. His criticisms regarding planning usually related to state planning, especially in France. And his vehement dislike of Mourenx was expressed more as a balanced assessment than implacable critique, sometimes praising the planning system and the new town he encountered (for a comprehensive consideration see Leary-Owhin, In Press). Following this archival and ethnographic research experience, Lefebvre embarked, in the late 1960s, on the publication of a series of books about the 'urban' that would culminate in 1974 in his most famous book, *The Production of Space*.

3. Planning Theory and Practice: Lefebvre's Potential Contributions

In recent research (Leary, 2013; Leary-Owhin, 2018) I argue that it is rather unfortunate that planning practitioners and theorists have, with a few notable exceptions, tended to ignore the potential contributions that Henri Lefebvre's ideas can make to planning theory and practice. Indeed, the leading planning theory book does not mention Lefebvre until its fourth edition (Campbell & Fainstein, 2015) and then only in passing. This is despite one of the first Anglophone articles on Lefebvre and planning being published over two decades ago (Allen & Pryke, 1994) and a steady trickle of publications since then (e.g., Buser, 2012; Carp, 2008; Holgersen, 2015; Honeck, 2017; Leary, 2009). Perhaps this is partly because Lefebvre is regarded by many as a tough read (Schmid, 2014). However, along with the well-known spatial triad, I argue that Lefebvre's concept of differential space could provide a powerful focus for planners' conceptual approaches to urban planning, especially the creation and enhancement of public space (Leary-Owhin, 2016). What might be called 'strong' differential space: the spaces of politicised appropriation and the assertion of rights to the city, insinuate themselves into a constant dialectical struggle through elements of the spatial triad. Rather than simply complaining about the privatisation, loss or corruption of 'public' space, we should appreciate the potentialities inherent in the production of differential space through the contestations that can occur in the creation of a fairer and just society in asserting 'the rights to the city'.

4. Structure of the Issue

This issue consists of eight newly commissioned articles. All of them deal carefully and intelligently with a range of Lefebvre's theories showing how his ideas can be applied, tested or challenged in the context of contemporary urban planning issues. Geographically, the articles range across the globe from North America to Japan via Europe and South Africa. Two largely theoretical articles bookend the issue: first, Zieleniec (2018) explores the politics of space and Lefebvre's right to the city in ways that seek to provoke new thinking in planning and design; Yamamoto (2018) in the last article draws out the implications of Lefebvrian 'desire' for democratic theory and practice. Subsequent to Zieleniec (2018), Cutts and Minn (2018) zoom in on the neo-capitalist housing market and the contradictions inherent in the production of mortgage foreclosure casualties in Maricopa County, Phoenix, Arizona.

Nkooe (2018) delivers the third article, employing a novel combination of production of space and rhythmanalysis concepts in a study of public space in Mangaung, South Africa. A trio of Scandinavian papers follow: Wallin et al. (2018) employ ideas of social space to interrogate planners' stories resulting from research interviews in Tampere, Finland; in complementary fashion, Larsen and Brandt (2018) analyse, in the context of Copenhagen, how 'dominant regimes' and 'local inhabitants' pursue and realise differing perceptions of urban change. In the sixth chapter, Koch (2018) works with

the concept of abstract space, confronting the means by which citizens become consumers in ways that torment sustainability. Across Europe in Barcelona, Jiménez Pacheco (2018) draws on 'the science of social space' as a theoretical guide to research relating to 'global real estate violence'. Some of the articles cover familiar ground, others strike out in new directions. Neither the authors nor I pretend the issue contains the definitive word on these questions. Rather, it is meant to push the urban planning world to interrogate Lefebvre's potentials and see him more as a critical friend rather than implacable foe.

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Conflict of Interests

The Editor declares no conflict of interests.

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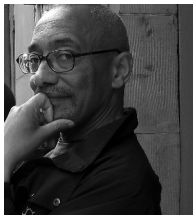

Michael Leary-Owhin, PhD, MRTPI, FRSA, has an international reputation in the fields of urban planning and regeneration. He has carried out funded research and published widely. He has practiced in the public and private sectors, recently giving expert witness evidence at a major urban regeneration public inquiry in the UK. He is the author of numerous peer-reviewed journal articles, the co-editor of *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration* and the author of the research monograph *Exploring the Production of Urban Space*. He regularly chairs sessions and presents papers at major international conferences. Currently, he is co-editing *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, the City and Urban Society* (forthcoming 2019).

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Article

Lefebvre's Politics of Space: Planning the Urban as Oeuvre

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Abstract
Henri Lefebvre's project, developed over decades of research produced a corpus of work that sought to reprioritise the fundamental role of space in the experience and practice of social life. His assertion that there is 'politics of space' provides a challenge to the planning and design of the built environment by emphasising the need to understand the complex of elements involved in 'the production of space'. Lefebvre's approach and his 'cry and demand' for a 'right to the city' reflects the fundamental focus and importance he imparts to the practices, meanings and values associated with the inhabitation and use of the social spaces of everyday life. It will be argued that planning and design theory and practice should seek to address more fully and incorporate Lefebvre's spatial theory as a means to reinvigorate and regenerate the urban as a lived environment, as an oeuvre, as opportunity for inhabitation, festival and play and not merely as a functional habitat impelled by the needs of power and capital.

Keywords
built environment; city; design; Lefebvre; oeuvre; planning; space; urban

Issue
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1. Introduction

Henri Lefebvre is acknowledged as one of the main progenitors of the multi-disciplinary spatial turn in the geographical and social sciences. His seminal works on the production of space, the urban and the right to the city provides a means for analysing and understanding the complexity of the form, structure, organisation and experience of modernity. It also offers a critique and the possibility for a reconfigured approach to the planning, design and structure of the architecture and landscape of the city and the urban, the dominant spatial form under capitalism. It will be argued that an appreciation, understanding and knowledge of Lefebvre's spatial thinking is not only appropriate but essential in creating a more humane and inclusive sociospatial environment that contrasts with the increasing prioritisation of privatized and commodified public and social space. Lefebvre offers the possibility for the development and application of not only a critical but also a socially and politically committed planning design theory and practice, one that considers, incorporates and promotes the importance of making space to include the values, diverse practices and creative potential of everyday life to reimagine and remake the city. His plea for 'the right to the city' can thus be understood as a challenge to the hegemonic orthodoxy of the homogenising practices of planning, design, commerce, and the overarching concern with risk assessment and avoidance, surveillance, order and security, and the needs of capital to create conditions for maximising profit. His emphasis seeks a rebalancing of the right to inhabit and make space rather than be subject merely to a created functional habitat. Lefebvre provides a critical focus on how space is made and how it can be remade by and through social practice to become an oeuvre, a work of the art of everyday life. That is, who owns and makes space through planning and design must also provide opportunities for play, for festival, for the imaginative use of the public and social spaces of the city to ensure that it becomes a living space rather than a sterile monotony of function over fun, exchange over use value, profit over people. That is, to propose that architecture and urban governance, planning and design can and should provide opportunities for remaking the city as a more humane,

accessible and liveable social space by understanding its social production. The following will address how Lefebvre's theory of the 'production of space', his other writing on the city and his explicit call for the 'right to the city' to reflect not only a more inclusive planning and design process but an understanding of the city and the urban as not only forms of functionalised space but also the social processes of those who use space. That is the inclusion and empowerment of the meanings, values, hopes and imaginations of urban citizens for whom the city is lived within and through more than merely the designed intentions of planned space.

2. The Production of Space

Lefebvre's seminal work *The Production of Space* (1991) has been highly influential in reprioritising space in interdisciplinary social scientific analyses. In various works on the city, space and everyday life (Lefebvre, 1971, 1977, 1987, 1995, 1996, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2014; Lefebvre & Levich, 1987) he repeatedly asserts the need to have knowledge of space not only as an abstract principle, or a means for ideological and material control but also as the contested terrain in which everyday life and practices create meanings, values, signs and symbols. Influenced by his humanist Marxism, his critique and analysis of the urban and modernity under capitalism, Lefebvre stresses the need to consider the historical, social, political and economic context in which the complex of elements in the production of space is essential for understanding the experience, the consequences, as well as the survival of capitalism. His contribution to illuminating the fundamental importance of understanding and knowledge of space in the multidisciplinary socio-spatial analysis of the urban and modernity has been explored, expanded and applied by a range of authors (see, Elden, 2001, 2004; Elden, Lebas, & Kofman, 2003; Harvey, 1978, 1985, 1990, 2001, 2007, 2012; Kipfer, 2002; Merrifield, 1993, 2006, 2014; Shields, 1999; Zieleniec, 2007). However, with some exceptions (Coleman, 2015; Fraser, 2011; Stanek, 2011), there is scope and it will be argued a necessity for a more rigorous recognition of how his spatial theory, analyses and approach can be adopted, adapted and applied by planning and design practitioners.

In brief, Lefebvre's position can be laid out as follows. Space is not merely natural, material, a void waiting to be filled with contents. It is socially produced. For Lefebvre, it is both a product and a process of social activity that occurs within the structures and hierarchy of societies, increasingly subject to what he called 'an urban revolution' that continues to develop under capitalism. He states that his "analysis is concerned with the whole of practico-social activities, as they are entangled in a complex space, urban and everyday, ensuring up to a point the reproduction of relations of production (that is, social relations)" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73.) Space is produced from the relationship and interaction between a complex of factors and elements that prioritises how certain forms and structures of space can be linked to functions and how this impacts on the use of space in everyday life. Every society in every era produces its own space to meet its needs and priorities. It does so to ensure societal cohesion, functional competence, and to assert and maintain ideological and political power and control. Under capitalism space has come to be the dominant form by and through which production, consumption, reproduction and circulation are organised and structured, ultimately to meet the requirements of capital (see, Harvey, 1978, 2001). Space therefore is a material product and the means by and through which capitalism survives, but space is also simultaneously a process involving social relations between people and between people and things in space.

To understand space and its impact on the form, structure and lived experience of everyday life, Lefebvre identifies three necessary elements for the production of space:

- 'Spatial practices' (perceived space), which "structure daily life and a broader urban reality and, in so doing, ensure societal cohesion, continuity and a specific spatial competence" (Merrifield, 1993, p. 524). We need to 'know' space, how to navigate, be in and negotiate relations in space in a coherent and consistent way to make sense and function in the world;
- 'Representations of space' (conceived space), what Lefebvre calls the "space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers…the dominant space of any society (or mode of production)" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38–9). Therefore, for Lefebvre, those who conceive space and represent it in maps, diagrams, plans, models, images etc., reflect how power creates dominant discourses through the ways in which space is surveyed, surveilled, controlled, delimited, delineated and organised to meet particular ends—as he states: "any representation is ideological if it contributes either immediately or 'mediately' to the reproduction of the relations of production. Ideology is therefore inseparable from practice" (Lefebvre, 1977, p. 29) and it "is the role of ideologies to secure the assent of the oppressed and exploited" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 76);
- 'Spaces of representations' (lived space), which may be described as "mental inventions…that imagine new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices" (Harvey, 1990, p. 218). Lefebvre argues that this is "space as directly lived through its associations and images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'" Furthermore, "[t]his is the dominated—and hence passively experienced—space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects"

> (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). We therefore live in and through space made and controlled by others (those with power to shape, form and represent to us its appropriate use) and which we have to navigate to make 'sense' of and function in the world.

However, as human beings, as individuals and as social collectivities, we do not always do what we are told, act as we are supposed to or accept the limitations imposed by others. We subvert, imagine, inhabit, colonise and impose our own meanings, values and uses on space in creative and playful ways that can conflict and contest dominant forms and representations of space. There is thus a need for the time and space for fairs, festivals, fun and frolics, for play in which we share with others our sense of being and belonging, identity and culture, that expresses our underlying human condition our creativity, hopes and expectations.

The interlinked elements of his triadic analysis (spatial practices, representations of space and use of space), provide a theoretical structure for the analysis of modern, increasingly urban capitalism. One, Lefebvre argues, that is essential for understanding how the diverse factors salient to the experience of contemporary urban society (social structure, social action and social interactions, power, privilege and polemic) are not only framed in space but shaped, moulded, delimited and delineated by it. Lefebvre thus provides a means to deconstruct not only how dominant values and ideological parameters are impressed on, in and through space but also how we can make sense of the spaces that are made for us and that we use in everyday life. What is crucial is knowledge of how space is produced, by whom, for whom, for what functions, purposes, and to what ends etc. He argued that such knowledge of space provides the possibility of using and making space in more humane and just ways, to 'make' space to suit the needs and priorities, the values and meanings of not only capital but also the urban population at large. That is, spatial forms at various scales and sizes that are truly open and inclusive, that accommodate and encourage diversity and promote the creative and imaginative capacities and possibilities, hopes and aspirations that are necessary for sustainable, successful and healthy urban communities and populations.

To have true knowledge of the production of space one needs to understand the dynamic interaction and mutual interdependency between all three elements. Lefebvre's analysis of the interlinked elements of the production of urban space offers a way to see, read and understand how the city, landscape and architecture is produced and associated not only with living, with the experience of not just inhabiting a socio-spatial environment but also being actively involved in its creation, and thus with the possibility of changing it. For Lefebvre:

> The long history of space, even though space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality…must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their inter-relationships and their links with social practice. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 116)

Space is produced in a dynamic relationship between all three parts. There is thus a reciprocal relationship between the elements involved in its production.

For Lefebvre, under capitalism the element of his triad that has come to dominate the others is representations of space and reflects the needs and priorities of finance, of capital, of economic and political elites, of those with power. Space is produced and shaped for economic production and for social reproduction, and as "[s]pace is permeated with social relations: it is not only supported by social relations but is also producing and produced by social relations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 286). Space is produced as attempts to shape, manipulate, and dominate space well as the people and activities that are allowed or who have to use it. Dominant spatial forms are produced as the result not of competing ideas and values in modernity but ultimately by the imposition of the powerful who seek to control it in their own interests. However, to understand the fundamental importance of the production of space we must, as Hayden (1997) argues, see not only its complexity but also the conflicts and challenges that makes space the product of social relations: "human patterns impressed upon the contours of the natural environment….The story of how places are planned, designed, built, inhabited, appropriated, celebrated, despoiled and discarded. Cultural identity, social history, and urban design are here intertwined" (Hayden, 1997, p. 111).

3. The Politics and Ideology of Space

Lefebvre is well aware that current spatial forms and configurations in the modern urban are not spontaneous or come into being without a history. Space is not neutral, it is subject to the actions and operation of power in which the control, ownership and regulation of space permits some actions to occur whilst limiting or prescribing others. "Space has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological" (Lefebvre, 1977, p. 341). Who owns, controls and regulates space, to what end, for what purposes and how this is achieved is crucial for understanding how modern urban conditions are created, how they change and how this impacts on the everyday lived experience of their populations. "Spatial and temporal practices are never neutral in social affairs. They always express some kind of class or other social content, and are more often than not the focus of intense social struggle" (Harvey, 1990, p. 239.) But this is not a one-way process. Space is subject to conflict over ownership, over meanings, values, uses, etc. and thus a terrain (for Lefebvre, a crucial battleground) in which social justice and equality are contested.

The urban is the dominant spatial form of contemporary societies. The world is one that is increasingly urban with a global majority of people now living in towns and cities. How cities are planned, designed and built reflects ideas and ideologies concerned with organisation and structure, of control and order. It is not merely a material reality but like every other aspect of life involves the consumption of signs. They are represented to us in a variety of ways not least through and in the spatial forms we encounter in our daily lives that attempt to structure and regulate what is deemed as acceptable and appropriate use. Whilst Harvey's geographical materialism differs in some aspects, it is clear that he is builds on Lefebvre's analysis. For example, he states that:

> Symbolic orderings of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who or what we are in society….The common-sense notion that 'there is a time and a place for everything' gets carried into a set of prescriptions which replicate the social order by assigning social meanings to spaces and times. (Harvey, 1990, p. 214)

This is reminiscent of Lefebvre's identification of the dominance of representations of space under capitalism. This then is how we manage to function and survive in modern complex urban environments that have become increasingly ordered and regulated for directional or prescriptive purposes and primarily associated with commodification and the conditions of the market. Thus, the city, Lefebvre argues, is subject to the dominating power of representation rather than the possibility of free creative expression. The urban becomes the means by and through which capitalism survives. It is also where conflict and social change occur. Hegemonic values and meanings are imposed on those who live in cities through dominant representations. This has impact and influence on the lived experience and everyday use of space. Instead of being able to inhabit and use social, public or collective space freely we are forced to endure a habitat created by and for the needs of capital. Mitchell (1995) argues that the needs and priorities of increasingly global capital, through its various 'managing committees', seek to impose ways to limit and control spatial interaction as "one of the principal aims of the urban and corporate planners during this century. The territorial segregation created through the expression of social difference has increasingly been replaced by a celebration of constrained diversity" (Mitchell, 1995, p. 119). Representations of space (the power to organise, regulate, delimit and delineate space according to function, aims and priorities) dominate the lived experience of the everyday use of urban space.

The urban is increasingly subject to interventions aimed at order and control to ensure the most efficient and effective conditions for capital. For Lefebvre, this is a means and process by and through which power, capital and class were imposed and promulgated:

> There is no getting around the fact that the bourgeoisie still has the initiative in its struggle for (and in) space….The state and each of its constituent institutions call for spaces—but spaces which they can then organise according to their specific requirements. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 56)

The social and public spaces that make the lived experience of the city "a way of life" (Wirth, 1938) are progressively codified, regulated, surveilled and policed. This control over the form, function, use and accessibility of public and social spaces is important because we learn who we are and where we belong by how our lives are structured, ordered, regulated and controlled in time and space. That is how or if, when and where we are allowed to express our own values, aims, identities, dreams to claim or make space for ourselves.

Planning, policy and investment decisions, regeneration and redevelopment strategies, etc. may have both positive and negative impacts on the quality of life, on opportunities, for social relations and interactions, for access to services and social, economic and spatial resources. This is not a new phenomenon. The 'problem of cities' identified by municipal and national governments, by health and social reformers, was associated with attempts to mitigate the worst effects of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Foucault (1977, 1980) argued this was focused on the fear of the expanding exploited urban masses viewed as a threat to medical, moral and political stability. What resulted was the development of 'specialists of space' whose knowledge of space and of populations resulted in observation and surveillance as well as the development of new forms of architecture and urban design. Whilst Foucault identified the medical profession as being directly involved in the development of 'disciplinary spaces' (whether as schools, hospitals, asylums, prisons, etc.), Lefebvre recognised the importance of planners, architects and urban designers as crucial actors in the production of spatial forms and arrangements that reflected the ideological necessities and requirements of capital.

However, what has increasingly developed is a conflict between truly open and accessible public space and that of "other powerful interests at work to supplant genuinely public space with its privatised surrogates" (Sennett, 1990, p. xii). Ferrell (2001), Mitchell (1995, 2003) and Zukin (1995) have argued that this leads to the exclusion from public space of many groups deemed inappropriate to commercial, financial or exclusive priorities. For Lefebvre this reflects a need to understand what, how and why everyday life is important because it reflects key aspects of modern urban life:

> Everyday life and modernity, the one crowning and concealing the other, revealing and veiling it. Everyday life is a compound of insignificances united in this concept, responds and corresponds to modernity, a

> compound of signs by which our society expresses and justifies itself and which forms part of its ideology. (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 24)

As neo-liberal global capitalism colonises more of the world so more towns and cities in an increasingly dominant urban world are subject to the planning and design strategies of capital that mould and shape their form to meet their own ends. Harvey (2001, 2007, 2012) consistently argues that in part, this represents another phase in capitals' attempt to conquer and shape space for its own ends. What is produced as urban landscapes is a perpetual sameness, lacking much in the way of real choice or of individuality. The branded and bland homogeneity and uniformity of towns and cities everywhere is laced with an intolerance of different views, opinions or lifestyles that clash with the designed intentions of market economics, and, as proxies, state functionaries, planners, urban designers and architects. There is little room for criticism or for difference for as Lefebvre (2009) puts it:

> Capitalist and neo-capitalist space is a space of quantification and growing homogeneity, a commodified space where all the elements are exchangeable and thus interchangeable; a police space in which the state tolerates no resistance and no obstacles. Economic space and political space thus converge toward the elimination of all differences. (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 192)

The right to claim, appropriate and use urban social and public space as it is made and remade according to potentially changing and conflicting priorities, needs, aspirations and goals of the population is an essential part of a vital healthy society. Similarly, Goheen (1998, p. 479) states: "[c]itizens create meaningful public spaces by expressing their attitudes, asserting their claims and using it for their own purposes. It thereby becomes a meaningful public resource". However, the right to access and use public space is increasingly subject to conditions, prescriptions and at times outright bans when the priorities of business and commerce are impacted. Mitchell (1995) has demonstrated that "[p]ublic space is the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space—order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction—and who constitutes the 'public'" (Mitchell, 1995, p. 115).

Lefebvre's emphasis on the need to consider everyday uses and practices of space is a fundamental focus of his analysis and argument. It is also a need to re-empower everyday life to ensure opportunities for individual and collective wellbeing are accommodated and encouraged within public and social spaces. Lefebvre (1971) defines everyday life as:

> Made of recurrences: gestures of labour and leisure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic, hours, days, weeks, months, years, linear and cyclical repetitions, natural and rational time, etc.: the study of creative activity (of production, in its widest sense) leads to the study of reproduction or the conditions in which actions producing objects and labour are reproduced, re-commenced, and re-assume their component proportions or, on the contrary, undergo gradual or sudden modifications. (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 18)

How then can planning and urban design accommodate such hopes and aspirations as well as critical knowledge of space that underpins it?

4. The City as Oeuvre

Space, as a habitat and which we inhabit in our everyday lives, is the product of history: "itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, some serve production others consumption….Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 72). However, Lefebvre argues that space, and particularly the space of the modern city has become rationalised, functionalised and above all ideologically planned and designed. Thus architecture, urban design, planning etc. those spatial sciences that mould and shape and deliver forms of space are replete with the imposition of dominant values, ideals and priorities. City life was, as many urban theorists have commented (see, among others, Georg Simmel, as cited in Frisby & Featherstone, 1997; Benjamin, 1979, 1999, 2002; Mumford, 1937; Wirth, 1938) one of chance encounter and interaction, of diversity and difference, of possibilities of seeing, learning, being open to new sensations and experiences. It is in the streets and other public spaces that the life of the city was first observed and analysed as signifier and site of modernity and where urban experience was distinguished from the traditional world view of the rural and the feudal.

The city and the urban in modernity were understood as the centre for excitement, dangerous and pleasurable interactions and experience. The affluent sought sensual novelties in new leisure opportunities whilst the poor sought respite, recreation and distraction from overcrowded and unhealthy housing and working conditions in the streets and public spaces of the city. The exploitative and unhealthy conditions at home and in the new industrial work spaces created opportunities and experiences in the city that reflected its diversity, variety and excitement as a living entity. For Lefebvre (1996, p. 75) "urban life suggests meanings, the confrontation of difference, reciprocal knowledge and acknowledgement (including ideological and political confrontation) ways of living, 'patterns' which coexist in the city". In contemporary cities that are increasingly planned, designed, regulated and policed, these possibilities of spontaneity and of being in space are in danger of being lost. They are replaced with increasingly banal and sterile urban spaces,

produced, shaped and regulated to eliminate difference and secure an orderly space for the market, for commodification and for profit.

For Lefebvre, this was not how the city always was, nor how it could or should be. "The city must be a place of waste, for one wastes space and time; everything mustn't be foreseen and functional, for spending is a feast" (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 36.) Ancient and medieval cities were more than mere market places, more than sites for the accumulation of capital. They grew and developed according to the needs of their inhabitants who prioritised social and public spaces (the agora, forum, etc.) as a key feature and element of collective belonging and the shared experience of the town and the city. For Lefebvre, urban life and the city was once a living creative process which should again contain possibilities of such creative and collective being in space:

> The city is itself 'oeuvre', a feature that contrasts with the irreversible tendency towards money and commerce, towards exchange and products….They do not only contain monuments and institutional headquarters, but also spaces appropriated for entertainments, parades, promenades, festivities. (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 66)

For Lefebvre, urban life and the city was once a living creative process, a work of art, and should contain again such possibilities of imaginative being, of creative everyday praxis, of space made by and for human experience.

We now live dominated by the privatisation of experience, of consumption, in planned, designed space, commodified and policed to ensure order, control and stability to meet the needs of the market and of capital. This is at the expense of a truly collective social and spatial solidarity and proximity, of a shared potentiality of creative experience of being together in space. Mattila (2002) argues that modern architecture and urban design was planned in the post-war era was based on the imposition of elitist ideas to meet functional ends for the greatest number. Postmodern planning and architecture reflected the cultural populism of entertainment and escape, reproducing and inventing representations and cityscapes of pleasure and amusement (see, Harvey, 1990; Scott & Soja, 1996; Soja, 1996; Venturi, Scott-Brown, & Izenour, 1972). However, for Lefebvre (1971, p. 197), "everyday life, the social territory and place of controlled consumption, of terror-enforced passivity, is established and programmed". Our public places are increasingly organised to meet the functional ends of production, reproduction and consumption and in this era of a perpetual war on terror to ensure order and control, safety and security. Harvey adapts, extends and applies Lefebvre's analysis to argue that: "[t]he human qualities of the city emerge out of our practices in the diverse spaces of the city even as those spaces are subject to enclosure, social control, and appropriation by both private and public/state interests" (Harvey, 2012, p. 72)

Lefebvre viewed social and public space as crucial not only to healthy and humane cities but to a truly democratic and inclusive urban society. It is in what he calls the disorder of the street that change and possibility, the sharing of ideas, meanings and experiences, that epitomises the best of urban experience, one that should be open and accessible to all, providing a forum for exchange, interaction and of collective being. Lefebvre (2003) argues that the street

> Serves as a meeting place (topos), for without it no other designated encounters are possible….The street is a place to play and learn. The street is disorder….This disorder is alive. It informs. It surprises….In the street…appropriation demonstrates that use and value can dominate exchange and exchange value. (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 18)

We can identify the ways in which the order and control of the city and the urban has led to an increasingly homogenised and sanitised experience of it as environment. The functionalisation and delimiting of space has led to the segregation of groups, classes as well as activities such as industry, housing, commerce and leisure. The prioritisation and dominance of traffic over walking reflects not only changes in consumption patterns but links to flows and circulation that negates or inhibits pedestrian movement and the opportunities for lingering in space. This undermines the street, public and social space as vital not only to urban culture but to the health and well-being of urban society. Public space is a medium and mode of communication and of play and the pleasure and possibility of being together with others. It needs must be social space. This idea of space as a facilitator and medium for play was explored by Stevens (2007) using a distinctly Lefebvrian approach in which he argued that playful forms of activity in urban public spaces provide "a way to better understand the relations between the design of the built environment, the special social conditions which characterize the city, and people's perceptions and behaviour" (Stevens, 2007, p. 196). Therefore, to live in an open, creative, democratic space of a truly inclusive urban society is one which encourages playful expression and communication, artistic and aesthetic interventions in, on and through urban space. It was activities and events that take place in the street and in other public and social space (parks, gardens, arcades, promenades, precincts, squares, etc.) that, for Lefebvre, was of crucial importance. The 'right to the city' is a claim to the right to inhabit space, to make and use and to be represented in and through public space.

5. The Right to the City

Lefebvre's corpus of work on space, the urban and everyday life views the urban as the dominant spatial form of modern capitalism. For Lefebvre, the *Urban Revolution* (Lefebvre, 2003) has created a second human nature that

is based in and off and created by the city. 'True knowledge' of space, requires understanding of its interlinked constituent parts which, for Lefebvre, was crucial. Knowing how space is produced provides the means to change it, to democratise and radicalise it. Thus, for Lefebvre, the 'right' to make space was fundamental to any 'right to the city', to its inhabitation for 'useful play'. Lefebvre wrote *The Right to the City* (1996) not as a nostalgic and sentimental call for a return to the past but as a plea for a reinvigorated, more just and humane urban environment. He states that:

> The right to the city is like a cry and a demand…[and]…cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life. (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158)

It is a claim for the right to inhabit, use and appropriate space. Purcell (2002) argues that the complexities surrounding what these rights are and who has them need to be considered and clarified nevertheless, Lefebvre's focus is on the governance, design and planning of space. To have a right to say how the city develops and changes, how it is formed, organised, regulated and ultimately used. It is recognition of the need to reassert the right of inhabitants and not merely the rights of those with power and capital, to produce, shape, and use space according to their needs, wants and desires. Whilst Jacobs (1961) argued earlier that cities survive and prosper when they are inclusive and diverse, Merrifield (2014), Harvey (2012) and Stavrides (2016) argue is that these need to be extended to a right to occupy and use space in everyday life as the basis for a renewed and invigorated 'urban commons'. Lefebvre (2006, p. 75) made a similar point: "urban life suggests meanings, the confrontation of difference, reciprocal knowledge and acknowledgement (including ideological and political confrontation) ways of living, 'patterns' which coexist in the city". Social and public space is and should be made and remade according to the potentially conflicting priorities, needs, aspirations and goals of all of its citizens and not merely those with money and power. There is a need to understand that everyday life is made of diverse practices, people and activities and to plan to accommodate them in inclusive space.

Lefebvre's trialectic suggests a means by which we can understand space and challenge the ideologies that are inherent in how space is represented to us (through designs, maps, plans, signage, etc.) that seek to embed dominant discourses of appropriate and permitted use. In our everyday lives through our imaginative use of space we invest meanings and create values attached to spaces and places that challenge and contest not only spatial formations and practices that are indicative of the production of space under capitalism but also open up possibilities for being in the city that reflects more humane, shared and communal values. Thus, Lefebvre's aim is to uncover and illuminate the hidden truths of how dominant representations, signs and 'accepted' codes embedded within spatial forms can be understood and contested. So far it has been argued that Lefebvre's emphasis is predicated on his understanding that:

> The critique of everyday life involves a critique of political life in that everyday life…is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground. (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 92, 97)

The diversity and experience of everyday life and the challenges inherent within a multifaceted social, economic and political world therefore requires the application of knowledge of the complexity of the production of space, its impacts and consequences on urban form, organisation and experience. This was fundamental to his approach of creating an understanding of the urban that addressed the imbalances, inequalities and injustices in its governance and the opportunities that were available or denied. It seeks to rebalance the priorities and elements involved in the production of space to ensure a more equitable one that empowers the imagination and everyday inhabitation of space.

6. The Possibility and Promise of Planning

The challenges and practices of planning, architecture and urban design as spatial sciences are to operate not merely as a means or tools for power and capital in the top-down creation of the built and designed environment but also to ensure it encompasses and includes the needs and priorities of all the population. There are examples of a more collaborative approach in assessing and incorporating communities in decision making and planning processes. John Friedmann (1987, 2011) and Patsy Healey (2006, 2007, 2008, 2015a, 2015b) have been long term advocates and proselytizers for approaches to planning that are variously called collaborative, dialogues, relational, community engagement, etc. Whilst these go a long way to theorise and applying a more inclusive perspective that does not impose 'command and control' over neighbourhoods they still seem in the minority. For Lefebvre what is essential is how we can engage in the production of our living and working spaces because: "[t]o change life, to change society', these phrases mean nothing if there is no production of an appropriated space" (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 186). It is or should be incumbent on all those engaged in shaping the form, function and use of the urban in all modes, fields, levels and scales, wherever and however they practice, to include an overarching and inclusive understanding of not only what they do, who it serves but also to ensure that the impacts and consequences for access, inclusion, use, etc. are as wide as possible and not dominated by financial, economic or security issues only. This should

also include an aesthetic dimension in which the appreciation of appearance and form is important to experience, what Mattila (2002) calls aesthetic justice. Whilst appearance is not necessarily the prime consideration of any development or project it should be assessed for appropriateness or fitness both to the surrounding environment as well as representing or reflecting the population subject to it. For example, planners and architects have on many occasions produced designs that destroyed or had severe negative impacts on existing communities (e.g., road and motorway networks cutting existing communities in half or isolating them; the demolition of historic architecture and spatial forms and their replacement with concrete grids). Similarly, the use and location of street furniture and signage can be an impediment to access or a danger to those with mobility or ability issues. In these and in the choice of designs, location, and scale there is a need to ensure appropriateness and wider community aspirations. Lefebvre considers this an important aspect of spatial thinking and practice that is fundamental to urban life:

> As necessary as science, but not sufficient, art brings to the realisation of urban society its long mediation on life as drama and pleasure.…To put art at the service of the urban does not mean to prettify urban space with works of art. (Lefebvre, 2006, pp. 157,173)

This would also include not only public art installations, grand architectural monuments, facades, seminal designs in new materials, shapes and forms but also opportunities for informal art and cultural activities that use the street and public space as a living canvas and open-air gallery for cultural expressions of identity. Zieleniec (2016) applies a specific Lefebvrian analysis to the everyday challenges, conflicts and contestation of urban aesthetics, functionalised and securitised space practiced by graffiti writers and street artists as they colonise, appropriate and adorn the streets of towns and cities throughout the world with an alternative aesthetic creating a different semiotic for reading the city.

Lefebvre's spatial theory emphasises that what is essential for true knowledge of space is an overarching understanding of its complex features and elements involved in its production. This should include ensuring that there are not only sufficient opportunities for social interaction but that the spaces and places for this to occur are integrated within any project or development. This forms the basis of Lefebvre's cry and demand that:

> The right to the city…stipulates the right to meetings and gatherings…, the need for social life and a centre, the need and the function of play, the symbolic functions of space (close to what exists over and above that classified as such) because it…gives rise to rhetoric and which only poets can call by its name: desire. (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 195)

It is also crucial to his emphasis on the city being understood as an oeuvre, a living space, rather than merely an imposed functional habitat.

There is a need then to engage with the creative and imaginative potential of urban people and urban spaces. We need to ensure that the urban remains as a place of encounters, a focus and locus for communication and information, for meaningful interactions and for difference, diversity and for creative and surprising potential. As Harvey, after Lefebvre, argues: "the social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living" (Harvey, 1985, p. 256). Planning and urban design was implicated by Lefebvre in the operation of power to create and shape an urban that operated primarily for the needs of capital at the expense of the needs of the majority. There are examples of where the intention redesign and plan a new landscape was a form of enlightened paternalism to improve the quality of life and experience of the urban. For example, Fraser (2011) provides a Lefebvrian critique of Cerda's *Eixample* in Barcelona which he describes as belonging to "the paradigm of bourgeois fragmentary science…[a] curious reification of the city" (Fraser, 2011, p. 90), representative of a form of environmental determinism in which the problems of urban life could be changed by changing the city's material form. Whilst planning theory and practice has changed in the United States and Europe (Taylor, 1998) from the mid-20th-century and other parts of the world have adopted new approaches (Friedmann, 1987, 2005, 2011), similar abstract idealism are evident in post-World War II developments. Le Corbusier's (1923/1986, 1929/2000) ideas of high modernist functionalism of 'machines for living' influenced a generation of planners, architects and urban designers who employed his ideas in the development of high-rise housing, concrete office blocks and peripheral housing estates. As Wacquant (2007) has argued, hypermarginalisation has accompanied the spatial marginalisation of those excluded and disenfranchised by post-industrialism and neo liberal economics, whether in the black urban ghettoes of the United States of the French Banlieu. In the contemporary urban new developments include the expansion the securitised compounds of 'gated communities', as well as what Garreau (1992) has called the "new urban frontier" of edge cities. These represent new design and planning opportunities that primarily focus on security and as a consequence an increasing racial and class homogenisation based on fear of difference and diversity.

As a humanist Marxist, Lefebvre consistently argued for the need to include an analysis of how space is produced, by whom for whom. He was not a reductionist materialist in that he was aware and celebrated the dissonances and spontaneity of everyday life and culture was as important as the economic base. However, there remains a need to question who benefits in the new urban designs and planning projects. There are many contemporary examples of urban regeneration schemes whose

priority is the pursuit of profit and which leads to the exclusion, marginalisation, alienation and disenfranchisement of many communities and groups. They reflect a continuing tendency to apply top-down plans, imposed design or rules and restrictions on access to and use of public and social space. The redevelopment of cities in post-second world war Europe led to the creation of peripheral housing estates, tower block residential solutions to mass housing needs and the accommodation of the car as the primary means of transport. This led to large sections of the population becoming isolated and alienated within their segregated communities, increasingly ostracised and penalised by lack of opportunities when periodic economic crises led to the end of industrial employment. Social segregation coupled with and magnified by spatial segregation. It also led to many being excluded or dispossessed from the city centre as a hub of cultural and social activity through processes of regeneration which have turned so many into consumerist and gentrified havens only for those with the economic means to enjoy them. There is scope, a necessity perhaps, to revisit Lefebvre's spatial theory to reinvest the aims and goals of planning as the making of spaces and places concerned not least with the requirements of those who live, work and play in them. Whilst many spatial theorists have, a mentioned above, sought to consult and cooperate in inclusive practices, all too often this is not the case. There remains a need for practioners of planning and urban design, as the science and art of making space, to acknowledge its ideological roots, as Lefebvre discussed. Serving power, money and capital through the construction of spaces that function to ensure control, regulation can lead to social engineering through the production and segregation of space. Mitchell (1995) wrote of the potential for conflict in and over not only the uses of public space but the meanings and values attached to it:

> Whatever the origins of any public space, its status as 'public' is created and maintained through the ongoing opposition of visions that have been held, on the one hand by those who seek order and control and, on the other, by those who seek places for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction. (Mitchell, 1995, p. 115)

Thus, planning has at times served to segregate and marginalise, delimit and exclude as much as it has opened up avenue for an enhanced and expanded social life. However, there are possibilities and potentials in embracing an understanding, engagement and intervention in urban space which sees space as a social product, a creation of particular concatenations of circumstances with potential inscribed in their form for all. Instead of ideological and institutionalised discourses of privileged power that seeks to limit differences by homogenising and standardising forms and uses of public space a more democratic and holistic approach can be achieved and employed. This is what Lefebvre's spatial theory offers. A critical and reflective analysis of the complexity of space, that is inclusive and empowering. This is not merely adding to planning law, rules and regulations. It is not just ensuring that 'consultation' is a post-facto tick-box approval for plans already agreed. It is the incorporation of the complexity of understanding that the production of space needs must include those who are subject to its form, function and design. This could and should include from the beginning to the end of the process those who will be subject to, be enforced to endure or live with the results of urban plans and designs. That is, 'the right to city' is the right to be incorporated within planning practices at all levels: from the street, neighbourhood and community, to the city, region and state. It is a challenge to make space more inclusive, open and representative of the needs, wishes, aspirations and desires of all who use (and potentially misuse) public and social space. There must be the opportunity to ensure that we can inhabit a world that includes our own praxis, meanings, values, signs and symbols, art and culture and not merely be forced to endure a habitat created for and imposed on us by those with power. This, I would argue, reflects Lefebvre's claim to the right to the city' which "stipulates the right to meetings and gatherings…, the need for social life and a centre, the need and the function of play, the symbolic functions of space" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 195), as opposed to the functional requirements of capital and business. Cities must be planned and designed for people as humane spaces and not just profit.

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Article

Dead Grass: Foreclosure and the Production of Space in Maricopa County, Arizona

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Abstract
A wide variety of economic, social, political and moral explanations have been given for why the foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s occurred. Yet many of the tensions provoked by the uptick in foreclosure proceedings, their resolution during the foreclosure recovery process, and the insight they provide into the function of American space remain unexplored. This article uses Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* as a framework to explore the spatial and ecological contradictions of suburban development in Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, USA, and the ways those contradictions were drawn into relief by the foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s. Analysis through this Lefebvrian lens uncovers symbolic meanings assigned to urban ecologies and their ruliness as a means of drawing legal devices such as nuisance laws and housing codes into a more-than-human frenzy. This article follows a growing tradition of scholarship that employs Lefebvrian insights to identify and explicate urban planning dilemmas.

Keywords
Arizona; foreclosure; Henri Lefebvre; Phoenix; suburban development; *The Production of Space*; urban ecology

Issue
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1. Introduction

This article examines the urbanization and foreclosure experiences of Maricopa County, Arizona (USA) through the dialectical framework of Henri Lefebvre's (1991) difficult but highly-influential 1974 work *The Production of Space*. The aim of this article is to understand the unfurling of the foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s in the context of a growing, arid urban region through three essential contradictions of the production of space. These contradictions are: absolute/abstract space, use/exchange value, and appropriation/domination. We present a brief examination of Lefebvre's perspective on urban planning before discussing how each of the contradictions became profoundly visible during Maricopa County's experience with the foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s both through the actions initiated by foreclosure rates and their relationships to urban ecology. Phoenix and the other cities comprising Maricopa County, Arizona had been in a period of rapid population growth and (sub)urbanization leading up to 2006. Beginning in 2006, economic downturn and the maturation of subprime loans contributed to Maricopa County having among the highest rates of foreclosure filings in the county. In the aftermath, investors who lost the most through foreclosure were re-investing in real estate as a recovery

strategy while neighborhood demographics and vegetation underwent substantial and sometimes surprising changes. Thus, the maturation of the foreclosure recovery allows for deeper engagement with the production of space as a result of creative tensions among three key contradictions.

2. The Production of Space and Urban Planning

Throughout *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre disdainfully and consistently groups planners with other purveyors of abstracts space: architects, urbanists, politicians, scientists. Lefebvre (1991, p. 364) explicitly identifies with Jane Jacobs in referring to planned spaces as "destructive", and with Robert Goodman's critique of suburban automobility as a "vicious circle". Lefebvre (1991, p. 375) implicates the organizational tools of planning like cadastres and zoning in creating a conflation between "public space and the private space of the hegemonic class…that in the last analysis retains and maintains private ownership of the land and of the other means of production". Almost half a century before the international trading of securitized mortgages brought the global economy to its knees, Lefebvre noted that planning guidelines and national plans link localized spatial actions to global social and political practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 378). He saw abstract space as a "fraudulent" world of signs where talk of art refers to money, "talk of beauty refers to brand images", "talk of city-planning refers to nothing at all" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 383). Lefebvre's response was a revolutionary Jacobian call to "grass-roots opposition, in the form of counter-plans and counter-projects designed to thwart strategies, plans, and programmes imposed from above" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 383).

However, it should be noted that *The Production of Space* was written in the early 1970s when planning as a profession was still coming to grips with the legacies of rationalist modernism and the spatial contradictions between the discursive aims and material results of mid-20th-century urban renewal (Leary-Owhin, 2016). *The Production of Space* was explicitly framed as a quest for a theory of space rather than a clear methodological guide for the analysis of space, much less the domination of that space. Lefebvre (1991) points out that Marx's response to the rationalist growth in productive forces simultaneously included a critique of growth's exacerbation of existing social and political problems, a detailing of new possibilities opened by growth, and a set of new concepts for organization and planning "whose import would only become apparent later" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 82). Therefore, it seems that we should interpret Lefebvre's critique as less of a timeless professional indictment than a methodological call for us to critically seek the contradictions and syntheses unique to our own time and space.

Lefebvre's antagonistic tone also projects the urban contradiction of his own life. Although Lefebvre's academic appointment was in the provinces, he maintained his permanent residence in Paris—the romantic and romanticized 'city of light' meticulously rebuilt for capitalism in Baron von Haussmann's seminal urban renewal project (Merrifield, 2006). His apartment at *rue* Rambuteau in the 3rd *arrondissement* was adjacent to the ultramodern Pompidou Centre. Indeed, the rich intellectual contributions he made were facilitated by an academic life made possible by the capitalist system he so charismatically critiqued. These contradictions persist at both emotional and material levels for many of us today.

In spite of Lefebvre's negative view on urban planning, urban planners have drawn significant insight from applying and extending ideas from Lefebvre to the work of the urban planners (e.g., Allegra, 2013; Carp, 2009; Leary-Owhin, 2016), and to understanding how declarations of what is 'urban' shape knowledge itself (Brenner, 2014; Brenner & Schmid, 2015). The making of suburban landforms, like those that dominate urbanized Maricopa County, are among the everyday spaces of urban planning that both urban planners and Lefebvre have had great interest in and are the spaces in which we least understand how capital, nature, and politics continue to interact to reform space once the template is in place. This is a frontier that eludes both urban planning efforts based on positivist science, where land change from non-urban to urban or to changes in zoning, and a critical theory of explicit places and modes of resistance enacted by humans.

Contradictions represent important processes that reveal the mechanisms of capitalism and ruptures in its processes that inform the spatial arrangement and meaning of urban areas. If urban planners aim to understand and plan for differential space at a city (or regional) level, then the interplay of neighborhoods and homes are a critical to identifying how global urbanization informs conformity, stability, and change. Looking to vegetation and wildlife in cities as an indicator of the contradictions embedded in urban life provides a lens capable of evaluating the projects that serve capitalist patterns of creative destruction and those that perforate neoliberal spaces more radically. These perforations become particularly visible when political, economic, or environmental conditions stress the capacity of an urban region to continue the status quo. One such time was the foreclosure crisis of the late 2000s, which threatened prevailing assumptions about urban growth, decline, and the infrastructure sustaining nature and city. Revisiting Lefebvre provides an opportunity to re-evaluate some of the key factors in the production of space to make sense of rapidly growing urban regions, like Maricopa County, that are dominated by large expanses of single family homes.

2.1. Absolute to Abstract Space

One of the most prominent features of the transition to capitalist modernity that Lefebvre explores in *The Pro-*

duction of Space, is the transition from what he calls absolute space to abstract space. This transition is a historical foundation that underpins current socio-spatial arrangements and relationships.

'Absolute space' is "fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountain top, spring, river), but whose very consecration ended up by stripping them of their natural characteristics and uniqueness". In time, "the forces of history smashed naturalness forever and upon its ruins established the space of accumulation (the accumulation of all wealth and resources: knowledge, technology, money, precious objects, works of art and symbols)", producing *abstract space* (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 48–49).

In contrast, 'abstract space' is comprised of material representations of wealth and power that enable and reproduce social practices. Therefore, abstract space is more than just absolute space paved over in a transformation from 'primary nature' to 'second nature' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 229). "Abstract space functions...as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). It is an inherently social product of an inherently social process and can be fixed only through legal means.

2.2. Use and Exchange Values of Neighborhoods

Absolute space is the concrete space of use-values while abstract space is the space of exchange value. Since all commodities have both use-value and exchange value, Lefebvre argues capitalized agriculture, minerals extraction, etc., will occur in both absolute space and abstract space. The transition from absolute space to abstract space therefore reflects the transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production. However, this transition alone is an insufficient explanation for the emergence of differential space, which is transitory, and arise from the inherent vulnerabilities of abstract space (Leary-Owhin, 2016). Differential space results from a reassertion of use value in a system that otherwise privileges exchange. Following the Marxist tradition, Lefebvre asserts that use and exchange value form an interrelation constitutive of the capitalist system.

Lefebvre is deeply critical of the suburban project, and that project can be can be understood dialectically as the (unstable) synthesis resulting from the contradiction between the use and exchange values embedded in Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian visions for America. Both ideologies have been present since the founding of the federal state. Their negotiation inherently encompasses the tension between use and exchange, as well as between country and city, that is essential to suburban neighborhoods. Individual suburban homes are a miniature Jeffersonian pastoral within a Hamiltonian capitalist neighborhood framework. Lefebvre presents this as a contradiction with clear hostility toward these "illegitimate hybrids of city and country" and "bastard forms" as simulacrum that promise security but "thrust both [of these forms] into a confusion which would be utterly without form were it not for the structure imposed by the space of the state" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 386–387).

The unstable synthesis between the home as Jeffersonian use value and the parcel as Hamiltonian exchange value results in a fetishization of single-family residences as abstracted exchange value that reduces use value to quantifiable demand, and to thematic signifiers and symbols for marketing campaigns. The fetishization of commodities hides the labor relations, environmental costs, and violence associated with their production. The suburban synthesis of use and exchange value in housing hides use behind exchange.

2.3. Appropriation and Domination

Lefebvre (1991, p. 165) echoes the definition of absolute space in declaring 'appropriated space' to be "a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group". He gives examples of peasant houses, villages, and igloos recounting "the lives of those who built and inhabited them" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 165). But despite the relationship to primordial nature and absolute space implied in these examples, Lefebvre points out that act of appropriation represents a relationship between the inhabitants and the space rather than between the space and the earth. This makes it possible to speak of otherwise abstract built structures like monuments, streets, buildings, or in the case of residential home interiors, as appropriated space, although "it is not always easy to decide in what respect, how, and by whom and for whom they have been appropriated" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 165). Lefebvre differentiates appropriated space, or the spaces of use-values produced by working *with* nature, whereas a dominated space is a space of exchange value working *against* nature, including human nature. It is akin to his distinction between absolute and abstract space but understood through labor and power relations.

Lefebvre specifically cites Marx as the source of this concept of appropriation. Lefebvre (1991, p. 325) notes that Marx (1894) in the unfinished third volume of *Capital* (chapter 48) began to explore the addition of Earth (*madame la Terre*) to capital (*monsieur le Capital*) and labor (workers). Marx's focus on labor and technology reflects a view of ecological crisis as one embedded in capitalism (Foster & Burkett, 2016; Saito, 2017). This formulation of Marxian economic theory seems fitting to both contemporary conceptions of society-environment relations and rising concentration of power over environmental resources inherent in the globalized, financialized economy (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015; Ekers & Prudham, 2017; Resnick & Wolff, 2010).

In contrast to appropriated space, 'dominated space' is "a space transformed and mediated by technology, by practice" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 164). Examples are the constructed works of abstract space that introduce "new

form into a pre-existing space—generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a meshwork or chequerwork" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 165). Dominated space (like dominated social relationships) requires violence to suppress existing characteristics and ecosystems. This results in a space "closed, sterilized, emptied out" in contrast to the meaning-rich spaces of appropriation.

3. The Contradictions of a Desert (Sub)Urban Development and Foreclosure

Although the entire developmental history of Maricopa County cannot be summarized in a single article, we introduce a few points of synthesis between abstract and absolute space that illustrate how suburban development in Maricopa County is a continuation of an established production of abstract space. It is transformed by the homogenizing effects of suburbanization. It is resisted by patchy local rainfall and other biophysical challenges to the imposition of suburban landscaping preferences over a desert template.

3.1. Desert Suburbs as a Contradiction of Absolute and Abstract Space

The (sometimes) violent and (often) unstable negotiation between abstract and absolute space provides insight into the urban planning condition leading up to the scenario of rapid growth in Maricopa County in the late 2000s. Maricopa County is located in the southwestern United States. The climate is dry, with approximately 22 cm of rain annually (Maricopa County Administration, 2018). Geopolitically, the county is located in the center of the state and is one of 15 counties in Arizona. The total land area is 14,806 square kilometers (9,200 square miles) (USCB, 2018). The county is home to a number of cities, including Phoenix.

Prior to European settlement, the indigenous Hohokam people inhabited an absolute space along the perennial rivers flowing through the region (Gober, 2005, pp. 13–16). The Hohokam constructed thousands of miles of irrigation canals to support a complex civilization until the disappearance of that civilization around 1450 (Gober, 2005, pp. 13–16).

The arrival of significant numbers of European-Americans in the 19th century facilitated the capitalist transformation of Maricopa County to abstract space through the primary economic activities of agriculture and minerals extraction. However, the region remained relatively undervalued by homesteaders and farmers contending with long dry summers. In the 1930s, Banker George Leonard referred to Phoenix as "probably as close to Hell as you could be while being on Earth" (as cited in Shermer, 2013, p. 17).

The region was part of the massive post-WW II national project of automotive suburbanization that resolved the capitalist growth crisis of the Great Depression. The advent of air-conditioning and the disappearance of physical space elsewhere (cities in the California, and the Eastern and Midwestern United States) further increased the symbolic weight and value of the region to capital. Consistent with Lefebvre (1991, p. 335), the mass movement of people destabilized "capitalism's delicate self-regulating mechanisms" and often necessitated the intervention of the state. Agents of mobility like the automobile and air conditioning allowed people to circumvent the contradiction between climate and urban form, changing the 'spatial code', and making Maricopa County newly suited for exploitation by capital in the era of debt-financed post-war suburbanization (Gober, 2005, pp. 1–10). By 1988, Barron's reporter Jonathan Laing quipped that Phoenix had become a one-industry town, with that industry being growth (Shermer, 2013, p. 336).

The flight of capital into real estate was a response to the lack of profitable investments in productive industry. This emptying contradiction of use and exchange value in suburbia necessitates the creation of a synthetic illusion of appropriated space that masks and contradicts the environmental domination that makes suburbia possible. Lefebvre (1991, p. 93) notes that although the house with its durable materials and stark outlines has an "air of stability about it", the "thin non-load-bearing walls...are really glorified screens". The house is a machine, "permeated from every direction by streams of energy which run in and out of it by every imaginable route: water, gas, electricity, telephone lines, radio and television signals, and so on". The contradictory transposition of an urban form developed in temperate climates to an arid climate was facilitated by political and technological innovations that permitted domination of the environment.

Suburban development was supported through the renegotiation of abstract and absolute space through nature. Under the euphemism of *reclamation*, the state built vast irrigation projects in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to tame area rivers—capturing sporadic rainfall for the benefit of commercial agriculture and mitigating flooding that had vexed earlier acquisitive inhabitants (Di Taranto, 2015). Heat had been an impediment to development prior to the widespread availability of affordable air conditioning. Ubiquitous sunshine was a major attractant in the siting of Air Force facilities in the area during the Second World War, paving the way for high-tech industrial development following the war (Shermer, 2013, pp. 71–90). The dry, sunny climate and associated landscape was a major attraction for tourists throughout the 20th century and an attractant to migrants (retired and not) fleeing cold winters (Logan, 2006, p. 84–108). In accordance with Lefebvre's writings, the mass migrations of tourism consumed (and, ultimately, destroyed much of) the produced rustic spaces that attracted those tourists. In a 1980 survey, 22% of respondents cited the desert climate as the primary reason for their migration to Phoenix. However, capitalist economic imperatives in job opportunities were actually more dominant at 29%, with personal issues like health concerns and distance to family rounding out the rest (Logan, 2006, p. 162).

The deleterious effects of sprawl in the American Southwest on traditional lifestyle amenities, the traffic, pollution and crime associated with growth represented an inherent spatial contradiction (Brasuell, 2014).

The low-density development of Maricopa County is emblematic of suburban landforms. House size, parcel shape, and yard vegetation are all similar across individual developments, often with homeowner's associations enforcing codes and rules restricting grass height, tree density, and other elements of the neighborhood ecology in the name of property value (Fraser, Bazuin, & Hornberger, 2016). These conventionally have been counter to guidelines for "water wise" landscapes and a desert aesthetic (Martin, Peterson, & Stabler, 2003; Sisser et al., 2016). Produced nature is a symbolic tool in the resulting synthesis. Whole identities form around residential subdivisions, with institutional landscaping signatures becoming more prominent in higher-income neighborhoods (Blake & Arreola, 1996). Single family homes are suggestive of individualism in form, but such individualism contradicts emergent forms of collectivism designed to generate identity. Thus, suburban landscapes demonstrate Lefebvre's analysis of how spaces encode and reproduce ideology. The distributed boxes of suburban housing and high-rises alike have a spatial fixity that precludes new forms of space able to encode forms of existence outside the established order. As with the sale of other commodities, conformity is value.

3.2. Use and Exchange Value Get Out of Phase: Reasserting Use Value in Neighborhoods

The vast tract housing developments that became ubiquitous in Maricopa County by the early 2000s are a material expression of how suburbanization emphasizes exchange value through interchangeability. The political climate of Phoenix allows the use and exchange value of suburban development to persist through a contradictory synthesis of libertarian American-West mythologies overlaid on suburban spatial form made possible by collective investment (Sheridan, 2007).

Over the 2000s, unsustainable increases in the exchange value of properties led to low affordability with respect to income, price-to-rent ratios, and other indicators (Belsky & Richardson, 2010). In Arizona, the inflation-adjusted home-price appreciation from 1998–2006 was among the highest in the nation at >80% (FHFA, 2009), further exacerbating the contradiction between homes as use value and houses as exchange value. This was fueled by a dominant discourse of population growth (Gober, 2005). Housing completion data suggests the region has urbanized in wide bands, rather than as a more narrow "front-line" offensive typical of other suburbanization patterns (Gober & Burns, 2002). Instead, urban patterns indicate densification and urban infill had de-coupled in the Phoenix Metropolitan area (Atkinson-Palombo, 2010). Additionally, parcelization (subdivision) outstripped population growth beginning in the mid-2000s (Figure 1).

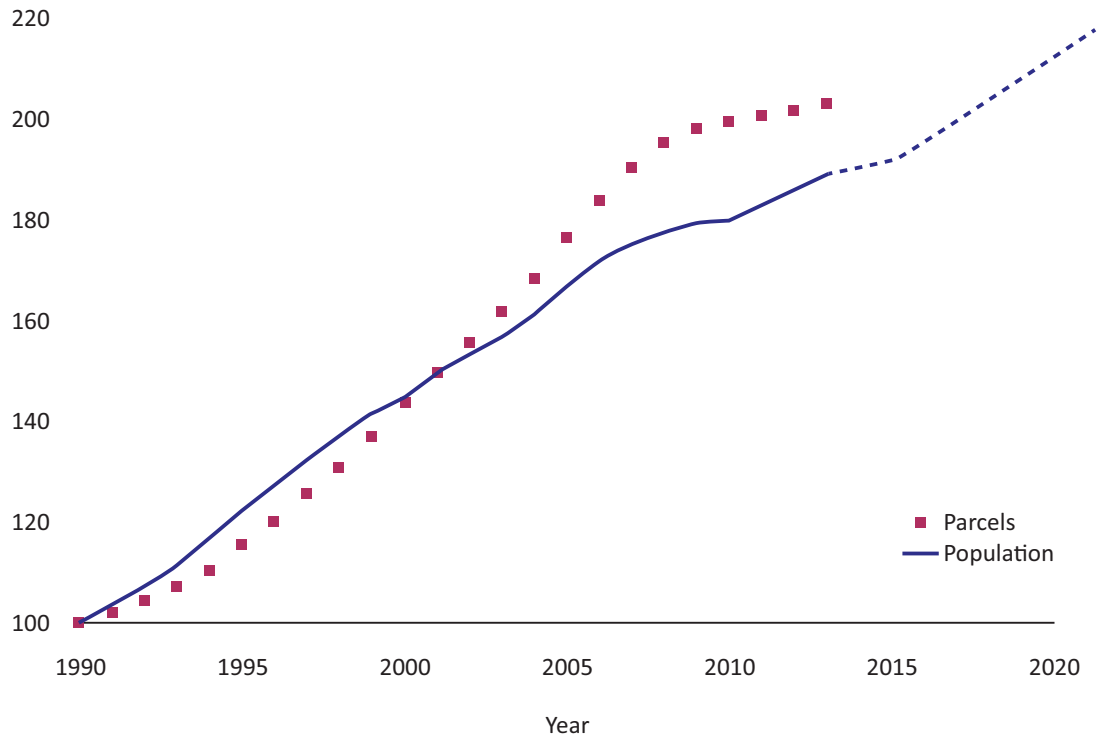

Figure 1. % growth (y-axis) in population and residential parcels across Maricopa County since 1990 (1990 levels = 100%). Data from: ADOA-EPS (2014), MCAO (2013) and USCB (2014).

The emphasis and seeming dominance of exchange value can be further abstracted to speculative real estate markets. Global financial practices privileged exchange value by aggregating and bundling mortgages into securities and trusts. The users of those structures were hidden from financial capital that saw them only as abstract, aggregated numbers on a balance sheet (Fields, 2017). This depersonalized relationship obscured the moral dimensions of foreclosure (and housing practices in general), facilitating collective participation by the broader society in these processes of violence with little awareness of its effects for humans or nature.

Even during the so-called housing bubble, foreclosure had been a substantial feature in defining suburban spaces. As Figure 2 illustrates, mortgage foreclosure in Maricopa County during the housing boom was common even during the boom and remained common after the bust subsided (The Information Market, 2013).

Foreclosure became a crisis when it became a crisis of global capital. Complex tensions between use and exchange values were unearthed at the neighborhood scale. For example, investors purchasing foreclosure homes had the surprising effect of keeping long-time occupants in their homes (Pfeiffer & Lucio, 2015). Without a dialectic view, planners might come to false conclusions about the potential value and challenge associated with this transference of capital and its role in facilitating neo-liberalism by conserving community and reducing monthly housing costs through leases rather than mortgages.

The dialectical relationship between use and exchange value is further dramatized in the analysis of neighborhood ecology. Historical syntheses of urban spaces accumulate to shape biodiversity and ecological function (Essl et al., 2015). Many studies support the hypothesis that urban biodiversity and greenness is governed by a luxury effect, where higher biodiversity and more complete tree canopies are present in regions with higher income (e.g., Schwarz et al., 2015). This is consistent with Lefebvre's (1991, p. 366) observation of the contradiction between symbols of absolute nature like gardens and parks that often form a vital component of some of the most effectively dominated abstract spaces.

However, the ways ecological patterns and processes relate to urban spaces is contradictory. Synthetic valuation of greening as produced nature is contingent on domination, as noted by the absence of correlation between high income white communities and signals of ecological richness in cities like Baltimore (Boone, Cadenasso, Grove, Schwarz, & Buckley, 2010) and Cincinnati (Berland, Schwarz, Herrmann, & Hopton, 2015). The Baltimore case highlights the importance of history—and whether neighborhoods were built for affluent residents—as a predictor of tree canopy. The Cincinnati case illustrates the significance of maintenance in some urban ecotypes, where unmaintained spaces can lead to (undesirable) urban forests at the same time careful management constructs a forest of prestige in another area of the city (Berland et al., 2015; Heynen, 2006). These examples contradict the findings of earlier studies that highlight how and where differential space may be produced through negotiations between humans and nature are carried out through maintenance and order.

In Maricopa County, legally enforceable covenants, codes, and restrictions (CCRs) and homeowners' associations (HOAs) dictate management on private lots. The specificity and frequency of yard-management clauses

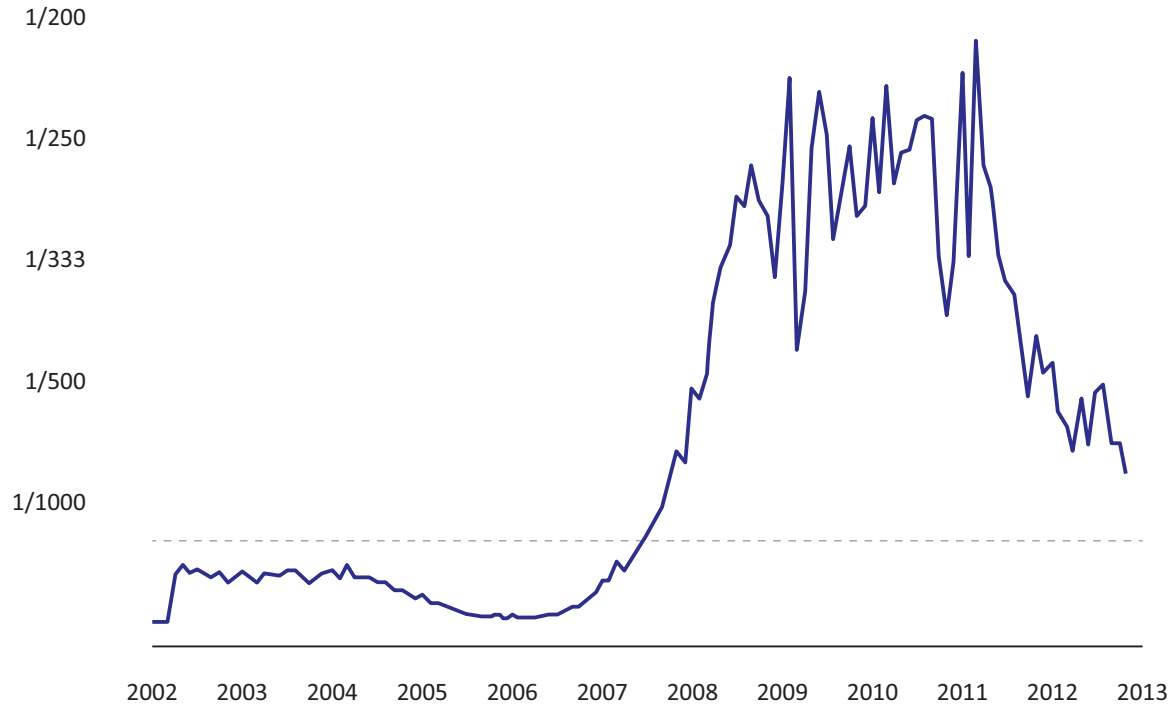

Figure 2. Maricopa County monthly foreclosure rate: 2002–2012. Data from: The Information Market (2013).

appearing in CCRs has been increasing over time (Lerman, Turner, & Bang, 2012; Martin et al., 2003). HOA institutions often encourage management behaviors that oblige people to maintain properties in accordance with a group standard (Fraser et al., 2016; Nassauer, Wang, & Dayrell, 2009; Sisser et al., 2016). This suggests that under conditions of foreclosure, neglect, or vacancy, neighborhood institutions may 'fill in' for absent homeowners. This response is consistent with the strong evidence that foreclosure introduces spillover effects on neighboring property values and upkeep (Zhang & Leonard, 2014). However, many homeowner associations (HOAs) suffer a loss of revenue due to the financial stresses upon their member properties and, therefore, ability to enforce green lawns through traditional means of prescribed planting, pruning, watering schedule, and sod inspections (Perkins, 2010). In areas of Maricopa County where remnant agricultural infrastructure continued to deliver water, citrus trees became overgrown and created a canopy for rats to traverse neighborhoods and exact damages on home wiring (Inglis & Thompson, 2009). In areas without irrigation, sod died. In neighborhoods without sod, annuals infiltrated the mulch used to xeriscape (Ripplinger, Collins, York, & Franklin, 2017).

3.3. The Secret Lives of Plants: Appropriated and Dominated Spaces following Foreclosure

Lastly, the domination of suburban abstract space is most clearly evident in parcelized landscapes and the subtle ecological aspects of domination were made evident during the foreclosure crisis. Robbins (2007) notes homeowners are often dominated into reproducing the political economy of American lawn care, with the vegetation itself actively participating in a system of coercion to stave off weedy displays and unmanaged growth or, in unirrigated spaces of the Southwest—unwanted death.

During the foreclosure crisis, use value and exchange value got out of phase, with use value a durable product of capital investment, while exchange value was mediated by a volatile market pricing mechanism. The bubble was a bubble in terms of both the home quantity based on per capita number of parcels (MCAO, 2013) and pricing (S&P Dow Jones Indices, 2014). Prices peaked at almost twice what would be expected based on the rate of inflation, before falling in half, and then returning to equilibrium rates by the beginning of 2013. The logic of the spatial fix in the 'production of nature', is one in which labor power (commodified human labor) renders biophysical processes amenable to accumulation (Smith, 2008). The result is a socially produced 'nature of foreclosure' that mingles biophysical with political economic processes. Urban tree canopies and lawn monocultures boost (or degrade) property values and ordinances and neighborhood stabilization activities aim to control them.

Although one might expect widespread home desertion and neighborhood vacancy rates to lead to declines in vegetation management and vitality, mortgage delinquency and distress is not entirely synonymous with vacancy (Lambie-Hanson, 2015). The effect in Phoenix during the foreclosure crisis was muted and spatially uneven (Minn et al., 2015; Ripplinger et al., 2017). Biodiversity increased as weedy species invaded and horticultural assets demurred (Ripplinger et al., 2017). Distinct spatial processes made and re-made lawns and neighborhood vegetation during the crisis, establishing new regimes of species distributions and abundance likely to resist re-colonization by 'lawn people' through their seed banks.

Foreclosure has not been equally visible across neighborhoods, in part because of how nuisance laws were enacted. By aestheticizing a particular material condition as an experience of disgust, it becomes discursively rendered as a threat to public welfare without having to engage with the underlying property relations that explain why the material condition arose (Ghertner, 2015). Aestheticizing material conditions and disconnecting them from social-ecological context allows nuisance laws and other codified norms of bourgeois civility to implicitly place blame on marginalized residents for maintenance issues in spaces they inhabit but cannot fully control. For example, the claim that 'blight' threatens 'neighborhood stability' was used to legitimate redlining, a racialized housing policy that entailed systematic denial of credit to neighborhoods with historically that were home to racial and ethnic minorities, reinscribing racial segregation in US cities (Kelly, 2014). Because of this history, legal devices linking aesthetic incivility to public welfare may not benefit residents in spaces of disinvestment, particularly when legal action reinforces existing property relations.

A framing of *madame la Terre* as an actor in the process of class reproduction turns a focus on unruly urban ecologies produced through neglect to questions of environmental justice. Incompletely dominated environments burden residents with an array of costs, risks, and sources of stress deeply bound up in the habitual expressions of social inequality in urban landscapes. Unmaintained vegetation obstructs lines of sight, eliciting fear of violence and reinforcing patterns of exclusion, particularly exclusion of women and children, from public space (Brownlow, 2006). Neglected buildings can give rise to indoor 'ecologies of injustice', where animals appropriate and modify space, forcing residents to contend with physical hazards and social stigma (Biehler, 2013). The daily experiences of confronting widespread dereliction may constitute an 'ordinary environmental injustice' that compounds social disadvantage by undermining capabilities of vulnerable residents with limited social and spatial mobility (Whitehead, 2009). Residents respond to the spatial contradiction between use and exchange value by organizing lawn mowing on unmaintained vacant properties as, literally, a grassroots reclamation and defense of space (Kinder, 2014) or through public protest to shame neglectful property owners (Kerr, 2011).

4. Conclusions

The insights revealed through synthesis are essential to understanding neighborhood, municipal, and regional efforts toward neighborhood stabilization and their long-term impacts on the production of foreclosed spaces. Maricopa County's arid climate makes it unique among major suburban areas in the United States. This uniqueness has yielded distinctive manifestations of suburbia's ecological contradictions that were drawn into focus by the foreclosure crisis. The resulting analysis uncovers meanings assigned to urban ecologies and their ruliness as a means of drawing legal devices such as nuisance laws and housing codes into a more-than-human frenzy.

In contrast to a positivist perspective that seeks explanations in logical coherence and equilibrium, the Marxian dialectic employed by Lefebvre throughout *The Production of Space* looks for contradictions. These contradictions are opposing forces (thesis and antithesis) that cannot permanently co-exist in space. The resolution of these contradictions results in synthesis. However, synthesis ultimately proves unstable, resulting in new contradictions and a continuous historical process of change (Harvey, 2014). Rather than looking for things that make sense, dialectical analysis looks for the things that don't make sense.

This mode of analysis is non-deterministic and, therefore, primarily valuable for a posteriori explanation rather than a priori prediction. However, such narrative-building is useful for providing a historical grounding for urban planning decisions. Critical consideration of new contradictions will help understand what makes such synthetic decisions incomplete and mutable.

Conceiving of human and non-human actors as having a dialectical rather than Cartesian relationship permits a rich conception of these actors as co-constitutive. The contradictory relationships between human actors, and between humans and non-human forces (soil, water, sun, wind) under capitalism results in a process of rule and ordinance enforcement changes that requires continuous resynthesis to reproduce class relationships. Aesthetic markers of dereliction are pathologized as 'blight', an infraction against bourgeois norms of civility correctable through legal action.

Finally, both the theoretical constructs of space and the methodological implications of these constructs have become increasingly relevant to the work of urban planning since the time of Lefebvre's writing. The positivist science that dominates study of the non-human domain has been exceptionally powerful in facilitating both human understanding and domination of the environment. However, accepting a Cartesian worldview uncritically can blind the analyst both to the ideologies hidden behind that worldview, and to the Heraclitan flux that makes all ideologies, problems, and solutions impermanent. A dialectical focus on a continuous process of contradiction and synthesis can better equip the analyst to identify and address the unique human and non-human challenges facing the future of urban planning.

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Conflict of Interest

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Article

A Lefebvrian Analysis of Public Spaces in Mangaung, South Africa

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Abstract
Hoffman Square, Driehoek Neighbourhood Park and Old Regional Park are public spaces in Mangaung. Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space and Elements of Rhythmanalysis* are explored in the analysis of these public spaces' organised representations, representational uses and rhythmic spatial practices. This article found that: (1) public spaces in Mangaung are lived spaces that are regularly appropriated by inhabitants whose unpoliced social practices of vandalism and littering—along with the harsh regional climate—deteriorate the physical quality of the public spaces, secreting environmental incivility in the public spaces; (2) cyclical rhythms of night and day times have a practical impact on the spatial practices of each public space in spite of their design and location. For example, day-time entails high and rapid levels of public space uses while night-time diffuses these dynamics significantly; and (3) Mangaung's spatial plans encourage the liberal uses of its public spaces however, it fails to enforce its by-laws to curb experienced physical decay of, and environmental incivility in, the public spaces. This increases the vulnerability of its public spaces to external shocks—emanating from nature and society—thus depriving the public spaces of an opportunity to be perceived as alternatives for urban regeneration and local economic revitalisation.

Keywords
Bloemfontein; Henri Lefebvre; public space; secondary cities; Thaba Nchu

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Urban Planning and the Spatial Ideas of Henri Lefebvre", edited by Michael E. Leary-Owhin (London South Bank University, UK).

1. Introduction

Public spaces—like streets, squares and parks—facilitate social interactions, movements and flows of people and things in cities. They are also political sites for contested social relationships. Tiananmen Square in Beijing, was the site of mass demonstration against the Chinese state's occupation of Japan in 1919, and in 1986, students turned to Tiananmen Square to protest against the state's anti-democratic representations in the contested public space (Hershkovitz, 1993; Lee, 2009). In Cairo, inhabitants occupied the forbidden public space of Tahrir Square in 2011, demanding democratic change and an end to autocratic rule (Said, 2014; Salama, 2013). In 2012, US inhabitants took to Wall Street protesting against global capitalism. The latter had caused the forced foreclosure on home mortgages, resulting in nation-wide unrest and homelessness (Chomsky, 2012). In Spain, inhabitants occupied the Puerta del Sol and Plaça Catalunya squares in 2011–2012 protesting against high unemployment and a lack of political representation (Dhaliwal, 2012). For South Africa, post-apartheid cities and their public spaces were the material sites of mass political struggle against the apartheid state (1948–1994), which kept different races and classes in separate areas while, in a multiracial society, preserving public spaces beyond the urban realm for the minority white population (Hindson, 1987; Lemon, 1991). After the 1994 political changes, urban public spaces underwent radical transformation. Historically segregated groups responded differently to the political transition from apartheid to democracy. While fear and crime caused whites to relocate from post-apartheid inner cities to suburbs to live in gated residential developments (Dirsuweit, 2002; Dirsuweit & Wafer, 2006; Landman, 2006), Africans flooded inner cities, changing the

socio-economic structure of post-apartheid urban landscapes. These changes led to a radical wave of privatisation of public spaces, perpetuating apartheid spatial exclusion and social segregation (Ramoroka & Tsheola, 2014). Urban scholars argue against the economic privatisation of South Africa's public spaces through neoliberal policies and city-improvement districts (CIDs) which undermine the processes of the democratic project (Lemanski, 2004; Peyroux, 2006; Spocter, 2017). This article, in the spirit of engaging in a global conversation about Lefebvre's spatial ideas, investigates the everyday uses of public spaces in the post-apartheid South African city of Mangaung. Research content for this article was generated through spatial ethnographic techniques of participant observation in the identified public spaces, which generated more than 20 hours of interview data over a four-month period from mid-June to late-October 2017.

2. The Production of Space and Rhythmanalysis

This article explores two translated works by Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991), namely, *The Production of Space* (The POS) and *Elements of Rhythmanalysis* (ERA). The POS is widely recognised for influencing the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences, humanities, geography, planning and architecture (Dorsch, 2013; Elden, 2004b). The POS is a science of space that concerns itself with the "use of space, its qualitative properties" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 404). Lefebvre (1991) presents a spatial triad of three interrelated elements involved in the production of space. 'Representations of space' is the conceptualised space of planners, architects and other specialists who order and "divide space into separate elements that can be recombined at will" (Ronneberger, 2008, p. 137). It is the 'conceived space' of "a certain type of artist with a scientific bent", the dominant space in society that identifies "what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). In its higher complex, conceived space is also the 'abstract space' of "the bourgeoisie and of capitalism…in thrall to both knowledge and power" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 50–57). It is, as Lefebvre notes, an institutional, political space. 'Representational space' refers to space as directly lived (experienced) through its associated images and symbols. It is the 'lived space' "of 'inhabitants' and 'users' but also of some artists and…a few writers and philosophers" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). Lefebvre considers the 'user' and 'inhabitants' to be the "underprivileged and marginal…everyone—and no one" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 362). This is the dominated space in society. Lived space is often linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life; it embraces "the body…everyday life…desire…difference" (Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1995, p 297). 'Spatial practice', or the 'perceived space', refers to people's interaction with the sensory space of the built environment, along with its road networks that inform daily routines (Wolf & Mahaffey, 2016). It "embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation", ensuring "continuity and some degree of cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). To the user and the inhabitant, "this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance" (Lefebvre, 1991). Each element of the spatial triad contributes differently to the social production of space according to each space's attributes, qualities, historical period of analysis and the mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre's spatial triad has been used across scientific disciplines and urban geographical contexts, including postcolonial urban Africa. In Dar es Salaam, the spatial triad was used to unearth informal sector operations in an effort to integrate both the sector's activities in contemporary understandings of the production of urban public space and its contestation by the spatially engaged informal sector (Babere, 2015). In Blantyre and Lilongwe, Mwathunga (2014) used the spatial triad to understand the role of contemporary planners versus social struggles for spatial appropriation since planners' spatial conceptions differ significantly from users' experiences (or uses) of urban space. In Newtown, Johannesburg, Nkooe (2014, 2015) used the spatial triad to grasp the organisation and use-politics of Mary Fitzgerald Square, where the struggle between conceived and lived interests over the public space—in the form of strict policing and privatisation—resulted in the alienation of inhabitants. The above case-studies confirm Wolf and Mahaffey's (2016) Lefebvrian analysis of urban public space as an ongoing process of production and co-production between public spatial users and public spatial planners. For this study, Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad is fused with Lefebvre's (2004) 'rhythmic' concepts for public spatial analysis. Lefebvre maintains that if empty abstractions are to be avoided, spatial analyses must consider the influence of time and energy in the analysed spatial context. In the same way, the spatial triad should be used to grasp the concrete. Treating it as an abstract 'model' makes it lose its force (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, when 'space' is evoked through the spatial triad, we must indicate what occupies space and how it does so. When 'time' is evoked, we must state what moves or changes therein. This is also true of 'energy': it must be noted as deployed in space (Lefebvre, 1991). Time is distinguishable yet inseparable from location (space), motion (energy) and repetition (Elden, 2004a; Heidegger, 2010; Lefebvre, 1991). According to Lefebvre, the space-time-energy trialectic, or 'rhythm', is important for putting the finishing touches to the exposition of the production of space, in which Nietzschean time—as "…cyclical, repetitious"—is prioritised over Marxist time of historicity informed by forces of production instead of rhythm (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 12, 22, 169–182, 404–405). Lefebvre's Nietzschean or rhythmic time—cyclical, repetitious—is "viewed through the dual lens of space and time, of cyclical repetition and linear repetition" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 175). Cyclical rhythms are cosmological phenomena, e.g., night, day, winter and thirst, while linear rhythms are repetitive social activi-

ties like fêtes, calendars, ceremonies and celebrations (Lefebvre, 2004). Linear and cyclical rhythms are interactive and intertwined processes and movements through which all spatial practice is cyclical repetition through linear repetition (Lefebvre, 2004). Lefebvre is more explicit about rhythm and rhythm-analysis in ERA than in The POS. Rhythm is the interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy (Elden, 2004a; Lefebvre, 2004). According to Lefebvre, ERA is "a new field of knowledge: the analysis of rhythms; with practical consequences" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 3). ERA is definitely not a separate science (Elden, 2004b). Instead, it forms part of a time-fragmented *oeuvre* that leads to a unitary theory, the aim of which is "to discover or construct a theoretical unity" between separately apprehended 'fields' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 11), which, in the context of this article, include the separately apprehended conceptual frameworks informing Lefebvre's The POS in relation to ERA. Whereas The POS focuses on spatial uses and the social reproduction of space, ERA is centred on everyday life and the conflict between repetitive nature-rhythms and socio-economic processes (Meyer, 2008). The POS is often missed as a type of 'rhythm' analysis despite Lefebvre's (1991) insistence that the production of space would take a *rhythm* analysis to be complete (not completed). ERA is therefore perceived as 'separate' from The POS because it was Lefebvre's 'last work' (Degros, Knierbein, & Madanipour, 2014, p. 3; Elden, 2004a, p. 194, 2004b, p. vii). Henri Lefebvre and Catherine Régulier's 1985 and 1986 rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean cities were—and are—the last oeuvres Lefebvre produced before his death in 1991. Together with earlier works on rhythm—originally published in French in 1992—these projects were later incorporated into the general discourse of the 2004 translated ERA, which "brings together all of Lefebvre's writings on this theme" (Elden, 2004a, p. viii; Simonsen, 2005). Lefebvre encrypted aspects of ERA in The POS—originally published in French in 1974—which as Elden (2004b) notes, is permeated with rhythmic tension. Lefebvre and Régulier conceded that the Mediterranean cities projects were "a fragment of a more complete study [The POS], or an introduction to [the Mediterranean cities] study" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 87). For the purposes of this article, Lefebvre's (1991, 2004) spatial triad and ERA concepts are fused together to offer a rhythmic, spatial analysis of Mangaung's public spaces.

3. Mangaung: A South African Secondary City

Mangaung, situated in the Free State Province of South Africa, has an unusual urban geography. It has three human settlements that differ in terms of their production history, surface area and economic importance in the urban region. These settlements include: (1) Bloemfontein City—the birthplace of the African National Congress (ANC), the judicial capital of the country, the provincial capital and home of the University of the Free State and the Central University of Technology; (2) Botshabelo, former Bantustan of the Basotho; and (3) Thaba Nchu, former Bantustan of the Batswana (Free State Business, 2017; Krige, 1991; Marais, Van Rooyen, Lenka, & Cloete, 2014). These geographically distant settlements are integrated by the N8 transnational road network (see Figure 1). Mangaung's tripartite urban geography is inclusive of the surrounding rural areas engaged in commercial and subsistence farming (Free State Business, 2017; Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). In 2011, the Municipal Demarcation Board declared Mangaung a metropolitan municipality and a functional urban area alongside the country's dominant metropolitan municipalities of Johannesburg, Tshwane, eThekwini (Durban) and Cape Town (OECD, 2011). In the same year, the metropolitan government of Mangaung—with a fluctuating regional population of approximately 747,431–850,000 inhabitants—was formed, following local government elections (Free State Business, 2017; Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). In comparison with the country's top four metropolitan areas, the South African Cities Network (SACN) classifies Mangaung as a "secondary" or "intermediate" city (SACN, 2014). Mangaung's regionalist (provincial) focus and the strong economic links between its urban capital, the surrounding semi-urban Bantustans and other rural areas, places it in the secondary cities category (Krige, 1991; SACN, 2014). Compared with Johannesburg or Mumbai, for example, Mangaung is not a 'world-class' or 'mega' city. It is an 'intermediate-sized' or 'second-order' city with an undiversified regional economy and a relatively small urban population (Hart & Rogerson, 1989; Rogerson, 2016). Secondary cities are a special category of cities in developing country regions. They were developed in the 1970s as former colonial settlements and traditional centres for trade, transportation, administration and cultural activities. Post-colonial urban governments sought to use these inherited city clusters as catalytic stimulants to the ailing rural economies of surrounding settlements, primate city migration absorbers with economic trickle down effects for the lagging and depressed regions (Rondinelli, 1983).

Despite their roles in national economic development and counter-urbanization, secondary cities are often neglected in research by urban scholars who prioritize global or mega-cities instead (Marais, et al., 2014; Rogerson, 2016). Africa's secondary cities gained research attention in the 1980s development discourses rather than in mainstream urban geography (Hart & Rogerson, 1989; Robinson, 2002). Recognition of the urban value of secondary cities to national economic development and urbanisation has, however, renewed geographers' interests in them. Perceived as 'new frontiers' for urban policy research (Rogerson, 2016), secondary cities are identified as key research areas more so for the practical role they play in creating an integrated settlement pattern of urban-rural systems (Hart & Rogerson, 1989; Otiso, 2005; Robinson, 2002; Rogerson, 2016).

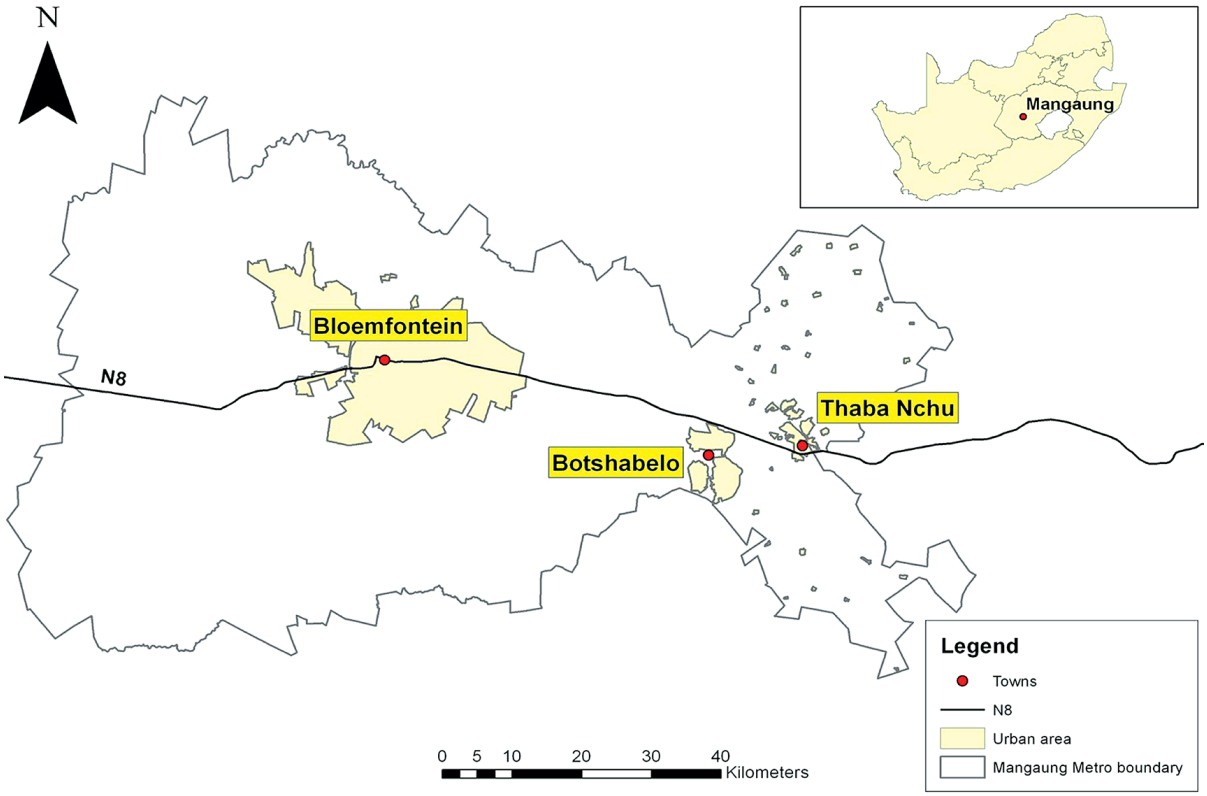

Figure 1. Mangaung's political urban geography. Source: Marais et al. (2014).

Mangaung's intermediate size does not detract from its spatial quality as a functional urban area that undergoes socio-spatially transformative processes similar to those experienced in other cities. Its classification indicates that it is a different city that belongs to a different category or class of cities (Robinson, 2002; Rondinelli, 1983). This article contributes to an emerging body of geographical research on the South African city of Mangaung and its public spaces. In the process, the article seeks to break the established "academic position that regarded Bantustans as a comic opera unworthy of serious attention" (Ramutsindela, 2001, p. 176) through Lefebvre's (1991, 2004) spatial triad and rhythmic concepts.

4. Bloemfontein CBD: A Brief Introduction

Hoffman Square is a public space situated in Bloemfontein's central business district (CBD). It is as old as the post-colonial and post-apartheid city it inhabits (Van der Westhuizen, 2011). In its political production, Bloemfontein city denied blacks—Africans, Indians and Coloureds—physical and social access to its built environment (Krige, 1991). The advent of democracy in 1994 saw Bloemfontein's white citizens and capital emigrating from the CBD to segregated communities that spread in all four directions from the compact inner city, thus rapidly changing Bloemfontein's spatial form through suburban residential developments (Ferreira & Visser, 2015; Hoogendoorn et al., 2008). The sprawl of gated communities or "high-density walled townhouse complexes" in Mangaung, is an important process that continues to redefine the changing character of the post-apartheid city (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017, p. 191). While Bloemfontein's CBD functions have emigrated from the inner city (Hoogendoorn et al., 2008), the physical landscape has remained intact. The task for the Mangaung metropolitan administration is therefore to revive its declined inner cities in Bloemfontein and Thaba Nchu. Interestingly, Hoffman Square and the general "public spatial environment" surrounding Mangaung's CBDs are barely recognised or identified as practical tools with which to regenerate the stagnant CBDs (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017, p. 204). Africans, once denied the "right to urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses" (Mitchell, 2003. p. 19) in Bloemfontein, became the city's *de jure* citizens from 1994 onwards. Since then, little has been done by researchers—Kotze's (2003) study being the exception—to advance our understanding of post-apartheid Bloemfontein and its different (or African) inhabitants through its public spaces than through the lens of gated residential sprawl. This study lays the foundation for a conceptual analysis of Mangaung's public spaces and their social reproduction by African inhabitants.

4.1. Hoffman Square

Hoffman Square is a conceived space that has been designed and redesigned by planners, architects and

statesmen who conceived "laws, decrees and ordonnances" regulating conditions for its development (Lefebvre, 1991; Strohmayer, 2016, p. 55). Since its colonial production, the Square has undergone a series of physical changes and appropriation (see attached Appendix):

> The 1970s design looked weird. There were some buildings and some open spaces on the square that we had to demolish to get it flat. (F. Karstel, personal communication, July 27, 2017)

Mangaung imagined an inclusive 'world-class' square with green elements that have always been a part of the Square's identity:

> The municipality wanted to have an open square, flat and 'world class'. They…wanted smart elements…a 'greening' of the square with new transportation elements…a square for people. (F. Karstel, personal communication, July 27, 2017)

Hoffman Square is a semi-green public space in Bloemfontein's inner city. It is a focal point of cultural exchange, civic pride and community expression (Zhai, 2014). Its design inspires human presence, movements and relationships between itself and individuals interacting in it (Koochaki, Shahbazi, & Anjomshoa, 2015). It is surrounded by several colonial and modern buildings (Figure 2). There are four main public transportation shelters and several minor ones lining the two streets running parallel to the square. There are also trees, seating areas, waste bins, some lawns, a toilet, artworks, a 2012 memorial placard to an ANC activist, and, the World War I and World War II war monument. Hoffman Square is therefore the urban stage on and through which inhabitants' spatial competencies and their associated social performances in the city play out.

Compared with, for example, Johannesburg's Mary Fitzgerald Square, Hoffman Square is a public space par excellence. It is publicly owned and managed by Mangaung for the 'public' society to use. The Square's 'publicness' is determined by its public management and public uses (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). The 'public' in this regard are ordinary people or Lefebvre's (1991) users and inhabitants. The 'public spaces' they use *invite* rather than *discourage* active participation in the reshaping of the urban society (Strohmayer, 2016). Hoffman Square is a 'public' public space. It is a square for the people, a *representational* or 'lived' space (Lefebvre, 1991). As lived space, the Square is passively experienced by Africans and the few whites who utilise it. A conceived space is passively experienced by users who do not stand before the public space or in it as one would stand before a painting, a mirror or work of art. As Lefebvre (1991) notes, users generally know that they have a space (or not) even if they have no say in its conceived representations and symbolism. Hoffman Square's users have no direct influence on the changing nature of the Square's design and its symbolic representations. This despite Mangaung's public participation processes particularly for spatial projects affecting local communities. Since it is a conceived space that inhabitants are free to appropriate, Hoffman Square is a vibrant public space in which daily routine is perceived in its unfettered diversity and simultaneity.

Figure 3 depicts Hoffman Square in active use. The figure is an expression of the interaction between cyclical (diurnal) and linear (social) rhythms. To the homeless, the Square is a place for sleeping. To others, it is a place of temporary rest, selling, buying, cycling, skateboarding and exchanging information. This cacophony of social practices sets Hoffman Square and its war monument in motion. The war monument (Figure 3) is commanding. It draws users of the Square to its space like pins to a mag-

Figure 2. Contemporary Hoffman Square in Bloemfontein. Source: Google Maps.

Figure 3. Appropriating Hoffman Square. Source: photograph by author.

net. It creates an incessant spectacle between itself and users who take pictures in front of it night and day. The secretion of a clandestine tourist effect by the war monument that is managed by Free State Heritage, evokes heterotopia. According to Foucault (1984/1967, pp. 3–4), heterotopia is "something like counter-sites…effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites…found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted". Lefebvre (1991) considers heterotopias to be mutually repellent spaces whose utopias (urban ideals) are occupied by the symbolic (lived) and the imaginary (conceived). Therefore, Hoffman Square's mutually repellent political heritage sites—along with the Africans that were once excluded in Bloemfontein—represent utopian heterotopias. As time passes, the diurnal-social rhythms depicted in Figure 3 give way to a nocturnal-social rhythm that "eats bit by bit into the night" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 74). At night the number of bodies deployed in Hoffman Square shrinks. Some users linger in the Square after work and school to escape the boredom of domestic life, revealing for the context, that "night does not interrupt…diurnal rhythms" but rather "modifies them…slows them down" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 30), as indicated in Figure 4.

Though body (energy) reduction in the Square is also influenced by the declined state of the CBD, LED lighting however makes up for this. The Square's lighting systems—together with surrounding traffic, and street

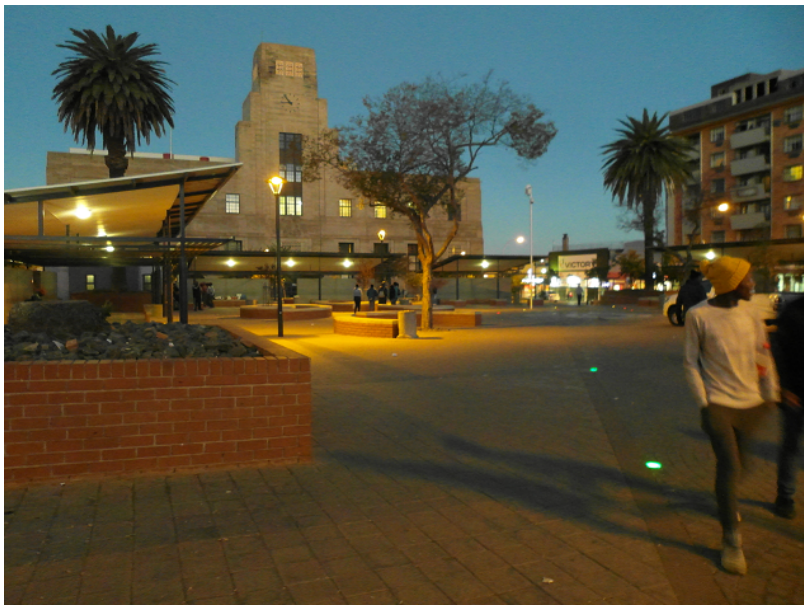

Figure 4. Night-time uses of Hoffman Square. Source: photograph by author.

and buildings lights—inspire its night-time uses. The availability of free Wi-Fi at Hoffman Square also encourages its nocturnal uses. Amin (2015) considers this technological dimension and function of a square to be an expression of its summoning effect. Strangely, spatial struggles for access to, and uses of, Hoffman Square among its users, and between its users and Mangaung are barely visible. Conversations with users however soon revealed the concealed tension between ordinary users and the homeless. The homeless—called 'mabaida' in local slang—use the Square like everyone else. They inhabit it, making full and complete usage of its moments and places (see Figure 3). Yet in the public space, the social practices of the homeless rather than their physical presence at Hoffman Square, is perceived as arrhythmic:

> We don't like 'mabaida', they're a nuisance. (User 1, personal communication, August 11, 2017)

> I'm irritated by these guys, because you can't enjoy your food…they ask for your drink. They…sniff glue…have runny noses…it's disgusting. (User 2, personal communication, August 11, 2017)

> Large amounts of unpredictable homeless…in your face, smoking glue….We don't want to chase them away because that is also their home. (A. Meyer, personal communication, July 27, 2017)

Being part of the lived space in Hoffman Square, the homeless are not obliged to obey the socially accepted norms or rules set by others in the space (Lefebvre, 1991). Together with a diversity of other users of the Square, the homeless share "a sociological relation of the individual to the group…and…a relation with the largest public space…society" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 95). Hoffman Square is therefore a differential space in which "differences endure or arise on the margins of the homogenized realm" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 373). Different people see one another and are seen there. In Hoffman Square, individuals are at liberty to perform their activities but not through the negotiation of physical space as Wolf and Mahaffey (2016) note. Hoffman Square's homeless, for example, are not disturbed by the judgemental glares of other users in the public space, nor are they compelled to negotiate their uses of the space with different others.

4.2. Thaba Nchu CBD: A Brief Introduction

Thaba Nchu is Mangaung's oldest human settlement (Molema, 1966). Compared with Bloemfontein and Botshabelo, it is the smallest geographical settlement (see Figure 1), with the smallest human population and a scattered spatial pattern of 37 villages (Krige, 1991; Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). In terms of urbanisation, Thaba Nchu is the youngest if not 'least developed' settlement in Mangaung. It is still experiencing radical spatial changes to its traditionally rural geography. The establishment of a modern CBD, a modern town plan and architecture together with the staggered introduction of green spaces around the CBD, signify urbanisation (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2010). Today, historical processes, underinvestment, post-apartheid deindustrialisation and vandalisation of abandoned property, have turned Thaba Nchu into a derelict rural town with a stagnant CBD and a decaying property landscape (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2010; Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017; Murray, 1987). Urban processes and experiences like spatial decay and property disinvestment are not exclusive to Thaba Nchu or to the secondary city it is a part of. In the US city of Detroit, derelict neighbourhoods and unsafe public spaces are experienced as (social) products of post-industrialisation, racial segregation, deliberate underdevelopment and poverty (Nassauer & Raskin, 2014). In response to the dire socio-spatial situation in Thaba Nchu, Mangaung adopted "a people-centred approach…to achieving social justice…where rural and urban areas are integrated, reinforcing an efficient system in which all people have access to opportunities" (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2010, p. 7). This meant using green public spaces—or parks— in the rural town to improve the spatial quality of the surrounding environment along with the social life of its inhabitants. Driehoek Neighbourhood Park and Old Regional Park in Thaba Nchu are additional public spaces informing this Lefebvrian analysis of Mangaung.

4.2.1. Driehoek Neighbourhood Park

Driehoek Neighbourhood Park (DNP) is a small, triangular shaped conceived space in Thaba Nchu's CBD. It is surrounded by commercial buildings, the community cultural centre and banks. DNP features several trees, succulents, rocks, grass, bare soil, small stones, official and private advertising boards, and three benches. DNP also has an 11-car parking lot which is neatly incorporated into its geometric design (see Figure 5). DNP is conceived as "a public or private open space" that must be "frequently used by the surrounding community for relaxation, recreation, sport, economic or any other acceptable social function" (Mangaung Local Government, 2007, p. 1). Both the public and the private sectors use DNP and very little tension arises from their uses and occupation of it.

DNP was strategically introduced in Thaba Nchu in an effort to improve the environmental health of the rural town's declined CBD. The uses of parks for neighbourhood upliftment is a spatial practice that is in line with what US city governments are doing for impoverished or blighted neighbourhoods (Lee, Jordan, & Horsley, 2015; Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014):

> We need to prioritise previously disadvantaged areas…for the development of parks. (D. Coetsee, personal communication, July 25, 2017)

Figure 5. Driehoek Neighbourhood Park. Source: Kagisano (n.d.).

The open design of DNP supports the ebbs and flows of human and vehicular traffic. As shown in Figure 6, inhabitants transform the conceived DNP into a lived space, by overlaying its "physical space" and "making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

Users of DNP vary in terms of age, gender and race. Though the homeless use DNP, there are fewer of them here than on Hoffman Square, which testifies to the representational nature of DNP. Women are the dominant users of DNP since most of them work in the town and take their lunch breaks in the park. Some run errands in the town and rest there between their domestic routines; others wait there for the surrounding businesses to open:

> [DNP] is a good space for having lunch because some shops do not have seating areas for eating. (User 1, personal communication, August 9, 2017)

> I'm resting to allow my high blood to go down….This is my third use of this space just for today…! There's shade from the trees for when the sun gets too hot. (User 2, personal communication, August 10, 2017)

Despite its conceived uses, conflict emerged between lived space and the symbolic systems it overlays, as per Lefebvre's (1991) binary dialectic of the spatial triad. In 2015, DNP had a pond as its central feature. Inhabitants started using it to wash cars and for bathing—a social practice prohibited by the municipal by-laws of 2007. To enforce order, the city replaced the pond with a solid feature. In response, inhabitants formed an alliance with their spatial neighbours in the cultural centre (building in Figure 6), to provide them with water to allow them to continue washing cars at DNP. To date, there has been no policing of inhabitants' informal economic practice of washing cars. Despite its contradictions—which inhabi-

Figure 6. In diurnal spatial practice. Source: photograph by author.

tants overcome—Mangaung has created a conducive environment for public space experiences and uses. Its current challenge is to cultivate a culture of environmental responsibility in all areas under its jurisdiction:

> We've implemented a strategy called 'adopt-a-park' to encourage the community to take ownership of open spaces, to partner with the municipality by adopting open space…picking up papers and watering trees…it's voluntary. (D. Coetsee, personal communication, July 25, 2017)

The strategy is a 'cry and demand' for 'environmental civility', a socio-spatial state of affairs that refers to well-kept and clean public spaces (Varna & Damiano, 2013). The DNP is a popular site for active-passive uses like sitting and eating while resting. Even though eating is a dominant social practice, there are no waste-disposal facilities on site to support this practice. As a result, users tend simply to throw their waste on the ground, littering DNP incessantly. The wind that powers through the town centre also sweeps up paper, plastic and soft-drink cans from the littered streets and dumps them in DNP. Linear-cyclical rhythms in this regard, conspire in the reproduction of environmental incivility in DNP, whose spatial practices—despite their monotony—vary with users, and between night and day. Linear rhythms pick up from 07:00 in the morning as inhabitants traverse the park. By 08:45, users begin to cluster in the park and its parking lot. By 11:00, DNP is in full use as users' movements and commotions—caused by the wind and wind-blown litter, trees and dust, the sound of music from the street speakers of the surrounding shops, vehicle noises, stray dogs and birds, and the billowing smoke from the public kitchen across the street—secrete the society's rhythmic spatial practice. Around 16:45, high-frequency linear-cyclical rhythms slow down and by 18:00, activities and processes of the day are arrested. The night comes and has its full moment in the space, turning Thaba Nchu's CBD into a temporary ghost town until daylight returns to trigger the mundane experiences undergirding everyday life. To borrow from Lefebvre (2004, p. 74), there is no "Saturday Night Fever" in Thaba Nchu's CBD and in DNP—nor is it there in Bloemfontein's CBD and its Hoffman Square.

4.2.2. Old Regional Park

The Old Regional Park (ORP) is a conceived space in Thaba Nchu's outer CBD. It is situated about 400 metres from the town centre (Figure 7). ORP differs from DNP and from Hoffman Square in that it is a circumscribed public space to which access and time of use are controlled. Both the spatial configuration of ORP's enclosure and the fact that it is subject to human surveillance result from its geographical proximity to a gated, private hotel and casino.

Some public spaces in Mangaung have imposed time constraints and ORP is one such space (Mangaung Local Government, 2007). In the same way that users' space is lived, so is users' time. Lived time is "apprehended within space—in the very heart of space: the hour of the day" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 95). The use of time by the conceiver to control spatial access and the lack of time for the lived to appropriate ORP fragments everyday life (Lefebvre, 2004). Fencing and human surveillance are symbolic forms of physical exclusion: they regulate a public space's time-uses (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). Physical exclusion in ORP is not intentional since it is not in the interest of Mangaung to produce exclusive and exclusionary public spaces in Thaba Nchu. As regards its representations, ORP has lighting infrastructure that is dysfunctional, thus

Figure 7. The laid-back rhythm of Old Regional Park. Source: photograph by author.

evoking Lefebvre's (1991) 'double-illusion'. On the one hand, there is the realistic illusion that makes 'objects', like lighting or trees in public space, seem more real and important than the 'subjects' using them; on the other, there is the illusion of transparency that presents ORP as a luminous space that allows action to reign free, with its enclosed design serving "as mediator…between mental activity (invention) and social activity" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 28). In terms of the realistic illusion, I assumed that human surveillance at ORP was for users. However, according to the Mangaung horticulturalist, human surveillance is deployed "to look after assets of the park, not to monitor the behaviour of park users" (S. Feketshane, personal communication, August 6, 2017). Regarding the illusion of transparency, I assumed ORP's nine lighting posts to be functional. The horticulturalist again noted that the lights "work and [they] will soon be replaced with LED lighting" (S. Feketshane, personal communication, August 6, 2017). In practice, though, the lights turned out not to be functional, and in that, ORP's spatial arrhythmia (secret) was exposed. The illusion of transparency thus fell back into the realistic illusion:

> I have been working here since November 2014, there's no electricity...Last week was really cold [−2 ºC] and I was here working. (P. Doe, personal communication, August 23, 2017)

This dynamic, along with ORP's isolation from paved roads, and the facts of closure and enclosure renders ORP both inaccessible and invisible particularly at night. This spatial condition is understood as visual impermeability resulting from design and locational factors that prevent certain spaces from being seen or appropriated at night (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). For this reason, ORP is perceived as a 'slippery space' that disappears at night until diurnal rhythm returns to illuminate it. Users want ORP to be fully functional:

> We want lights to work at night. We want it [ORP] open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. because it's a public place! We want security for the night shift. (User 1, personal communication, August 28, 2017)

Beyond its spatial illusions and cyclical visual inaccessibility, ORP is a lived space with a slow rhythm. Its users trickle in in small numbers from about 08:30 until about 16:45. Its diurnal tempo is slow because of the leisurely nature of the social activities and movements performed in it:

> I don't use the open space in town [DNP] because it's overcrowded. (User 3, personal communication, August 3, 2017)

> I come here in the mornings to run...to listen to myself. (User 4, personal communication, August 3, 2017)

Festivals, as "rites of intimate convivialities or external sociability" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 94), contribute to ORP's spatial practice:

> The last time I was here, there was a family wedding. (User 2, personal communication, August 3, 2017)

> A lot of kids come…mostly in December….Some drink…and want to get into fights….The police help us to evict them. (P. Doe, personal communication, August 28, 2017)

> Our parks are safe….We have officers patrolling [DNP] where ATM scams happen in December and every month-end…[ORP] has its own municipality-contracted security agency…[we] assist with mostly alcohol-related incidents. (C. Lenyatsa, personal communication, August 9, 2017)

Mangaung develops its public spaces "with the goal of achieving and addressing the recreational needs of the community" (D. Coetsee, personal communication, July 25, 2017). This conception tends to ignore the material realities of the rural town: "[s]chool is free. The money in our school goes to property maintenance….Our kids vandalise property…they are bitter" (M. Mphaki, personal communication, August 9, 2017). It is necessary that Mangaung should think differently about Thaba Nchu's parks if these are to have a practical impact on users' everyday lives:

> We cannot allow our open spaces to be damaged by [big] events…our parks are there for recreation, socialisation and relaxation. (D. Coetsee, personal communication, July 25, 2017)

The city needs to be concerned about the users and inhabitants since they have a damaging effect on city parks. In ORP, uncollected consumption waste accumulates in a marshy gully below the boardwalk (Figure 8, left). Broken glass is the norm on concrete surfaces where children play (Figure 8, right). Of the ten waste-disposal bins, only one contained some litter (Figure 9, right). Run-off from one of the taps created marshy conditions beneath the play infrastructure (Figure 9, left). These conditions are potentially dangerous to both children and birds of ORP.

A society's spatial practice secretes that society's space (Lefebvre, 1991). Environmental incivility is a social practice that secretes environmentally degraded space. Inhabitants' unchecked spatial practices of environmental incivility are changing the physical and environmental quality of ORP and DNP. Even though cyclical rhythms are party to spatial incivility, linear rhythms are the main culprits in the spatial production of environmental incivility in ORP and DNP.

Inhabitants and specialists in Thaba Nchu and Bloemfontein alike are aware of the arrhythmic state of affairs:

Figure 8. Waste in the gully (left); unsupervised children playing barefoot (right). Source: photographs by author.

Figure 9. Marshy conditions beneath play infrastructure (left) and an underutilised waste-disposal bin and light post (right). Source: photographs by author.

> I don't' like the vandalism going on in this park. (User 3, personal communication, August 3, 2017)

> You'd be disappointed to see the litter under the bridge…birds die there. (User 1, personal communication, August 28, 2017)

> The female toilets have been locked for weeks because there's a fault with the flushing system….We had a notice on the men's toilets….People are always vandalising order boards. (S. Feketshane, personal communication, August 6, 2017)

> It may be that the city doesn't have capacity or they have…but it's not enough…at the rate people vandalise and throw out their rubbish, they [Mangaung] won't be able to maintain [public spaces]. (F. Karstel, personal communication, July 27, 2017)

5. The Rhythms and Spatial Practices of Mangaung's Public Spaces

Mangaung's public spaces are material expressions of Lefebvre's rhythmic spatial triad. Hoffman Square, DNP and ORP are conceived public spaces that are similar in their representational spatial practices, though they differ in spatial design and location in Mangaung's CBDs. Mangaung's public spaces are political in their daily reproduction and governance. They have been conceived as cohesion-building tools for their historically segregated African inhabitants who before 1994, had unequal access to the city, and unequal rights in participating in the social reproduction of Bloemfontein's public spaces. Today, because of the democratic city's social justice approach to, and political redress through, public spatial planning (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2010), one finds spatial appropriation of the highest order in Mangaung. While the city does not as yet recognise the practical capacity of its public spaces to support a host of informal socio-economic practices—like car washing in DNP, and the selling and buying of goods and services at Hoffman Square—it is however exploring informal street trading for urban renewal (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). Interestingly, Hart and Rogerson's (1989) policy analysis of Bloemfontein argued for the street-vending sector to be perceived as an effective means through which high unemployment levels of the then apartheid city could be addressed. Hoff-

man Square, ORP and DNP present themselves as ideal sites for expanding—and exploring further—organised informal economic uses of public spaces by inhabitants beyond the city's streets. Despite its democratic governance of public spaces, Mangaung struggles to contain and manage the levels of environmental incivility that are reproduced in its public spaces by inhabitants and nature. In Mangaung environmental incivility in the conceived spaces is a spatial practice secreted by lived space. Linear-cyclical rhythms collude in the spatial reproduction of a decayed colonial war monument in a littered Hoffman Square. Despite the large number of concrete waste-bins in Hoffman Square, inhabitants drop their consumption waste in and around the Square, leaving the wind to sweep it up and scatter it throughout the CBD. This is also the case in Thaba Nchu's DNP. This perpetual spatial condition persists because of Mangaung's anti-privatisation policies, its incapacity to manage environmental waste and users' arrhythmic practices that secrete littered and vandalised public spaces. In terms of the 'use-value' and 'exchange-value' dialectic of public spaces, Mangaung's public spaces have a higher use-value that is generated from and through inhabitants' daily uses and abuses. Their exchange-value is lower because of Mangaung's logical rejection of for-profit uses and the private management of its public spaces—processes that affect the 'publicness' of public spaces and their use-value (Landman, 2016; Varna & Damiano, 2013). It is the tradition or spatial practice of the conceived space to dominate lived space and time-uses of the lived in public space. In Mangaung, however, the conceived space produces public spaces "for appropriation and for use…against exchange and domination" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 368). Even though it is careful not to commodify its public spaces, Mangaung plans to import the CIDs model for urban regeneration (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2017, pp. 219–227), this in a city in which users struggle to pay a minimal fee for using Hoffman Square's toilet:

> They [the city] say that the toilet here is public but I have to pay R2. How is it public? Because of that, people don't use that toilet. They pee behind the generator there [pointing] and it smells….People can't afford that. (User 1, personal communication, August 11, 2017)

Urinating in public space is evidence of a pathological rhythm or arrhythmia that does not discriminate between the public spaces under analysis. Social pathology breeds environmental incivility. Inhabitants' unabated littering and unmonitored acts of vandalism are indications that these spaces are in crisis, and that they are indeed threatened by the very users for whom they are conceived and publicly managed. In an economically challenged secondary city, commodification of public space is not (as yet) a viable option (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008). Creative means and public education strategies—perhaps beginning with the 'adopt-a-park' strategy—must therefore be explored if public space incivility in Mangaung is to be mitigated. If Mangaung's public spaces continue in their neglected and decaying state, future inhabitants of the city will have no healthy lived spaces in which to socialise, relax and play, and from which to generate sustainable livelihoods. Sadly, Ramoroka and Tsheola's (2014, p. 64) analysis that dirt and decay in the non-commodified urban public spaces of South Africa are "the exclusive preserves of black populations", is also true of Mangaung.

6. Conclusion

This article explored three public spaces in Mangaung using Henri Lefebvre's (1991, 2004) spatial concepts of The POS and ERA. The spatial politics explored and experienced in Mangaung are significantly different from traditional politics of public space uses from elsewhere. In Mangaung, public spaces are not used as common sites for collective protest action and perpetual marginalization by neoliberal capitalism. Instead, the struggle is for the actual physical public spaces against social processes and natural rhythms which subject the conceived representational spaces to harsh environmental conditions and social practices that deteriorate their physical appearance and diminish their potential economic value *for inhabitants*. In Mangaung, the conventional social dialectic between the dominant conceived space and the dominated lived space, is inverted. This is largely due to Mangaung's urban-rural geographical profile that informs the city's spatial plans and governance strategies: the latter consciously promoting the production of representational public spaces. It remains to be seen whether the harmonious dialectic—between Mangaung and its inhabitants—and the disharmonious dialectic—between users and public spaces—will still hold when CID strategies, for example, become an attainable reality in Mangaung.

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Conflict of interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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Article

A Polyphonic Story of Urban Densification

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Abstract
Urban strategies, representing stories of possible futures, often intervene in already established local communities and therefore call for a considerate urban intervention. This article utilises the ideas of Henri Lefebvre's socially produced space and of literature on stories involved in planning. Our empirical example tells a story of urban densification aspirations for an inner-city neighbourhood in Tampere, Finland. By combining the interviews of local people and planners with policy documents, we argue that *planners' stories* pay too little attention to *the place* and to *local stories*. Planners' abstract visions of the future and local stories building on lived experiences both draw meanings from the same place but have very different intentions. In our case, the consultation of the project started out wrong because the planners neglected a neighbourhood thick in symbolic meanings and the local stories' power in resistance. By understanding the place as polyphonic in its foundation, planners could learn about the symbolic elements and reasons for people's place attachment, and thus end up re-writing the place together. Urban interventions such as urban densification should connect to the place as part of its polyphonic historical continuum and acknowledge the residents' place attachments.

Keywords
Henri Lefebvre; place attachment; polyphony; spatial triad; stories; storytelling; urban densification; urban infill

Issue
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1. Introduction

Since the 1960s, the modernist way of urban planning has been criticised for homogenising cities and ignoring the citizens (e.g., Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1968/1996, 1974/1991). One of the first to address the contradiction between abstract urban planning and lived experiences was Henri Lefebvre, who advocated the citizens' right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968/1996, 1974/1991, pp. 396–397). Lefebvre notes how planners reduce the social space into an abstract space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 370), hence resulting in the alienation of the citizens' lived experiences and supressing the everyday poiesis into dullness. Despite his critique of Fordist-Keynesian capitalism and modernist urban planning as an elementary part of its spatial practice, he maintains his optimism and hope for humanism. The discontent against the modernist subordination of city life arouses countering forces that can confront this abstract conception of space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 52, 391). Calls for making planning processes more aware of the citizens' opinions did inspire scholars and planners to develop participatory planning methods (Forester, 1989; Healey, 2007). But still, we seem to be far away from realising the citizens' genuine right to the city. Urban planning still neglects the place[1] of the citizens and their stories (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012; Sandercock, 2003).

[1] We adopt a conception of place as a signified space, thus distancing ourselves from the philosophical debate between space and place (e.g., Ingold, 2011, pp. 145–149; Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Massey, 2005).

More recently, scholars of the "story turn" in planning (Sandercock, 2010, pp. 17–18) have highlighted rhetoric and visual presentations as crucial in communication and stories as catalysts in participatory planning procedures (Forester, 1989; Sandercock, 1998, 2010; Throgmorton, 1996). Cities are filled with collective and subjective representations (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013); yet, plans tend to represent places as fixed. In practice, various actors socially produce places, making them relational depending on the perspective (Davoudi & Strange, 2009, p. 5; Ingold, 2011, pp. 145–155). The dialectic of different stories shapes places through socio-spatial practices, leaving traces of "stories-so-far" on the urban landscape (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 110; Massey, 2005, p. 9). If planners do not acknowledge local stories in any way, the legitimation of urban planning will become difficult. Our contribution in this article brings Lefebvre's spatial triad (1991, pp. 38–39; Leary-Owhin, 2016, pp. 14–15) and the literature on stories involved in planning together and reflects on these in a Finnish urban densification case. Plans are representations of space promoting a certain story for the future city, and their purpose is to control spatial practices producing the city. Planners' stories often conflict with the local stories, building on lived experiences in situ—its spaces of representation. Conflicting narratives affect how the place actually changes via concrete spatial practices of different actors, such as the planners, the constructors and the local people. We argue that one of the key questions is how to reconcile *planners' stories*, *local stories* and *the place*.

The importance of stories becomes evident in situations where the power relations of a planning practice change, as in our urban infill[2] case of the inner-city neighbourhood of Tammela in the city of Tampere. The current case portrays a new situation in Finland: urban planners try to develop housing companies'[3] privately owned land, hence depending on local approval to proceed with their densification aspirations. Thus far, the city's planners have downplayed the importance of the place's history and locality, which are particularly thick in symbolic meanings. For planning to gain local support, it needs an orientation that connects the local stories with the abstract plans in a workable way. We will not take sides whether an infill development should or should not proceed, but rather emphasise the polyphonic nature of the place under planning. In the concluding part of the article, we return to the question of how planning practices should approach and bring forward the local stories representing a place.

2. Stories Involved in Planning

In this section, we describe our understanding of how the literature of stories involved in planning situates on Lefebvre's spatial triad, and then formulate our analytical concepts. According to Lefebvre, planner's representations of space impose spatial practices that often conflict with the local spaces of representation, which users' lived experiences signify. The dialectic of *planners' stories* about the future and *local stories* built on lived experiences affect how the spatial practices of the citizens, planners and construction companies actually produce *the place*. Urban planning, indeed, is a field of conflicting stories that keeps on producing the city and attached meanings (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Thus, the city is a polyphonic story (Ameel, 2016; Ferilli, Sacco, & Blessi, 2016), which offers "multiple trajectories" for planners to produce the city's future (Healey, 2007, p. 229; also Jensen, 2007, pp. 217–218).

The attention on stories in planning theory has been gaining importance since the 1990s, starting from James A. Throgmorton (1993, 1996, 2003), who argues that planning is persuasive storytelling. According to him, even though planners use disciplined and objective methods to abstract places into plans, more crucially, they use words to persuade others that their point of view is right for the practice. Throgmorton (2003, p. 146) notes that "powerful actors will strive to eliminate or marginalize competing stories, and that those powerful actors will include some planners to devise plans (stories about the future) that are designed to persuade only a very narrow range of potential audiences". Planners persuasively promote their representation of space by telling a story of the future, hoping it will affect spatial practices and result in an urban intervention.

The places where people live have a foundational story by which the identity of the place is constructed (Sandercock, 2003, pp. 17–18). Sandercock (2003, p. 18) argues that "[t]he need to collectively change (and represent in the built environment itself) these old foundational stories are one of the contemporary challenges facing planners". The local people acknowledge the symbolic elements of the place. These spaces of representation become apparent when they tell stories of that particular place. Thus, planners' abstract strategies threaten to change these foundational stories, generating opposition in the neighbourhood. Still, Sandercock (2003, 2010) argues that "planning as performed story" can help planners perform better by expanding practical tools, by sharpening critical judgement and by widening the circle of democratic discourse. Likewise, van Hulst (2012) promotes a more inclusive method to incorporate local stories into institutional planning. Goldstein, Wessells, Lejano and Butler (2015, p. 1300) go further, arguing that "[c]ommunities need to tell their own stories in order to identify system properties that are meaningful and compelling and enhance their personal and collective agency". Narration can thus increase the community's re-

[2] Urban infill refers to a practice of building flats into vacant or underused spaces on a housing lot to densify the urban structure (see Tampere, 2015).

[3] A housing company is a limited liability company if its purpose is the ownership and possession of one or more buildings. The dwellers own shares of the company, giving them the right to live in a certain flat. The shareowners elect a managing board amongst themselves. They often have little or no background in housing policy and urban development, which often poses challenges for decision-making. In Finland, 57.3% of the dwellings are owner occupied, 31.2% are rental, and the remaining 11.5% have miscellaneous types of tenure (Statistics Finland, 2017a).

silience by helping it to adapt to changing circumstances (Goldstein et al., 2015, p. 1287). Even though scholars acknowledge the importance of listening to local stories, they often seem subordinate to planners' stories.

Soja (2003) criticises Throgmorton's persuasive storytelling of neglecting spatiality. Throgmorton (2003, p. 134) acknowledges the need for spatialising the storytelling imagination and underlines planning taking place in "a global-scale web of relationships". Global competitive strategies become visible in local places, which is why Jensen (2007, pp. 212–217) calls for planners to adopt spatially sensitive narratives to acknowledge the lived space meaningful for local people. With a similar orientation, Childs (2008, p. 184) writes: "[l]istening to stories of place can inform designers about the narrative fabric that is as much a critical part of the context of a site as the soil type". Planners' abstract plans and lived local stories both stem from the same place. Thus, through spatial practices, they also keep on re-writing the stories-so-far of the urban landscape. The multiplicity of citizens' voices therefore contests the place and its foundational story. Hillier and Van Wezemael (2012) argue that planning procedures should allow participants to experience place from many perspectives. Kornberger (2012, pp. 101–102) notes that planners' "strategy will always, at least partially, fail to determine the future because agents may use, abuse and sometimes subvert strategies". The city's future remains open because contesting spatial practices socially produce it.

Returning to Lefebvre's ideas, we find that the stories involved in planning have much in common with the social production of space. It is hard for planners to reduce the multiplicity of local voices into a compelling representation of space, especially when the purpose is to tell a new story for the future of the place. The local stories built on the lived experiences and highlighting the spaces of representation easily conflict planners' representations. Rather than just trying to integrate local stories into plans, we suggest underlining the actual reasons for people's place attachment and the character of the place. Therefore, we want to address the place as a polyphonic story, which intertwines the planner's stories, the local stories and the place itself. Those three elements are:

a) Planners' stories: referring to conceived space and representations of space, as they are mental abstractions of social space, often lacking the local stories *for* planning. By persuasive storytelling, planners then promote this conception of a possible future to local people or construction companies and politicians;
b) Local stories: referring to the lived experiences and spaces of representation. Local people narrate symbolic meanings to a place through memories and past events. The everyday life differs from abstract plans; as a result, local stories will take an antagonistic position if they do not share planners' conception of the future. Therefore, counter-narratives are likely to appear when planners appoint the place under planning;
c) The place: referring to perceived space and spatial practices. From the analytical standpoint, deciphering the place reveals society's spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 38). The spatial underpinning is the source for both stories, but through socio-spatial practices, the place and its symbolic meanings are constantly re-written. Despite its constant changing, the place always accommodates the stories-so-far and offers material referents to place attachment, as well as imaginary elements for planners' spatial abstraction.

3. Methodology

Planning scholars often use narrative analysis (Landmann, 2012, pp. 32–33). In stories, the narrator recounts the event, the meanings and feelings associated with it and its implications. Narratives deal with the complexities of real life and are often hard to summarise under neat categories (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 84). However, "hard-to-summarise" narratives provide insight into the complexities and contradictions a given urban intervention involves (Landmann, 2012, p. 29). In our empirical example, we wanted to discover how the planners and the local dwellers experience and represent the urban infill process. Tammela's densification as a "*critical case* can be defined as having strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). Thus, learning from the difficulties in Tammela may also add to the understanding of other planning cases, especially in urban densification areas.

We examined the policy documents of Tammela's densification project published on the city of Tampere website (Tampere, 2018), and used them as background information to understand the timeline of the process and to contextualise the interviews. By carefully reading the core documents (e.g., Vision of Tammela, 2012) and the documents related to the city strategy-making (e.g., Tampere, 2015, 2016), we interpreted how they represented Tammela and the city development. We then analysed the planners' stories more closely by interviewing seven people working on the area's urban infill. Five of them were municipal officials from the city of Tampere, and two were self-employed consulting architects. These interviews concentrated on how planners experienced the process of Tammela's urban densification project and the city strategy-making; the interviews lasted from one to three hours and were conducted in 2016. In the spring of 2016, we constructed an interview frame from the policy documents and prepared students of Regional Studies and Environmental Policy to gather the local dwellers' stories. To have a general idea of the neighbourhood, the students interviewed 43 people in Tammela: 10 people working in the area and 33 people living in the neighbourhood. The discussion focused on

how they saw the past and future of Tammela and what they thought of the urban infill plans. These interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour.

We analysed the transcribed interviews in Nvivo (e.g., Bailey, Devine-Wright, & Batel, 2016, p. 203). Our analysis sought to understand what kind of story the interviewee was trying to tell about the place through the inclusion of certain aspects and the choice of words and phrases; this helped us understand the story told and thus the storyteller (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2006, p. 320). By categorising popular themes concerning Tammela's history, the urban infill strategy and the locality, we examined how the planners' stories and local stories collided. While analysing the interviews, it became obvious that the planners and the locals built very different understandings of the place, which could be the most important reason behind the tensions between them. The planners primarily view Tammela as an instrumental place for the city's development, and from that position, tell stories of the problematic planning procedure. The local dwellers' interviews have diverse content and a less straightforward stance toward the densification. Our epistemic position is to view the planning process and the place itself as polyphonic and relational; we are not looking for a universal foundational story, but rather, want to learn from the planning process through narration.

4. A Place in Transition

The driving force of our story originates in a typical transition from a blue-collar city to a knowledge and culture city, compelling the city officials and politicians to draw a new urban strategy (Gressgård, 2015, p. 112; Sandercock, 2003). Tampere is located in southern Finland on an isthmus of two lakes with a rapid in the middle, which early on provided energy for factories. It has been a major industrial city, but during the last few decades, its economy has centred on high technology and services. Still, the population of Tampere grows steadily. In the past 30 years, its population grew by 60,000 to the current 228,000 inhabitants, and the municipal officials project it to receive 40,000 new inhabitants by the year 2040 (Tampere, 2014, 2016). Until recent years, Tampere sought growth from suburbanisation, but now the trend is to intensify urban structure to prevent growth from slipping into neighbouring municipalities (Vision of Tammela, 2012). Politicians and urban planners drew a new strategy to boost the population and economic growth by promoting urbanism: improvement of public and private transportation, large-scale construction projects and infill development of the existing urban structure (Tampere, 2015, 2016).

The inner-city neighbourhood of Tammela (population of 5,646; see Tampere, 2014) is an essential part of Tampere's urban densification strategy. In the first half of the 1900s, citizens considered Tammela the capital of cobblers because of its concentration of Finnish shoemakers. Being a central industrial location, it was a large working-class neighbourhood with the city's main market place. Tammela's urban landscape consisted mostly of workers' wooden houses and red brick factory buildings (Vision of Tammela, 2012, pp. 16–20). After the Second World War, Finnish urbanisation drew people in from rural to urban areas, causing an acute housing shortage. Concurrently, modernist orientation to urban planning triggered a major renovation of cities as a part of social development (Hankonen, 1994), and the 1966 plan of Antero Sirviö transformed the neighbourhood of Tammela. The city developers demolished most of the wooden buildings, and the tenants needed to relocate to housing projects further from the city's centre (Koskinen & Savisaari, 1971). Sirviö planned eight-storey, pre-cast concrete blocks of flats to intensify the urban structure and to improve the citizens' poor housing conditions. He preserved Tammela's historical grid plan, but in many cases, the developers built the new housing estates in the centre of the building lots, leaving large areas for parking lots and unused green areas. After the massive urban renovation in the 1970s, the following decades saw only moderate changes in Tammela's urban landscape. One by one, factories were closed and transformed into flats. Residents changed, and as a reaction to the social change of the place, the citizens recognised Tammela's renewed image and re-constructed identity. Tammela's neighbourhood association honoured the place thick with symbolic meanings, organised events and published books of its history (Wacklin, 1997, 2008). The local residents now recognise the urban landscape as representing stories about its working-class history with its few remaining wooden buildings and historic factories, but also about its massive post-war social change with the concrete blocks of flats. Tampere's growth re-emphasises Tammela's significance in its urban structure, raises housing prices,[4] and increases the political interest to pursue densification (Table 1).

In 2008, planning officials began to investigate Tammela's densification. In September 2009, the municipal executive committee designated it as the first neighbourhood for urban infill planning (Vision of Tammela, 2012, p. 7). Planning officials realised that with the infill development of the relatively loosely built blocks of the 1970s, Tammela would have the potential space for 4,000 new inhabitants. In April 2011, municipal officials held a professional opening seminar for Tammela's densification project in the City Council Hall (Vision of Tammela, 2012, p. 14). Planning officials' unfinished and unpublished vision of Tammela's infill development was leaked on the Internet, showing a date of 11 June 2012 (Vision of Tammela, 2012). On 18 June 2012, the municipal executive committee accepted the Vision of Tammela (2012) as the basis for infill development, and planners then introduced it to the local area. Later on, they integrated

[4] The average price of flats increased by 33%, to 3063 €/m^2, between 2007 and 2016 (postal code 33500; Statistics Finland, 2017b).

Table 1. Timeline of Tammela's urban densification planning.

2000	First steps in inner-city infill development.
September 2009	Municipal executive committee designates Tammela as a pilot area for infill development.
April 2011	Municipal officials hold an opening seminar for the professionals.
September 2011	The mayor appoints an evaluation group consisting of 10 professionals and one representative from Tammela's neighbourhood association.
June 2012	The Vision of Tammela is leaked on the Internet and the municipal executive committee ratifies it as the basis for the infill development.
2012–2014	Planning officials organise public hearings on individual planning cases, not about the vision as such.
2014–2017	City officials hire consulting architects to approach housing companies and to draw block plans of suitable infill development.

the project into the larger city strategy-making (Tampere, 2015, 2016). Tammela's densification vision was an ambitious and extensive regeneration plan, but it remained a purely technical performance without public consultation before it was made public in 2012. During 2012–2014, the city arranged public discussions regarding a street plan and a football stadium in Tammela. The public, however, wanted to discuss the Vision of Tammela document in these hearings because they had had no previous opportunities to talk about it. Tammela's densification faced severe problems in its implementation. Resident-owned housing companies, which possess most of the land, were unwilling to develop their lots. The future of the densification process depends on these land-owning housing companies, but the first plans did not incorporate any aspirations of the dwellers. The Vision of Tammela (2012, p. 5) presents the need for densification as following:

> Stopping the diffusion of urban structure is one of the most important challenges for urban planning. The constant expansion of urban structure causes additional costs for maintaining the infrastructure and the service network, and an ecological burden by increasing traffic flows.…Growth pressure has to be directed in a controlled manner to attract inhabitants and businesses, new housing and jobs, without destroying the identity, appeal and natural boundaries.

The densification plan represents a holistic answer to contemporary urban questions, but at the same time, it homogenises the place to merely another problem in urban development (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 287–288, 341–342). The planners' abstract vision of the dense urban form follows the example of Vancouver, Canada, and its strategy for promoting urbanism (Vision of Tammela, 2012, p. 10; see also Leary-Owhin, 2016). Their urban infill vision leaned on objective reasoning and technical visualisations (Figure 1). However, Tampere's planning officials underestimated the power of local stories and housing companies. From 2012 onwards, the city officials continued the business-as-usual kind of participatory planning practice with conventional public hearings (Leino & Laine, 2012; Leino, Santaoja, & Laine, 2017) and assumed housing companies would eventually sell building rights to the construction companies. However, the planners' story of the future Tammela remained abstract, without recognising the local stories and respecting the neighbourhood's symbolic elements (Ameel, 2016; Sandercock, 2010).

5. From Abstract Strategy to Locality

As soon as the problems became clearer, the planners decreased the expected population growth from 4,000 to 2,500 because the urban infill "would probably materialise over a very long period" (Tampere, 2016, p. 46). During 2012–2015, they continued persuading the public with their holistic story, in which they had great belief. One architect states the following:

> You must have an idea. A dream, a vision and a concept, then they realise its value. Then we start executing it and enhancing it even further, the ones we can. And in the end, through the process with the participants, it becomes better. Or this is how we thought it would be. (Planning architect)

As Lefebvre notes (1974/1991, pp. 75–76), "[w]e build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images". Thus, being able to tell and represent a compelling story is central to contemporary planning practice (Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 2003). The planners of Tammela understood the strategic importance of persuading the local people. They believed their story was impressive and thorough enough, but they did not induce it from the locality. Kornberger (2012, p. 91) writes that "strategy offers a platform for envisaging a big picture that represents a shared future uniting people beyond the differences and conflicts of today". Tammela's case lacked this aspect of strategy-making. The city officials were unable to understand why the locals did not accept their story. Gressgård (2015, p. 117; see also Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 371) notes that "[u]rban strat-

Figure 1. Vision of Tammela's densification potential (Vision of Tammela, 2012, p. 40). The lighter buildings represent possible new buildings. Later on, planners promoted an even more ambitious densification vision, for example, to build 12-storey apartment buildings around the football stadium (centre-bottom).

egy works to establish a fully-fledged structural totality that forecloses alternative meanings of cultural elements and relations". The vision of Tammela's (2012) future was a spatial abstraction drawn at the planners' desks—the place was special only as a useful piece of land for the city's development. In this document, planners used historical images to raise the symbolic value of the neighbourhood but did not acknowledge the postwar development or effects on people's everyday living. Planning officials aimed their argument for the political audience by presenting the infill development as being two to 10 times more economically efficient than building more developments in the suburbs (Vision of Tammela, 2012, p. 43). The economic growth agenda drove the densification policy and focused primarily on representing the objective examination of the targeted building volume increase. Consequently, the planners ignored the stories of the neighbourhood's symbolic history and place attachments.

Because of the public's reluctant reception, in 2014, planning officials began to direct resources to work on single blocks, besides the whole neighbourhood project. City officials hired consultants to continue the persuasive storytelling and to listen to local voices (see Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012, pp. 325–326). Trying to find ways to unlock the situation, the consultants organised workshops directly for the housing companies:

> Usually in these sorts of projects, it [city planning policy] has counted on the work of professionals—thinking that the professionals know what's happening in the neighbourhood, but actually this is not the case at all. (Consulting architect)

Finnish urban planners experience interaction with the local dwellers as difficult (Leino & Laine, 2012). Even though participatory planning methods have developed in Finland, the planners usually continue to follow the same routine; they abstract the place into a plan and simultaneously lose something essential about the lived space: its symbolic meanings, history and culture. Tampere's planning officials promoted their vision in public hearings and participated in the debate, yet the gap between abstract planning and local life remained wide, as one resident noted:

> [T]hese public hearings have quite often led to heckling and jeering. The ones I've been to have not been really good spirited. And then there's a bit of that, that the city officials don't have that common know-how, for example when someone asks a difficult or even a stupid question, they don't know how to answer. They just don't understand what the people are asking. (Local resident)

Following Lefebvre, Healey (2007, pp. 242–243) notes that planners are an "inside" community shaped within the epistemic community of practices. The residents of a particular place develop an experientially acquired "local knowledge" of specific conditions, knowledge that dif-

fers from the planners' knowledge (Healey, 2007, p. 243; Leino & Peltomaa, 2012). There are two very different modes of storytelling in action, but the object is the same: they both draw meanings from the place itself. Yet the participation often remains just rhetoric, allowing for no strategic agency for the plurality of visions (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012, pp. 321–326). In some cases, the residents of Tammela show signs of alienation from urban development; the planners' story is out of their control:

> The thing I oppose the most in these changes is that I believe the construction companies collect big profits because they are listed companies and their most important goal is [increasing] the shareholder value. They are not interested in small people's opinions. In addition, the new flats are expensive. (Local resident)

Some participants described Tammela's urban regeneration as "being made for people with deep pockets" (Local male pensioner). The common understanding among the local dwellers is that the banks, the construction companies and the local politicians make decisions about the city without any regard to the citizens' opinions (see Lefebvre, 1968/1996, pp. 167–168). These experiences are rooted in the long tradition of Finnish modernist planning (Hankonen, 1994; Koskinen & Savisaari, 1971; Puustinen, Mäntysalo, Hytönen, & Jarenko, 2017). The distrustful narratives have a visual reminder in Tammela's urban landscape: the 1970s' top-down renovation of the neighbourhood (Koskinen & Savisaari, 1971). Likewise, the new densification plan and the residents' everyday lives in the neighbourhood remain apart. Even though planners began to organise public hearings after 2012, people remained wary because the densification could change the character of the place—by gentrification and losing its symbolic meanings (see Figure 2).

6. Character of the Place and Place Attachment

The strategic plans felt alien to the local people but so did the specific locality to the planning officials. The planners' persuasive storytelling was about changing the city—not the community. The previously published neighbourhood histories and Tammela's symbolic meanings were absent from the plans. Likewise, the city officials included the regional museum's expertise in the planning process only in a minor commenting role. Planning officials recognised Tammela's strong identity and historical significance for the locals but seemed to lack the tools for incorporating them into the plans. The Vision of Tammela (2012, p. 25) points out that the modernist renovation of the 1970s is a mistake needing a repair, and by ignoring the locals, planners belittle the past 40 years of lived experiences. The following city strategy (Tampere, 2015, 2016), on the other hand, brands the city as ahistorical: working-class history is irrelevant when telling a story about the city's future. The planners treated the place as an abstract representation of a desirable future, as one official involved in evaluating the city strategy-making described:

> I was left feeling that it (Vision of Tammela, 2012) was pulled out of an architect's hat. That the urban space

Figure 2. A view of Tammela's market place on 1 June 2014. Photo by Minna Santaoja.

> had somehow failed and something had to be done about it.…The attitude was like "I'll plan this into order", just as was done in the sixties and seventies, and now we criticise that back then problems were solved by planning, rationalising, measuring, and calculating. Should we now have another element involved? (Municipal official)

Lefebvre (1974/1991, p. 99) argues that planners view themselves as "doctors of space", offering cures for the sickness of society. This leads the planning procedure to fix the place as given and dissipating the experienced place with different realities and desires (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012, pp. 321–326). During its history, dwellers built distinct narratives of Tammela's industrial past, its major urban renovation in the 1970s and, more recently, its multifaceted urban life. The change in Tammela's significance in urban structure, its vivid urban culture and layered landscape transformed the place into a more colourful neighbourhood than a regular working-class one. A bartender described it: "We're like a 1970s' hippie community. Nobody is treated like a stranger and looked down on. Everybody fits in here" (Local resident). Tammela's urban landscape contains symbolic elements of past eras to which people attach different meanings. The interpretations of the place change via people's everyday practices, yet the past always leaves traces on the landscape (Childs, 2008; Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Massey, 2005):

> My child and I have friends living in the former Aaltonen shoe factory, and we used to live in the former Brander shoe factory, and then there's the Attila factory. Yeah, I know the history. This has been the cobblers' neighbourhood but that doesn't have any connection with my life now. These flats where we live have also been factory workers' dwellings. It is an essential part of the history but nowadays it doesn't show in anyway in the milieu, except that those old factory buildings exist. (Local resident)

There is always a multiplicity of local narratives (Ameel, 2016, p. 36). The identity and character of the place differ depending on the perspective, and these different origins for place attachment are difficult to recognise in the planning process (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012). For the younger residents, historical symbols do not have significant personal meaning, but they see Tammela as a place with an energetic cultural life. In contrast, the elderly residents identify with its strong working-class history. Still, they all attach meaning to the place through their lived experiences.

According to Lefebvre (1974/1991, p. 94), "[s]pace is a social morphology". The place represents more than just the memories attached to them—it also signifies the stories of its users. Its spaces of representation speak (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 42). The most iconic symbolic place is Tammela's market place (Figure 2), a popular gathering place for older people. Many interviewees describe the place as having an illicit history of black market alcohol sales, as the narratives of the market place regulars show: "This here is the wet side and that there is the posh side" (Male pensioner). The urban landscape is the reference into which people narrate place attachment. From this perspective, local people might view a complete remodelling of the market place as a personal threat, as the following interview shows:

> Male pensioner: This (market place) is a very good place in every way. This hasn't been ruined yet. They've been planning a lot, building castles in the sky and underground parking garages, and sure, they want to ruin everything.
>
> Interviewer: Are you opposing those plans?
>
> Male pensioner: Absolutely. The surroundings have already changed a lot, so these few that remain shouldn't be taken. It used to be all wooden houses here, and that building used to be a medicine factory. My grandpa used to live here.…In the 1950s, when there was hardly any asphalt anywhere else, but they were laying it down here, we used to come here and swerve our bikes. God damn, it was fine doing wheelies here because the cobblestone or gravel roads everywhere else would vibrate the fat tyres.…It has a big meaning in my life. (Local resident)

By attaching meaning to the neighbourhood and its symbolic places, the urban landscape constructs the setting of personal events in people's life stories. And so, as in the interview, a radical urban intervention might attack them and their histories. For the younger generations, it seems easier to envision the planners' persuasive storytelling and welcome the urban intervention. For the older residents, the abstract storytelling remains distant because they are used to living in an area that has changed relatively slowly. The question is not whether people are for or against the infill development, but rather, whether they can envision their life in relation to it. Place attachment is about settling in a networked geography of places (Savage, Longhurst, & Bagnall, 2005, pp. 207-208). As Savage et al. (2005, p. 207) argue, "[p]laces are defined not as historical residues of the local, or simply as sites where one happens to live, but as sites chosen by particular social groups wishing to announce their identities". The people who were working in Tammela but living elsewhere also loved the place. There are always multiple local narratives, of which some remain hidden (van Hulst, 2012, p. 313). Therefore, it would be naïve to expect planners to find one foundational story on which to draw a legitimate urban infill plan. Rather, as Ameel (2016, p. 36) suggests, for the "idea of the city as repository of multiple narratives, and the desire to incorporate these into a democratic and inclusive form of planning, a first important step would be

a heightened awareness about the narrative complexity of an area".

As Massey (2005, p. 125) notes, "[y]ou can't hold places still". Places and people change in myriad ways, but it is still important to acknowledge the attachment to and the character of the place in the planning process. After the planning officials had hired consulting architects to promote infill development on the block scale directly to housing companies, the housing companies on three different blocks decided to proceed with the planning process (Tampere, 2017). By organising several workshops and respecting residents' desires, the consulting architects were able to build a discussion forum on: the suitable building volume increase, design and compensations for selling shares for the construction companies. The city of Tampere also endorses the negotiations by promising significant discounts on land use fees for infill development projects (Tampere, 2017, p. 12). Hillier and Van Wezemael (2012, pp. 325–326) note that planners recognise the residents' place attachment more profoundly when they conduct the participation process on a smaller scale. However, the consensus of the neighbourhood's future character remains elusive. Because the Finnish planning procedure increasingly emphasises the importance and convenience of strategic planning over statutory planning (Mäntysalo, Kangasoja, & Kanninen, 2015), the storytelling for the future should be founded on the polyphonic history and character of the place to gain better legitimation among the citizens.

7. Conclusions

Lefebvre's (1974/1991, pp. 105–106) warnings of reducing lived experiences into an abstract space remain philosophical. Therefore, we need practical tools to improve planning practices, and the storytelling imagination can offer an approachable contribution. The problem in several planning processes is that various kinds of stories about a place do not meet, let alone converse with each other. Planners' abstract story of the future subordinates local stories and the place with its symbolic meanings; thus, it ignores alternative futures (Gressgård, 2015, p. 117; Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012; Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 370–371). The identity of the place changes and planners need to recognise it (Sandercock, 2010, p. 25). Currently, many scholars argue for applying the multiplicity of local stories in planning processes to ensure our cities remain humane, inclusive and diverse (e.g., Ameel, 2016; Ferilli et al., 2016; Sandercock, 2010). The local stories can tell planners what is meaningful about the place (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012, pp. 327–328; Jensen, 2007; Soja, 2003). Therefore, Childs (2008, p. 184) suggests that "urban designers should create anthologies of neighborhoods' stories to help inform projects, and otherwise serve as curator and advocate for the vitality of the narrative landscape". Following Lefebvre (1991, p. 365), to transcend the planners' representations of space and representational spaces of the locality we need to recognise the place as expressing socio-political contradictions. The residents should tell the story for the way forward in conjunction with the planners, thus including *the place* and the stories-so-far in the urban landscape (Massey, 2005; Sandercock, 2010, p. 25).

In our case, the story of Tammela is now at a turning point. The current urbanisation process generates political pressure for infill development. However, the residents rejected the planners' holistic densification plan for the neighbourhood. Why this happened, we argue, was because the planners started the process without consulting the local people, even though the land ownership was in local hands. The planners disregarded the local stories, the reasons for people's place attachment and the local power in resistance. Afterwards, the municipal officials, with the help of consulting architects, focused their persuasive storytelling on a concrete block level and tried to interact more closely with the residents. The smaller scale participation received some success, but more public envisioning is needed if the neighbourhood's future story is to gain wider acceptance.

The production of a neighbourhood is a complex ensemble of stories stemming from the planners' desks, dwellers' lives and symbolic elements of the place. We believe that making this polyphonic story more transparent will help the planning process to gain the legitimacy needed to proceed or force planners to re-evaluate their premises. The planners' practice of abstracting the place into plans alienates the citizens' voices from the development, but it also estranges planners from people's lived space. It is necessary to have planners participate in the social interaction to understand the reasons for people's place attachment. Despite the risks of planning officials potentially losing some control of their institutional expertise, public participation calls for experimental approaches (Hillier & Van Wezemael, 2012, p. 327). Nevertheless, some people always decide to remain aside from the participation process, and planners want to silence some inconvenient stories (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 365; van Hulst, 2012, p. 313). Consequently, planners need to acknowledge the minorities and marginalised communities and overcome the participation for the sake of it (Ferilli et al., 2016, p. 99). Local people interact with each other and produce collective representations (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013), which can also arouse resistance and counter-action from bottom-up (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 381–383). According to Lefebvre (1974/1991, pp. 419–420), discussing the views of locals and planners is a measure of a real democracy. Forester (2009, p. 187) notes that it is more difficult to hurt each other when we know one another's stories. We recognise the risk of immersing oneself in memories and refusing all development (Forester, 2009, p. 106). Instead, we propose an idea of the place as changing and relational while acknowledging the history of the place (stories-so-far) for its future users and residents (Massey, 2005). We promote an orientation in which planners' sto-

ries, local stories and the place together composes a polyphonic story.

In Tammela's case, the planners' abstract representation of space projected into an established neighbourhood was destined to fail. Undoubtedly, the planning for Tammela raised issues that concerned the locals, but also the specific locality raised issues that the planners did not understand. Moreover, there will be other issues that cannot yet even be imagined. Smaller scale participation and genuine recognition of lived experiences and symbolic elements, we believe, would result in better planning. The more planners can include the multiplicity of local stories into their representations, the more they will appreciate the differences in experiencing the place. Not all aspects of the future can be favourable for everyone, but envisioning the way forward together with the planners and locals is still a more democratic way to change a place.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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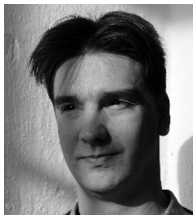

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Article

Critique, Creativity and the Co-Optation of the Urban: A Case of Blind Fields and Vague Spaces in Lefebvre, Copenhagen and Current Perceptions of the Urban

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Abstract
Even though more than four decades have passed since the writing of *The Production of Space*, with walls, governance regimes and financial markets coming tumbling down, cities around the globe still find themselves in—and reproduce what Lefebvre would characterize as—abstract space, a space produced by economy and bureaucracy, and reproducing dominant regimes thereof beyond the grasp of users and inhabitants of cities. In this article, it is argued that an urban perception is cancelled out in the reductive struggle between two dominant perceptions of urban change. The article unfolds in three moments: firstly, an outline of Henri Lefebvre's critique of 'the urban' and 'the production of space' is presented in order to clarify his critique of reductive perceptions and the significance of the urban in his work; secondly, a conceptualizing narrative anchoring Lefebvre's concepts to recent developments in Copenhagen, not least developments related to the sub-cultures, is explored — showing how different agents pursue the realization of different perceptions of urban change; thirdly, it is concluded that this development needs to be conceptualized as a reduction of the urban into a residual as well as the unfolding of a dominant contradiction between 'critique' and 'creativity'.

Keywords
centralities; creative cities; critique of neo-liberalism; diversion; Henri Lefebvre; reduction; the urban; transduction; urban change; vague space

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> We focus attentively on the new field, the urban, but we see it with eyes, with concepts, that were shaped by the practices and theories of industrialization, [which] is therefore *reductive* of the emerging reality. (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 29, italics in original)

1. Introduction

In Copenhagen folklore, Krøyer's Place (Krøyers Plads) is, first of all, synonymous with a high profile antagonistic process regarding a high-rise proposal for a centrally located waterfront site in 2003. It sent the local polity into a state of emergency in the following years and turned the site into a *sleeping Beauty* for more than a decade (Koefoed, 2017; Larsen, 2007).

If one looks a bit closer today, as the site has finally been developed, it seems to confirm currently dominant perceptions of urban change, that is, both 'creative' perceptions within planning practice and theory and critiques hereof within academia and the activist underground. A former, proud and bustling place of maritime industry and commerce developed through centuries is laid waste by a general process of post-industrialization, lies dormant for decades, is temporarily used by creative entrepreneurs, who develop the property culturally, while developing themselves and their endeavor

into economically viable enterprises, after which the creative scene moves on to another post-industrialized space, leaving yet another inevitably gentrified piece of real estate in the booming property jig saw of the city as luxury housing for the urban consumer. Whether perceiving it as an eventually successful attempt at realizing a dream of Copenhagen as cool and creative or as an urbanization of injustice, the case seems to be closed. The result is given and, by default, so is the complex, historical process, which leads up to it. Or is it?

Underneath all functionalist reductions that perceive history as a straight line in the light of a realized present, a plethora of possibilities of something else unfolded in the vague space and opened for different futures, only later to collapse in a Juggernaut of a process en route towards its inevitable conclusion. So, in fact, apart from signifying urban antagonism, entrepreneurial waterfront redevelopment and creative gentrification, Krøyer's Place is also a signifier for other perceptions of urban change, partly developed through the workings of an informal, urban laboratory: Supertanker. The laboratory—which the authors were founding members of—lives on today through the practices, experiences and concepts that molded each other into the vague premonitions of a reinvented Copenhagen urbanity. By reconsidering the development of Krøyer's Place, not least in the founding years of 'creative Copenhagen' (the long decade from the mid-90s to the late 2000s), it is attempted in this article to "unconceal" (Lehtovuori, 2005, p. 114) this take on its history and, in so doing, articulate another perception of urban change, which harbors political and cultural possibilities currently excluded and reduced by dominant perceptions, that is, those of creativity and critique.

This re-imagination of unrealized but possible futures is impossible without—has, in fact, only been possible with—the constant, transductive (a concept of an alternative form of reasoning which will be clarified below) articulation, within a combined methodology of participant observation and action research, between practices, experiences and concepts guided by the urban philosophy of Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre's influence on current perceptions of the city and urban change is broadly recognized today, paradoxically within both creative and critical perceptions of urban change. However, it is less recognized that Lefebvre's strenuous relation with dogmatism in all its shapes and colors (religious, philosophical, capitalist, Stalinist, 'cybernanthropic', structuralist and Marxist) had deep implications for his critique—and thus, also, for his enrollment under the banner of current Marxist critique. In fact, his urban thought has always had an ambivalent relationship with contemporaneous Marxist critique—famously exemplified with his feud with the structuralist Marxism of Manuel Castells in the 70s, but also replicated in the current reception of his ideas.

Therefore, in order to re-imagine the history of Krøyer's Place through Lefebvre's theories of the urban and social space, we also need to untangle Lefebvre's critique from a current (orthodox) Marxist habit of snubbing the urban as well as unorthodox interpretations of Lefebvre with mantras such as 'remember Lefebvre was a Marxist'. The sheer dogmatic and petrifying force of such "blind" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 29) statements—that conveniently bypass Lefebvre's explicit reference to the thoughts of traditional adversaries of Marx in studying and producing modernity such as Hegel and Nietzsche (Lefebvre, 2003b)—is a major theoretical constraint in endeavors into the exploration of new, locally sensitive and timely critiques of urban development; a constraint comparable to the discursive might of local policy-networks in everyday urban practice.

The argument of this article thus unfolds in the following three moments. Firstly, an outline of Henri Lefebvre's critique of 'everyday life', 'urbanization' and the 'production of space' is presented in order to lay the ground. The guiding thread in his ongoing conceptualization is found in the broadly defined productive relation between 'man', society and nature, which gradually unfolds through his different works. Apart from being a critique of narrow and abstract, economicist or bureaucratic perceptions and practices of social space, Lefebvre's focus is the possibilities of an urban alternative to these. An essential moment of his critique is his perception of citizens constantly attempting to realize these possibilities in the crevices of 'vacant spaces' (or rather 'vague spaces, as further conceptualized by Larsen, 2014) far away from the centralities underpinning abstract space. The pivotal, ambiguous, and therefore open role of his concept of 'diversion' is underlined.

Secondly, we disclose a conceptualizing narrative anchoring Lefebvre's concepts to recent developments in Copenhagen. We show how different agents, in a crisis-ridden city, pursue the realization of different perceptions of urban change, where change is most necessary as well as possible, in the vague spaces of the city. The narrative runs more or less in the form of a one-way domination according to values and representations in a creative discourse working according to the neo-liberalizing policy-networks of the city. Today, of course, this is almost stating the obvious, both regarding the developments in Copenhagen and a host of other cities. However, through Lefebvre's concepts, other perceptions of this process are possible.

We conclude, thirdly, by arguing that the development also has to be conceptualized as a reduction of the urban (that is, the reduction of the urban possibilities related to the diversion of vague spaces) through the workings of the urban industry of real estate interests, planning policies, consultants and academia as well as the informal cultures of the city within a dominant contradiction between creativity and its critique.

In this way, the presentation of the urbanization process taking place in those pivotal, ambiguous spaces of Copenhagen, the vague spaces, supplement established, critical narratives of post-industrial Copenhagen—regarding the early (Lund Hansen, Andersen, & Clark, 2001) and intermediate (Bayliss, 2007) phases of the pro-

duction of 'creative Copenhagen' and the waterfront redevelopment in a neo-liberalized context (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004)—with a subcultural and urban perspective. While practically co-opted, the development of these spaces also end up relativizing the dominant contradiction according to the urban potentials of these constantly generated, informal centralities of the city—and the reductive nature of the dominant discourses vis-à-vis the urban and Lefebvre will be demonstrated.

2. Lefebvre on the Productive Significance of the Urban

2.1. From 'The Production of Man' To 'The Production of Space'

From his earliest vantage point in a Hegelian interpretation of Karl Marx, Lefebvre's focus has been the contradictory process of what he, in an essential chapter in *Dialectical Materialism* (Lefebvre, 2009a), characterizes as 'the production of man', that is, the productive interaction with nature in which man both produces a second nature and produces himself in the process. 'Production' is Lefebvre's core concept, his 'concrete universal', from which he conceptualizes development as an increase in differentiation, contradiction and transcendence. So, the basic contradiction between man and nature is initially 'transcended' in production and its products (second nature and appropriated, total man)—only for new contradictions to arise as the second nature of the social world, with its ever more abstract division of labor and capitalist extraction of surplus value, falls back on man as a dominating power. It follows from this that the currently basic contradiction is the alienating effect (that is, the lack of appropriation of human nature in production or of man's recognition of himself in the product and his peers) within the capitalist mode of production on the human endeavor of appropriating internal and external nature, and that this contradiction is transcended through greater control or domination of nature and the social world.

By integrating the focus on appropriation of nature and alienation of man in the critique of the capitalist mode of production, Lefebvre challenged the Marxist orthodoxy of the 1930s and 1940s. The challenge was incarnated in his Hegelian concept of production, which from the outset was broader than the reductive focus on one aspect, that is, economic production. This aspect of production he conceptualized as the external domination of nature, whereas the internal appropriation of man was pushed ever more into the 'underdeveloped' and 'lagging' sphere of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991a). He subsequently moved into this sphere in order to broaden both the scope and the form of Marxist critique. In perceiving everyday life as an unnoticed "residual" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 86) in the reductive conceptualization of orthodox Marxism, he relativized the relentless workings of the conceptual and practical dialectic of Hegel and Marx. Even the most rational conceptualizations leave something out of sight, which needs to be understood, recognized and thus reintegrated in a balanced social critique. In a culture where the technical domination of nature (and, hence, the alienation of man) prevails (with orthodox as well as Hegelian Marxism being complicit), the residuals hidden within the sphere of everyday life are, among others, the 'lived', the immediate experience of the world, and poiesis, the creative appropriation rather than technical domination of internal and external nature (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 86, 2016, p. 12).

With these residuals, Lefebvre pursued his study of the productive dialectic between man and nature, firstly in the archaic rituals, landscapes and everyday lives of rural France and later in the gradually larger, urbanized areas. Thus, he saw the city and urbanization as a basic moment of differentiation of production, and therefore also as a relation of contradiction. In its varying, historical forms it is both one of the most important poietic oeuvres created through history (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 9) and the frontline of technical domination due to industrial urbanization (Lefebvre, 1995, 1996, 2003a). He developed a basic conception of the 'urban form' as encounter, assembly and simultaneity, which per definition entailed conflicts and contradictions—and necessitated the ability to develop ways to handle and transcend them (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 75). While basically structured by cores of centrality, he described the industrial form of urbanization as the explosive "penetration" into the countryside of "a movement of concentration" through a larger and "increasingly tight" (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 71–72) urban fabric of infrastructural networks and, with it, an urban society with its own systems of objects, values and more intense life. Within the urban, the contradiction between domination and appropriation was conceptually molded into the gradually more tense contradiction between the "far order" of the state and economy, increasingly concentrated, or imploding, in the refurbished, old centralities, and the "near order" of the community, the village and everyday life (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 71). So, as this explosion-implosion of the urban unfolds, urban centrality came down to the accumulation of power and capital, while significant parts of the near order of citizens were excluded from the continued creation of the oeuvre of the city, now reduced to a product (meaning a serially reproducible thing). It was in this context that he called for "the right to the city" as a right of citizens to appropriate themselves by participating in the creation of the city as a collective oeuvre (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 71).

As the urbanization process gathers further pace during the 1960s, Lefebvre's conceptualization follows suit. He perceives an industrial urbanization process that not only goes ever deeper to the core of lived everyday life, but also spans larger and larger geographical areas of the globe. The local depth and geographical scope of modern urbanization, a process that Lefebvre characterizes as planetary, leads him to yet another leap in his unorthodox Marxism. Urbanization is not only a pivotal secondary circuit of surplus capital spilling over from the primary circuit (the production and consumption of goods

and commodities) into the real estate of cities (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 159). It is also through this planetary urbanization process that capitalism survives its own crisis prone destiny. Due to this practical circumstance and the theoretical crises concerning fragmented, abstract and industrial conceptions of the city and society, which inhibit the understanding of the depth and scope of this urban problematic (i.e., the understanding of the city in state planning as an aggregation of abstract functions and circulation of things; see, Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 29), Lefebvre adopts the concept of space. Furthering his reconceptualization of the Marxist concept of production, he thus states that it is through the 'production of space' that capitalism survives. This is where the circle closes, the critique of Marxism and modern society working within Lefebvre's thesis of 'the production of man' has been contextualized in relation to late-modern urbanization processes within his thesis of 'the production of space'.

2.2. Pursuing the Urban in the Crevices of Abstract Space

In conceiving 'the production of space' as a leap in the productive forces (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 103), Lefebvre transcends the Marxist critique of the labor process within the capitalist mode of production accordingly. Lefebvre elaborates the critique of abstract labor (the concrete act of productive labor defined reductively along the lines of exchange value; see, Stanek, 2008) into a critique of the production of abstract space: social space as 'concrete abstraction', that is, reductively conceived and produced along the lines of state planning and exchange value, as a homogenous and fragmentary product that dominates man in return by making him a mimetic product (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 376) of the play of abstract and floating signifiers instead of a poietic oeuvre of his own appropriative practice.

As in his first major theoretical endeavor into Marxism, he directs his critique of abstraction towards both socialist and capitalist modes of thought and production; both of them imprisoned by signifiers produced in and reproducing the industrial epoch and thus blind towards the urban (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 29), towards a new mode of production, which, according to Lefebvre, is neither capitalist nor socialist, but "the collective management of space" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 103). To enable (the perception of) this mode of production, Lefebvre calls for a transductive rather than an inductive or deductive theory and practice. Rather than turning "fact into law" (induction) or going from "affirmation to implication" (deduction), Lefebvre calls for a move "from the (given) real to the possible" (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 117) via "the construction of virtual objects" (Lefebvre, 1976, p. 55), critiquing and moving away from abstract conceptions and concrete abstractions "toward *the* concrete…to a practice, *urban practice*, that is finally or newly comprehended" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 5, original emphasis), where "theoretical concept and practical reality [is] in indissoluble conjunction" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 67).

Lefebvre argues, and his mode of theorization demands, that the production of abstract space, the homogenization and fragmentation of social space, is never complete. Residuals of its opposite—nature, femininity, the everyday life, differences (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 27)—will always survive in the crevices and faults of abstraction. Some of these crevices and faults appear within what Lefebvre characterizes as the contradictions of space or "a dialectic of centrality" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 331). He thus furthers his conceptualization of the production of space by integrating his earlier thoughts on the increasingly tight urban fabric and urban centrality as he conceptualizes the general contradiction of space as the uneven development between centralities, or the concentration of the dominant practices and representations that structure social space as such, and the peripheralized spaces, such as suburbs and vacant spaces (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 331), where residuals (nature, citizens) either are evicted or flee to—and where the dominant structuration of social space is cracking and thus open for new developments.

So, as Lefebvre 'transductively' pursuits the virtual possibility of the urban, which persists "and even intensify…[as the] inhabitants reconstitute centers, using places to restitute even derisory encounters" in spite of the destructive implosion of power and money (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 129), he moves away from the established centralities of the city and strong points of the state (Lefebvre, 2009b, pp. 117, 144) towards what he variously characterized as the 'fissures', 'chasms', 'cracks', 'crevices', 'voids', 'weak points' or just 'vacant spaces' of the city and social space (Lefebvre, 1969, p. 31, 1976, p. 120, 1991b, pp. 167, 264, 1996, pp. 129, 145, 156, 2009b, pp. 117, 144–145, 2014, p. 98).

2.3. The Vague and Residual Significance of Diverted Spaces

As his work on the production of space culminates around *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1991b) and *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment* (Lefebvre, 2014), Lefebvre perceives the diversion of vacant spaces as crucial to the ongoing "sociological transduction" performed by small groups pursuing the virtual and possible (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 117), towards new and concrete modes of production that transcend abstract space. The concept is explored over a few pages in *The Production of Space* in relation to a period of redevelopment in his local neighborhood in Paris, Les Halles. The abandoned physical structure of the former food market was gradually taken over by young groups in Paris in the late 1960s. For a couple of years, while awaiting the plans for its redevelopment, it was a hot spot of alternative activities never imagined by the architects, planners or politicians.

Lefebvre followed the developments in this "gathering-place and…scene of permanent festival…for the youth of Paris" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 167), but the dialectical pairs of concepts like abstract product versus

oeuvre and the philosophically more canonized contradiction of domination versus appropriation could not really do the job of signifying their transductive character. Lefebvre perceived and sought a conceptualization of tendencies of something else, a residual beyond these dual contradictions. Lefebvre described Les Halles as "vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one" and deemed it "of great significance", since "[it] teach[es] us much about the production of new spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 167). Les Halles was a window into the production of the opposite of abstraction: difference (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 382).

However, despite its 'great significance', and despite his extensive reference elsewhere to terms of emptiness and in-betweenness as conducive of social change, Lefebvre never performs a thorough conceptual exercise, which could further ground the concept of diversion in his work or in the current social space of the city (for example in relation to the concept of transduction or the canonized triad of perceived, lived and conceived). It is an 'almost' concept, which in Lefebvre's political project means that it is either half complete or half failed. In a quotation that very symptomatically lacks somewhat in terminological, if not conceptual, precision regarding the distinction between appropriation and diversion, but of course without forgetting the concrete universal of production (here, the ability to produce one's own space as opposed to merely diverting the space of others), Lefebvre's epitaph for the concept of diverted space thus reads: "The goal and meaning of theoretical thinking is production rather than diversion. Diversion is in itself merely appropriation, not creation—reappropriation which can call but a temporary halt to domination" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 168). It ends up as a reduced difference, "forced back into the system by constraint and violence" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 382).

In this way, Lefebvre is himself caught in the crossfire of an all too clear-cut contradictory conceptualization of a phenomenon, which, due to its 'vague' character exactly reveals the reductive character of the conceptualization and practice applied to it. So, diversion and vacant spaces are left by him as merely tactical, as insignificant residuals though deemed of great importance; even though they are concrete examples of inhabitants reconstituting centralities by gradually concentrating people, activities and meaning; even though the diversion might only be a philosophical conceptualization away from intensifying its appropriative ability and hereby taking the leap to the production of a space of its own. Lefebvre's leaving these phenomena as residuals has consequences for his own project and for the way the potentials of vacant spaces and their diversion are perceived today. Both Lefebvre's ambivalence towards the phenomenon and developments within and around vacant spaces of cities all over the world ever since have underlined the importance of this seemingly residual phenomenon for urban change.

In Section 3, we will pick up where he left his conjunction between sociological (practical) and conceptual (theoretical) transduction. We will do it in a conceptualizing narrative in which recent developments in Copenhagen will be unfolded through Lefebvre's concepts. We will further develop his thoughts, partly regarding the creation of new centralities through the concept of 'concentration' and partly regarding the gradual, transductive conjunction that occurs in the development of perceived (practical), lived, social, conceived (conceptual) and political associations in vague spaces; a process we term 'intensification'. In unfolding this urban perspective, our aim is both to further develop Lefebvre's urban critique and to critique the currently dominant, creative and critical perceptions of Lefebvre, of the city in general and of Copenhagen in particular.

3. Contradictory Copenhagen: Urban Diversions Before, Between and Beyond Critique and Creative Co-Optation

3.1. Copenhagen: Generally Vacant and Susceptible of Being Diverted

The economic, geographical and political restructuring of Copenhagen from the 1970's up until today has already been dealt with thoroughly (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995; Lund Hansen et al., 2001), but in order to place the narrative of the case and thus ground its conceptualization, a short introduction will be made in the following.

After centuries of constant growth, general processes of globalization and economic restructuring meant that Copenhagen went through decades of painful crisis, seeing industrial jobs, inhabitants and tax revenues fleeing to other parts of the country, Europe and the world in the 1970s and 1980s (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995). A physical consequence of this was that major parts of the capital were laid waste, especially along those means of transportation where industry developed up to the Second World War: the railway and the waterfront.

Therefore, ever since the 1970s, the question of creating economic growth, alleviating social consequences and the redevelopment of the gradually increased amount of vacant spaces of the Copenhagen waterfront had been on the agenda. A decision in the national government in 1989 to turn its attention towards revitalizing the geography and economy of the capital was accompanied by a general shift in the mode of urban policy towards a market-oriented form of entrepreneurialism. Several public-private-partnerships were created, and territorial masterplans were substituted by "Grand Projects" entailing infrastructural projects, cultural mega events and the development and sale of public properties (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995, p. 20; Bayliss, 2007; Gaardmand, 1993; Lund Hansen et al., 2001;). Thus, part of the attention from the government meant that the

crisis-ridden, left-wing capital was forced to sell most of its properties (including almost 20,000 dwellings and attractive land at the harbor front (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995, p. 15)—hereby further opening the space of Copenhagen to market forces.

In this policy climate the question of vacant spaces reached a preliminary culmination, when in 1999 the Ministry of Cities and Housing launched a committee concerned with new methods of redevelopment of abandoned industrial spaces. Mainly based on the compact city-model, the concluding report suggested certain dispensations from general planning regulation and (as a consequence of the policy shift) the formation of public-private partnerships in order to speed up the revitalization of prioritized zones of redevelopment in cities (Committee of Business and Urban Policy, 2001, pp. 3, 16).

So, apart from the integration of policies of cultural planning, sparked by being the Cultural Capital of EU in 1996, a mega event organized in line with the thoughts of Charles Landry (Thomsen, 1999), the policy-network circling around the municipality of Copenhagen swiftly integrated these considerations regarding both spatial redevelopment and new forms of governance in its overall planning (Bisgaard, 2010; Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004). New local plans (the basic, legal documents enabling redevelopment) were gradually created for the current and future redevelopment of the waterfront from industry to a much denser mix of housing and commercial functions. However, the urban subcultures of Copenhagen were also on the move regarding the 'reappropriation' of vague spaces.

The urban sub-cultures, of course, had already for decades noticed the potentials of abandoned spaces with a history of politically informed squatting from the popular 'slum stormers' of the 1970s (founding the diverted space, which later developed into the established, alternative, hippie centrality of 'Christiania') to the 'BZ'-movement of the 1980s (with 'The Youth House' at their core). By the 1990s, however, the squatting culture had declined as it gradually lost the vital, diverted spaces that wore the imprint of and resonated with its development (Mikkelsen & Karpantschof, 2001), and a new culture of diverting vague spaces was on the rise (Larsen & Frandsen, 2014).

The new culture surrounding the vague spaces of the city gathered pace with the establishment of several informal harbor cafés around the turn of the millennium. They were all established in buildings abandoned by the harbor industry and were instrumental in the popular rediscovery of spaces of the city that was otherwise 'hidden in plain sight' and forgotten. But compared to earlier decades, the surge into the vague spaces had other implications.

From being very politically oriented towards general societal change or structural critiques of the distribution of housing possibilities in the 1970s and 1980s—a political culture characterized as utopian (Dienel & Schophaus, 2002)—the culture of diverting vague spaces in the 2000s displayed a marked skepticism towards both the way, society functioned *and* the explicit critique hereof. Hence, this topian rather than utopian culture was more interested in realizing the physical potential ready at hand in the vague spaces themselves through pragmatic negotiations with economic and political interests (Dienel & Schophaus, 2002; Fezer & Heyden, 2007, p. 39). The vitalizing energy from the vague spaces of the city is thus first and foremost integrated in an aesthetic-sensuous rediscovery of the city—often with post-industrial litter of yesteryear, such as the empty warehouse structures and left-over building materials, as the main means of physical diversion. This disruptive phase of the informal culture of the city meant that it was extremely open and energetic in its integration and translation of current tendencies in Copenhagen into cultural expressions—and thus also, just as Lefebvre's concept of diversion, open towards both transduction and reduction. A significant example of the new urbanism early in this period is the scene, which developed in a small but centrally located spot in the harbor of Copenhagen, Krøyer's Place.

3.2. First Wave of Diversions: Harbor Cafés and Proto-Creative Entrepreneurship

For several centuries the central harbor was dotted by several so-called trading places of large mercantile companies along the waterfront. A major one of these was the Greenlandic Trading Place at Wilder's Island (Wilders Ø) in the historic Christianshavn neighborhood. Having been the hub for the trade with the North Atlantic for centuries, the trading company left for a more provincial location in the mid-1970s, and the historic warehouses became spatial left-overs for the following decades, leaving a dormant piece of prime real estate in the middle of the harbor facing the tourist magnet, Nyhavn. In the late 1990s, while locals called their beloved island "The Sleeping Beauty", the property was deemed superfluous by its institutional owner and transferred to a recently formed public development company in order to develop and sell it on the real estate market along with other state-owned properties (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004). However, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the steadily rising real estate market was still not ripe for a redevelopment of the site. Seen ambivalently both as a "Dead Dog Space" and as a potential "Golden Egg Goose" by planners of the municipality and the property owners, the leading agents of a gradually forming policy-network regarding the redevelopment of the harbor was only in the early stages of preparing for the future (Larsen, 2007).

Then, in relation to a prospection for a possible film location in early 2001, a small group of entrepreneurial people discovered the obvious spatial potentials in the relative emptiness of a spot at Wilders Ø called Krøyer's Place. The idea of a harbor café quickly entered their minds, and in a matter of weeks they got the tempo-

rary lease from the public development company, the necessary permissions from the municipality and turned parts of two empty warehouses into Luftkastellet (literally 'the pipe dream'), which was characterized by one defining diversion: the landscaping of the quayside as a sandy beach. The plan was just to run the café over the summer, but the informal social arena of this urban sandbox and the historic warehouses made it such a huge success (named Café of the Year in 2001) that the temporary lease was prolonged several times. In the meantime, the café encouraged Copenhageners to meet not only over informal and yet expensive cups of latté, but also over different kinds of projects in the informal spaces. Gradually, the warehouses were filled with several sorts of entrepreneurs (clothing designers, graphic designers, video producers, an event bureau, a clothing outlet, a kayak club, a monthly culture magazine and so on), all making simple and gradual reorganizations of the spaces at hand with the typical "aesthetic register of the 'alternative culture'" (Carmo, Pattaroni, Piraud, & Pedrazzini, 2014, p. 274): urban 'driftwood' such as pallets and containers and raw building materials such as wooden boards, plywood and plastic covers. One of the initiators thus described it as a place 'where the energy was let loose'.

Thus, the concentration of people and activities around the diverted space meant that it was on its way to becoming a centrality, which the public sphere of the city as a whole started to perceive as a defining part of a new 'self-made' and authentic form of urban development. Furthermore, the intensification of the diversionary culture—both the neo-tribal energy in its burgeoning social associations and the gradual, practical diversion and the cultural expressions in conjunction with it ("throwing sand on the floor" as a saying that implied informality, to mention just one of these expressions)—meant that it was becoming a vortex with its own voice and representations.

However, some of the terms, which its practical concentration became a signified for in a hot summer of urban epiphanies in 2002, had been hanging in the air as more or less floating signifiers, at least since the 1990s: 'urban life' and 'experience'. In this way, Luftkastellet became an ambiguous icon of another way of redeveloping the harbor, which was otherwise undergoing a commercial redevelopment dominated by large cultural institutions, business headquarters and gradually also housing—all in very debated architectural styles (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004).

In the autumn of 2002, during a period of heated debate regarding the redevelopment of the harbor, the café was invited as an exponent of the informal perspective to participate in a panel meeting with other influential actors of Copenhagen in order to develop a new and constructive form of dialogue. Here the café further intensified the special energy of Krøyer's Place by conceiving itself in terms of a 'milieu breaker' in an otherwise languishing space and a 'communication bridge' between different actors in the city, and by doing it in the public domain it also intensified its political significance. Despite this fresh input, the meeting turned into a farce of destructive political antagonism through the power of a routine political de- and resubjectivation so symptomatic of the contemporaneous political climate in Copenhagen (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004).

However, the meeting not only, once again, affirmed disbelief in a constructive debate in Copenhagen. Through Luftkastellet's intervention, it also became an essential moment in the formation of a new and, in a radically democratic sense, *political* actor in Copenhagen. Thus, from its identity as fragments of a negatively 'subjectivated' crowd, another social association unfolded—united negatively in an endeavor not to replicate the debating climate of Copenhagen in general and the atmosphere of that meeting in particular—but also positively by venturing towards the making of something else.

The group found some space in one of the warehouses in Luftkastellet at Krøyer's Place and, after refurbishing the premises during the spring of 2003, started experimenting with new ideas for harbor development and new ways of dialogue—one of the latter being to invite opposing interests to partake in an openly agitating and therefore agonistic, but also constructive, arena. One year of experimentation led to Supertanker having a keen eye for the constructive potential of informal urbanity—pursued through emerging terms about the 'unplanned', 'temporary interstices', 'pockets', 'cracks', 'pauses' and 'self-made spaces': a conceptual angle on the peculiar character of the place, which transduced the outspoken curiosity of the period and moved the practical reclamation of the empty warehouses beyond mere diversion and into the debate and discourse of the overall urban development, where the laboratory also challenged the way citizens were made to interact in debates. The tagline "vitalize the city and the debate concerning it" brought it all together. It took the vitality of this vague space and brought it further into the political arena. Thus, a gradually clearer critique of the conventional way of planning and debating the contemporaneous development of Copenhagen unfolded. With a new dialogical concept, *Free Trial!*, Supertanker thus helped a student organization organize a large event criticizing and reopening the otherwise antagonistic debate of the spring 2004 regarding the future of the alternative community of Christiania.

From the new social association of Supertanker, different, now more conceptualized aspects of the diversionary perspective on urbanity in self-made spaces and in dialogical processes thus gathered strength (an intensification of conceived associations) and both galvanized Krøyer's Place as an alternative centrality and took the first steps from here into a challenge of other, more established, practical and discursive spaces in the general, public domain of Copenhagen. And, as such, Supertanker evolved explicitly political aspects of its voluntary, social association within the diverted, vague space. The transductive exploration of the urban was gaining in strength.

However, in the urban policy-networks of Copenhagen, new policies were about to enter the agenda and challenge this gradual intensification and concentration of the urban possibilities of the vague space at Krøyer's Place. One of these policies, the one about creative cities, had already been travelling through the academic and political circles of crisis-ridden societies for some decades—before its descent as a full-fledged floating signifier on Copenhagen.

3.3. The Descent of the Creative Discourse on Copenhagen

In the decades following the crises of the 1970's, countless post-industrializing urban regions in the global North started looking for a new economic base amidst regional growth discourses about flexible and small-scale producing, and locational and innovative advantages of regional clusters (Florida, Mellander, & Adler, 2011). Among catch-phrases for the new economy like 'information', 'knowledge', 'service' and 'experience', thoughts of 'innovation' and 'creativity' gained a foothold, both in the North American context (Jacobs, 1986) and especially in the Scandinavian context (Andersson, 1985).

From this regional growth discourse, and in a political climate of critique towards state bureaucracy, the perception of creatively induced economic growth has unfolded in an urban context, not least through the work of Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini, which gained a foothold within urban policy during the 1990s and was benchmarked with a widely influential book (Landry, 2000). Canonized by Peter Hall (1998), creativity was globally exposed and gradually got more empirical bearings through the "formal model for urban growth" in Richard Florida's book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002; Florida et al., 2011). Consequently, the 'fuzzy' concept of creativity became the buzzword of urban planning (Kunzmann, 2005) and has more or less dominated urban policy-making ever since—even canonized by the United Nations as a way to create a better world (UNDP, 2008).

The creative policy trickled down from the discursive sphere to a local, Danish context through a collaborative imagineering of the cross-border agglomeration of Øresund as a creative region conceptualized by the aforementioned Andersson and a local professor of regional economic geography (Matthiessen & Andersson, 1993). Gradually, the policy entered government bodies and local "organizations of boosterism" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, p. 853). These early and rather general considerations were met with strong criticism from local exponents of another, internationally cultivated discourse.

3.4. Neo-Marxist Critique of the Emerging Creative Governance of Copenhagen

Just as the discourse of creative cities, a critique of urban development has evolved since the early 1970s within the primarily Anglo-American, Neo-Marxist academic sphere of influence. Having a vantage point in a critique of the political economy of capitalism, it has evolved in a dialectical relation to the debates regarding economic restructuring through analytic concepts such as 'restructuring', 'deindustrialization', 'reindustrialization', 'post-Fordism' and 'internationalization' (Brenner & Theodore, 2005).

A crucial moment in the 'urbanization' of the classic Marxist critique was Henri Lefebvre's reference to urbanization as the second circuit of capital (Lefebvre, 2003a). The renowned Marxist geographer, David Harvey, and his students and colleagues in Anglo-American academia, has ever since unfolded the implications of this urban process under capitalism (Harvey, 1978) and its internal contradictions within the uneven development of urban areas between investment opportunities in underdeveloped urban areas, the social costs of the concomitant gentrification and sociospatial polarization (Smith, 1984, 1996), and the barriers to further capitalization that the spatial fixes of investments (such as buildings and infrastructure) represent (Harvey, 1980).

With Harvey's article on urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989), this perception entered the field of urban politics in a pathbreaking way. The alignment of urban planning with the needs of economic investment was conceptualized as a shift from the traditional managerialism of the Keynesian welfare state to more speculative policies. This policy was increasingly seen as a local expression of a shift to a 'free market'-sanctioning form of governance characterized with the buzzword 'neoliberalism' (Harvey, 2012; Peck, 2004). Today, this perception has evolved into an enormously influential critique of "neoliberal urbanism" (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2011; Brenner & Theodore, 2005).

The critique of creative approaches to urban development looms large in the general, neo-Marxist critique of neoliberalist urbanism. Already in Harvey's seminal essay on urban entrepreneurialism, this policy is singled out. In this perspective the creative-city approach is seen, quite rightly, as part of entrepreneurial projects reinventing crisis-ridden cities in order to attract capital (Harvey, 1989). The critique, of course, is that the creative-city projects mostly benefit the well-to-do (Swyngedouw & Kaïka, 2003). Maybe the most biting and, well, entertaining critique of the creative discourse is the one from Jamie Peck (2005), who perceives it as a "fast policy" of "seductive 'traveling truths'", of "portable technocratic routines and replicable policy practices that are easily disembedded and deterritorialized from their centers of production" (Peck, 2005, p. 768).

This international critique is replicated in a Copenhagen context by several academics. As the creative policy emerges, the critique of the emerging entrepreneurialism of economic growth (Gaardmand, 1993) and flexible governance (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004) is supplemented. A very early and well-argued example of this is Lund Hansen et al.'s critique of 'creative Copenhagen'

(2001). Apart from making distinctions within the creative curiosity between attempts, such as Peter Hall's, to understand the geographical aspects and the more pragmatic endeavors, such as Charles Landry's, into the development of toolkits for creative city-making "without critically examining possible social costs", their argument is focused on placing the new considerations of creative policy in Denmark and Copenhagen within the general "neo-liberal strategies" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, pp. 852, 863). 'Creative Copenhagen', in short, comes down to "place-marketing", whose exclusive focus on growth both leads to and ignores "processes of gentrification …, [which] entail the deportation of marginalized inner city residents who do not fit in the disneyesque 'creative city'" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, pp. 852–853). Citing the newly appointed head of planning for his focus on improving the housing stock and thus preventing a mechanism, where Copenhagen gets "all the trash", Lund Hansen et al. conclude that "'[a]ll discourses have their silences'...and the blaring silence of the discourse on creative cities is that about social costs" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, pp. 862–866).

At this point in time, in the early 2000s, the creative policy has not yet been practically implemented in plans and projects of Copenhagen, and, to be fair, Lund Hansen et al.'s argument is more a case of demonstrating the neo-liberal implications of an international discourse and the initial, discursive reproduction of this by local agents in the general, neo-liberalized context of Copenhagen (analyzed under heavy influence from the international, Neo-Marxist discourse), where the creative tenets would eventually be realized on ground in the following years. But the implementation of the tenets, and the implications of it, was just around the corner—to a certain extent confirming the skepticism of its Neo-Marxist adversaries.

3.5. Policy and Subculture: Urban Life, Creativity and Urban Deliberation

Pursuing the orchestration of cultural and creative industries, there is a marked shift in policy from social to economic aims as the tenets of the creative city trickles down from the more general government policies to different local agencies of boosterism in Copenhagen (Bayliss, 2007, p. 896). The policy of creative cities enters the broader, public domain of Copenhagen in late 2002, as Richard Florida's book on creativity quickly comes to dominate the agenda of a city already reinventing its forgotten spaces and its sense of urban life. With the governing body of the region already replicating the main theses regarding tolerance and creative environments (Bayliss, 2007, p. 897), the municipality also gets in on the agenda. When heaping praise on the scene around Luftkastellet in early 2003, the Lord Mayor thus refers explicitly to it as an example of the string of "new creative milieux" (Mikkelsen, 2003), through which the city has to make a living in the future—throwing the tempting "ambiguous polysemy" (Carmo et al., 2014, p. 274) of its free-floating and reductive signifiers onto a scene of disrupted energy looking for bearings.

Several representatives of the cultural scene and public servants repeat this creative message with a more or less direct reference to Florida—not least the aforementioned new head of planning who was also instrumental in the introduction of new forms of governance in the municipality (Bisgaard, 2010). And, as if following the creative manual of Florida, the American professor was invited to Copenhagen in the fall of 2003—maybe, as Peck puts it in his critique, for "the mayor and other civic leaders to appear on platforms, invariably in appropriately bohemian locations, with local creative entrepreneurs and arts activists" (Peck, 2005, p. 747). In any event, and as a sign of the energetic and double-edged openness in the disrupted, informal culture of Copenhagen, the entrepreneurs from Luftkastellet and Supertanker is directly involved in this visit as location managers at 'a bohemian location' in a newly established harbor café further out in the harbor. The municipality is in the early stages of formulating the first edition of a new form of communicative policy document, a 'planning strategy'—and the imprint of Florida's tenets are clearly present. A preliminary document, adorned with a photo of the informal 'beach quay' in front of Luftkastellet, is focused on "the new business life", the creative businesses (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2004a), and the final strategy reads like an assignment in the implementation of Florida's tenets with its focus on creative businesses, urban life, talent, tolerance and deregulation to cater for the special needs of the creative (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2004b; Bayliss, 2007).

Just as the municipality, the encounter with Florida and the creative perspective on urban development, leaves its mark on Supertanker. In the otherwise inhibiting climate of functionalist planning in Copenhagen, the implicated governance innovation in the shift of focus both away from technological and educational infrastructure, as was the focus of traditional growth-oriented planning, and from a rigid planning regime as such, to the attention on the urban, human and cultural environment, was seen as creative winds of change. This meant that the tenets of the creative city perspective were seen as instrumental for the informal scene of cultural and economic entrepreneurship in Copenhagen.

So, Supertanker becomes a central part in the debate on creative urban development as they unfold their perception of the potentials of self-made spaces and urban development. Using their own intensified experiences from the new centrality of the diverted warehouses and their potential for all kinds of economic, cultural and political projects, Supertanker produced several smaller events, documents and formal hearings and policy-proposals on the topic. Both voicing an urban critique and testing the possibilities of 'cashing in' through the creative agenda without giving up its 'vague', autonomous position as a platform outside the system.

As such, one of the events pitted a local exponent of the Neo-Marxist critique against the head of planning, whose call for 'the defense of the last, true urbanists' was put in perspective by his counterpart's claims about the social costs of, as it says in the critical article mentioned above, "the disneyesque 'creative city'" and the focus on attracting "'new middle class' employees" through "luxury housing" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, p. 853).

This critique and the conflict it pointed out here in the spring of 2004, would be more pertinent than anyone could imagine: At the same time as the creative policies, and the Neo-Marxist critique of it, descended on Copenhagen, and in the process pitting both transductive and reductive practices against each other, other plans of the local policy-network unfolded—with crucial consequences specifically for the gradually unfolding, informal centrality of Krøyer's Place, as well as for the political climate in Copenhagen in general.

3.6. Politics as Usual: Sanctioning the Political Implications of Transduction

During the spring of 2004, four years into the experiments of Luftkastellet and Supertanker and the gradually developing concentrations and intensifications, a newly booming real estate market (following a short period of stagnation, a steady rise in housing prices gathered pace and grew exponentially from 2003 to 2006; see, Dam, Hvolbøl, Pedersen, Sørensen, & Thamsborg, 2011, p. 48) catches up with the diverted space at Krøyer's Place—and more concrete plans for urban development enter the stage. Backed by the municipality, the public development company proposes a luxury housing project in an expressionistic design for the location—confirming the skepticism within the general critique of creativity (Lund Hansen et al., 2001) and the more specific critique of the 'flexible governance' in the harbor redevelopment (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004) voiced earlier. A historically unique situation of agreement between left and right in the council, and between planners and developers, supporting a strong 'Yes' to the proposal, quickly and naturally subjectivated the general and especially the local public in the Christianshavn neighborhood as strong adversaries mobilizing around a just as clear and loud 'No'.

Somewhat taken by surprise, Supertanker and the scene at Luftkastellet struggled to find a fitting role in a new field of negotiation concerning the future of their own biotope. Instead of backing either one side or the other, Supertanker, based on a local initiative, tried to transduce the energy of the urban differences crystallized by the controversial proposal and develop an alternative vision process gathering and mediating the interests across yet another slowly but surely developing antagonistic dualism—but to no avail. Senior members of the policy-network, the public development company and the municipal planning authority, declined the possibility of participating in a process of deliberation for which Supertanker 'had no mandate'. As the diverted space of Krøyer's Place travelled from the fuzzy margins of planning debate to the discursive center of a heavily defined and reductively signifying conflict resembling the event that gave birth to Supertanker in the first place, the dialogical message was lost in a traditional battle over the summer of 2004 between pro and contra positions in relation to established planning categories such as building form, height and function. The antagonistic process, in this established and rigid mode of production of space, thus ran to the end of the line, leading to a controversial but final 'No' in the city council in the spring of 2005.

The destructive process and the, in the eyes of the policy-network, negative decision meant that the more political aspects of Supertanker's practice was blacklisted. Facilitating a deliberative process in the initiating moments of the local resistance did not resonate well with the perceptions of urban development processes in the policy-network within an urban industry (Naik & Oldfield, 2010) described by one of the leading agents as a "small flock" (Lund Hansen et al., 2001, p. 855). There was a thin, but almost palpable line between reductive inclusion and excluded transduction in this 'flock', which was living through a veritable shock in the months and years after an episode that went down in modern history of Copenhagen under the name of Krøyer's Place—and Supertanker was made to feel this palpable line.

To make matters worse, the energy of the warehouses faded, as they were cleared and, later, in the summer of 2005, torn down (later to be sold to an international investor), just as the concentration and intensification of the informal centrality was reaching a point, where it, with its recent experiences in the explicitly political arena, could take a transductive leap to become a culture with a strong and clear conception of the production of an urban space in Copenhagen in its own right. Supertanker was left with no resonating space in which to further unfold their experiments. To quote Lefebvre: with the lack of "conjunction with a (spatial and signifying) *social practice*, the [locally diverted] concept of space [could no longer] take on its full meaning" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 137).

The energy of the property market in general also soon faded, as the local bubble of "skyrocketing house prices" burst in 2008 and the effects of the crisis in international financial markets had an enormous local impact in Copenhagen (Dam et al., 2011, p. 47). In the years following the battle in the public domain of Copenhagen regarding Krøyer's Place, yet another proposal for the site was taken off the table and the new, international property owner went bankrupt. Consequently, the site was not only vague, but a veritable tabula rasa for years to come.

As the political implications of the local, transductive culture was sanctioned by the urban industry, the general crisis in the market of urban development in Copenhagen only exacerbated the possibility of and need for the further evolution of more pragmatic, creative tools

for urban growth. And these tools were gradually harnessed in the selfsame culture.

3.7. Anchoring Policy, Reducing the Urban: Creative Zones, Temporary Use and Urban Truffle Pigs

In 2004, creativity as a means to create an economically sustainable development had become the core question in the, now formally adopted, planning strategy (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2004b). The following year, the policy-tool of 'creative zones', that is, "mixed industrial areas within the inner city…designated as suitable for further creative industry development" (Bayliss, 2007, p. 898), came to designate a new level of detail in the local discourse (even being sanctioned in legally binding local plans for urban development in certain post-industrialized areas of the municipality). Simultaneously, within the diversionary subculture, parts of Supertanker were drawn gradually closer to the central policy-networks of Copenhagen. The experiences from the diversion of the vague space at Krøyer's Place was increasingly extracted from its resonance chamber (which, after the eviction, was now more signifying than spatial) and mobilized within an internationally-inspired and locally ever more dominant discourse of 'creative urban development'—thus hollowing out the autonomy of the otherwise intensified associations of the culture.

In the continued, mutually dependent development of the creative agenda within urban planning and the sub-cultures of diversion as well as the public in Copenhagen, much inspiration was taken from the development in other European metropolises such as Amsterdam and Berlin—relayed by the EU research project 'Urban Catalyst' among other sources. Just as in Copenhagen, the surge of sub-cultural energy in the new forms of topic diversion of vague spaces had been gradually harnessed in these cities into new tactical takes on urban regeneration, which more or less could be condensed in concepts of 'temporary use of urban fallows', which not only benefit the site but also the immediate surroundings, the general growth potentials in the creative industries of a city *and* the overall urban development (Bayliss, 2007, p. 889; Urban Catalyst, 2003). The difference, compared with the culture in Copenhagen, was the scale of the diversionary activities as well as their conceptual clarity—in short, their level of concentration and intensification—but also the operational and collaborative character of the tactics (vis-à-vis the policy-networks of the cities). It is in this reduced form that the energy of the sub-cultures of Amsterdam and Berlin flowed back not only to the level of urban planning, locally and internationally, but also to related sub-cultures in other cities, for example Copenhagen.

Through the knowledge of these European cultures of the temporary, Supertanker both took a leap in the understanding of its own heritage and further pursued the possibilities of getting the urban potentials in diverted space recognized with the economic agents as well as the planning authorities. This culminated in the spring of 2005 in another influential *Free Trial!*, gathering locals, creatives and a great number of people from the urban industry creating a manifesto on the theme of 'Cool Cash and Creativity' (Christrup, Hey, Larsen, & Jørgensen, 2006). After this process, without a diverted space of their own to frame the conjunction of the gradually intensified associations, the vague culture bifurcated into complementary activities, still resonating with the diversionary culture from Krøyer's Place, albeit in a reduced and fragmented fashion: The more commercial parts of Supertanker, the entrepreneurs behind Luftkastellet, were in close and constant dialogue with varying parts of the policy-network regarding a relocation and repetition of the bustling urban life created at the café at Krøyer's Place. Another part sought to conceptualize the dialogical processes into a design business. Yet another part pursued the possibilities of combining its take on the urban in a less political way with the 'needs' of urban development as perceived by the urban industry, that is, along the lines of an equation. Through a zoological analogy, this equation came down to: 'urban fallows + urban truffle pigs = urban life' (Brandt, 2008). Yet another part integrated the creative, political and diversionary experiences as part of the academic curricular, through which both keeping and developing the integrity and political autonomy of the transductive culture, but within the abstract confines of a neo-liberalized knowledge institution without the direct presence in the urban development of a place in Copenhagen (Larsen, 2007).

With this reductive bifurcation, the first wave of diversion, having gone through an initial moment of diverting its own space at Krøyer's Place and consequent moments of transductive concentration and intensification, can be said to be concluded. The concluded wave has thus revealed both the possibilities of transducing the urban and the perils of reduction when the diversionary culture is deprived of its own space of conjunction, and hence exposed to more established practices and representations—be they creative or critical—which, on the other hand, signify the temporary surge of concentration and intensification within processes of government innovation and urban theorization, respectively. As the empty lot at Krøyer's Place was still awaiting its future destiny, Copenhagen experienced two further waves of diversion, influencing both transductive and reductive as well as critical and creative cultures in the process—and therefore also paving the way for the concluding phases of development at Krøyer's Place.

3.8. Second Wave of Diversion: Negotiating Critique Between 'Hippies' and 'Politicians'

The second wave of diversion sweeps Copenhagen in the wake of a serious plunge in the real estate market and the global financial crisis in the mid to late 2000s (Dam et al., 2011). It takes its energy both from the experiences of the first, disruptive wave surrounding the harbor cafés in

general and from Luftkastellet/Supertanker in particular, as well as from another, more recent disruption on the more radical scene in the urban sub-culture, which unfolds in the aftermath of a very dramatic evacuation of The Youth House with subsequent riots in the spring of 2007. An avalanche of critique of society and support for The Youth House fills magazines, newspapers and streets in the following months (Bjerg, 2007)—all lauding the vague spaces as necessary for life and participation in the city. The activism culminates during the summer months of 2008, where The Free Commune of Refshalevej is realized (Bjerg, 2010; Kimouche & Jensen, 2010), contributing to the mobilization of yet more culturally and politically experimenting and challenging groups in the diversion of a piece of road along Christiania. As the action is calmly and clinically closed down by police, the closely-knit groups move on to what, due to its character as an intensely diverted space 'of its own', comes to constitute the major hub of the next wave of diversion: The Candy Factory (Søberg & Kimouche, 2011).

Founded as an underground club in a former candy production site months prior to the Free Commune of Refshalevej in 2008, the place quickly develops—partly due to the active intervention of a group of artists called Bureau Detours. The Candy Factory unfolds as an open and pulsating free space for creative, collective and uncommercial activity—and gradually intensifies its culture of diversion accordingly: supplementing the now established, Berlin-type of wasteland-aesthetics with a Gaudiesque play with tile and concrete and calling itself the largest sculpture in the city and expressing a culture of 'doing it together' as opposed to 'doing it yourself'. Within the urban sub-culture, this earns them the nickname 'the hippies' as opposed to the more explicit societal critique in the 'political' line of the older, more established Youth House. This distinction is manifested in the more self-contained nature of the factory, focusing on its own, positive manifestation of alternative practices within its own, user-driven workshops and its increasingly popular concerts that acted as fulcrums for its urban concentration. Apart from a large public hearing (with the participation of several other 'free spaces' of Copenhagen) in the fall of 2012 discussing the pertinent question of 'liberty vs. equity' in the gentrifying city, the more explicitly political critique within the public domain emanates from other fragments of the radical culture surrounding the former Youth House and its geographical vicinity.

The umbrella organization 'openhagen' (demanding more social openness and inclusion in contemporary Copenhagen) is a significant example of this more political line. Established as a critique of cultural normalization, the annihilation of free spaces and gentrification (Hospital Prison University Radio, 2017), its activities culminated in several days of urban festival in the spring of 2010 bearing the name Undoing the City—not least focusing on dismantling neoliberal and creative representations of urban development. Mostly (in)famous for its final 'party', where a shopping street in the old core of Copenhagen was ravaged, the festival also communicated the problem of gentrification to a broader, radical audience, not least with the participation of some of the local exponents of the critique of neoliberalism in Copenhagen. Following up on the first wave of diversion, they later criticize the tendency of the "the urban 'truffle pigs'"—while having a critical potential and "without necessarily wanting to"—to "easily become strategic instruments in the neoliberal urban policy", arguing that "the instrumentalization of the 'creative class' ought to be a warning" (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2012, p. 144). They also direct a critical pun towards attempts at understanding these practices theoretically through Lefebvre by asking: "Was this what Henri Lefebvre had in mind four decades ago, when he formulated his vision of the right to the city?" (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2012, p. 144).

3.9. The Third Wave of Diversion: A 'How-To'-Guide of Creative Co-Optation

Despite the critical intent of the second wave, it also shows how strong the attraction of the creative discourse is. At a point in time, the explicitly critical, 'political' circles around the Youth House attempted to construct itself as a creative culture in a large hearing in order to sublimate its otherwise radical energy as a resource for mainstream society. And, though critical of commercial creativity and the creative policies of the municipality (Søberg & Kimouche, 2011), the urban concentration of the collaborative congeniality at The Candy Factory cannot help but direct even more attention towards the general importance of vague spaces and their diversion—an importance, which was discursively constructed in very specific terms in Copenhagen. Due to its discursive strength and omnipresence, the creative agenda regarding these zones thus picks up on this energy and gathers further pace. In the ever more popular attention, groups with a more positive inclination towards creativity enter the scene in explicit dialogue with a municipal policy in Copenhagen, which reaches yet another level of detail, as concepts of and policy tools like 'temporary use of vacant spaces' and a systematic quantification of the aim of increasing the level of urban life enters the planning discourse by way of an ever stronger attention to these themes within 'creatively' inclined parts of the 'small flock' of researchers, consultants and public servants within the urban industry of Copenhagen (Hausenberg, 2008; Municipality of Copenhagen, 2009a, 2009b; Pløger, 2008). With this tactical consolidation of the strategic discourse, it now reaches further out into the culture of diverting vague spaces in Copenhagen—gathering strength for the next wave of diversion, which develops as a concrete offshoot from the scene at The Candy Factory—and as a consequence of a perception within policy, planning and daily life of the vague spaces as the hearths of economically creative practices, which had been gradually ripening since the appearance of the harbor cafés.

In the fall of 2010, just after the low point of a real estate market with housing prices diving by one third from mid-2006 to mid-2009 (Dam et al., 2011), the organization Givrum.nu establishes the PB43 in a former paint factory at Amager as a hub for the more formally organized and economically entrepreneurial parts of the urban subculture in Copenhagen under the catchy parole disclosed in a 'how-to'-guide for temporary redevelopment in a more pragmatic, 'creative' spirit: "Empty building + Givrum.nu = Creative Urban Development" (Toft-Jensen & Andersen, 2012).

In spite of this formal vantage point dominated by floating signifiers of the creative discourse—thus, a textbook example of what Lefebvre would characterize as "induced difference", a reproducible product of abstract logic (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 372)—the concrete diversion still fosters an intense, collective sense of space with the users, and PB43 gradually concentrates into the hub of a pragmatic form of diversionary culture. As time goes by, however, the new burgeoning centrality becomes the signified for the self-same floating signifiers with which it was founded. Thus, the scene here links urban phenomena such as participation, culture, art and experiences yet closer to representations and strategies of 'temporary', 'creative' and 'user-driven development'. This strategic discourse has thus had a great influence not only on the formal planning of urban development, but also on the most recent developments within underground culture and politics.

Furthermore, Givrum.nu draws their experiences from PB43 and, in part, The Candy Factory into annual conferences aimed at creating encounters between entrepreneurs and the urban industry under the overall theme of 'user-driven urban development'—in line with the inherent demand within the creative discourse for harnessing the untamed energies of the city in a socially 'useful' direction and without resonance with the more autonomous spaces of an alternative urbanism—as documented in a brief report on temporary use as a 'tool for growth' (Givrum.nu, 2016).

3.10. Coming Full Circle: Krøyer's Place as a Concrete Abstraction of Urbanity

With the second and third waves of diversion, the scene is now set for the concluding development of Krøyer's Place. As of 2011, the sub-prime instigated low point of the property market has been overtaken by the pull of the, creatively signified, urban hype and it now enters a phase of constant growth (with housing prices almost doubled in central Copenhagen from late 2011 to late 2017). Consequently, the informal centralities of the second and third waves of diversion, the vague spaces of the former candy factory and the former paint factory, has been caught up by urban development, with youth housing and self-storage facilities now adorning the sites. The new property owners at Krøyer's Place also sense the dawning possibilities and a new proposal for the site is developed. It is flanked by a public process of deliberation, which shows that the policy network has learned the lesson from the major conflict ten years before. A parallel process of cultural priming of the site likewise shows that the developers integrates the third wave of diversion, in which the now formalized expressions of diversion is integrated in the creative discourse and, thus, coopted by the established interests of the policy-network.

Financed by the landowner, the process of cultural priming is a curated performance and workshop event organized on-site at the cleared grounds of Krøyer's Place in spring 2013. Framed verbally by a name, *Spaces-In-Between: The City Becoming*, and a content depiction, "bringing life to the in-between using the energies of urban culture", the event thus referred to the contemporaneous floating signifiers regarding 'urban life', 'experiments' and 'the poetic life of the in-between spaces of the city' (Dome of Visions, 2013). It was hosted by a local curator from the performance scene, with international facilitators (Richard Sennett's Theatrum Mundi) and property owners without any reference whatsoever to—let alone sense of—neither the essential history of the place, the ongoing urban and conflictual transformation process nor the city's anomic, diversionary cultures. As such, the priming process was a textbook example of the aestheticization, or rather aestheticist reduction, of by-gone diversion "devoid of its political implications", also experienced in other European cities, where the link between the physical expression and "the project of *everyday appropriation of the urban environment*" is lost (Carmo et al., 2014, pp. 274, 281). Rather than building on the temporarily intensified associations of these cultures, the process merely performs a discursive and harnessing construction in resonance with the contemporary floating signifiers of creativity in Copenhagen. A very clear and essential example of the consequences, when vague and concrete urbanisms lose their chambers of resonance within which a gradually stronger transductive conjunction between vague representations and practices can unfold.

And so, the development comes full circle at Krøyer's Place. Today, neither the first and second waves of urban and political diversions, nor the creative sublimations of its culture are anywhere to be seen on the site, now fully redeveloped, or rather, concretely abstracted, that is, reductively produced according to partial aspects abstracted from the urban. Then again, this is not completely true. Along the walls of the luxury housing, now straddling the quays, high-quality and specially designed replicas of the typical pallets of the earlier waves of diversion has been placed, in order to signify some of the urban vitality of yesteryear—yet, like the verbal buzz of the creative discourse, with only a floating and abstract relation to the processes and materials of the original diversions that had an altogether different perception of the urban incarnated as a mere virtual possibility.

4. Unearthing the Urban Residuals: Going Through the Vague Spaces, Beyond the Blind Fields

4.1. Affirmation of Established Truths

"Anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 129). More or less homologous to his quote about diverted space, cited above in Subsection 2.3., this assertion of Lefebvre's from *The Urban Revolution* could also be the epitaph of the culture of diversion active in Copenhagen during the last decades. But in line with the conceptualization of Lefebvre, it should not be read as an epitaph, but rather as yet another small but significant moment in the ongoing differentiation of production, of the production of space, lived out by urbanites of Copenhagen. However, now that the reality of these moments of the ongoing production of space has been recognized, the question is how the lived experience of them should be conceptualized and hereby related to, rather than integrated in, other, currently dominant practices or perceptions of urban change.

The case narrative affirms the common-sense perception of the recent history of Krøyer's Place as a history of high-profile antagonism regarding a proposal for a high-rise project in the central part of the Copenhagen harbor. It also clearly shows the general implementation of the creative city discourse within the dominant policy-network of Copenhagen since the late 1990s and that it has gone hand in hand with a general neoliberalization of Copenhagen in the decades since the late 1980s—as already explicitly stated by agents within the policy-network (Bisgaard, 2010) as well as by exponents of the critique of neoliberalism and others (Bayliss, 2007; Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004; Lund Hansen et al., 2001).

4.2. Supplement to Established Truths

The case narrative supplements these statements with a perspective from the subcultural scene, which shows that not only urban policy and the general public but also much of the subculture of diversion in Copenhagen perceive urban development through the lenses of creativity. The critical perception is strongest behind the comforting walls of academia and currently only find limited resonance in the social space of Copenhagen, for example within left-leaning pockets of subculture, due to a process of co-optation of large parts of the diversionary culture by the dominant networks of the city—just as experienced in other major cities of diversion, such as Berlin (Fezer & Heyden, 2007), Amsterdam (Uitermark, 2004), Brussels (Moyersoen, 2010), Geneva, Lisbon and Ljubljana (Carmo et al., 2014).

However, instead of merely going into tactical concepts regarding architectural practice, aesthetic participation, social movements, or, for that matter, the overly generalizing deductions regarding the failure of the diversionary cultures, as in conventional Marxist critique, the narrative integrates more strategic concepts from the urban philosophy of Lefebvre—most importantly the concepts of 'the urban', 'transduction', 'reduction', 'diversion' and, as further developments of Lefebvrean terms, 'vague space', 'concentration' and 'intensification'. It does so in order to explicate a general critique from another angle. While referring to the workings of policy-networks, subcultures and academia within the major contradiction of creativity and critique, there is another important distinction, which needs to be conceptualized regarding the development in Copenhagen. As dominant perceptions, we will argue, creativity and critique are related in a mutual construction of opposing poles that act reductively towards another perception of and practice in Copenhagen, that is, the urban. The way they act towards gradually intensifying phenomena, such as vague spaces and cultures of diversion, affirm this.

4.3. Critique of Reductive Perceptions and a Window onto Urban Possibilities

In the narrative, we have constructed creativity and critique as two discursive perceptions of urban change that have descended onto Copenhagen from their respective, international spheres of development to act out their contradiction in a proxy struggle on foreign terrain. In the following, we will take the argument from the case and pursue the struggle of the dominant contradictions, floating back to their "native soil" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 28) of international (mostly Anglo-American) discourse.

The contradictory perspectives of creativity and critique are comparable with Lefebvre's contradiction between domination and appropriation, but they do not in any way fit perfectly. Thus, there are certain affinities between the two perspectives as well. In fact, they are both chained to the capitalist mode of production. They are both critical of the (local) state. They highlight the urban as the level of opportunity and/or struggle regarding the necessary restructuring of the economy, as a primary means of a creative economy or as the arena in which to critique what is perceived as the secondary circuit of capital. And last, exponents of both camps are paradoxically, but quite tellingly, partly inspired by Lefebvre's critique of the abstract production of space.

Many interpreters of Lefebvre focus on his call for 'the right to the city' as the participation of citizens in the creation of the city as a collective oeuvre—a call sometimes scathingly labelled as romantic by some of the more orthodox, Marxist scholars (Huchzermeyer, 2013). It is due to this 'creative' vein in his critique of abstract space and the state that Lefebvre at irregular intervals figures in arguments for creativity. One of the finest examples is the work of Lehtovuori, whose critique of abstract urban planning in defense of the vitality of urban life and what he characterizes as the 'weak places' of the city has the 'unconcealing', 'weak' and 'poetic' thinking of Heidegger, Benjamin and, not least, Lefebvre's urban and spatial work as some of its major foundations

(Lehtovuori, 2000, 2005). Lehtovuori, who contributed to the influential Urban Catalyst project mentioned above, has integrated this critique in a thorough study of the possibilities in and challenges of informality and temporary uses for a bottom-up creative city policy (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012). And here the paradox between 'weak thinking' about 'weak places' and 'phenomena' arises. Even though the sense is clearly a very acute bottom-up understanding of urban phenomena, and the philosophical grounding matches it, the level of strategic policy (thinking about the weak as 'temporary' and 'creative') is left untouched. So, the means may be bottom-up, whereas the aims remain top-down. Lefebvre has a word for this, and that is 'co-optation'.

The critical perspective is, as shown above, focused on Lefebvre's strategic critique of the planetary and global circulation of capital—also heeding Lefebvre's call for the right to the city (Brenner, 2017; Harvey, 2012). A major inspiration in the development of Harvey's path-breaking critique of capitalist urbanization, Lefebvre's critique is, as noted above, central for the contemporary critique of neoliberalism. Apart from Harvey, Neil Smith (1984, 1996) and Neil Brenner are major exponents of the integration of Lefebvre in such a critique.

The depth and breadth of Brenner's integration of Lefebvre in his critique of neoliberalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) and the "new state spaces" (Brenner, 2004) is more or less unrivalled today. Mostly moving in the policy formation surrounding the different layers of the state, Brenner recently delved into the musings of the 'tactical urbanisms' that have evolved from the informal cultures of temporary use and the subcultures of cities in general (Brenner, 2017). With these "immediate, 'acupunctural' modes of intervention" that promote "a grassroots, participatory, hands-on, do-it-yourself vision of urban restructuring" (Brenner, 2017, p. 131), he says, one straddles the painful border between political critique and co-optation (Brenner, 2017, p. 145). However, even though he finds examples of tactical interventions and their visions of cities as "a *commons*, a space of continuous, collective appropriation and transformation by its users", he does not leave conceptual room for the urban possibilities in this, but instead finds that the activities in what he terms "interstitial spaces" merely coexist "with neoliberal urbanism in a relationship that is neither symbiotic, parasitic, nor destructive" (Brenner, 2017, p. 133). As it typically is for the critical perspective, the major problem for Brenner (who is paradoxically referring to Lefebvre's extremely autonomist thought of autogestion as a counterpoint) is that tactical urbanism "[resist] and [reject] any movement toward institutionalization" (Brenner, 2017, p. 144) and consequently is more or less open towards or even "bolster neoliberal urbanism" (Brenner, 2017, p. 132). The homology between this argument and the kind and overbearing critique of 'the truffle pigs' by local exponents of the critical perception in Copenhagen shown above is clear.

As Lefebvre's thoughts move across the line of demarcation between the two contradictory perspectives on urban change, it becomes clear that they also constitute a common pole in a different contradiction. While both camps highlight the urban as the level of opportunity and/or struggle, they miss out on the pivotal and autonomous character of this level in Lefebvre's critique. As shown, whether it is a means of creative development or a secondary circuit of capital, it is a mere tactical level for the proxy struggle between the two camps. Both are political arguments that make claims on behalf of the urban, that claim to be urban, but neither of them will lend the urban any autonomy. The creative perspective integrates the concentrating energy of informal cultures before they gain a cultural intensity of their own. Likewise, the critical perspective already has a ready-made representation of strategic politics, which leaves no room for the urban to develop a politics of its own—labeling tactical attempts as class adversarial, revisionist or naïve well before they develop a voice of their own. Their relation to the urban is ambivalent at best, directly reductive at worst.

Whereas the creative perspective is rather uncritical vis-à-vis the economic growth paradigm or at least can be criticized for being depoliticized by ignoring the economic and bureaucratic interests in the city, which clears it from further responsibilities regarding a sober interpretation of Lefebvre, the critical perception of urban change is so deeply entrenched in Marxist theory that its take on and use of Lefebvre as well as the urban adjective ought to be more informed. But when it comes to the critique of neoliberalism it is locked on a target, neoliberal urbanization, which only has the urban as a means, and the critique of neoliberalism acts towards the urban accordingly.

This is very clearly a case of "dominant critiques of neoliberalism [travelling] beyond the sites of [their] epistemological production" (Baptista, 2013, p. 590). As this critique left the primary circuit of capital it should have followed suit with Lefebvre and widened its perception accordingly (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 102–103), instead of extending "to the urban domain the principles" of reductive productivism, to paraphrase Peck's critique of the creative discourse (Peck, 2005, p. 764). Lefebvre and his "open theory of the space of political economy" has been reductively integrated in a "closed theory of the political economy of space" (Charnock, 2010) with only scarce recognition of anything else than actually existing neoliberalism—least of all the possibilities of the urban. The conventional Marxist critique of Neoliberalism focuses on a concrete abstraction of the broader phenomenon of production. What Lefebvre attempts is to show the coherent differentiation of the concrete universal of production into practices of concentration that act as practical bases of both the urban and the capitalist economy and the discourses, which reproduces its basic functioning. Single-mindedly hunting down the concrete abstractions of capitalism leads to a critique being

haunted by them—while reducing the possibility and reality of the urban in the process.

As has already been shown above, Lefebvre himself was acutely aware of the reductive tendency even with his Marxist peers—and Marx himself (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 102–103). His critique of the reduction of the urban is maybe most to the point in *The Urban Revolution*, the selfsame book that presented his thoughts on urbanization as part of the secondary circuit of capital. Here he likens the industrial gaze on the urban with the enigma of the black box: "They know what goes in, are amazed at what comes out, but have no idea what takes place inside" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 28). In other words, the urban is a "blind field": "We focus attentively on the new field, the urban, but we see it with eyes, with concepts, that were shaped by the practices and theories of industrialization, [which] is therefore *reductive* of the emerging reality" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 29).

This is exactly the case of the creative and critical gaze on diversions of vague spaces. Diversionary practices unfold in vague spaces of the city that, due to their vagueness and per definition, correspond to blind fields in the established discourses. Consequently, vague but nevertheless coherent practices of concentration and intensification are pulled apart, abstracted from their vague context and reductively signified by floating signifiers working overtime to construct some sort of representational coherency far away from their own native soil. So, all discourses have their silences, yes, and if the discourses of creativity and critique have one, it is paradoxically that of the urban.

As the presentation of Lefebvre's thought above may have demonstrated, his work was very much concerned with the conceptual and therefore political autonomy of the urban, in that "it assumes that the city (the urban center) has been a place for creation and not simply a result….It stipulates that the urban can become 'objective', that is, creation and creator, meaning and goal" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p. 28). The urban is a primary moment of production, a further differentiation of the concrete universal and thus an attempt at a transcending conceptualization. So, as inhabitants constantly "reconstitute centres, using places to restitute even derisory encounters" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 129)—or divert vague spaces for the same purposes—the gradual intensification of new, aesthetic *and* political, senses of the urban from out of the concentration of people and practices is no less real than the economic circuit, in which exchangeable abstractions of this concentration circulates. This concentration is not just an economic possibility of creative venture for entrepreneurs or a risk of economic dispossession for marginalized locals, but also a possibility of ever new moments of the urban, which need to be lived out and conceptualized with adherence to the "intimate link between politics and aesthetics" (Carmo et al., 2014, p. 279); between critique and creativity, in order to revitalize and transcend the current, abstract perception of the production of space—and revitalize the dormant residuals of the urban.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Article

On Architectural Space and Modes of Subjectivity: Producing the Material Conditions for Creative-Productive Activity

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Abstract
This article discusses extended implications of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* in the context of contemporary global neoliberalism, by focus on its presence in architectural space as lived space and spatial practice. The main discussion concerns Lefebvre's concepts of abstract space, in relation to Felix Guattari's three ecologies, and the Aristotelean triad of aisthesis, poiesis and techné. The focus here concerns material architectural space and its relation to modes of subjectivity, especially creative-productive versus consuming subjectivities. The argument begins by elaborating on an understanding of abstract space as present in material architectural space as pervasive processes of disassociation of materiality and labor, and proceeds to through these concepts discuss modes of subjectivity—the dependence of abstract space on subjects as consumers—and the way this relates to challenges of sustainability. It further points to the importance of architectural space considered as built material environment for creative-productive modes of subjectivity which challenge abstract space and in extension consumer society, by offering potential dispositions that set subjects in a different relation to the world.

Keywords
abstract space; architectural space; Lefebvre; modes of subjectivity; three ecologies

Issue
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1. Introduction

Engaging with the works of Henri Lefebvre in light of the challenges facing us today constitutes a daunting but necessary task. Lefebvre's writing is dense and complex. Operating with deliberate contradictions, it never quite lets core concept stabilize—the line between specific cases and general statements is often implicit, even blurred (e.g., Goonewardena, 2005, p. 62; Stanek, 2014, p. lviii). Lefebvre's work has had a widespread influence on a wide range of scholarship over a long period—and often indirectly, as in the case of Harvey (1989) and Soja (1996, 2000)—and although many of the texts were translated to English twenty-five years ago, works such as *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) were written over forty years ago. During this period, it must be acknowledged, the world changed drastically. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Warsaw pact, the Cold War ended; in the subsequent period, the industrialized world went through several shifts in modes of production and economy. New economic powers appeared, the EU expanded, and the Welfare State was declared past its peak. Climate change became a tangible, looming threat, and many other things besides are now unrecognizable when compared to the world described by Lefebvre. Specific to this article, planning and architecture passed through a series of changes as well, both in terms of their disciplinary structure and modes of practice. All of these factors pose challenges in reading Lefebvre's work, which is deeply rooted in his own contemporary context, and is acutely critical of the processes and practices of his day. Whilst some of that critique risks becoming misdirected if taken at face value today, arguably the pervasive critique of power and its

spaces and manifestations is as valid now as it was at its conception.

However, rather than trying to map an overall engagement with Lefebvre's theories—others would be better posed to contribute with such an exposé (e.g., Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, & Schmid, 2008; Stanek, 2011)—I will focus on setting a number of select concepts drawn from his writings into relation to a series of challenges that we face in the present. I undertake this work as a researcher in architecture, which, it should be acknowledged, guides both my interpretation of Lefebvre's writings and where I focus my attention.

From this position, whilst a multitude of questions present themselves, I will try to make a rather specific contribution: my main focus will be on discussing the iterations that *abstract space* takes as *architectural space*, which arguably has seen less attention than other aspects of Lefebvre's work. Instead of focusing on the modes of production of material space or the disciplinary practices of architects—approaches seen, for instance, in Doucet (2015), Trogal (2017), Wolf and Mahaffey (2016), or Wungpatcharapon (2017)—I will focus on aspects of material space and how material space affects people directly or indirectly in their capacity as subjects, or more precisely, in the formation of their subjectivities. Tatjana Schneider (2017, p. 23) warns of the risks of romanticizing "social production" in addressing this theme—our understanding of the production of space, she cautions, "in particular with regards to architecture, needs to take into account not only how one produces but also how the resulting products—things, buildings or spaces—are then distributed and consumed". Acknowledging the importance of modes of production and of challenging of disciplinary boundaries and practices, this article aims to make a contribution to the broader body of scholarship on Lefebvre's work by focusing on the aspects of production and consumption that Schneider directs us toward. It also to some extent builds on Goonewardena's question:

> What is the role played by the aesthetics and politics of space—i.e., 'the urban sensorium', as I am elaborating here—in *producing* and *reproducing* the durable disjunction between the consciousness of our urban 'everyday life' (to use the term preferred by Lefebvre and Debord) and the now global structure of social relations that is itself ultimately responsible for producing the spaces of our lived experience? (Goonewardena, 2005, p. 55)

I address this question via a specific focus on the relation between material architectural space and modes of subjectivity, and am specifically concerned with interrogating relations between material architectural space and how those relations can be understood to condition, support, allow, foster, and restrict creative-productive modes of subjectivity.

2. Outlining the Argument

> Activity in space is restricted by that space; space "decides" what activity may occur, but even this "decision" has limits placed upon it. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order—and hence also a certain disorder (just as what may be seen defines what is obscene)….Space commands bodies, prescribing, or postscribing gestures, routes, and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind; this is its *raison d'être*. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 143)

My main line of argument will be anchored in this statement from Lefebvre, which points to how, while being critical to environmental determinism, he saw direct and concrete relations between the thoughts and actions of people and the material space in which they live, which includes *architectural* space. This relation must also be read not as a simple question of cause and effect but understood by recourse to a larger argument about setting different forms of social space in active relation to one another and to subjects. Actions do not *precede* material space, neither are they *determined by* it. As Schneider (2017, p. 26) argues, Lefebvre's point is that "[t]he social and the spatial are inextricably intermingled and cannot be separated", suggesting that it is important to continuously interrogate different trajectories between (if we simplify it) space, people, and society. This argument recalls Foucault's (1984/1986) warning that the effects of materiality and space cannot be ignored, even if they are not deterministic. Space is also produced with such relationality in mind, and this is also central to Lefebvre's argument—distances and proximities, absences and presences, and order and disorder are created, promoting certain forms of disposition while preventing others and setting the scene for what is part of society, and what is not.

In this article, I will engage with *abstract space* from a series of distinct directions. The discussion will be anchored in how abstract relates to architectural space—a notion Lefebvre separates from the "space of architects"[1]—and in what I believe the critical challenges of sustainability to be in the relation of individuals and society to space and materiality. I open the article with a discussion of the notion of abstract space as it is used in the subsequent argument, focusing on a few key processes and economic-political configurations upon which it has a bearing. I will also introduce some key findings of a research project conducted in Stockholm, from which many of the underlying notions explored in this article

[1] "It is worth appreciating that Lefebvre drew a distinction between 'architectural space' and the 'space of architects'….'Architectural space', by virtue of the experience that people have of it, is one of the means through which social space is produced" (Forty, 2000, p. 272). See also Lefebvre (1991, p. 300): "social space tended to become indistinguishable from the space of planners, politicians and administrators, and architectural space, with its social character, from the (mental) space of architects".

stem. I will then move on to engage Lefebvre's theories with Guattari's three ecologies and the formation of modes of subjectivity (Guattari, 2000). This discussion will be developed in part through relating Guattari's work to the Aristotelean concepts of aisthesis, poiesis, and techné. The main argument will revolve around the political thrust of Lefebvre's writings as they may be interpreted through his positions on the production of modes of subjectivity; in particular, I examine *one* aspect of abstract space, namely how it fosters modes of relations to self and the world in ways that are central to the continued expansion of neoliberal economy and consumer society, and that are thus highly detrimental to sustainability.

3. Abstract Space

> And in this sense, it remains an *abstraction*, even though, *qua* "thing", it is endowed with a terrible, almost deadly, power. The "commodity world" cannot exist for itself. For it to exist, there must be *labor*. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 342)

In *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), abstract space is a complex concept; it does not imply a sole focus on "abstractions of space", nor is it simply a question of immaterial space. In part, abstract space is a concept that directly engages with "architectural space". This abstraction is not aesthetic per se, but relational and social: what is abstracted is *labor*. Lefebvre's discussion here, like Baudrillard's (1970/1998), builds on the Marxist notion that we can no longer tell from a commodity what efforts were put into producing it (Stanek, 2008), although one can note differences in how the two scholars interpret this lack of traces. Both Lefebvre and Baudrillard situate this as an important part of consumer economy and industrialized societies. *Abstract space*, as I will discuss it here, relies on this absence of *labor*, and especially the absence of *productive labor*, although there are other forms of labor that are also displaced and hidden either in time or space.

Home labor and other forms of production that have tended to be performed by women tend to be absent in the arguments of both Lefebvre and Baudrillard (Brown, 2000; Steyaert, 2010), and for the argument I am currently making, this absence only emphasizes the more general displacement and making invisible of physical labor (and its performers), which takes place "elsewhere"—even if this elsewhere sometimes means "at home" (McLeod, 1996). However, for Lefebvre, abstract space *also* includes a gradual shift from *physical* to *mental* labor, whereby labor or work is gradually disassociated from material production in a range of different ways. These means of disassociation include the increasing subdivision of work and increased automatization, but also the emergence of working classes whose tasks are increasingly abstract even if active in production—a trajectory that, arguably, the architectural discipline has also largely followed.

I wish here to focus on three main aspects of abstract space in Lefebvre's writings: (1) the abstraction of the built environment, by the limitation of the *direct* involvement of citizens in the material production of their own local environments, and of consecutive change and traces of occupation; (2) the way in which physical space is abstracted from physical labor so that production, labor, and the traces of production are unreadable in the product (or space), including the displacement of sites of production to "elsewhere"; and (3) the continuous shift in forms of work from physical to mental labor.

It is worth keeping in mind that this article has been developed in a context that is actively engaged in the critique of modernist and functionalist architecture and planning, a critique that can further shed light on the architectural context in which Lefebvre was working. This context ranges from what was being built to how the discipline was working. For instance, in *The Silences of Mies*, Sven-Olov Wallenstein (2008) points out that through the international style, a certain "abstraction" (meant in the Lefebvrian sense) was intended: the new, modern, cosmopolitan subject would not maintain attachments to places in the same ways as before, and while architecture should cater to needs of personalization, it should also make sure that personalization acted in such a way so as not to leave lasting traces. Interchangeable consumer objects were to be inserted and removed, rather than any direct action taken in relation to space and architecture. This was to some extent also a democratic notion, intended to ensure that space was left open for re-appropriation. The abstraction of architectural labor from its results is perhaps most clearly illustrated in Mark Wigley's *White Walls, Designer Dresses* (1995). In this text, Wigley observes a contradiction between expressed simplicity and laborious construction—that is, between how the white wall without visible moldings, joints, or seams are one of the more labor-intensive ideals of architectural surfaces, as construction details and traces of work need to be hidden, surfaces need to be laboriously made smooth, and materials and components need to fit precisely together. Finally, both Schneider (2017) and Stanek (2011, p. 150) observe within architectural practice tendencies, present in society in general, toward an increasing use of abstracted modes of representation such as isometry rather than, for instance, perspectives, as well as an increasingly abstracted architectural discourse.

Within this framework, I will first and foremost concentrate on Lefebvre's work from the point of view of how material space, "whether it is large scale infrastructural projects such as airports, motorways or dams, or, indeed, small-scale buildings such as houses or pavilions, each project will privilege some activities and social relations and inhibit others" (Schneider, 2017, p. 24). I am particularly interested in scenes wherein such activities and relations concern active relations to material space in the sense of consecutive changes and traces, or the opportunities and presences of productive/production ac-

tivities in daily lived experience. Here, I believe it is important to note that Lefebvre, in several of his writings, perhaps most notably in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* (Lefebvre, 2014), provides concrete examples of what he considers "positive" social space, and that some of these examples—such as his use of Roman baths—are not "socially produced" in the sense argued by scholars like Šušteršič (2017) or Wolf and Mahaffey (2016). Instead, their status as positive social spaces seems not to be associated with their mode of original production but rather their appropriation. While this can appear as a contradiction in Lefebvre's conceptualization, I see it as being in line with his theories, which, in all their complexity, do not propose an absolute causality between the mode of production of material space and its subsequent use in lived space and spatial practice. They do not, in other words, see a cause and effect relation between the process of a space's material production to the social space that is produced through experience and spatial practice, as it is appropriated. Therefore, while I would concede that socially produced space is more likely to lead to a social space, it seems worthwhile to focus on the other side of the (artificial) separation between space and people—as such, in this article I will delve deeper into an understanding of abstract space as concrete materiality, as such a discussion, I argue, is less developed than practices and discourse on modes of production.

3.1. Global Economies, Neoliberal Societies, and Industrial Transition

When addressing abstract space in this manner—that is, through a discussion of how material, architectural space participates in processes of abstraction—it is of course impossible to not first point to what could be called the displacement of productivity. Since the writing of *The Production of Space*, vast economic changes have taken place at a global scale, which have changed the relations between economies, industries, companies, state, geographies of production and consumption, and political and economic regulations and systems. Industry itself has gone through at least two major processes of change (Fromhold-Eisenbith & Fuchs, 2012), affecting both global and local scales. A more distinct shift into neoliberalism has taken place over large parts of the globe, where neoliberalism can be seen as a continuous process of deregulation, marketization, and increasingly narrow norms (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002). "*Urban* neoliberalism", writes Roger Keil (2002, p. 235), "refers to the *contradictory re-regulation* of everyday life in the city". This contradictory re-regulation concerns, increasingly, restrictions on activities that do not conform to what is beneficial to the processes of the global market economy.

While the global economy was a factor already in the early twentieth century if not before—Simmel comments on the concurrent fully globalized economy—the globalization of economy and its impact on local societies has arguably continued to grow (e.g., Kaminer, Robles-Durán, & Sohn, 2011). Networks of production, distribution, and consumption have developed into increasingly complex, tangled global processes and structures including various subsidiaries, co-operations, dispersed ownership structures, global monetary flows. Additionally, an increased use of subsidiaries and temporary employments allow for further industrial flexibility, posing challenges of labor organizations (Meyer, 2012). Increasingly, "western" economies have posited themselves as knowledge economies, wherein base production has been moved to other locations on the globe, and suburbs and cities once based around industry have increasingly been challenged, shifting character and economic basis or declining as a result. Common strategies to handle these challenges have tended to focus on innovation, creative businesses, and high-tech niche businesses (Taylor, 2012). Industrial areas are razed to make space for other activities, today often "mixed-use" development—a mixed use conspicuously devoid of any substantial production facilities, which if kept at all are redeveloped into cultural spaces or spaces for the "creative economy" (e.g., Azcaráte, 2009; Florida, 2005; Montgomery, 2005; Sacco, Blessi, & Nuccio, 2009; cf. Weiner, 2004). Expectations of certain kinds of knowledge within a local workforce lead to an increasing divide between both the employed and unemployed, and between manual labor and knowledge economy (physical and mental) labor.

In part, this has to do with global market forces and managerial strategies of economic efficiency, designed to capitalize on symbiosis and proximity (Schiller, Penn, Druckman, Basson, & Royston, 2014), but it would be a mistake to subscribe too narrowly to such a pragmatic rationale. Part of what makes such strategies economically efficient, arguably, is that the "elsewhere" of production allows for working conditions and processes that would not be accepted "here". This includes working hours and salary levels, material conditions at workplaces (labor rights and the environments of workers), and many other socioeconomic aspects, but it also includes environmental aspects. Laws and regulations of material and energy use, waste management, emissions, and so on make a radical difference in terms of production costs—in one estimate, SCB (2016) suggests that if all that was consumed in Sweden was produced in Sweden, the country's carbon-dioxide footprint would be reduced to *half* its size. This reduction would not primarily be from reduced transports but from the effects of following Swedish environmental laws of production.[2]

The material standards of the "affluent world" therefore rely on lower standards and less regulation elsewhere. This difference is maintained by the aforementioned *abstraction* by *disassociation*. While this is fairly established in concurrent discourse, the challenge re-

[2] The estimation should be treated carefully, as it is fraught with danger in how to model and estimate differences, not to mention that it disregards questions of raw material access. It is primarily used illustratively.

mains the lack of a tangible, directly observable relation between product and labor. This simply can't be seen either *directly* (through seeing the specific work required to produce that which is consumed), or *indirectly* (through the presence of production in cities that contributes to building a more generic understanding of productive activity in general). The point, to put it shortly, is that inasmuch as production moves elsewhere for economics of efficiency, production is *displaced* in planning for the purpose of expanding vibrant, lively urban places for people to live in, in mixed-use areas with active ground floors—where productive activity has no place. It is thus not a simple matter of production *moving* elsewhere, but also a process of production *being moved* elsewhere, because it has no place in the visions and ideals of the compact vibrant city, which aims to form "future sustainable societies" (cf. Carmona & Wunderlich, 2012; Gehl, 2010).

3.2. Experiencing, Expressing, Creating

As another way into the discussion, I will make use of a project for the City of Stockholm that was concerned with sociospatial equality and culture (Koch, Legeby, & Abshirini, 2017; Legeby, Koch, & Abshirini, 2016;). This project amongst other things interrogated the way that the municipality conceptualizes and stores data, and how it acts, in relation to "culture" and "cultural activities". While the project operated with a fairly narrow and largely traditional notion of "culture", some of our findings are important for the current discussion. In summary, it was discovered that the concepts and data that characterized the municipality's approach to culture were: (1) organized by the municipality; and/or (2) sites or activities of experiencing culture. That is, the way the municipality worked with culture was centered on their own activities, and citizens as recipients or experiencers of cultural activities, objects, sites, or similar. In response, we created a conceptual model proposing that culture be understood from four different points of view. We named them, quite simply, "to experience", "to engage with", "to express", and "to do". The first two elements in the model were delineated using Walter Benjamin's (1936/2008) differentiation between distracted and engaged experience, whereas "to express" largely built on the discussions of Zukin (1995) on rights of representation in public space. The last aspect—"to do"—was found to be almost entirely absent in the municipal discourse, and, notably, quite little discussed in urban theory at large (see, e.g., Deutsche, 1996).

3.3. A Continuous and Pervasive Abstraction

Rather than a static condition, the above indicates the way in which abstract space operates as a pervasive process, where by "pervasive" I mean that it operates on many levels, at many scales, and in many places. While its specific actions and iterations are different, they all tend to follow the same direction, making *less present* manual labor and traces of production, while setting *more focus* on experience and sociability. Abstract space, to conclude with a highly topical example, can in this sense be likened to economies of recycling and waste management. David Graeber (2012) notes how, in the face of the concurrent challenges of handling waste and emissions, recycling has become a central topic; focus, however, has been placed not on recycling in general, but on household recycling in particular. At the point of writing, while household waste made up a maximum of ten percent of the total waste produced in the UK, it was the object of almost all recycling efforts. Recycling tends to mean leaving your sorted waste in a tube or at a recycling station whereupon it is taken elsewhere for disassembly and reuse—creating global economies of recycling labor, this arguably transforms the reuse side of the recycling equation into a form of abstract space. No relation exists between commodity and labor, either before or after use, and recycling means specifically that it should leave our hands to be taken care of "elsewhere" by "someone". It is not only unknown where this elsewhere and who this someone is, but the state of it being unknown is central to the operations as such. At the same time, this ignorance creates illusions of circular economies, while not addressing on the one hand the majority of waste produced in society, and on the other hand, which is a weakness in Graeber's article, the waste produced at the sites of production and distribution of the commodities which are then to be recycled. Again, disassociation through removing crucial steps in the process acts as a generator of abstraction, and in line with Lefebvre's argument, the main things that is disassociated is *labor*.

I acknowledge here that this "roll-out" of abstract space also produces differential space, spaces and practices of resistance and dissent, and that artists, scholars and architects actively engage in the creation and exploration of such space (e.g., Šušteršič, 2017; Wolf & Mahaffey, 2016; Wungpatcharapon, 2017). But while these projects and practices are important, the intent here is to persist in delving into material architectural space and its relation to the production of subjectivities—something to which these practices make major contributions, but which are not central to the current line of argument.

4. Lefebvre's Work and Modes of Subjectivity

> Social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. *Their underpinning is spatial*. In each particular case, the connection between this underpinning and the relations it supports calls for analysis. Such an analysis must imply and explain a genesis and constitute a critique of those institutions, substitutions, transpositions, metaphorizations, anaphorizations, and so forth, that have transformed the space under consideration. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 404)

Until now I have focused on Lefebvre's writing in relation to recent conditions and processes in society, and to set this in relation to how specific aspects of abstract space can be interpreted. The purpose, as stated in the outline, has been to reach a point where this can be discussed in relation to *modes of subjectivity*. I use "modes of subjectivity" here as distinct from concepts that more relate to entities such as "subjects", "persons", and "personality" (e.g., Butler, 1999; Laclau, 2000). Specifically, I'd like to address how the formation of subjectivities includes ways of relating to oneself, others, and the world, a set of relations that take on different, specific forms in different subjects. It is important to stress that the questions of subjectivity that I address here do not concern person-subjects per se, but ways in which person-subjects form relational, positional entities in the world, which change, adapt and grow over time, and wherein the same "person" may take on different modes in different situations. Rather than discussing "consumers" or "consuming subjects", I consider the ways and times in which entangled, complex, and adaptive subjects relate to the world as experiencing and consuming individuals, and the increasing dominance of this disposition. To further develop this, I will engage with Guattari's three ecologies and the Aristotelean triad of aisthesis, poiesis and techné.

4.1. Three Ecologies

> Rather than speak of the "subject", we should perhaps speak of *components of subjectification*, each working more or less on its own. This would lead us, necessarily, to re-examine the relation between concepts of the individual and subjectivity, and, above all, to make a clear distinction between the two. (Guattari, 2000, pp. 24–25)

Bringing Guattari's work into the discussion, it must be acknowledged, means bringing in the work of someone with whom Lefebvre was in conflict in the period in which *The Production of Space* was written. As Stanek (2014, pp. lvii-lxi) notes, Guattari was an active participant in *Centre d'études, de recherches, et de formation institutionnelles* (CERFI), and thus was someone with whom Lefebvre had a conflictual relationship. While reading the two thinkers in parallel today reveals many links in their respective lines of thought; here I undertake a cross-reading that intends to productively focus on differences rather than similarities between them.

Guattari's three ecologies can be outlined as comprising ecologies of relationality of *self-to-self*, *self-to-others*, and *self-to-environment*, or, mental, social and environmental ecologies tied to vectors of subjectification. This reading is prevalent and can be found in the interpretations made by Mohsen Mostafavi (2010) and Peg Rawes (2013). While simplification of this kind risks missing the nuances in Guattari's schema, here it serves as basis from which to re-approach Lefebvre's conceptualization of abstract space. The likeness between mental, social, and environmental ecologies and the simplified version of Lefebvre's triads into mental, social, and physical space is immediately striking. Understood as a construct of the disassociation of everyday life from material processing and labor, abstract space—and particularly its effects on subjectivity—maintains a productive relation to the three ecologies. Specifically, the three ecologies help us to understand how abstract space affects subjectivity through habits and practices. As Martina Löw (2016, p. 111) notes in relation to Lefebvre's work, "[e]verydayness means the lifestyle of individualization and particularization standardized by processes of socialization", and this everydayness must be acknowledged as central, as Douglas Spencer notes, in that "the individual is subject to forms of training that remain unreflected upon precisely because they appear as customary and habitual, as 'given'" (Spencer, 2016, p. 153).

On the level of *self-to-self* relations, abstract space participates in producing *subjects that relate to themselves* as experiencing, consuming subjects. These subjects do not "know" production and do not consider themselves as part of production—this is not to say that they are active "non-producers", but rather to claim that a disassociation exists between oneself and the economic, material, and social processes—as well as the material and immaterial transformations—that generate the commodities and conveniences which *I* make use of in my daily life. This dissociation also affects how the "everyday" and "lived space" impact on vectors of subjectivity and, following Lefebvre's line of discussion, how material space (by which I mean built space as well as commodities) influence the formation of contemporary subjects, who perhaps do not even relate to themselves as *productive*.

On the level of *self-to-others*, relations to others are embedded in subjectivity, both directly (through friends and family) and indirectly (through acquaintances or the Other). Abstract space here also contributes to specific formations of subjectivity. As Lefebvre states, "the space of the commodity may thus be defined as a homogeneity made up of specificities" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 341)—as a concrete abstraction, abstract space thus simultaneously *disassociates* the individual from a social context, and *embeds* the individual in an abstract whole through the specificities by which it forms its representational spaces and spatial practices. The individual becomes a consumer expected to be and become specifically an individual, but this individual will form an instance of overall neoliberal consumer culture—an argument that rings very similar to Baudrillard's (1970/1998). This position also needs to be set in critical relation to the pervasive discourse of creating "lively, vibrant environments", wherein others, rather than being active subjects to relate to and understand, are simply seen as actants whose main purpose is to participate in the generation of liveliness, which in turn is what is to be experienced. Others thereby become facilitators of experience rather than subjects to engage with, a practice that is a key component in this disassociation. As Claire Bishop (2004) notes

in her critique of relational art, palpable tendencies exist within contemporary architectural and planning practice that confuse the growth of meaningful social relations with "community as immanent togetherness" (Bishop, 2004, p. 67), and as a result facilitate the consumption of atmospheres of community-like gatherings rather than provide support for the formation of lasting social bonds.

The level of *self-to-environment* describes the way in which subjects (or subjectivities) relate to the world around them. Like the other ecologies, however, this is not *a* relation between *an* individual and *the* environment, but a set of relationships which form vectors that intersect to generate subjectivity. As such, "self-to-environment" by necessity forms a composite, wherein a multitude of vectors and attitudes contribute to generate a more general disposition that incorporates exceptions, contradictions, and variations. In part, the formation of these relations proceeds by way of the production of individual and social habits—a positive or problematic quality, depending on whether one reads Ballantyne (2011) or Spencer (2016); while habits may concern actions and practices, here I am interested in how such habits form trajectories, dispositions, and attitudes to the surrounding environment, perceiving it as given or malleable—as a site, in other words, for consumptive experience or active engagement.

In all three cases, architectural space participates in the generation of subjectivities by communicating norms, fostering of habits, and embedding culture and memories (e.g., Peponis, 2017). In this way, consumer society is not antithetical to specific practices of individual or particular production, but rather opposes subjectivities which relate to the world, in general, in a productive-creative capacity. Specific acts of ostensible production can even contribute to the abstract space of consumer society by means of establishing relations between actors and world which form parts of an overall consumer subjectivity.

As an example of how acts of alteration can be differentiated, we can turn to how the commodification of space itself plays an important role in the process of abstraction.[3] Addressing the subject as a real-estate investor and participant in the housing market, Hélène Frichot and Helen Runting (2018) write, "architecture not only frames the point of view of a subject tied up with real estate, architecture and its curated interiors mold the subject" (Frichot & Runting, 2018, p. 141). The link to Lefebvre's abstract space is perhaps even clearer in Runting's "The Liquid Seam" (2018), which highlights not only the abstracted character of commodified space, but its level of abstraction. Through symbolic representation and exchange, space the real estate commodity here is bound together to produce a continuous surface, an abstraction that only becomes possible through a series of operations in neoliberal society that are performed in order to detach—for instance—a home from the concept of inhabiting or "being at home". If for Lefebvre abstract space is the product of capitalist industrialism in that commodities, rather than being individual objects, takes on the role of forming the specific instances through which capitalism makes real the abstract space of the global neoliberal market economy, then space and real estate have taken on a similar character. This means that rather than forming markers of identity, the operations of personalization through which owners (rather than inhabitants) act on their homes in this market perform acts of spatial abstraction in that their primary engagement is with the continuous abstract surface of neoliberal real estate rather than with forming personal or collective bonds with the material environment in which the owner-inhabitants live their lives. This latter type of engagement should be clearly differentiated from what Catharina Gabrielsson (2018) discusses as "the critical potential of housework", whereby she describes how practices of maintenance, repair, and cleaning form "…an ethics of care that is fundamentally at odds with capitalist accumulation" (Gabrielsson, 2018, p. 251). Gabrielsson's argument is important and has many parallels to those of Steven Jackson (2014) in "Rethinking Repair", and Peg Rawes (2013) in "Architectural Ecologies of Care", wherein both scholars argue for a shift in how we consider the world in general to incorporate concepts of care, repair, and maintenance more directly, which, while important in and of itself, would also arguably push a shift in subjectivity as discussed here. To further develop these particular aspects of modes of subjectivity, I will turn my attention to the Aristotelian triad of aisthesis, poiesis, and techné.

4.2. Aisthesis, Poiesis, and Techné

> [I]n order to experience aesthetic enjoyment of any kind, the spectator must be aesthetically educated, and this education necessarily reflects the social and cultural milieus into which the spectator was born and in which he or she lives. In other words, the aesthetic attitude presupposes the subordination of art production to art consumption—and thus the subordination of art theory to sociology. (Groys, 2010, p. 11)

The argument Boris Groys (2010) makes is important in that it broadens the notion of "consumption" from being specifically concerned with transactions or material goods to incorporating the ways in which we relate to social or cultural specificities. Even in abstract categories such as "art", we see a focus on the experience and interpretation of art (and to some extent even the "effects" of art), which in turn implies a *consuming subject*, rather than a creative-productive subject.[4] We can read this as

[3] "Lefebvre also calls this capitalist space 'abstract space' characterized by the simultaneity of fragmentation (division of space into marketable parts) and homogenization (levelling function of the exchange value, which in capitalism dominates the utility value)" (Löw, 2016, pp. 111–112).

[4] Groys (2010, p. 16) notes further how "[i]n fact, there is a much longer tradition of understanding art as poiesis or techné than as aisthesis or in terms of hermeneutics. The shift from a poetic, technical understanding of art to aesthetic or hermeneutical analysis was relatively recent, and it is now time to reverse this change in perspective".

the utterance "I like this drawing" as opposed to "I like to draw", as opposed to "I can draw", as opposed to "I create drawings". While Groys confines his argument to art—or more precisely art theory—I believe that his observation holds wider implications. In a sense, while I agree with Tonkiss (2005) that one of Lefebvre's important contributions is his foregrounding of "lived space", or space as experienced in everyday practice, the focus on *lived space as experienced* risks becoming a focus on aisthesis—or consumption. It risks, in other words, posing people as consuming subjects, and in a planning or design context, it risks framing subjects as receivers and consumers of the product of planning and/or built development.

If abstract space constitutes a space of aisthesis, then this raises question of what kind of space constitutes a space of poiesis or techné. This is more than a passing query, it is a question that leaves one largely without answer in contemporary theory and practice (Koch et al., 2017). Writings definitely exist which address spaces of representation and perceived space with respect to aisthesis in Aristotle's triad (e.g., Zukin, 1995), but less scholarship has been undertaken on *spatial practice* considered as creative-productive engagement in and with the environment (see Deutsche, 1996; Petrescu, 2017). If we insist on widening the Aristotelean triad in two ways: from art to society, and from individual to collective, it becomes clear that abstract space operates to drive society towards spaces of aisthesis, which are fundamentally dependent on their disconnection from poiesis and techné. This disconnection relates to both the symbolic and to subjectivity. Translating poiesis to creative-productive activity and allowing this to include modes of production that are not "cultural" or "creative" in the generic sense (e.g., Wallenstein, 2008), it becomes even more obvious. Common stabs at localized production tend to emphasize this rift than to bridge it: urban farming by and large incorporates modes of production, products, and aspects thereof built upon an overall understanding of the purpose of (public) space as serving *experience*. Spatial practices thus tend to be limited to practices that conform to lived experiences operating through consumptive relationships to the world and society—that is, to modes of subjectivity that largely remains within the realm of (active or passive) aisthesis (see Benjamin, 1936/2008).

However, the Aristotelean triad provides a third piece, which is central: techné.

In order to on a more fundamental level make the disconnection between creative-productive subjectivity and consuming subjectivity, abstract space and the neoliberal market economy operate through the continuous eradication of techné—the type of knowledge that enable subjects to transition between consumption and production, experience and creativity—as well as the spaces where this can be trained and practiced. This eradication, as noted above, concerns both formal production (such as industries) and the concepts and conditions for spontaneous or informal creative-productive practices. It is also through this removal of knowledge and skills that abstract space and neoliberal economies operate on *modes of subjectivity*, as knowledge is central to a disposition of active, dynamic, and creative-productive relation to self, others, and environment. The knowledge that is techné is not specific, but rather lies in the learning of (any) skills that enables modes of subjectivity that relate to the environment as something that can be actively engaged with instead of experienced, lived in, or consumed. The eradication of techné is perpetrated on an individual and societal level, through configurations of production and consumption, and a continuous and pervasive roll-out of pleasant spaces of narrowly defined experience and consumption (Kärrholm, 2012; Zukin, 1995; cf. Carmona & Wunderlich, 2012; Gehl, 2010).

Recalling the four concepts developed in the Stockholm project mentioned above—to experience, to engage with, to express, and to do—one can note how, arguably, the first two belong to the category of aisthesis, whereas the latter two can be located in poiesis and techné. What becomes clear, however, is how much scholarly discourse—including Zukin's and others focusing on rights and politics of expression and representation—leave much work to be done with respect to the questions of how and where creative-productive activity is to take place, and where the knowledges and skills to engage in such can be tried, trained, honed, and practiced. There is no absolute or causal relation between spaces of expression and spaces of creation, nor is the abundance of expression a necessary sign of widespread creativity. Spaces of expression and spaces of creation also maintain a disjointed relationship to spaces of experience and engagement: there is nothing that says that a space rich in experience is a space where many can express themselves or where diverse and widespread creative-productive activity can be undertaken.

4.3. Vectors of Subjectification

The different modes of subjectivity discussed above can be seen to be the results of a number of distinct trajectories, which relate to many of the aspects in Lefebvre's triad as well as abstract space, as it appears in architectural space, or in concrete, physical reality and the conditions and restrictions this sets up. Rather than trying to directly tie material space to individual perception or specific subjects, however, we can now understand it in relation to Guattari's concept of components or vectors of subjectification:

> Vectors of subjectification do not necessarily pass through the individual, which in reality appears to be something like a 'terminal' for processes that involve human groups, socio-economic ensembles, data processing machines, etc. Therefore, interiority establishes itself at the crossroads of multiple components, each relatively autonomous in relation to the other, and, if need be, in open conflict. (Guattari, 2000, p. 23)

What architectural space offers are thus suggestions, directions, and trajectories, which together with other trajectories partake in the formation of subjectivities. The effect of any one or bundle of vectors is therefore always dependent on other vectors, past or present. Rather than the subject as "a consistent whole", these vectors suggest the importance of instead considering what I discuss as "modes of subjectivity", although in my work this specifically concerns the dispositions subjects find themselves in towards the environment and the socius. Such an understanding of subjectivity is of course not limited to architectural space but includes structures of labor, employment, and, not the least, time. Building on Guattari's concepts, Kate Soper (2013) illustrates how deeply rooted consumer society is in the rhythms of daily life, which is also addressed in relation to Lefebvre's concepts by, for instance, Koch and Sand (2010; see also Lefebvre, 2004). In her argument, the way contemporary economies work is to enforce consumer relationships through simultaneously perpetuating specific ideologies of value that must be realized through consumption since the capacity to "buy" the values becomes possible only through consistent overtime work. As a counterpoint, Soper (2013) argues for an "alternative hedonism", reconfiguring work-life relationships and enabling, through this reconfiguration, other relations to self, society, and the environment.

If we are to consider the conditions for a creative-productive relation to society and environment through spatial practice and lived space, it is clear that this must include a relation to space that sees it as a site for exploration and change that is linked to societal structures and the rhythms of economies, ecologies, and people. Such an understanding, I argue, it is in line with Lefebvre's argument that in order to challenge the status quo certain forms of representations of space and spaces of representation become necessary (see, e.g., Watson, 2007)—although this should not be confused with *established* or *specific* forms. Through conceiving of a different space, it is possible to conceive of a different society (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Schalk, 2017; Wolf & Mahaffey, 2016), all while practices of social production offer other, more direct steps towards other practices and other ways of relating to space (Šušteršič, 2017). Conceived space is where there are openings for *other* realities, other practices, other societies. Projective research and the use of fiction in academia as in queer feminist studies have definitely shown the critical potential of *conceived space* (e.g., Burroughs, 2016), which arguably is already there in Lefebvre's definition. However, this comes with a caveat: power. In a neoliberal society, the capacity to implement conceived space is one of the most radically differentiated power levels, and this shifts the character of *conceived space*, doubly: firstly by differentiation between whose conceptions are made real, and secondly by differentiating between the *relation to material space* and to *modes of subjectivity in everyday life*, whereby the notion of space as something that one can alter has different degrees of presence in relation to different subjects.

This reiterates the importance of reading Lefebvre's work as deeply political and always integrated in a critique of power. In capitalist society, the way power *conceives* of space has a dramatically different effect on lived experience and spatial practices, as the ability to make such conceptions real differs so dramatically. Altering the ecologies of relations to self, others, and the environment therefore necessitates altering power relations, and concurrently challenging market economy. If we believe that consumption is an issue that needs to not only be transformed but be reduced, then altering modes of subjectivity and the way architectural space offers, suggests, communicates, allows, encourages (or whichever terms we chose to use), creative-productive relations become a central challenge of sustainability, changing the way we conceive of cities, and, to use a more everyday expression, how cities "look".

With this said, I will return to focusing on the main discussion in this article. I argue that abstract space operates on and with subjectivities in such a way so as to foster both expectations of and dispositions to the environment that are centered on experience, where even the most active relations to space continue to operate on an abstracted and consuming level—be it by what is traditionally understood as consumption; or by operations like the remaking of one's apartment as a consumer of products, aesthetics, labor, and space itself; or as citizens acting in public space. As noted above, there are many ways in which refurbishment (for the well-off) drifts from physical to mental labor, which includes the ways in which maintenance and other "housework" is performed, and by whom. It does so by having removed nearly all the traces of material production, by abstracting re-use through remote recycling, by offering a range of activities that are centered around consuming experiences or products, and by, more importantly, limiting and restricting the amount of space that fosters, enables, or simply allows productive activity on individual and social levels to happen.

In a time where, as Douglas Spencer (2016) expresses it, architecture has become an instrument of control and compliance, we must ask ourselves not only how we produce space, but what spaces we produce as a discipline, profession, or as active, participating citizens. The link between modes of the production of space and its subsequent mode of operation, or how it participates in the production of subjectivities, needs to be continuously interrogated. If we are to increase the range of subjectivities able to operate in the city, we must increase the precision with which social production is related to spaces which foster an active multiplicity of possible positions in relation to individuals, the socius, and the material space produced. While this cannot be understood as in terms of cause and effect, I believe it is possible to study and work with what kind of allowances are created, and the trajectories that are suggested, supported, or restricted

as a result, including the way space (mental, social, physical) is understood, appropriated, and projected.

5. Conclusion: Sustainable Societies, Modes of Subjectivity, and Architectural Ecologies of Care

One of the central points to emerge in the course of this discussion is that—despite valid arguments against Lefebvre's suggestion that abstract space is a driving force in the neoliberal economy (e.g., Keil, 2002)—I believe it is worth at least considering that abstract space is in fact a participant force in that economy, perhaps even more so today than when *The Production of Space* was written. While the underlying processes of neoliberal market economy might still be industrial, this industrial structure is increasingly reliant on modes of subjectivity that relates to self, others, and the environment as consuming-experiencing subjects. While this would arguably be the principle of the division of labor in general, it is important for the industrial economies of the global neoliberal market that the dominant disposition for large parts of the population is one where every situation is engaged with as a consumer. The answer to an increasing number of everyday challenges, questions, and situations is "consumption", and in turn this consumption is deeply rooted in modes of subjectivity. This development is visible in both professional and spare-time activities: instead of pursuing multifaceted ways of dealing with the question "what should I do now?" (ways that relate differently to self, others, and the environment, or which engage with different aspects of aisthesis, poiesis, and techné) rather, the economy depends on the range of choices available within the realm of consumption. Addressing this deficiency, I argue, depends on a thorough reconfiguration of material, architectural space that drives relations towards such modes of subjectivity. Since this operates on many levels, the specific forms it takes in different social and cultural contexts may differ, but arguably it all depends on processes of "abstraction" in the particular sense present in "abstract space".

Capitalism, neoliberalism, and consumer society currently thrives on positioning people as consumers, and positioning urban designers, planners, and developers as providers of services to be experienced: individuals here are rendered as subjects of aisthesis. Compared to the time at which *The Production of Space* was written, this tendency has arguably snowballed in large parts of the affluent world, as production of any kind is constantly pushed out of cities to the point that it is possible to introduce even food production—a common practice in most historical cities—as something novel. In this reintroduction, such production is predominantly a tool for generating a specific range of experiences, rather than a way to offer an active, creative-productive opportunity for citizens, even though there certainly are variations on this theme (e.g., Anderson & Barthel, 2016; Böhm, 2017; Petrescu, 2017). This argument does not only concern heavy industry; in distinctly creative fields such as art, culture, and "the creative economy", similar tendencies exist: artists, designers, and other actors are expected to largely exist for the purpose of providing certain atmospheres and supporting certain economies, where focus is put on the *experience and consumption* of not only the products, but the "creative environment" they are expected to provide while the actual sites of production, which in contemporary art hardly can be limited to small ateliers or "creative spaces" of the mobile hotdesk or urban café, remain absent and unplanned for.

This article first developed further the notions of subjectivity-space relations at play in a project in Stockholm, by expanding the theoretical and conceptual understanding of those relations. Second, it made use of this understanding in order to discuss the complex interrelation of subjectivities, socius, and material space, questioning and expanding on how *architectural space* needs to be understood in order to advance this discussion. Third, the article has addressed how abstract space works as a pervasive process, and specifically how it reaches ever further into architectural space. Here, I addressed aspects of Lefebvre's theories that I argue are comparatively less studied, hopefully thereby contributing to the established and productive range of work dedicated to the development of his theories that emphasize that space is socially produced. Aside from such modes of practice and production, I suggest that there are ways to engage with architectural space as discipline and profession that challenge a dominant production of spaces of aisthesis—abstract space—which serve to encourage, foster, suggest, and allow other relations to self, others, and environment that include creative-productive activity and active engagement with one's environment. Such relations, I argue, are pivotal in the task of addressing sustainability challenges, where local production and reuse form important pieces of a different environmental ecology, where the answer to "what to do" is not only restricted to "what to consume". What is at stake here is more than simply understanding the working conditions behind production and productive labor. While an important goal in itself, what is at stake is rather the modes of subjectivity that are allowed and fostered in society, and the relations to self, one another, and environment that these modes include. Whether it is within the discourse, power structures, rhythms and norms; possible, probable, and reasonable to consider what to do; or questions of how to address a problem, or how to proceed with one's daily life, we must urgently direct our attention not only towards what is made available for consumption and experience, but to what society and space enables in terms of creative-productive activity.

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Article

After Planning, the Production of Radical Social Space in Barcelona: Real-Estate Financial Circuit and (De Facto) Right to the City

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Abstract
This article is based on the premise that it is possible to apply Henri Lefebvre's critical-theoretical apparatus to complex urban processes as a pedagogical case study. From previous knowledge of Lefebvrian thought, the article provides an overview of what Lefebvre called "the science of the use of social space", supported by a transdisciplinary methodological plurality. The starting point is that neoliberal social space is produced, prepared, and led to the imminent urban post-neoliberalism, in the midst of this movement, a sophisticated planning system appears, with the old promise of service tradition, egalitarian ethics and pragmatic orientation. But in practice, it only reproduces the impotence of being inside a wave of localized surplus-benefits that expels human residues, avoiding any reaction. The Lefebvrian apparatus and a part of its theoretical tradition guide the research on Barcelona as a paradigm of global real-estate violence. This urban phenomenon is examined in central Barcelona, in order to rescue it from the pessimism of its own inhabitants, from the harsh perception that urban centrality no longer reproduces life. In this way, the article puts into operation an analytical tool designed to sabotage the real-estate circuit through a renewed right to the production of radical social space.

Keywords
Barcelona; Henri Lefebvre; production of social space; real state circuit; rental housing; right to the city; urban analysis

Issue
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1. Introduction

Life is lived as a project, insisted Lefebvre, and his life, like that of Marx, must be seen as a totality of interests flowing simultaneously instead of fragmented pieces.

Upon examining doctoral research focused on updating and deepening of social space theory and urban criticism by Henri Lefebvre, we asked ourselves how we could use Lefebvre's thought together with his theoretical tradition and what in it is useful for us in the study of the contemporary city. The research stay in Barcelona has been decisive—because of the irruption of "the municipalism of change" in several Spanish cities in the sectional elections of 2015, as well as the promise of a program of "the commons" in the government of Barcelona city—for the selection of a unit of urban scale that allows us the orderly application of Lefebvrian methodological, theoretical and political formulations.

Aware of academic exploitation of the Barcelona old town's attributes in urban studies, we decided to interpret "Barcelona centrality's social space" (Appendix 1) as an ambiguous delimitation, from which the analysis extracts multi-scale spatial units with an explanatory capacity for the materialistic and subjective urban processes under capitalist logic at present. Strictly speaking, the article does not respond to the study of a case, confident in the inertial productivity of the research, but in some theoretical contents, applied in the city, capable of proving the effectiveness of the French theorist to take the architect along a transdisciplinary path ordered in the analysis of urban social space. In order to understand the relations, conflicts, resistances and hopes intertwined

in space, revealing along the way the limits of municipal urban planning (in contradiction with urban legislation), facing a great wave of global flows of real-estate investment, and providing a theoretical-critical tool with a global focus for local struggles, largely dispersed and incapable of being integrated due to their fragmented visions of urban violence. Consequently, we clarify that the case study is not an end in itself in our research methodology; rather, we present it as a process of confrontation of the Lefebvrian approach-and-theory with a specific urban reality, which acquires an instrumental and pedagogical category in the whole article.

The article is based on our epistemological study of Henri Lefebvre's thought that postulates the notion of the radical social space as a possible (virtual) object at the service of the transformation of urban life and resistance (Jiménez Pacheco, 2016a, 2016b). Likewise, we start from the previous study of the Lefebvrian method of social space analysis. The formal and material reality of the social space (Figure 1) and its attributes (interpenetration and superposition) are clarified through the theoretical-methodological analysis of space as a social reality in the work of Lefebvre (Jiménez Pacheco, 2017b). This background led us to adopt its tripartite method (formal, functional and structural) of spatial analysis (Figure 2), supported effectively by other Lefebvrian classifications for understanding of complex urban reality. The support classifications are: the "levels" (Appendix 2) of social space, the semantic dimensions of urban space, and the urban phenomenon properties: projection of social relations, confrontation of urban strategies and urban practices (Figure 3).

The article raises the methodological premise under which only the simultaneous operation of these classifications provides a "grid" that orders the Lefebvrian complexity of tripartite spatial analysis in Lefebvre's searching for a "science of the use of social space". The assembly of this grid integrates the fundamental levels proposed by Lefebvre in The Urban Revolution of 1970 to adapt and apply them in central Barcelona (Figure 3). The hierarchy of levels (private, mixed and global) is given by the radical Lefebvrian consideration of giving priority to "habiting" and primacy to the "urban" (Lefebvre, 1970/1972a). The grid is deployed with Lefebvrian concepts and existing factors (dispossession of housing, mass tourism, housing mafias linked to drug trafficking, the independence issue, terrorism, etc.) often involved, in a confusing way in the mode of spatial production in Barcelona (Appendix 3). Thus, the grid guided the process of concatenation of the concepts applied to the case study, articulating an emancipatory discourse of a concrete urban reality in Barcelona; giving as a result the guidelines of the counter-project of conquest of urban centrality animated by what we call "de facto Right to the City" (Jiménez Pacheco, 2015, 2017b).

The research is divided into two large parts. In the first, the essential characteristics of the urban phenomenon in Barcelona are analyzed. Following Lefebvre (1970/1972a), land-ownership is the most important social relationship in the capitalist city. The projection of

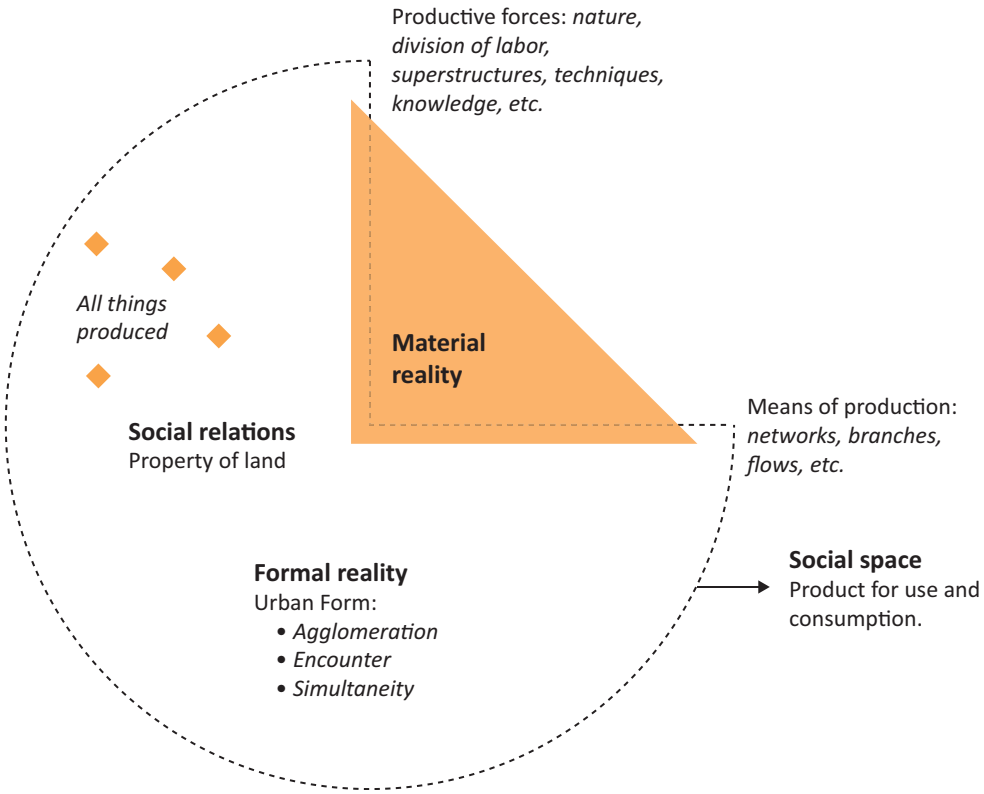

Figure 1. Diagram of the complex reality of social space. Source: Jiménez Pacheco (2017b).

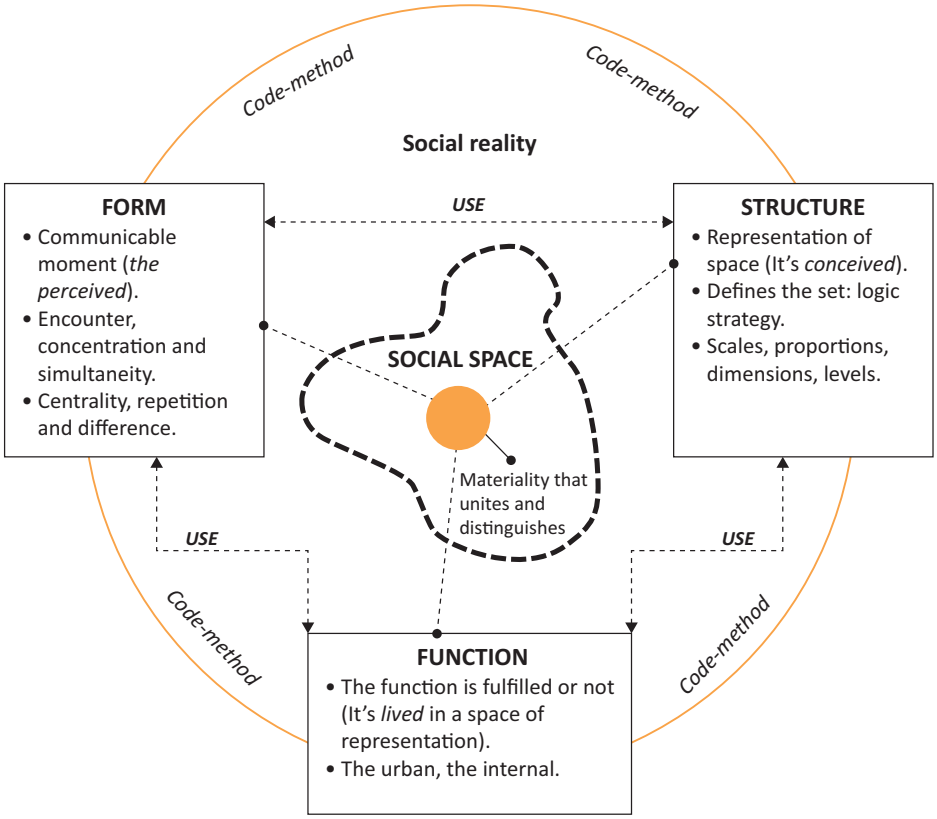

Figure 2. Diagram of the Lefebvrian methodological-theoretical analysis of social space as a social reality. Source: Jiménez Pacheco (2017b).

Scheme of Social Space Analysis: Primacy of the *urban* & Priority of *habiting*

Urban Phenomenon Properties	Projection of social relations	Multiplicity of juxtaposed, overlapped, conflictive markets or not: products, capital, labor, works and symbols, inhabitant and land.	**Private (P)**	**Mixed (M)**	**Global (G)**
	Confrontation of strategies	Means and instruments of action, at all levels (institutions, agencies and urban agents).			
	Urban practices	Specific reality and vitality (neither spatial ideologies and their organization, nor urbanistics practices).			
Science of the Use of Space	Formal Analysis	The communicable moment in spatial practice (is perceived).	Habiting (housing).	Intermediate between the private and the global. City, unity of social reality: Streets, Rambla of Barcelona, neighbourhoods, Ciutat Vella District, Barcelona city,	The State, the powers and the knowledge of the global scale, the institutions and the ideology. Scale from concrete abstraction. City-Region: Catalonia, Region-State: Spain, State-Bloc: European Union Bloc-Worldwide.
	Functional Analysis	It is fulfilled or not. (The lived) in the space of representation.			
	Structural Analysis	Representation of space (is conceived) as links between the whole and the parts, the macro and the micro. It considers scales, proportions, dimensions and levels.			
Semantic Dimensions of Urban Space	Paradigmatic	Set or system of oppositions or topological distinctions.			
	Syntagmatic	Chains and connections, links.			
	Symbolic	Ideologies and institutions, privileged present or past places.			
Content and Use	Objects in space. It associates and unites form-function-structure in search of tripartite importance.				

Figure 3. Summary assembled grid for the Lefebvrian social space analysis. To see grid unfolded refer to Appendix 5. Source: Jiménez Pacheco (2017b).

property (land) relations suggests the analysis of a multiplicity of markets operating in Barcelona (labor, tertiary sector, cultural, innovation and knowledge, technology, etc.). However, for this study, it is delimited to the financial real-estate market and its specialization in rental housing, projected in the urban centrality (historically exploited as a leisure and tourist consumption space). From the critical theory of real-estate circuit in the city, we intend to shed light beyond the devices of a "concerted urban planning" inherited from past decades, and on who is behind the violence expressed in the mass tourism and dispossession of housing, and how the force relations of global capital flows operate through their terminals in space. This part of the research is supported by historical study to enable a contextualized reading of urban processes in recent decades in Spain.

The second part focuses on social space analysis in the Barcelona centrality, having a closer look at social conflicts and municipal urban planning in La Rambla: a "representational space" of Barcelona, a transfunctional axis, which divides into two, but also articulates the social space of the historic center. We chose La Rambla because of recent events of social, urban, and economic-political relevance that make up an urban scenario with complex, and yet optimal, characteristics for examining Lefebvrian theory and method: a) the municipal approval in 2017 of the "Urban Uses Plan of Ciutat Vella" and the "Special Urban Planning of La Rambla"; and b) the Barcelona City Council (BCC)'s launching of the international competition for the socio-urban transformation of La Rambla with the aim of recovering it for the local residents (veïns) in March of 2017 (Servei de Premsa, 2017). The relevance of these activities in the "global centrality" is producing an even more complex reality that we will try to explain with the tripartite Lefebvrian method. Based on these two components, the final section prepares the strategy for the production of radical social space in Barcelona, supported by the new right to the urban centrality: that makes possible the production of another social space.

Data sources used for this article can be separated into two blocks. The first block corresponds to the complete literature Lefebvre obtained for his doctoral research, plus the primary data sources collected in interviews with institutional and external actors, access to municipal documents of urban planning, municipal statistics, reports and minutes of citizen participation meetings, as well as access to financial and real-estate market analysis reports. The second block is the secondary academic sources of historical character and relevant literature of experts, together with the review of the newspaper library and diverse journalistic sources.

2. The Real-Estate Financial Circuit in the Capitalist Urbanization

Lefebvre (1967/1972b) in his work *Vers le cybernanthrope (contre les technocrates)* believes that a revolutionary urbanism is possible, but that it will not be a matter of preparing socio-technocratic projects, the expert efficacy of the specialists who lean on the needs of the population to evaluate them will not suffice. Therefore, those interested should take the floor, and the task will be to listen to the human, without philanthropic humanism. The conception of the Possible is not based on the analysis of the actual but on the criticism of the actual, disaggregated by analysis, ideology and strategy. For Lefebvre (1970/1972a), the planning activity and the urbanism form an illusion, an ideology to justify the technocratic utopia, leaving a fundamental void when trying to supplant urban practice with representations of the space and the social life of urban groups. The French theorist found that urban planners were almost totally unaware of productive activity in organizational capitalism. The extension of the secondary circuit (until that moment) of capitalism was no longer satisfied with the soil or the land, but the social space as such. This implied space not only as the sum of places where surplus value is realized and distributed, but also as a product of social work in the formation of surplus value.

In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1974/1991) announced the production process of a specific space, based on the differentiation in modes of production. Thus, the perimeter of the Mediterranean became the leisure space for industrial Europe; settling on these new spaces—of pleasure and non-work—the neocolonialism, which manifests itself in the social and economic fields, but also in the architectural and urbanistic fields. Then a space of unproductive expenses emerged, a great waste of things, symbols and energies (Lefebvre, 1974/1991).

Starting in the seventies, at the beginning of the flourishing of financial capitalism, Henri Lefebvre pointed out what would be the renewed objective of capital in the face of the profitability crisis caused by the exhaustion of the industrial-Fordist model of the glorious thirty years: the real estate sector and the construction sector would cease to be a secondary circuit, an annexed and delayed branch of industrial and financial capitalism, and move into the foreground of the new accumulation matrix. There are few better illustrations than Spain, and in particular Barcelona, of this drastic transformation of the economic structure towards the revaluation of urban land and space as the favorite assets of financial capital.

According to M. Gottdiener (2000), Lefebvre's most important contribution to the analysis of the built environment is his conception of the real estate market as a second capital circuit. This implies that the components and the dynamics of investment in the land constitute a sector of the economy that is somewhat separated from the primary circuit of industrial production and commercialization. On the one hand, the circuit is composed of financial elements, such as banks, property companies, and state programs or regulations, and, on the other hand, by individual and group investors, speculators, homeowners, and anyone who acts to earn

money from the land. Lefebvre believed that investment in the second circuit was healthy only to some extent, because the primary circuit and its exploitation of value created workers. However, with the low organic composition of real estate capital, real estate is almost always an attractive investment, so it can often get money from the primary circuit.

Investment flows of the second circuit are cyclic just like in the primary circuit, but they are not synchronized. For this reason, the practice of real estate investment also depends on both the level of investment and the profitability in the primary circuit. Capital responds to differences in opportunities for profitable investment in these two circuits, changing from one to the other in search of the highest profitability. Like Gottdiener, we think it is surprising to see some researchers still attribute to Harvey the idea of separate circuits. In the 1970s, Harvey (1973/2014) made a notable contribution in applying Lefebvre's ideas to real estate investment in American cities and extended this approach in a useful way. But Lefebvre's ideas, as outlined in *Marxist Thought and the City* (1972/1983) and *The Production of Space* (1974/1991), continue to be contributions based on the critique of political economy that provide ideas that have yet to be fully exploited by the current generation (Gottdiener, 2000). Gottdiener's criticism is based on the fact that, since the 1980s, Lefebvre's contribution has evaporated rather quickly without being truly taken advantage of. It raises, for example, the possibility that the disciplinary limits were defended aggressively, and an evident careerism had been established in the urban studies that guided previous intellectual efforts. In short, the cumulative project of urban science had been effectively abandoned.

In *Marxist Thought and the City*, Lefebvre (1972/1983) explains the functions and structures of the urban form linked by history to bourgeois society, to surplus value in its formation, realization and distribution processes. The city comes to the forefront in the realization of surplus value (economically speaking). The extension of the market is linked to the urban phenomenon and the city protects that market. During economic crises, the currency no longer works in its ideal form, liquidity is needed, and, without it, merchandise stagnates and goes bad. "The city is the theatre of these bourgeoisie dramas that resound on the various fractions of people, destined for unemployment because the rich no longer have money" (Lefebvre, 1972/1983, pp. 118–119). In *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx (1875/1977) explained to the labor movement that, in a society, we need artists, fun professionals and so on. But in such a society there are also parasites, Lefebvre explains—the speculators who want their money to "work" and make more money directly (Figure 4). The distribution of surplus value passes through the highest levels of global capitalist society, that is, national and global. The maximum possible social surplus product would go to investments and consequently to the "uses" of those productive investments, facilitating the accumulation and investments forecast.

According to Lefebvre (1972/1983, p. 135), "the theory of the real-estate (with its own characteristic: ground rent and commercialization of space, capital investments and profit opportunities), for a long time a secondary sector, progressively integrated into capitalism, is still under development". This "critical theory", he says, deals precisely with the process of integration, of subordination to capitalism of a long time external sector. Marx's texts on real-estate capitalism and its income come to this theory, without developing it but indicating and sketching it. In addition, Lefebvre explains, the symbolic role of real-estate ownership surpasses many of its quantitative real economic effects. "Real estate drags back the entire society; not only slows its growth and paralyzes development, but guides it by a constant pressure" (Lefebvre, 1972/1983, p. 135).

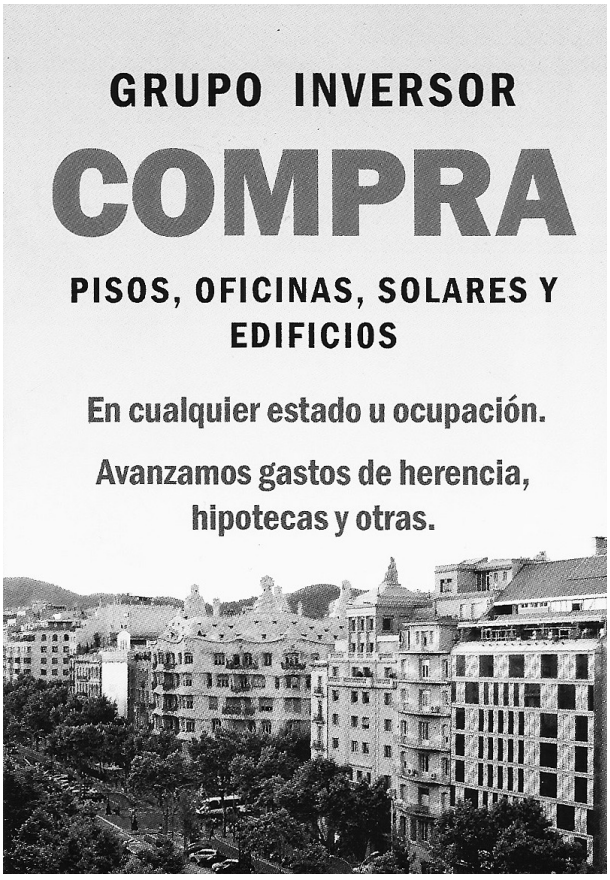

Figure 4. Investor announcement for a real-state purchase; they are commonly found in the accesses to residential buildings in downtown Barcelona. Source: unknown, collected in a residential building of Sant Antoni neighborhood.

Topalov (1978) develops Lefebvre's concern about the capital cycle in the real-estate sector of the capitalist production system. Our interest is to focus mainly on rental analysis. Thus, rentier real-estate capital (RRC) functions

as circulation capital for promotion capital: the rentier invests in a property, and thereby allows the promoter to recover his contribution and his profit. The RRC cannot expect to obtain the average profit for its investment, but only the interest: in a manner comparable to the shareholder that contributes to finance production, and in return receives only the interest rate, the annuity contributes to financing the circulation, and therefore, the production of the building. But pay attention, the cycle of the RRC extends throughout the physical life of the property. In effect, during the life of the building, the production of the building continues. It is evident that the amount of the rent, half a century later, has nothing to do with the interest on the initial investment cost. What determines it, then? Topalov shows that they are the current conditions of real estate production: the price of new real estate regulates the price of old real estate. However, the prices of newly produced properties depend, at the same time, on the evolution of the prices of production of buildings and the evolution of localized profits, of ground rents.

The economic calculation of the real estate developer in the capitalist city is considered as the determining operation of the urban land market. The distribution of surplus profit (SP) between the developer and the owner will be the result of that social relation between capital and land-ownership called: the "land market" (Topalov, 1978). This is how the SP can be divided into two parts: one is the promotional SP that, for the promoter, goes purely and simply to be integrated into total profit; the other is the land price, that is, part of the localized-SP that will be transferred to the owner. Topalov explains that it is not the rent that determines the price: it is the price that determines the rent. The determining element of the formation of the land's price is its capitalist demand price, which is fixed by the localized-SP that capital creates thanks to the valuation of land-ownership (Topalov, 1978).

2.1. The Rental Real-Estate Bubble in Barcelona

López and Rodríguez (2013) study the aspects of the political economy of the Spanish territory within a regime of "successful accumulation" in the framework of financialization, globalization and neoliberal command, based on the intensive use of territorial assets. Under this scheme, they argue that the political economy after the 1973 crisis created a geography tailored to the needs of the growing financialization of capital, which, associated with impositions of the new neoliberal government, is considered the great solution to the crisis of profitability that at least in the western bloc determined deregulation and financial liberalization. "The consequence of financialization, in spatial terms, is a complete reordering of the relations between the new capitalist formations and their concrete geographies" (López & Rodríguez, 2013, p. 234). The geographical scales are diversified: so-called globalization follows the discharge of certain strategic functions, linked to transnational competition, in regions and cities. At the same time, financialization stimulates and mobilizes an increasingly intensive use of territorial assets that are put at the service of the maximum expansion of progressively financial real-estate markets. In this sense, the Spanish growth of the years 1995–2007, which rode hand in hand with the most sustained and profound real estate cycle in the history of the planet, should be considered not as a strange and aberrant economic anomaly, but as a canonical example of these accumulation models.

As this competitive advantage was consolidated in Spain and became a territorial specialization (Charnock, Purcell, & Ribera-Fumaz, 2014), the income capture model also varied from what could be called "direct tourist rents" (consumption demand from wage origin from the industrialized countries), towards a model in which the "Spanish tourism real-estate machine" began to attract large flows of transnational capital. Perhaps this progressive overlapping of income extraction models is one of the clearest representations of the continuous upward scaling of the Spanish secondary circuit. It is also interesting to note that while the Spanish coastal tourism-real estate model captured these rents, internally it developed a model of intensive exploitation of work in the services sector (Figure 5), quite far from the dynamics of increased qualification and union coverage that defined the labor models of the sending-countries of tourists. This exploitation model would anticipate the configuration of the next three decades of financialized spatial arrangements (López & Rodríguez, 2013).

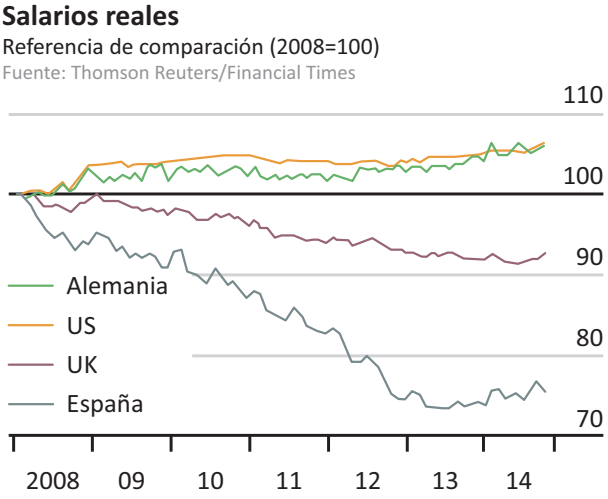

Figure 5. Real Wages 2008–2014. The average Spaniard lost 25% of his/her real salary in that period. Source: Thomson Reuters/Financial Times, in Idealista (2015).

2.1.1. The Socimist Revolution 2014–2017: Consensus in the Spanish Real-Estate Market

"Planetary urbanization" since the announcement of Lefebvre (1970/1972a) has always been a "revolution-

ary" process. In the current global city, several dominant real-estate agents play that revolutionary role. The RRC that dominates capitalist cities is that of global speculators. Who is the agent that currently determines the demand price in Spain? The specialization of real-estate development in the Spanish financial market took the form of a Limited Investment Company in the Real Estate Market (Socimi). How do real-estate investment flows operate and evolve through these transnational organizations? In this part we review the analysis of the Spanish financial market to clarify the magnitude of the power that the global city faces. Consensus of the Market (CdM) is the group of financial analysts that replace the Spanish Institute of Financial Analysts.

The real-estate market regained strength as of 2014 due to the recovery of the Spanish macroeconomic environment; however, it lacks investment options for savers and the existence of good prices and profitability for savers. According to Díaz (2016), these are two sufficient reasons for citizens to transfer their money from bank deposits and fixed income to the purchase of housing. The author claims that the Bank of Spain showed that the profitability of housing exceeds 10% annualized with data for the second quarter of 2016, combining the increase in the price of apartments (+6.3%) with rental performance (+4.6%). This was accompanied by several Socimi created in 2009 (BOE, 2009), which focused on residential housing trading on the MAB, the Alternative Stock Market. (Ahorro Corporación Financiera, 2016). By the fall of 2016, it became clear that the construction sector benefited from the low profitability of fixed income and bank deposits (Díaz, 2016). However, for the analyst, the situation was still critical since the contribution of the construction sector to GDP had dropped to 47% and had barely recovered 8% from the minimum reached in 2013. By the end of 2016, the main question was whether the Socimi would rebound. F. Barciela (2016) made a balance at the end of the year stating that the four Socimi listed on the Continuous Market: Merlin, Axiare, Lar España and Hispania. This was representative, considering that the word "real-estate" continued to suffer from a certain public stigma, even among investors.

For Barciela, however, the market had doubts, especially due to the political instability in the Spanish government, which lasted long enough to push many investors to close positions in these securities, and to hold new investments expecting clear signals from the market. In some cases, the effects were aggravated since many investors present in these companies were foreigners. As soon as the bells rang, they gave the order to sell. Basically, the investors were pessimistic about a left-wing government and its pretention to review the legislation for the Socimi, especially its fiscal advantages (Barciela, 2016). Even before the investiture of Mariano Rajoy, these securities resumed their ascendant path of 2015. By 2016, the four major Socimi had a joint capitalization of €7,687 million, to which we should add almost 30 other small Socimi in the MAB.

The encouraging results by the end of 2016 forecasted a real 'success' for the real-estate market in the coming year. Testa Residencial started the year receiving 3,300 flats from the banks Popular, BBVA and Santander. By February 2017, it was announced that the used housing market rose by 7.37% thanks to new investors, who were already 28% of buyers. (Tramullas, 2017). Thus, the price of second-hand housing was recovering rapidly in Spain. According to the Housing Market Report (IMV), by the second half of 2016 the price reached €1,690/m^2, which represented an increase of 7.37% compared to the same period in 2015. "It seems that investing in real estate does not produce the fear of previous years and investors who buy apartments to rent, especially in large cities, see it as an option in the absence of investment alternatives" (Tramullas, 2017). Nevertheless, to the chagrin of investors, this price was still far from the 2006 maximum (€3,489/m^2). The bursting of the real-estate bubble inflicted a severe contraction in the market by devaluating the housing market 58.76% the first half of 2013. Since then, the price has recovered 17.4%; however, IMV Coordinator García Montalvo claimed there would not be a possibility for a new housing bubble. The coordinator explained: investment in new houses dominated the market during the years of the real-estate boom, but that situation will not return (Tramullas, 2017, p. 1).

José Benito de Vega (2017) analyzed the business model from *Axiare* (Socimi traded in the stock market in July 2014, with a revaluation of 45%. It was the best return of the Socimi listed). The business of *Axiare* consisted in the purchase of real-estate assets for exploitation through rent. The objective pursued by the company was to add value to the property and maximize its operating efficiency and profitability, in order to attract greater cash flows and a revaluation that translates into an attractive return for the shareholder. At the end of 2015, the company's portfolio was valued at 859 million, of which 72% were offices located in "premium" spaces in Madrid and Barcelona.

F. Barciela returns almost a year later after its forecasts issued in 2016 to show the encouragement of the sector and the reasons for its success:

> Almost ten years after the burst of the real-estate bubble, Spain is once again excited about its particular ability to reactivate the real estate sector. The word is 'exciting' because of the spectacular revival of the sector—on which nobody wanted to bet three or four years ago. The reactivation is so strong that there is no day without euphoric news. (Barciela, 2017, p. 1)

Nevertheless, after the first semester of 2017, the IMV alerted for the first time about the possibility of a new bubble: "[i]f true (as some voices pointed out), the bubble would be very different from the previous one (and less harmful) since it is not based on credit but on savings" (IMV, 2017). The document points out that the

potential risk is that the increase of the apartment rents in cities such as Madrid or Barcelona is pushing the demand of real estate. The feeling of "now or never" can put additional pressure on prices—this, together with the fact that the rental housing market showed stable growth in the last three years, registering a profitability close to 4.3% in the last quarter (a profitability much higher than most alternative assets). In some areas of large cities (like central Barcelona) with higher increases in the prices (Figure 6), "house-letting for tourists offers returns above double digits" (IMV, 2017). The report is consistent in pointing out that "nearly 30% of used houses are purchased by investors" (IMV, 2017).

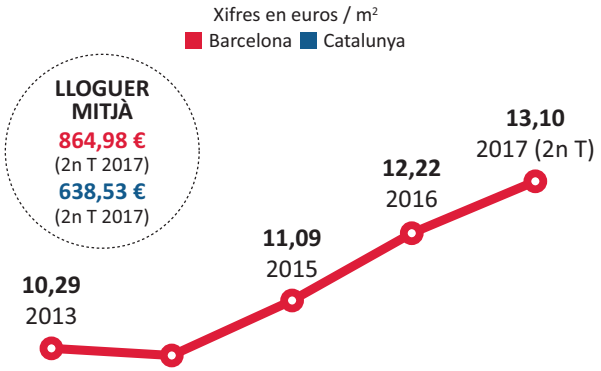

Figure 6. Barcelona rental price progress 2013–2017. Source: Institut Català del Sòl, in Ortega (2017).

2.1.2. Main Drivers of the "New Bubble" and Its Social Consequences

The analysts of the financial market agree that Spain is far from a new bubble (Díaz, 2016; Tramullas, 2017), but it is necessary to qualify its analysis. That it does not achieve the economic figures of the crash is one thing, but such logic does not mean that several cities such as Barcelona have not initiated an accelerated process of formation of a bubble with different effects from the one that caused the "great recession" since 2008. In the last two years, housing rents have climbed more than 25% in the "best prepared" neighborhoods of the tourist center and continue to accelerate while the evictions (Figure 7) for non-payment of rent far exceed those of residents-owners. (Apilánez, 2017).

Jaime Palomera, founder and spokesman of the recently created Tenants Union of Barcelona, affirms that the *Sindicat* allowed them to realize to what extent they did not know the law that makes their life impossible. He gives the example of families in shock over the owner sending them a post announcing that they will now charge €1,400 instead of 700. And if they do not like it, they have a month to leave. In other cases, tenants who have lived in an apartment for three years have received notice that the property has decided not to renew the contract, without any justification, and that they have 30 days to leave their home. Palomera explains that this attack is due, to a large extent, to the Ley de Arrendamientos Urbanos that is oriented to favor speculation, having been reformed in 2013 (BOE, 2013) to reduce the duration of rent contracts (from five to three years). This law allows any family, regardless of its history and relationship with housing, could be evicted if it is delayed in a single rent payment. Today, a family delayed in a rent payment and that has been denounced for it has only 10 days to make the payment and avoid the order of eviction (Sindicat de Llogaters, 2017).

After the big banks became the largest real estate in the country, it was necessary to remove that huge stock of housing from mortgage evictions from the market (Apilánez, 2017; Palomera, 2015). The government

Figure 7. Eviction of several families in the building of 151 Entença Street purchased by an investor. Source: Castán (2017).

together with the public powers, conscious that younger generations—which are always the basis of the real estate market—could not access mortgage loans, allowed speculation to move to the rental field. In a context in which the demand for rental housing was increasing, the duration of contracts was cut, and eviction was facilitated to ensure that there was greater circulation in the market and that prices would recover much more quickly. To top it off, in 2012, the State decided to give all the tax privileges to the Socimi (BOE, 2012).

Thus, we approach the nature of the new bubble of housing rentals in Barcelona, first discarding that middle classes or wealthy Europeans are that expel those who have less. Likewise, we observe that its most important and least visible power supply is in the incomes of the real-estate financial circuit, which negotiates over each square meter rented. Besides, it is reaffirmed that today the soil of Barcelona, like that of many other cities, is a "safe haven" for international capital and large investment funds. What we are living does not respond to the tale of supply and demand. The public authorities of Barcelona, Catalonia and Spain have long given the green light to the new bubble with laws such as BOE, 2009, 2012 and 2013. Palomera (2015) suggests discarding the myth of an increasingly solvent demand that expels the less affluent habitual residents (gentrification), insofar as what is happening, above all, is a growing strangulation of those who already had difficulty paying the rent. The data do not deceive: the Catalans allocate more than 46% of the monthly gross salary to pay their rent or mortgage (Sindicat de Llogaters, 2017). And districts such as Ciutat Vella head the list of the most expensive places to rent a home in Spain. Its average price stood, as of October, 2017, at €19.8/m^2 per month (Idealista, 2017). Palomera, in the midst of this, believes that the movement for the right to housing is also being renewed.

The stake of rental housing is then the keystone of the reconstitution of the real estate bubble and its associated elites. This secured a "Barcelona Premium" for global speculators, in addition to the existence of a rental housing stock much higher than the rest of the state (30% of the total number of houses) and the local hegemony of a rentier bourgeoisie (around the CaixaBank and giants real estate companies like Núñez i Navarro) with powerful international partners (Apilánez, 2017).

2.1.3. Collaborative Rentism: Airbnb as an Integrator of New Agents in the Real-Estate Financial Circuit

> Multiculturalism in the city centre....The Rambla del Raval is a meeting point to eat and enjoy the street life. Residents of other neighbourhoods come to La Rambla del Raval. In this avenue full of life, modern people, tourists, squatters, street artists, people of Barcelona and souvenir stalls meet....A tourist attraction with a local flavour. (Airbnb, 2017)

This is just a small advertising excerpt (about 100 delights to know in the Barcelona neighbourhoods) that shows how the company exploits (in this case) a central neighbourhood to capture the maximum possible demand of visitors (Figure 8), who, through its platform, temporarily rent private spaces. These are homes that in their great majority were originally planned for the use of habitual

Figure 8. Agglomeration areas of rooms for rent on Airbnb with tourism license. Source: Trescientosmil kms (2017).

residents. All of which, leaves in evidence his strategy of commodification and globalization of culture, subject to the processes that Harvey and Smith (2005) defined as "the art of rent". It can be verified that this rentism is based on a chain of collaborative efforts between different agents (non-capitalist owners: "hosts", "publicists" and "entrepreneurs" of all kinds of the tourism industry, and users: "guests" seduced to become hosts one day) seeking to make even the presence of "squats" in the space as a collective symbolic capital profitable. Harvey & Smith (2005) further expanded such a theory of rent to include the collective production of culture as an asset that the market exploits to find new "marks of distinction" for its urban territories. Thus, these new sets of agents (integrated by Airbnb within the real-estate financial circuit) are reproduced, exploiting old and new cultural capital, which has gradually sedimented in a given city (as forms of sociability, quality of life, art production, gastronomic tradition, etc.).

Harvey's essay is one of the few analyses that unveil the political asymmetries that can be found within the much-celebrated cultural commons. Harvey links intangible production and money accumulation not via the regime of intellectual property but as aspects of a parasitic exploitation of the immaterial domain by the material one (Pasquineli, 2014). In this way, collaborative rentism is only another form of real-estate depredation that is contributing, with the strategic exploitation of a collective symbolic capital, to inflating the demand for tourist rentals, and therefore, the new housing rent bubble, with destructive social effects.

3. The Social Space in the Barcelona Centrality: La Rambla

Based on the tripartite method of social space analysis, the concepts of Lefebvre are deployed to guide formal, functional and structural analyses. Our objective will be to determine whether or not a transfunctionality is fulfilled and the roles that are assigned to this intermediate unit of social reality. We examine the multiple strategies expressed in the Rambla, around the relations of inhabiting and the use of the boulevard. In this way, the means and instruments of action are established at all levels, linking these strategies to the institutions, agencies and urban agents that operate them. From the tripartite analysis we will present partial conclusions. The formal analysis locates what is perceived in the Rambla within spatial practices. The functional analysis studies the experience of the Rambla as a space of representation, through the images and symbols that accompany it, within the space of centrality. Finally, the structural analysis identifies how the multiple representations in the spatial texture of the Rambla are impregnated with knowledge and ideologies. This analysis allows us to make the link between the whole and the parts. It considers scales, proportions, dimensions and levels, and completes the formal-functional analysis, and does not eliminate them.

With the revival of the neighbourhoods' strength, crushed in the neoliberal era, and agitated since May 2011 in the main Spanish cities, it was possible for the candidacy of Ada Colau to promote from a "decisive space" like Barcelona, "the democratic rebellion" that was needed (Guanyem Barcelona, 2014). Since the first claim was made in the "Manifesto" of the Guanyem Barcelona candidacy, in June 2014, a complex risk was posed when it comes to taking it on. On the one hand, the importance of a "welcoming Barcelona" was recognized, and simultaneously, the candidacy was ready to face the big financial, real estate and tourism lobbies. The specific weight of the attack against the global forces in the campaign speech, without the accompaniment of measures that could be proven effective at that moment, quickly engulfed the aspirations and social energy of people, who generously supported the project at the polls.

To examine in detail the implementation of the Barcelona en Comú project, see Charnock, 2017. In addition, to expand the current critical outlooks on Ciutat Vella District (CVD), it is recommended that the reader review the publications of "masala.cat" (digital newspaper of social denunciation and criticism about CVD), as well as the monograph (8) dedicated to "living in the Historic Centre" of the Urbanism Research Journal (QRU), edited and published by the Urban Planning Department

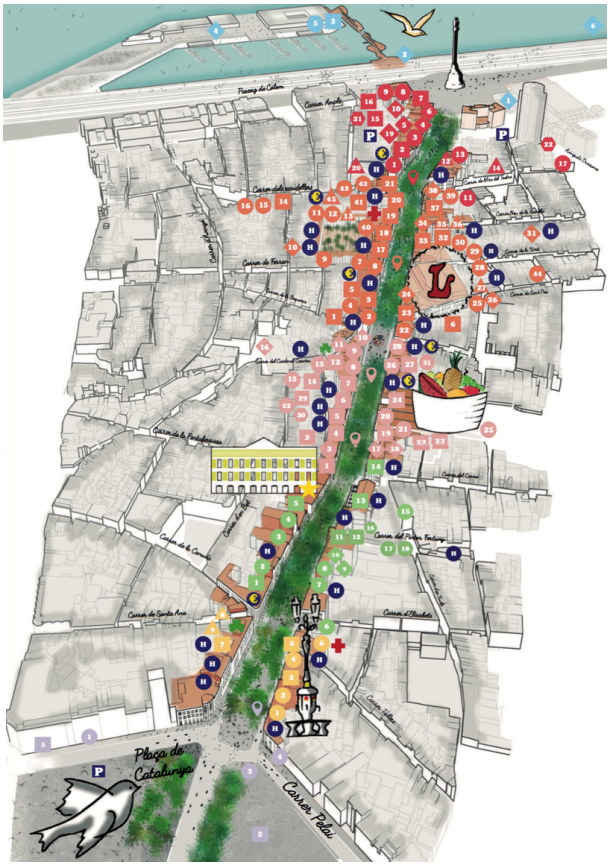

Figure 9. Watercolour drawing in a Rambla guide with its shops. Source: Amics de la Rambla Association (ARA, 2017a).

(ETSAB-UPC). In this monograph we published a specific article on Ciutat Vella and Lefebvre (see Jiménez Pacheco, 2017a).

3.1. The Use of the Rambla

When we think of La Rambla, we have to imagine that every year more than 100 million people (Figure 10) go through it (BCC, 2017). And that along the 1.2-kilometre-long boulevard, there are approximately 1000 registered residents only and more than 200 shops (ARA, 2017a; see also, Figure 9). It is located in the CVD that has 104,000 residents in an area of 4.5 km^2 and is one of the most expensive areas to rent a house in Spain (Jiménez Botías, 2017). We have made an observation, participation and quest exam throughout 2017 to identify the speeches, interests, demands, emotions and strategies of the actors directly related to the Rambla (Appendix 4). Due to the extent and diversity of the information collected from primary and secondary sources, we will only explain our partial conclusions.

The processing of the information allowed us to weigh the demanding uses and the power relations that are exercised in the taking of positions on the plans and on-going projects. The question of who gives the orders in La Rambla is cleared. Lefebvre would consider that is capital that commands, primarily, through different systems and superimposed and interconnected flows, with differential weights and impacts on the production of space. To express it in the field, this domination is observed with greater brutality in the deployment of the RRC that expels from the city center everything that is not at the level of the localized over-profits of the investors and the Socimi-developers that carry them. Subjected to the RRC, the main power is the commercial capital represented by ARA. From the analysis of strategic positions and alignment of interests, the most "beneficial" arrangement for the RRC is possible between merchants, residents-owners and the BCC. Finally, there is the explosion of the demand for tourists based on the commercialization of the symbolic dimension of the social space, with an enormous weight concentrated on centrality, and a big participation of the tourism industry and the platforms customised to collaborative rentism such as Airbnb. This last phenomenon can be included in the attractiveness of profitability that provides the collective symbolic capital as the engine of a system of production and consumption of leisure space.

3.2. After the Planners

In his book *After the Planners*, Robert Goodman (1972) said that "advocacy planning" and other citizen participation programs can help maintain a mask that allows the poor to manage their own state of dependency, as long as the economic structure is maintained intact and the real power remains constant.

The Urban Uses Plan of Ciutat Vella approved in September 2017, pending the citizens' allegations, reaffirms that Ciutat Vella is an inhabited and dense district.

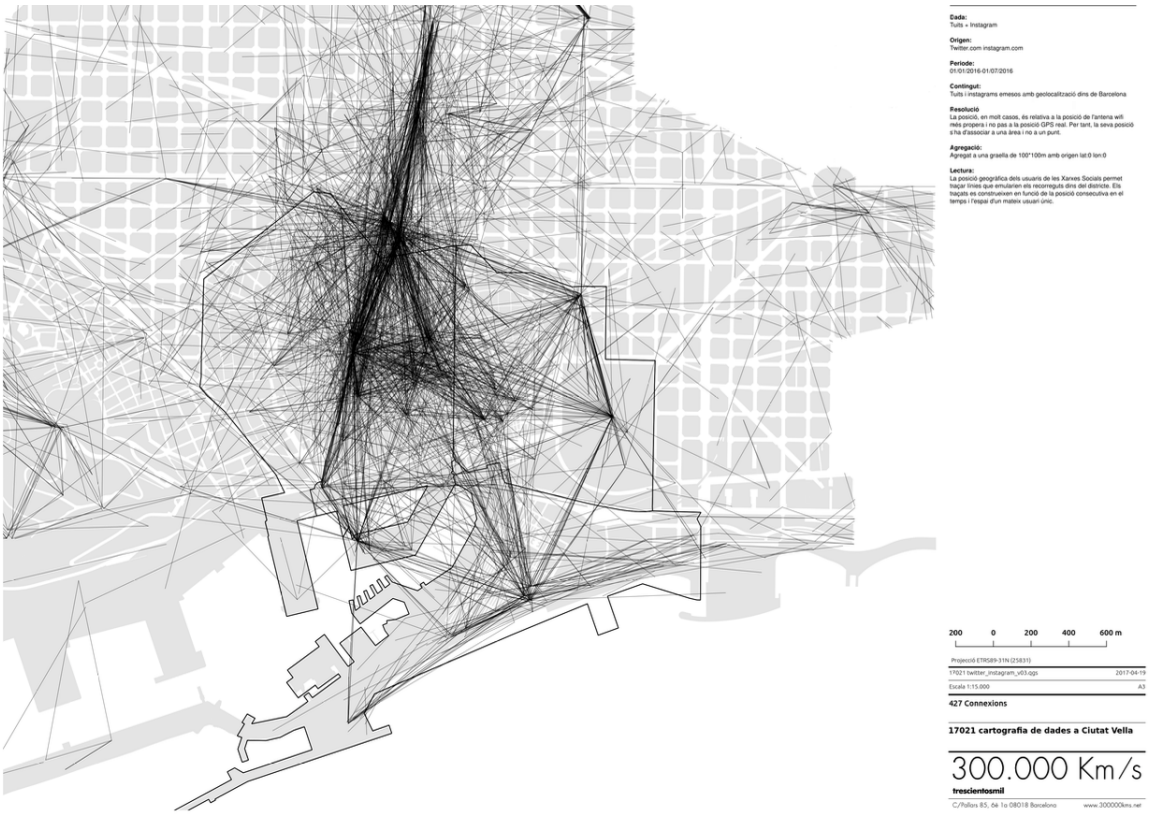

Figure 10. Circuit of people moving in CVD marks La Rambla as main axis of mobility. Source: Trescientosmil kms (2017).

And its high population density gives it a mainly residential character, which supports that its use of the majority of the land is housing (Figure 11). In this sense, the Plan must guarantee the coexistence between the different urban uses, safeguarding the correct proportion of proximity activities and ensuring that the concentration of public facilities does not cause displacement of other activities that serve the residential mass (CVD, 2017a). The Plan shows that the urban fabric of the district has a fragile morphological condition. This means that on the one hand, the preservation of the characteristics of the urban structure is prioritized, guaranteeing the non-saturation of the public space of the streets; on the other hand, the extreme residential vulnerability of some points of the district makes it unwise for these areas to have a higher burden of establishments, since the inconvenience derived from the activities may have a more harsh impact on the residents.

Thinking about the pedestrians, the Plan regulates where terraces cannot be installed and how the kiosks and bus stops should be arranged to facilitate the permeability of the road. Distances are also stipulated between accesses to public transport and representative buildings catalogued level A. With respect to mobility, one of the objectives of the Plan is to pacify the Rambla, prioritizing pedestrian uses, the sponging of elements of the promenade, the efficiency of public transport mobility and the versatility to bind the Raval and Gothic neighborhoods. The BCC will also encourage actions of conservation and improvement of the urban landscape; this includes the promotion of actions for the owners to carry out maintenance and rehabilitation work on the parking lots of buildings (CVD, 2017b).

3.2.1. Urban Special Planning of the Rambla

"La Rambla is Barcelona's identity engine but it is a sick engine due to tourism overpressure and the decreasing use by Barcelona residents...its international importance supports the need to protect the heritage" (CVD, 2017a). The Plan definitively approved in May 2016 (Servei de Premsa, 2016) responds fundamentally to the political wills and the correlation of consolidated forces (in the field) before Colau's government. The changes introduced are decorative. It is no coincidence that she has obtained the negative vote of the only anti-capitalist movement in the BCC, the Candidatura d'Unitat Popular. Changes in the dimensions and location of flower and newspaper stands, or the location of bicycle stations, do not address the real problems the District and the promenade suffer, such as the lack of determination of leaving the public access to the roofs of buildings willingness to the owner's communities. The driving idea that covers the Plan is that there is a broad consensus on the need to intervene on the Rambla and recover it for the habitual residents, but the Development Plan does not resolve this. District Councillor Gala Pin has said that "courageous measures" and collaboration between all the actors involved are needed, at institutional, social and, of course, "commercial level" (Servei de Premsa,

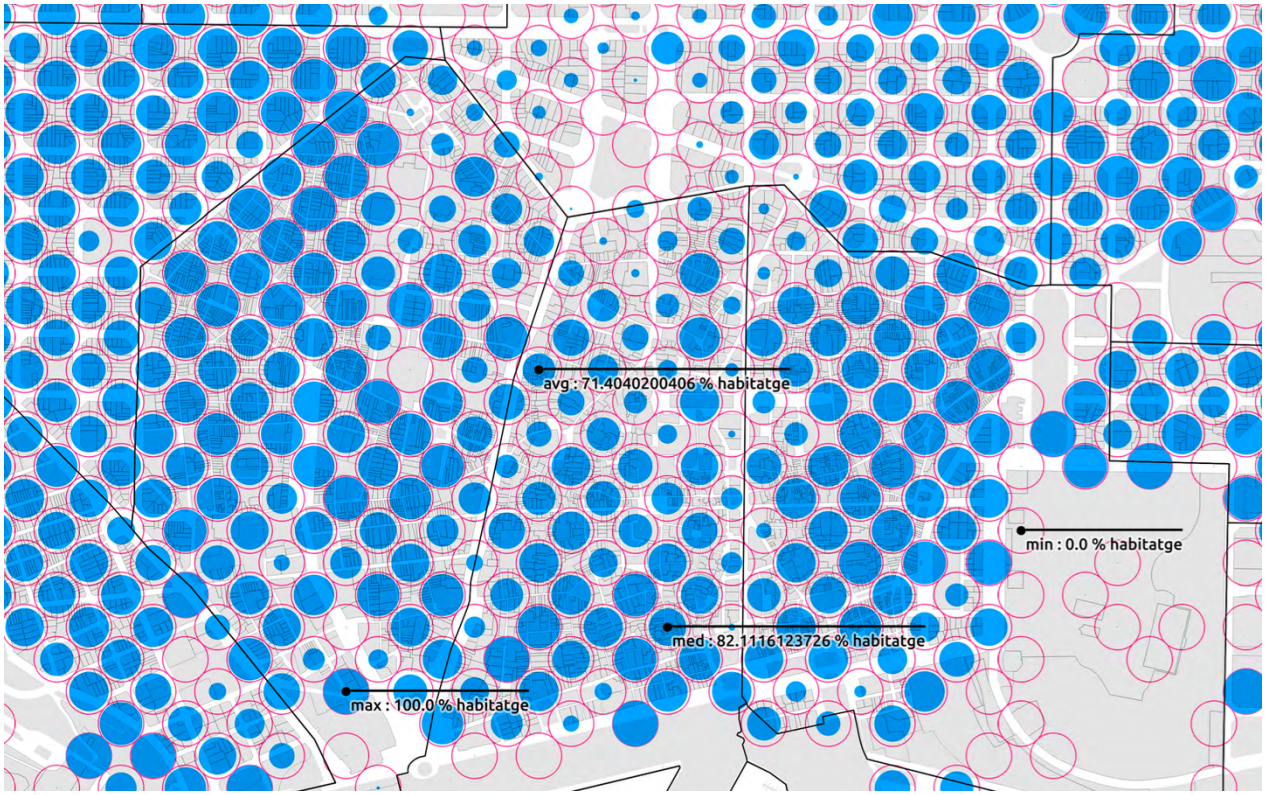

Figure 11. Proportion of housing areas (blue) in relation to other uses (pink) in CVD. Source: Trescientosmil kms (2017).

2016). The BCC understands that the district has different levels of saturation; it assumes it under various studies in which the count of the establishments total useful area, whether they are of the same type or operating in the same time slot, gives a more adjusted perspective to the real dimension of these activities and their impacts over time (Trescientosmil kms, 2017).

Perhaps more decided was the step taken by the BCC when launching an international contest to prepare the project for La Rambla intervention. We summarize the strategic areas contemplated in the procurement documents: material and immaterial value of the Rambla associated with its habitual residents; trends in existing economic activity; promenade remodeling and reformation works alternatives; relationships and needs with their adjacent neighborhoods; uses for free public space; connections with urban landmarks; unity of the whole; public transport; instruments for social revitalization; ability to attract and functional needs of large equipment; diurnal and nocturnal dynamics; compatible functionalities with an active but respectful public space; mobile dynamics around the existing housing; gender and childhood perspective; monuments and heritage elements (BCC, 2017).

At least eight basic principles contractually posed have to be met in the project development in order that a public space "fulfils the social functions for which it has been prepared" (BCC, 2017). They should be taken as qualitative recommendations that along with a process of citizen participation help in the decision making of the consulting team. The future citizen consultations, the process of design and development of an executive project "should guarantee the application of these principles" (BCC, 2017). We point out the contradictions and the alienation of BCC objectives, for example, if the principle of inclusion aims to have living spaces that favor meetings, on the other hand, the principle of security requires that activities and people influx make meetings difficult and facilitate fluid mobility. Likewise, the principle of accessibility prioritizes pedestrians' seamless movement. So, if the Rambla is not in essence a meeting space, but rather a repeated space of flows, the road towards its neighborhood appropriation becomes more complex. It is striking that the principles of contextualization and mixture are dedicated to giving more weight to the promenade commercial order. We were not surprised to see that the mixture principle is clearly inspired by the requests made by the AAR. Requiring that La Rambla have its own character to differentiate itself from other spaces, and at the same time, adapt to the predominant uses of the spaces that surround it, is to pay for its commercial function.

3.2.2. Km_Zero Plan for the Rambla Rescue

As expected, the winning Plan is committed to the municipal strategies. For this reason, what we consider to be the most relevant of the consultant team's proposals will be recorded on paper. Undoubtedly, the idea of transdisciplinarity is an interesting attempt to address the complexity of the project and its ramifications, as well as the decision to prioritize the social approach, although obviously this does not imply greater scope than the city council's citizenship strategy. The most original is undoubtedly their proposal for a "new culture of administrative-citizen cooperation"; that implies a new methodology and principles to fraternize with citizenship, administration and technical experts. Another important aspect is the participation of activists from SOS Rambla, residents-owners and former officials close to the district in the consultant team. The strategic plan is based on the manifest within the values of citizen participation, transparency, accountability, multidirectional communication and citizen control. To execute it implies co-production and cooperation between administration and citizenship with the use of research-participatory-action methodological tools to generate spaces for debate and joint production (Km_Zero, 2017).

If there's one thing to be said about urban plans in general, it is that they have the ability to harmonise reality, to hide all traces of urban conflict (Figure 12). We would like to say the urban plans can support conflict management, but in this case, we verify that plans cannot diagnose, much less attack, the real problems. Bearing this in mind, we consider that beyond the useful information that can be lifted, as well as the sophisticated use of analysis tools, the exercise of material and immaterial revaluation of a representational space (within cultural heritage category: contemporary sign of commodification) to rescue the Rambla from tourism exploitation not only does not address the real problems in space but intensifies them. The true appropriation and use by the residents-users of the promenade and centrality (what they call "*vecinificación*" but empty of content) can only be agitated and promoted from the weakest groups, perhaps hidden under the shadows in the forces correlation. Thus, the design of strategies should demand the construction of another collective subject (now in an emerging state) focused on self-organization. The advisory function weight of "the administrative-citizen management plan" covers with a participatory blanket any possibility of self-management. We take for granted that the impulse (in the form of monitoring) of the administration with its egalitarian citizenship will leave out the energy and the desires of the working and popular classes, and at best, it will end up co-opting them.

4. The Production of Radical Social Space in Barcelona

Any attempt to realize a truly social urban plan is truly impossible within the framework of capitalist society (M. Tatjer, in Delgado, 2017).

Once Lefebvrian thought has guided us to this point, we now ask ourselves how it is completed, updated and deepened, so that it helps us to counter the RRC with decisiveness and efficiency, and also, how to reconnect

Figure 12. Does the Rambla of the future exist, maybe just an early Sunday morning? Source: Barcelona Experience (2017).

with social movements, since the battle to fight against capitalist urbanization is not only theoretical (Figure 13). Faced with the overwhelming global urban reality that weighs on Barcelona, what are the possibilities of building an effective popular resistance against real estate violence? What can we do from the urban plans and politics of space to update the right to the city in the real battle being waged in Barcelona? And how to include in that concept the sabotage of the RRC, trying to go beyond the limits of the reproduction of the relations of capitalist production (Lefebvre, 1971) in space?

The notion of radical social space transcends a concrete object when it becomes strategic for action. This signal implies that the new urban policies have to facilitate alternative forms of anti-capitalist response and resistance that allow society to reveal itself against the social relations of production embodied in the transition to post-neoliberal urban systems (Jiménez Pacheco, 2016b, 2017b). The phenomenon designated as "turistification" is not the problem to be fought precisely, given that the real problem is capitalism. Harvey (2016) in his conference talk in Barcelona on "the tourist city" reinforced

Figure 13. Campaigns against the city commodification and "Barcelona brand". Source: Bcn Ens Ofega (2016) and SOS Rambla (2017).

Lefebvre's (1978/2017) proposal, in which a "global anti-capitalist project" is required to advocate for "another society in another space".

4.1. (De Facto) Right to the City

It is necessary to take a thesis shared by A. Apilánez (2017) and M. Delgado (2017), synthesized in that the legalist-reformist way cannot tame the beast of capital. Apilánez (2017) criticizes a genealogy of organizations of "15-Mayist tradition" that have become protagonists of the social response to the most dramatic effects of the real estate collapse, characterized by the adoption of a strategy based on the reduction of damage and the proposal of legislative reforms. Its justification of the moderation of such measures always acquires tactical signs, based on prudence and adaptation to bad times (Apilánez, 2017). Meanwhile, the avalanche of a structural problem goes beyond the "municipalities of change and democratic regeneration" (Guanyem Barcelona, 2014), which recognizes in a masked way its impotence to face it. The definitive criticism of Delgado (in a recent interview) is clarified, when linking the management of mayors—Porcioles, Maragall and now Colau—in his task of administering the catastrophic consequences of a city concept based on the enrichment of companies that extract benefits from the converted city in merchandise (Aricó, Mansilla, & Stanchieri, 2016; Jiménez Pacheco, 2017a), which means, currently, that Ada Colau, worldwide, ends up symbolizing the possibility of a capitalism with a human face. "This is a lie...because finally the beast can not be tamed" (Delgado, 2017, p. 13).

In November 2017 in Paris, the International Colloquium "Right to the city in the south, urban experiences and rationalities of government" took place. Its main purpose was to understand the relationships between the everyday practices of city dwellers and governmental rationalities. It raised the framework of the "De Facto right to the city" designating a social and spatial ordering process that emerges from the interactions between public action and everyday practices when establishing themselves as routine (University Paris Diderot, 2017). The problem for us was that, given certain conditions, this "Right" involved considering urban practices in their conformist dimensions, understood not as the result of open political conflicts but as a process of adjustment between urban experiences and the normative production of systemic rationalities. From there, we perceive its correspondence with the post-neoliberal and citizen theories of urban pacification and civic adaptation promoted by BCC. This encouraged us to return radicality to the "De Facto Right" of people without rights, in which institutions would be, first of all, obliged to understand and adapt to certain insurgent/emancipatory situations (e.g., La Ingobernable, 2017; Sindicato de Inquilinas de Gran Canaria, 2017). The Canary Syndicate advocates the defense of "illegalism" as a principle of action, accompanied, when necessary, by tactical recourse to legality and to institutional resources as mechanisms to take advantage of the guarantor side of the legislation of modern "democracy" (Apilánez, 2017). Lefebvre himself reminds us the Spanish struggles in 1977, when he said that more than 4,000 resident committees carried out an activity that questions the society organization together with cities and space: "[t]hese movements renew the concept of 'use' without reducing it to a simple consumption of space; [they] emphasize people relationships (individuals, groups, classes) in space with its levels" (Lefebvre, 2017, p. 6).

On the future of this right, Merrifield (2017) reminds us that Lefebvre was a man of the margins. His right to the city was an ideal conceived from the periphery. His goal was to empower outsiders to enter. The right to the city (Lefebvre, 1969) may seem like a kind of fuzzy human right, but it is very concrete: "[i]t means that you feel some sense of collective, shared purpose, that you're not alienated from the city's affairs". Lefebvre also observed how "professional democracy" reproduces its own management and domination customs. That's why he thought that a new vision was required, a new kind of citizenship and belonging (the old right to the city was no longer enough). Lefebvre (1989) affirmed that the right to the city implies nothing less than a revolutionary conception of citizenship.

The planetary urbanization with its totalizing power rejects and expels everything that does not serve it, producing what Lefebvre called a "residue". Waste is people who feel the periphery within them, even if they are sometimes in the core. Residues are people who feel the periphery inside them, even if sometimes they're located in the core. The Rambla and downtown Barcelona also congregate residues:

> Precarious and downsized workers, informal and gig economy workers, workers without regularity, without salaries, without benefits and pensions. Residues are refugees rejected and rebuked, profiled and patrolled no matter where they roam. They're people forced off the land, thrown out of their homes by impersonal property markets and violent eviction. (Merrifield, 2017)

The right to urban centrality is now about those who have been expelled—the residues—who claim for the first time their right to a collective urban life, to an urban society that they are actively creating and in which they have been so far deprived of their rights. Under this appearance, citizenship is found inside and beyond a passport, inside and beyond any official documentation. This is the case of the "Top Manta" (Figure 14) in Barcelona: undocumented migrants who sell products spread out on a blanket on city streets (ARA, 2017b; Aricó & Mansilla, 2016; Calvó & França, 2017). The "citizens of the shadows" are the new norm, the new global predetermined position. Therefore, residues are now not merely

Figure 14. Everyday uses of La Rambla. "Mantas en el centro". Source: La Vanguardia (2015).

the secretion of the city, but the very substance of the city itself. The "de facto right to the city" can help us create new forms of organization and above all that new revolutionary citizenship.

5. Conclusions

We have several reasons to consider that the Lefebvrian critical theoretical apparatus, especially the deepening in its theory and methods of social space analysis—used in this article—is extremely useful for the critical analysis of the global contemporary city in the scope of what we consider the real battle against capitalist urbanization. First, Lefebvre's method, while guiding the process and design of research, not being a closed system, creates the breach for a methodological plurality of transdisciplinary orientation, without this undermining the empirical rigor of research. Thus, the levels and dimensions, crossed with the classifications proposed by Lefebvre, allow us to establish a critical theoretical link between the emergence of the real-estate financial circuit, the social space devastation and political power relationships inside and outside technocracy. On the other hand, the epistemological (of his thought treated as a whole in his theory of social space) and the genealogical contents (belonging to a "Lefebvrian tradition") are effectively confronted with the complexity of the current reality of Barcelona, demonstrating the pedagogical instrumentality of case study. Thirdly, the exposition of the analysis has been able to lead, under the tutelage of Lefebvre himself, to a "globalizing" discourse of local struggles to exercise the right to the production of radical social space; there, where the most difficult urban problematic does not exist, or is omitted, much less solved with municipal planning, while political will (despite its reformist scheme) is contradictory or simply fragile. Finally, we must recognize the problems—derived from the treatment of Lefebvre's thought as a non-fragmented project—for sizing the article (in which we know that everything will never fit). However, having taken the necessary precautions, we can share the effectiveness of the Lefebvrian matrix and the experience of Barcelona to entrust it to the analysis of other urban realities under capitalist violence.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

"Centrality" corresponds to the formal category used by Lefebvre for the analysis of a specific urban phenomenon; while, his notion of center covers a general concept—more broad—in the study of urban space-time (Lefebvre, 1970/1972a).

Appendix 2

Lefebvre explains the theoretical category of "level" in 1961 in the second volume of his Critique of Everyday Life. A level designates an aspect of reality, but it is not just the equivalent of a camera shot of that reality. It allows for it to be seen from a certain point of view or perspective; it guarantees it an objective content. In a reality where successive implications can be seen, it represents a degree or a stage, but with more consistency and "reality" than symbols or models, for example. Levels cannot be completely dissociated from one another. Analysis may determine levels, but it does not produce them; they remain as units within a larger whole. The schematic of a scale or of a formal hierarchy of degrees is much too static (Lefebvre, 2014).

Appendix 3

To clearly observe the dominant spatial-production-mode in Barcelona, we first had to clear several interferences away, taken into account at the beginning in an intuitive way. For example, the terrible interferences of the conflict between constitutionalists and separatists in 2017 led, to a great extent, to the desire for citizen participation to result in decisions being made based on spurious political pacts. In August of 2017, the problem of urban security moved center-stage after the heart of the city (La Rambla) was the scene of a terrorist attack that left dozens dead and a little more than a hundred injured—of 34 different nationalities. Also, several sentences were handed down in cases of corruption (involving business networks that diverted funds in urban and infrastructure contracts) in relation to the administration of the Palau de la Música. Finally, a current of journalistic agitation reappeared with the scandals of the "narcopisos" in the city and the mafias associated with housing in the hands of squatters. Often, politicians to sow their populist strategy exploit this agitation.

Appendix 4

a) February 24, 2017: "From the Rambla to see, on the Rambla to live", debate organized by Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya. Interviews conducted: Eduard Elias, spokesman of the SOS Rambla Association, and Gala Pin, Ciutat Vella District Councillor; the opinions of 50 habitual residents of ownership unknown were gathered.

b) March 17, 2017: Walk along La Rambla with City Council technicians; competition participants for La Rambla transformation and local residents. Interviews conducted: Alejandro Jiménez, spokesman of the La Ravala Association, and Libia Colomina, local resident-owner.

c) April 18, 2017: "Vecinos de la Rambla, una especie en extinction": Francisc Manzano interviews Anna Montané and Maria Luisa Paytubi, local resident-owners (Betevé, 2017).

d) September 5, 2017: Interviews: Mònica Trias, President of the Antics Ocellaires de La Rambla Association, Vicente Guallart, local resident-owner, and Fermí Villar, President of ARA.

e) Memòria del procés participatiu de Pla d'usos de Ciutat Vella (CVD, 2017c).

Appendix 5

Lefebvrian matrix (grid unfolded) for social space analysis in the Barcelona centrality:

		URBAN PHENOMENON PROPERTIES			SCIENCE OF THE USE OF SPACE			SEMANTIC DIMENSIONS OF URBAN SPACE				
LEVELS	Social space	Projection of social relations	Confrontation of strategies	Urban practices	Formal Analysis	Functional Analysis	Structural Analysis	Paradigmatic	Syntagmatic	Symbolic	USE	CONTENT
	P	Land-ownership; Real-estate market; Sociability relationships	Associations of neighbors; squatters; building managers; family groups; individuals; etc.	Moments of sleep hunger, housework, sexuality, study, rest, etc.	Places of habitation are distinguished in public (portal, entrance, hallway etc.) semipublic (hall of yesterday, current living room) and private (rooms, bathrooms, etc). They can also be classified as they are dedicated to the passage, stay, and meeting. As well as services (Places that serve actively; Places served passively).	it is possible to enumerate the functions inherent in inhabiting that correspond (or not) to urban and social functions governed by the social division of labor, at the level of agglomeration or society. Work and relaxation; food and reception; reservation and evacuation; meeting and communication; etc.	Essentially paths that link in every possible way the distinguished and articulated places. establishes the list of sequences, linking the topic of habiting of the more general topologies of urban space and social space, and consequently to urban phenomena and to the organization of the city.	In-out; high-low; domination-appropriation public-private mobile-fixed; central-peripheral; demarcated-oriented; use-change.	Internal; external; transitional; circulation.	Family; love; fertility; the sacred; marriage; patriarchal etc.	Everyday time; individual vitality; immediate use.	Houses; apartments; habitation spaces; etc.
	M	Reproduction of the relations of production; Real-estate market; Sociability relationships; Labor market; Tertiary, cultural and touristic sector markets; Collaborative, innovation and knowledge, technological markets (smart city, startups).	Associations in general; parish councils; collectives; private institutions; trade union and productive representatives; professional colleges; media; municipalities; councilors; academics; etc.	Multiplicity of moments (expressed in the misery and greatness of everyday life, including boredom and enjoyment).	Encounter concentration and simultaneity places; near and distant environment.	**Means and mediation**	Centre-periphery Urban services; Internal services; Social networks.	Private-public; high-low domination-appropriation; mobile-fixed; in-out; central-peripheral; near-distant; demarcated-oriented; change-use; etc.	Infrastructure in general (school, market, hospital, bank, station, etc.) makes a syntagmatic connection of activities in social space. By means of streets, avenues, roads, etc.	Politics happiness; work; cultural heritage; patriarchy; gender-based violence; etc.	Work and product for the realization of the social being (everyday life)	Itineraries; passing places; shopping centres; local institutions and infrastructures; streets; avenues; squares; parks; social centres;

		URBAN PHENOMENON PROPERTIES			SCIENCE OF THE USE OF SPACE			SEMANTIC DIMENSIONS OF URBAN SPACE				
	Social space	Projection of social relations	Confrontation of strategies	Urban practices	Formal Analysis	Functional Analysis	Structural Analysis	Paradigmatic	Syntagmatic	Symbolic	USE	CONTENT
LEVELS	G	More abstract general relations financial and energetic market of capitals; spatial policies.	Alignment of levels and dimensions.	Migration; corruption; terrorism; tourism; etc.	Place of the political, institutional, economic, technological, religious and scientific power.	Distribution of resources; public-private participation; general organization of traffic and territorial, air, sea subsoil transport.	The logical, strategic and ideological. For example: the communication network.	High-low; open-closed; symmetrical-asymmetrical; horizontality-verticality; mobile-fixed; demarcated-oriented; totality-shredding homogeneity-difference; use-change; centre-periphery; production-self-destruction-	Airports; ports; stations national and international terminals.	Nature; civilization; world war; religion; culture; etc.	Indirect instrumental use of domination and exchange to the global homogenization.	The public; Political, administrative and superior infrastructure buildings; monuments to various scales; public highway infrastructure and transport; natural parks; etc.

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Article

Reconsidering 'Desire' and 'Style': A Lefebvrian Approach to Democratic Orientation in Planning

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Abstract
In Henri Lefebvre's theory, the space in process of social production is regarded as the very condition of accomplishing the 'desire' to do or to create something. This article argues that we need to understand the implications of the 'desire' in order to make use of his urban theory in today's planning. Introducing this idea, in the 1960s and 1970s, Lefebvre attempted to create our own style of living, that is, to produce the appropriated space which differed from the technocratically-planned spaces where people devote themselves into repetitively fulfilling their needs for specific objects like a laboratory rat in the experiment of looped system. For all his utopian strategies, Lefebvre made practical suggestions on turning our cities more desire-based, that is to say, more democratically designed; it would be very helpful for today's urban planning to go back to his argument on the difference between 'desire' and 'need', or the connection between 'desire' and the style of living.

Keywords
cybernanthrope; democratic planning; desire; difference; functionalism; Henri Lefebvre; need; orientation; style

Issue
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1. Introduction

In the last paragraph of his *Production of Space*, French metaphilosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre rounds it off with the characteristic term: "I speak of an *orientation* advisedly. We are concerned with nothing more and nothing less than that" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 423, italics in original). It is quite important for us to attempt to make the best use of his theory in our age, to investigate how and for what the orientation is made. By reference to previous studies, we can associate the objects of Lefebvre's orientation with various keywords: differential space (Leary-Owhin, 2016; Wolf & Mahaffey, 2016), autogestion (Ronneberger, 2009; Trebitsch, 2003), realization of the right to the city, that is, true urban democracy (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Purcell, 2008, 2013), and in the more abstract expression, the possible (Hess, 2009; Pinder, 2015; Sünker, 2014). Then, what can we find at the root of them?

During the late 1960s and the 1970s, Lefebvre uses the same keyword in several writings and connects it with the confrontation between 'growth' and 'development'. In his *Space and Politics*, Lefebvre writes that "stop growth purely and simply? It's impossible. What is needed is to orient it by reducing it; it must be oriented towards qualitative social development" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 156). Similarly, in his *Urban Revolution*, originally published in 1970, the orientation of production is put side-by-side with "the rejection of economic (quantitative) growth" and "the primacy of (qualitative) development overgrowth" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 163). What it comes down to is that by the term orientation, Lefebvre intended to overcome his contemporary society possessed by the idea of growth.

In his *Methodology of Sciences*, written around 1946, Lefebvre pointed out the direction of growth towards development, that is, he thought that growth gave rise to the appearance of types of society (Lefebvre, 2002,

p. 146). Here, growth was defined as that of technique, of labour productivity, of human power over nature. And yet, about 20 years later, Lefebvre (1973) faced the harsh world of reality; growth as "a large accumulation" of money, technique, information and knowledge, in general, became an end in itself and this accumulation was centralised. As a result, power relations between the centre of society and people in the periphery, who could not apply knowledge to improve their own lives, were strengthened and people without sufficient knowledge were involved in the process of this accumulation which could not make society go beyond what it was, but only exacerbate the situation.

Lefebvre called such a society "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption" (Lefebvre, 1967, p. 55, 1996, p. 147, 2000b, p. 65) and there, he detected the tendency of people to act like "cybernanthropes", a model of workers and consumers characterised by three aspects: a) he/she prefers a minimisation of risk and high efficiency; b) he/she "aspires to function, that is, to be only a function"; and c) he/she "ignores desire [*désir*]" and "only has needs [*besoins*]" (Lefebvre, 1967, pp. 213–215). Lefebvre names this tendency "absence of style" and claims that what we need to triumph over cybernanthropes is "Style" (capitalized), which he recognised in "the level of desire" in his *Metaphilosophy* (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 322).

Though David Harvey (2012), using the phrase "his [man's] heart's desire" of American urban sociologist Robert Park (1967), has already defined 'the right to the city' as the "right to change and reinvent the city more after our own hearts' desire" (Harvey, 2012, pp. 3–4), we, unlike him, try to reread Lefebvre's space theory with his own concept of 'desire'. With this view, we connect the term 'orientation' in *The Production of Space* and the phrase "the lack of desire", a third feature of the cybernanthrope, and built the following hypothesis: the more desire-based the spaces become, the more developed our society can be. In fact, when the desire is mentioned, we can be reminded of the following sentences in *The Production of Space*:

> Within time, the investment of effect, of energy, of 'creativity' opposes a mere passive apprehension of signs and signifiers. Such an investment, the desire to 'do' something and hence to 'create', can only be accomplished [*s'accomplir*] in a space—and through the production of a space. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 393)

Here, Lefebvre presents the production of space as the means of fulfilment of people's desire. In other words, by the production of space, Lefebvre tried to break through a situation where style had degenerated into culture defined as the level of need, that is, "subdivided into everyday culture for the masses and higher culture, a split that led into specialisation and decay" (Lefebvre, 2000b, p. 30). As Busquet (2013) says, we need to contemplate how we should make "a better spatial planning that does not go against" the people's desires. Therefore, it is the examination of the relationship between need, desire, and style in Lefebvre's texts that takes precedence over everything else.

This article explores this triadic relation and clarifies the great importance of 'desires' in the thoughts of democratic planning today, returning to Lefebvre's writings in the 1960s and 1970s. Among others, these three books are mainly mentioned below: *Critique of Everyday Life II* (originally published in 1961 and hereinafter called "*Critique II*"), *Metaphilosophy* (originally published in 1965) and *The Production of Space* (originally published in 1974). In *Critique II* and in the foreword to the second edition of *Critique of Everyday life: Introduction*, written during 1956–1957, Lefebvre first put the 'needs' as one of the main themes in his series of critique of everyday life. Then, in *Metaphilosophy*, the desire and the style were both defined as the 'residue' in our everyday life, different from the state, organisations or cybernetics, which are defined as 'power', and what is more, as mentioned above, the desire is made clear as the foundation of style. This set of need, desire, and style were connected with the subject of space in the early 1970s.

This article begins by discussing needs from a chronological perspective and clarifies existing issues (see Section 2). Then, we make a distinction between needs followed by 'the lack of style' and the desires making style possible and examine the assumption on which Lefebvre makes the schema of desire-style-difference (see Section 3). Finally, from the perspective of "spatialising a social activity" (Lefebvre, 2000a, p. 12), we attempt to link the problem of desires to the urban revolution and the possible planning (see Section 4).

2. Need in Lefebvre's Works: From the Chronological Perspective

In the introduction of *From the Rural to the Urban*, written in 1969, Lefebvre emphasises the difficulty of understanding the ''dialectical, that is, conflictual and moving relation between the desire and the need" (Lefebvre, 2001, p. 15). Though we also need to understand that, if we try to draw lessons from his dialectical thought, it is most essential for us to grasp the true meanings of each concept first.

Admittedly, there is a difference between the two concepts, but it is not yet clear. Shields (1999) and Busquet (2013) are the ones who have pointed out the importance of desire, but they do not sufficiently mention Lefebvre's implication of need. On the contrary, Stanek (2011) focuses entirely on the need. Certainly, his consideration is of great importance because it reveals Lefebvre's critiques on functionalism which localises "in a preexisting space, a need or a function" (Lefebvre, 2000a, p. 12). However, it regards the needs as the theme after *Critique of Everyday Life I* (hereinafter, referred to as *Critique I*), that is, it ignores the earlier writings, and furthermore, unlike Lefebvre's formularisation, it contrasts the

needs not with the desires but with the practices. While referring to this research, we aim to dig deeper into the issues related to needs and desires.

From the chronological perspective, the times when Lefebvre made reference to needs can be divided into three periods; from the 1930s to the 1940s, from the late 1950s to the early 1960s, and from the late 1960s to the 1970s. In the first period, Lefebvre merely refers to needs or the relationship between needs and desires. However, because "Lefebvre's philosophy of needs and desires is built around the question of how people produce themselves" (Shields, 1999, pp. 136–137), we should, first and foremost, return to his *Dialectical Materialism* (1940) that has the part named "the production of humans". In this work, referring to Marx's 1844 Manuscripts, Lefebvre criticises the "economic man" who has only one need, that is, "need for money [*besoin d'argent*]" (Lefebvre, 1940). This need, which is simplified more than that of animals, makes people self-interested. Lefebvre contrasts this image of an economic man living in "solitude" and his own concept of "total man", the result of the true production of humans: "[t]he total man is a free individual in a free community. He is the individuality which has bloomed into the limitless variety of possible individualities" (Lefebvre, 1940, p. 161). The term 'freedom' not separated from 'free community' is one of the slogans in the writings in this period, as well as in *Critique I* and *Marxism*, originally published in 1948 (Lefebvre, 1948). Lefebvre's *Critique I* states that "free community" means the state where the social group, the country or the class to which we belong is free from slavery to other countries or classes (Lefebvre, 2014a, p. 192). Through the "effective participation in the running of the social whole", that is, in the production of social space in the broad sense, individuals will also escape from the state of being enslaved to something materially or mentally and become able to exert a force on anything concretely (Lefebvre, 2014a, p. 192). At that time, Lefebvre did not have the idea of production of space, but we can observe, in the relation between the economic man and the total man, the prototype of the contrast between needs and desires.

In the third period (from the late 1960s to the 1970s), however, this contrast is clearly highlighted, especially in *Metaphilosophy* and *Position*, where Lefebvre castigates the cybernanthropes who ignore desires and have only "the need for this or that" [*besoin de ceci ou de cela*] (Lefebvre, 1967, p. 215), that is, the need associated with the specific object. This type of need is compared to that of a laboratory rat in the "looped" system experiment:

> When the rat touches a pedal in its cage, it triggers the stimulus and feels pleasure.…Only exhaustion and sleep prevent the rat from continuing until it dies of fatigue, this scientifically perfected onanism that simulates and reproduces pleasure. (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 236)

Like this rat, the cybernanthropes are defined as the people who pursue the satisfaction of needs stimulated by the external, for example, an advertisement or planned obsolescence of products. Of course, as Stanek (2011) says, the functionalism in urban planning and building is one of those stimulants. In other words, through functionalism, the problem of needs is connected to our living space.

By introducing the concept of 'deviant' and 'terrorism' that comes from terror, Lefebvre presents his image of a disciplinary society where achieving function has great importance. This 'deviant', like Foucault's concept of 'the abnormal', is the man who does not recognise the social code, that is, does not fulfil his own function as a worker, consumer, male, and so on, and who is socially excluded as a madman (Foucault, 1999). Because of this terror of social exclusion, says Lefebvre, "each member is a terrorist because he wants to be in power (if only briefly); thus, there is no need for a dictator; each member betrays and chastises himself" (Lefebvre, 2000b, p. 126). In other words, each place or social position has codes that are arranged by the rule of organisations, urban planning, advertising media, or obsolescence of goods, and that forces people to act in a particular way. At this point, supposedly, one can sometimes arrange the need in a specific space as a member of a company or an organisation, and at other times follow the code of specific need. Thus, to have specific need is to follow the written code passively and therefore there is no subjective freedom in the world of arranged needs.

Then, Lefebvre reformulated human freedom from the perspective of needs and aimed at the "restoration of desire": "[h]uman freedom involves a liberation in relation to needs. It has to detach itself from them, but only by multiplying them, intensifying them" (Lefebvre, 2016, pp. 321–322). This is why Lefebvre had to tackle the matter of realisation of desires separate from needs.

From the above, it is obvious that Lefebvre's treatment of the question of needs was changed, during the second period (circa the late 1950s to the early 1960s), from Marxian attitude to his own. Indeed, Lefebvre expressed his pessimistic view of the absolute elimination of alienation that Marx had written (Lefebvre, 1995, p. 143). He conceived rather the aggravation of alienation and called it the "colonisation" of the everyday life: "[a]s Guy Debord so energetically put it, everyday life has literally been 'colonised'. It has been brought to an extreme point of alienation" (Lefebvre, 2014a, p. 305). In the foreword to the second edition of *Critique I*, written in 1956–1957, Lefebvre has already prosecuted the manipulation of needs in his contemporary society. Then, in *Critique II*, such a society is named "colonised" society as stated above. There, the consumers' characteristic is expressed in the same terms as the cybernanthropes' in later years: "[t]he consumer does not desire" (Lefebvre, 2014a, p. 304). Therefore, it is assumed that it is because his outlook on the elimination of alienation, that is, on the production of total man, was getting worse

that Lefebvre began trying to turn the need-based society into the desire-based society.

3. Desire, Style, and the Difference

Lefebvre, in *Hegel-Marx-Nietzsche or the Underworld* (1975), distinguishes Nietzsche's conception of 'desire' from Marx's critique of the 'need', so it is considered that he returns to Nietzsche to compensate for the flaw in Marx's ideas (Lefebvre, 1975). In fact, a year before the publication of this book, Lefebvre connected his own dialectical thought with Nietzsche's grand desire: "Nietzsche's Grand Desire…seeks to overcome the divisions…between repetitive and differential, or needs and desires" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 392). Here, Lefebvre arranges the differential and the desire in a row, but what kind of relationship do they have? In this section, we are to discuss the relation between desires, style, and the difference and link it to urban theories.

Lefebvre adds weight to the 'style' in the context of critiques on structuralism in the 1960s. What is the most notable for us, here, is the archetype of cybernanthrope, namely, the concept of 'structural man'. Roland Barthes, in his article "The Structuralist Activity", originally published in 1962, wrote that 'structural man' is defined "by the way in which he mentally experiences structure" (Barthes, 1972, p. 214). On this concept of structural man, the image of homogeneity of people is superimposed by Lefebvre. He criticises that what structural men see as style is "quite simply an absence of style" and that structural man just "simulates", that is, imitates the real (Lefebvre, 2016, pp. 173–174). Therefore, Lefebvre's critique of structuralism is, from the actual perspective, that of homogeneity of society.

And yet needs are connected not only with homogeneity but also with superficial diversity, because 'needs for this or that' are those for custom [*personnalisé*] goods: "[t]he ideal, perfect consumer…is the completed 'personalisation'. Personalisation has for content the custom [personnalisée] car, the custom [*personnalisé*] furniture" (Lefebvre, 1966, p. 172). Thus, style is opposed to mimesis and to personalisation, and hence, to have style is to be truly different.

For Lefebvre, style stands at the level of desire (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 322) and the dialectical movement of desire and need—between style and culture—"cannot help but produce differences" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 395). Therefore, it is considered that the most fundamental factor of Lefebvre's 'orientation' is desire and that we should think about how to make space for our desire in the society where needs exercise great influence. In reality, our desire and need are often difficult to discern, and styles originally created in accordance with desire may be caught in mass or higher culture. That is especially why we must always insist on what space or society we want to live in and participate in its creation in order to avoid the tyranny of culture which makes us homogenous and passive. As we see below, this does not mean rejecting cultural products. Rather, it is necessary to sort them into the acceptable and the unacceptable and use them well for our creation.

However, why does the matter of need and desire become that of space? Lefebvre explains that as follows:

> Particular places serve to define the coming-together of a given need and a given object, and they are in turn defined by that meeting. Space is thus populated by visible crowds of objects and invisible crowds of needs. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 394)

In this way, each space is imagined as the cage where the experiment rat lives. In these spaces characterised by specific needs or functions, we repetitively aim to satisfy ourselves, and only exhaustion and sleep prevent us. The desires linked with 'creation' are expected to oppose the needs reiterated in specific spaces, to reconstruct those spaces and to bring differences to the homogeneity of society. With the proviso, however, those needs are also necessary to some degree, because "everyday life would become odious and social practice impossible if the dialectician could intervene everywhere, at every turn, at every moment" (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 54).

In *Explosion*, Lefebvre has already pointed out that Marcuse's theory on needs concerning *Eros* "neglects the urban problematic". (Lefebvre, 1998, p. 27) Consequently, it is around 1968 that Lefebvre conceptualised desire as one of the roots of urban problems and since then, he has pursued the possibility that "the urban could also be defined as a place of desire" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 176).

Lefebvre's ideal of those days was the establishment of "small groups and micro-societies" that could create our own style (Lefebvre, 1995, p. 231). As Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid (2015) say, however, today we live in the age of 'planetary urbanisation' and have to develop a new urban epistemology "that might illuminate the emergent conditions, processes, and transformations associated with a world of generalised urbanisation" (Brenner & Schmid, 2015, p. 155). For this purpose, what kind of contribution can this schema of desire-style-difference make?

4. Participation and Democratic Planning for a Place of Desire

For Lefebvre, "it is not a question of locating a need or a function in the pre-existing space, but rather of spatialising a social activity, linked to a practice as a whole, by producing an appropriate space" (Lefebvre, 2000a, p. 12). To spatialise social activities, in our context, may be the same as to spatialise our desires. However, how can we associate desires with urban spaces?

Going back to the long quote of *The Production of Space* in the first section of this article, we can find, in the relationship between desires and needs, the confrontation between "the investment of affect, of energy, of 'cre-

ativity'" and "a mere passive apprehension of signs and signifiers", that is, between activity and passivity (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 393) So, from our perspective, to orient needs for desires is probably, at the same time, to orient passivity towards activity, that is, creation, participation, and democracy. The urban revolution is surely the aforementioned orientation. "The passivity of those involved, their silence, their reticent prudence are an indication of the absence of urban democracy; that is, concrete democracy. Urban revolution and concrete (developed) democracy coincide" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 137). The absence of desire and style is here not only that of difference but also that of democracy. In other words, Lefebvre's urban theory can be read as the critique of cybernanthropes who are satisfied with his present society. This vision was maintained until at least 1989 (Lefebvre, 2014b).

Then, how can planning contribute to the urban revolution? Lefebvre does not define it clearly, but raises the question of planning in a broad sense as follows: "[b]efore their ['ordinary' people's] eyes, society was being atomised, dissociation into individuals and fragments....Since the concept of planning was still somewhat vague, there was no objection to this atomistic and molecular vision of the social" (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 184–185). Thus, the vagueness of the very concept of planning is a factor in making people passive and individualistic.

What Lefebvre needs is the planning of the social as 'the total'. In his own words, as Madden (2012) also cites, that is a planning of "a 'world', neither a completely empty nor a completely full one" (Lefebvre, 1995, p. 124). In his article named "democratic planning", published a year before *Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre returns to Marx and there finds the equivalent of desire, which is the concept of 'social need' which is classified in the field of sociology rather than economics: "[s]ocial needs are those of individuals and groups, conceived while taking into account the level of culture and civilisation attained by global society, with its specific characteristics and originality" and these social needs "react on the needs" (Lefebvre, 1969, p. 92). Lefebvre defines social needs in planning as a requirement of collective facilities corresponding to the requirements of culture and civilisation. As a very simple example, he presents a case of the adoption of the bathroom and of the central heating system. It is unthinkable for people to live in a building without this equipment, and hence, those who want to sell the rooms have no choice but to renovate their rooms while taking much cost. According to Lefebvre (1969), like in this case, the social needs perpetually react on the economic needs. This is, however, nothing less than the case of negative participation. Now, we need to examine the more active participation.

For Lefebvre, to participate in something together actively is to be together: "[t]o be together is to do something together. Something, even if it is only a game. It's to have a common activity. It's to work together, to create a work [*une œuvre*] or a product together" (Lefebvre, 1966, p. 163). In the case of urban planning, there are two probable choices regarding active participation, but they are two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, the polyfunctional spaces with playful or symbolic functions can be planned against functionalism, which fixes in the space a specific function or a need. Indeed in his interview, Lefebvre criticises the functionalistic building that gives the empty space one specific function like that of a parking space. And there, he emphasises the importance of leaving the empty space "completely free" and opening the possibility of a more "animated space" where people can, on their own initiatives, "make a boutique", or dance, or do something fun (Régnier, 1972). This is the production of the free space for creating works that are potentially polyfunctional, which is the first step in making the "'world', neither a completely empty nor a completely full one" (Lefebvre, 1995, p. 124).

On the other hand, Lefebvre says more radically that there is a possibility for us to change the city itself into our work [*œuvre*], that is, the space of "grassroots democracy (*autogestion*)" (Lefebvre, 2014b, p. 205). In the 1960s, he conceptualised as "deviants" the men who remained outside of the homogeneity of the society and was treated as a madman by cybernanthropes, and he saw them as powerless beings. However, as Hess (2009) writes, Lefebvre redefines the men who remain in the periphery of urban homogeneity as "the men of the borders" (*l'hommes des frontiers*) in his *Presence and absence*:

> It is true that under the conditions of the modern world only the man apart, the marginal, the peripheral, the anomic, the excluded from the horde…has a creative capacity….Who is most likely to work [*œuvrer*], would it not be the man of the borders? (Lefebvre, 1980, p. 202)

It is considered that Lefebvre kept hoping that the "fight" to the social spaces by these 'men of the borders' enables the future autogestion, grassroots democracy: "[s]pontaneous architecture and planning…prove greatly superior to the organisation of space by specialists" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 374).

In the age of 'planetary urbanisation', have these men of borders disappeared yet? Have the possibilities of class struggle through social spaces been completely lost? No, they have not. Whenever people gain their own absolutely free, but not absolutely empty, spaces, new men of borders emerge. Through the two ways mentioned above, thus, the work [*œuvre*] and the space characterised by the difference and the style, will arise. In fact, when Lefebvre discusses the struggle by shanty towns against urban homogeneity in *The Production of Space*, he presupposes that the appropriation of space in the shanty towns has reached a remarkably high level and the spontaneousness of architecture and urban planning there (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 374). For the 'orientation',

we first need the free space for this spontaneousness. And what we expect from planning experts is to create the space which becomes the first scaffold for people to design cities with their own creativity. With reference to the discussion of porosity of the city in Benjamin's (1986) "Naples", Stavrides (2010) has already conceptualised the free, polyfunctional and public space that cities and streets essentially contain as a 'threshold' where people can meet and create something together, and regarded it as an important factor to realise the right to the city. However, we need to plan this porosity intentionally and to make space for spontaneous creation. From this point of view, the discussion of Lefevre has a high affinity with the strategy of temporary space—or pop-up space, if you want to call it—in recent urban planning, in which people can freely and temporally make up small spaces of their own in the towns or streets. That is because, as Temel (2006) says, this type of strategy enables 'bottom-up' planning. However, it must be avoided that temporary or pop-up spaces end in a single time or become a seasonal event that embeds commercial 'need'. In order to stimulate the collaborative and voluntary creativity of people, it is necessary to have such a planning strategy that people can participate in such temporary free space in cities. Continuing to provide such a space for participation is an important first step towards democratic planning. In other words, with permanent participation in the orientation of our society, the urban can be defined as 'a place of desire'.

5. Conclusions

In this article, we tried to clarify the whole picture of the series of thought concerning Lefebvre's concept of "desire" which has not been sufficiently studied so far, and to connect it to urban theory. First of all, starting with the consideration of the implications of the word "orientation" used in the conclusion of *The Production of Space*, we have revealed that Lefebvre's consideration is premised on the existence of cybernanthropes who have no desire and have only needs when preaching the importance of transition from growth to development.

Then we classified the works of Lefebvre referring to needs in three periods and revealed the features of the discussion at each time. As a result, it turned out that Lefebvre's argument about needs changed around 1960 when he became pessimistic regarding the end of alienation.

It is the concept of desire that is opposed to this concept of need. The third section clarified the relationship between styles and differences, and the position of the concept of desire as the foundation of these two concepts, mainly referring to the works written in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Finally, by focusing on the pair of passivity and activity corresponding to that of needs and desires, this article showed the possibility of making the urban-based on our desires. There is, however, still room for further consideration on the relation between Lefebvre's concept of desire or need and that of other urban theorists.

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Conflict of Interests

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