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***Towards an Articulation of Architecture as a
Verb.***

*Learning from Participatory Development,
Subaltern Identities and Textual Values.*

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

Originating from a disenfranchisement with the contemporary definition and realisation of Westernised architecture as a commodity and product, this thesis seeks to explore alternative examples of positive socio-spatial practice and agency. These alternative spatial practices and methodologies are drawn from participatory and grass-roots development agency in informal settlements and contexts of economic absence, most notably in the global South. This thesis explores whether such examples can be interpreted as practical realisations of key theoretical advocacies for positive social space that have emerged in the context of post-Second World-War capitalism.

The principle methodological framework utilises two differing trajectories of spatial discourse. Firstly, Henri Lefebvre and Doreen Massey as formative protagonists of Western spatial critique, and secondly, John F. C. Turner and Nabeel Hamdi as key advocates of participatory development practice in informal settlements. These two research trajectories are notably separated by geographical, economic and political differentiations, as well as conventional disciplinary boundaries. However by undertaking a close textual reading of these discourses this thesis critically re-contextualises the socio-spatial methodologies of participatory development practice, observing multiple theoretical convergences and provocative commonalities.

This research proposes that by critically comparing these previously unconnected disciplinary trajectories certain similarities, resonances and equivalences become apparent. These resonances reveal comparable critiques of choice, value, and identity which transcend the gap between such differing theoretical and practical engagements with space. Subsequently, these thematic resonances allow this research to critically engage with further appropriate surrounding discourses, including Marxist theory, orientalism, post-structural pluralism, development anthropology, post-colonial theory and subaltern theory.

In summary, this thesis explores aspects of Henri Lefebvre's and Doreen Massey's urban and spatial theory through a close textual reading of key texts from their respective discourses. This methodology provides a layered analysis of post-Marxist urban space, and an exploration of an explicit connection between Lefebvre and Massey in terms of the social production and multiplicity of space. Subsequently, this examination provides a theoretical framework from which to reinterpret and revalue the approaches to participatory development practice found in the writings and projects of John Turner and Nabeel Hamdi.

The resulting comparative framework generates interconnected thematic trajectories of enquiry that facilitate the re-reading and critical reflection of Turner and Hamdi's development practices. Thus, selected Western spatial discourse acts as a critical lens through which to re-value the social, political and economical achievements of participatory development. Reciprocally, development practice methodologies are recognised as invaluable and provocative realisations of the socio-spatial qualities that Western spatial discourse has long advocated for, and yet have remained predominantly unrealised in the global North.

Contents

Abstract	5
Acknowledgements	11
Declaration	15
Preface – Glossary of Terms Used	17
Chapter One – Thesis Introduction	25
Contextualisation.....	28
Interdisciplinary Themes and Connections.....	30
Methodology.....	33
Literature Review – Contextualising Key Protagonists.....	36
Structure.....	47
Chapter Two – Materialism, Choice and Autogestion	51
A Brief Study of Dialectical Logic.....	55
Lefebvre's Dialectical Materialism.....	59
User-Choice Participatory Housing.....	62
Supportive Shacks & Oppressive Houses.....	72
Housing as a Verb.....	75
Social Relations of Production.....	80
Contradictions and Transgressions.....	85
Necessity, Informality, Periphery.....	89
Critique of Housing as a Verb.....	94
Autonomy and Heteronomy.....	100
Autogestion and Self-Management.....	106
Who Decides and Who Provides?.....	111

Chapter Three – Space, Difference and Multiplicity	115
The Production of Space.....	119
The right to the city.....	123
The Right to Difference.....	131
Appropriation and Difference.....	137
Participation and Difference.....	143
Positive Multiplicity and Difference.....	151
Continuous Multiplicity, Positive Difference and Otherness.....	157
Lefebvre and Massey – Difference and Multiplicity.....	160
Chapter Four – Geometries of Power and Small Change	163
Geometries of Power, Inevitability and Small Change.....	166
Cultural Hegemony.....	173
Small Change.....	179
Positive Counter-hegemonic Disruption.....	184
Pied Bus.....	189
From Space as Stasis to Space as Multiplicity.....	191
Specificity and Undecideability.....	196
Pickle Jar Project.....	201
Catalysts and Going to Scale.....	207
Global and Local – Relational Interdependence.....	214
Small Change and Positive Multiplicity.....	217
Chapter Five – Identity and Practice	221
Identity as a Product.....	224
Turner and Identity.....	231

Under Development as Identity.....	239
Development Identities and Equality.....	244
Hamdi and Identity.....	251
Identity as Critical Participatory Practice.....	257
Identity and Development as Interdependent Practices.....	263
Chapter Six – Textual Value(s).....	267
Multiplicity.....	270
Coevalness.....	273
Forward Reasoning.....	276
Spatial and Textual Distancing.....	284
The Backwards Reasoning of Buffalo Mozzarella.....	287
Backwards Reasoning.....	292
Third-Spaces of Open and Reflexive Learning.....	301
Enunciation and Negotiation.....	308
Textual Value.....	313
Developing Values and Textual Learning from Others.....	321
Chapter Seven – Thesis Conclusion.....	325
Trajectories, Intersections and Implications.....	326
Speculations and Further Research.....	341
Bibliography.....	345

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Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

Work submitted for this research degree at the Plymouth University has not formed part of any other degree either at Plymouth University or at another establishment.

Publications (or presentation of other forms of creative and performing work):

- *John Turner, John Habraken, Hassan Fathy and Charles Correa – Entries in Routledge Encyclopedia of Modernism. 2015*
- *Dialectical Materialism and User Choice Housing.* (Cambridge Scholars Publishers. Forthcoming in 2014)
- *Enunciation and Textual Value in the Development Practice of Nabeel Hamdi.* Postcolonial Text Journal. Forthcoming 2014.

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- *The (re)Production of the Relations of Production in the Progressive Development of Informal Settlements.* Ethics and Aesthetics of Architecture. Newcastle University. June 2012.

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Preface – Glossary of Terms Used

Included here is a brief outline and articulation of various terms that are used in this thesis for brevity and simplicity, and an accompanying awareness and acknowledgement of the complexity entailed within such terms. It is also an opportunity to recognise that the definitions outlined below, and their use throughout the thesis are by no means definitive or universal, nor are they intended to be.

Development Practice

This term recognises a range of socio-spatial which produce changes that are undertaken under the agency to produce changes and improvements towards accepted goals of development. Approaches to international development, are reflected in the policy priorities of major development organizations such as the UN, World Bank, national and local governments, global NGOs and grassroots organizations. The most contemporary and widely acknowledged structural identification of development are the millennium development goals (MDG's) which have formed the basis of Western articulations of global development since the 1990s. These structural and institutional articulations of development traditionally inform the framework for the on the ground, grass-roots and front-line actions of development practitioners.

The action and agency of aid-workers, campaigners and development practitioners address the practical and theoretical foundations needed to engage in the challenges and complexities of the field of development. By engaging with the diverse identities living in cities of the Global South, development practices seek to generate greater social equality and well-being by exploring and facilitating processes of social change, enterprise, and development.

It is in this context that Turner and Hamdi are posited as exemplars of politically and practically alternative development agents that contest the assumptions of development goals. Their approaches are observed and compared as offering an alternative and counter-balance to conventional hierarchical, institutional and market-led processes of development. Such methodologies, observations and practices can be seen to highlight the social and material reality of rapid urbanization, diversity, and globalization. They confront and contend questions of whether economic growth alone is insufficient to address social inequities and promote real sustainable well-being.

Thus the term development practices can also describe non-traditional forms of engagement in social and political space of development. As this thesis will explore, they engage in the informal settlements and peripheries of space and culture, whilst also suggesting methodologies that reflect many aspirations of Western spatial theory.

Informal Settlements

This term refers to favelas,¹ barrios,² and slums³ as cases of informally produced settlements. It thus describes a variety of urban conditions that exist outside of the conventions of formal planning. Informality is understood here through the non-traditional and non-hierarchical geometries of power articulated in their creation, occupation and management.⁴ Thus, in contrast to the centralised, hierarchical and structural methodologies of formal planning, the

1 Favela is a Portuguese term for urban slum conditions in Brazil. The first noted favelas were built by soldiers returning from the war of Canudos, who, finding they had nowhere to live, built temporary dwellings upon Providence Hill in Rio de Janeiro, which was noted for having many favela trees upon it.

2 Barrio is originally a Portuguese term referring to a city community or region. However the increasingly negative identity of barrios in comparison to Western ideas of regions emerges from derogative identities of early informal settlements known as barrios Africanos (African neighbourhoods).

3 The term slum is thought to have originally meant room, which later evolved to 'back slum' with the meaning of 'back alley, for street people'. See: Slum. *Etymology Dictionary*, Douglas Harper (2001)

4 Ana Paula Baltazar and Silke Kapp, 'Learning from "Favelas": The Poetics of Users' Autonomous Production of Space and the Non-Ethics of Architectural Interventions.' (McGill University, Canada: Proceedings of the International Conference Reconciling Poetics and Ethics in Architecture, 2007), p. 1.

term informal settlements allows various identities to intersect around the spatial articulation of socio-economic difference. Subsequently, informal settlements is utilised in this thesis in explicit connection with the autonomous and progressive housing models of Turner, and the sustainable community planning of Hamdi.

It is important to note that informal settlements should not be understood as merely existing dualistically with formal models of planning. Instead they both exist on a spectrum of legality and illegality, social convention and difference, centre and periphery. Thus it is expressly observed that more formal definitions of informality exist in spatial forms outside professionally, institutionally and / or commercially-based routes of procurement and grounded in individual / community-based self-build.⁵ Similarly, it is also important to take this opportunity to make clear that this thesis use of and engagement with informal settlements is explicitly not intended to glamorise or romanticise either the idea or reality of life and living conditions faced by millions of people.⁶

Spatial Practice

Similar to informal settlements, spatial practice is a term utilised by this thesis to cover a variety of alternative practical engagements with questions of space and the built environment. Thus, subsumed under this term are practices explored in both developed and developing contexts. From a perspective of Westernised space the positive potential of social agency and spatial practice has already been eloquently articulated by Jeremy Till et al,⁷ and continues to be explored theoretically in the works of Rory Hyde and Amber Hickey etc.⁸ The notion of social agency provides an approachable concept with which to interpret this thesis' comparisons with development practice. The positive social agency that Till et al subsumed within a discourse of alternative spatial practices included many development practice examples that connect with this thesis.

5 Baltazar and Kapp, pp. 1–2.

6 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 18.

7 Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency* (London: Routledge, 2011).

8 Rory Hyde, *Future Practice: Conversations from the Edge of Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2012); Amber A Hickey, *A Guidebook of Alternative Nows* (The Journal of Aesthetics and Protest Press, 2012).

Thus the spirit and agency of alternative spatial practices can be observed within the development practices of Turner and Hamdi explored in this thesis. Here, the social and economic improvement of space is understood to transcend architecture as the production of conventional built form. Instead, such spatial practice seeks to produce and practice change through a spatial agency that contests social, political and economic contexts in practices of the everyday that are grounded in concrete reality.

Global South

This thesis uses the conventionally accepted terms of global South and global North to distinguish between the developed first- and second-world economies predominantly found in the North, and the context of the developing third-world in the South. Whilst this distinction is recognised as an overly simplistic socio-economic and political divide it has become the most conventionally accepted distinction used in global academic discourse, due to the inherently negative implications of the alternative terms developed and developing, or first- and third-world economies. The loose geographical nature of the global South North term is perhaps as equally loaded with political inaccuracy and tension, however since the end of the Cold War it has become widely recognised as the most acceptable terminology when discussing global development.⁹

The global North loosely consists of the United States, Canada, Europe and East Asia,¹⁰ whilst the global South consists of Africa, Latin America and developing Asia, South America and the Middle East.¹¹ The North is generally understood to be formed of richer economies, but also is distinguished by the

9 Rafael X Reuveny, 'The North–South Divide and International Studies: A Symposium', *International Studies Review*, 9 (2009), 556–64.

10 The economic and political implications of this identity can be observed in the global North pertaining to almost all of the permanent members of the UN security council, and all members of the G8.

11 Further note might be taken of the increasing importance of the so-called emerging economic power of the BRIC nations; Brazil, Russia, India and China. This distinction is primarily of economic importance in terms of global manufacturing and does not reflect the questions of poverty that pervade such countries. As such this distinction remains somewhat unhelpful in this thesis broad discussion of issues of global inequality and development.

prevalence of adequate social conditions food and shelter, and education for populations.¹² The inverse is observed in the Global South, where three-quarters of the worlds population control only one-fifth of the worlds income, and only 10% of the manufacturing industries are both owned and controlled by the South.¹³

However this thesis would like to frame the use of the terms global North and South through a more progressive academic articulation of the challenges of global capitalism.¹⁴ This thesis' articulation would seek to intersect with the discourse of both Mouffe and Massey who seek to interpret the hegemonic characteristics of space being disseminated from nodal points at the heart of geometries of power.¹⁵ Here it is equally important to recognise distinctions between centre and periphery, majority and minority, formal and informal, within the contexts of individual countries, regions and cities. In this articulation it is recognised that elements of the socio-economic and political inequality faced by the global South are recognised within the borders of the global North territories.¹⁶

Western / Westernised

The use of the term Western in this thesis is equally as complicated as the distinctions made above concerning global North and South. In general the term Westernised is used to denote the conventional accepted social, political and economic spaces, practices and institutions that have accompanied the advent

12 It is observed that 95% of the global North adheres to international standards in these issues. Whereas the global South is widely recognised as only achieving those standards for approximately 5% of its population. See attempts at such technical and structural definitions in: Mimiko Oluwafemi, *Globalization: The Politics of Global Economic Relations and International Business* (Durham, DC: Carolina Academic, 2012), p. 47.

13 Jean-Philippe Therien, 'Beyond the North–South Divide: The Two Tales of World Poverty', *Third World Quarterly*, 20 (1999), 723–42 (p. -).

14 See: James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference.', *Cultural Anthropology. American Anthropological Association*, 7 (1992), pp 6–23 (p. 19).

15 Doreen Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18 (p. 12); Chantal Mouffe, 'Space, Hegemony and Radical Critique', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 29.

of neoliberal capitalism.¹⁷ Within this articulation is a recognition that both Western space, values and ideals have been readily adopted throughout the world, becoming nodal points of money, power and homogenisation that can be seen equally in London, New York and Beijing, as they can in Lagos, Caracas and Mexico City.

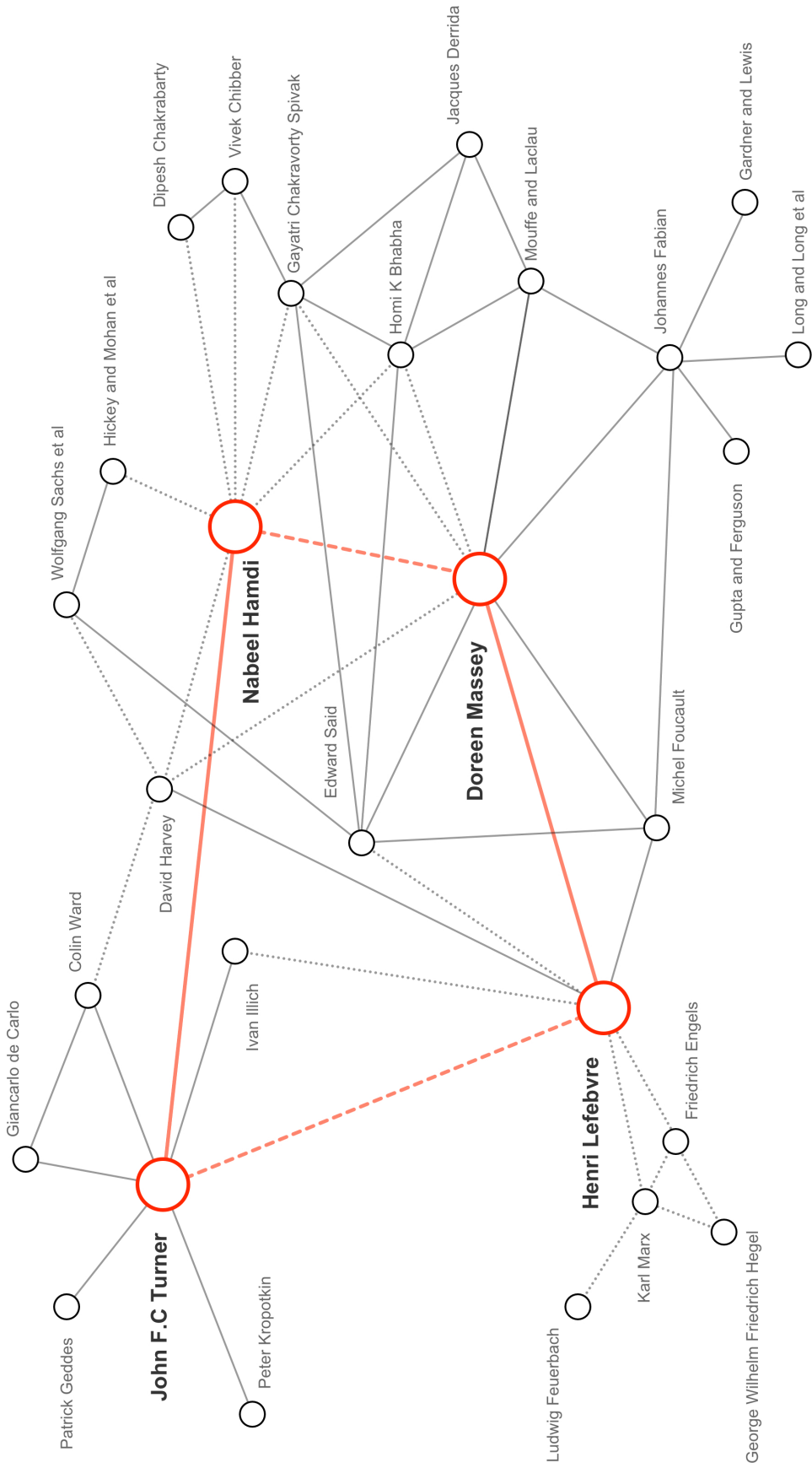
Conversely however, it must also be recognised that there are elements of difference and alterity – quite often exemplified in spatial practices – that exist in contradiction to the neoliberal model of Westernised space. In the global North these elements can be observed as spatial tactics working within the confines of neoliberal strategies,¹⁸ whereas in the global South the balance and inequity of neoliberal space is highlighted in spatial points of far more concentrated and explicit dominance and inequality.¹⁹ In general however, the use of Western or Westernised in this thesis is intended to convey the unquestioned sense of conventional inevitability that Massey describes as accompanying the advent of globalisation at the expense of the positive potential and political necessity of multiplicity.²⁰

[The diagram on the opposite page provides a visual analysis of the relationships between the key theorists and practitioners explored in this thesis. This diagram evolved from the original four key protagonists outwards to this wider constellation of connections as the research unfolded.]

16 For recent references to this issue, see: Sean McElwee, 'Six Ways America Is Like a Third-World Country', *Rolling Stone*, 5 March 2014 <<http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/six-ways-america-is-like-a-third-world-country-20140305>>. However, similar critique could be brought against the political and legal situation in Russia (notably the contemporary issues concerning the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, the Ukraine and Crimea, and the various arrests of political antagonists such as Mikhail Khodorkovsky and the lesbian punk rock band Pussy Riot) and China (various continued economic challenges coupled with widespread control of political state media etc).

17 See: David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); And: Klaus Ronneberger, 'Henri Lefebvre and Urban Everyday Life: In Search of the Possible', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, trans. by Stefan Kipfer and Neil Brenner (Routledge, 2008).

18 See: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1988), p. 29.



Thesis Connections Constellation Diagram

Chapter One – Thesis Introduction

This research thesis is an interdisciplinary comparative analysis between development practice methodologies undertaken in informal settlements in the global South, and Western spatial and socio-cultural theory. Its proposition is to use a process of close comparative analysis to re-contextualise overtly practical development methodologies of the global South against Western theoretical trajectories of spatial discourse. These comparisons will also provide a reciprocal process of contesting the same abstract Western spatial discourses against the practical potential, values and socio-political possibilities of participatory grass-roots development practices.

This proposition is built around a primary matrix of four key protagonists. John F.C. Turner and Nabeel Hamdi as development practitioners, and Henri Lefebvre and Doreen Massey as Western spatial theorists. The relationships between each of these four provide the opportunity to explore their individual intra-disciplinary concepts and achievements, but also, and more provocatively, the potential interdisciplinary comparisons between two distinctly different worlds. This thesis thus confronts and contests various disjunctions between the theoretical and practical, centre and periphery, formal and informal, and the spatial practices in the global North and South.

This interdisciplinary methodology generates a series of confrontations, contestations and comparisons that are drawn between previously unconnected protagonists. Whilst the relationship between architecture and the people it engages with has been repeatedly contested throughout the past century,¹ within this thesis premise is an observation that such development practice has

¹ As noted explicitly in: Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2009), pp. 7–12 See also; Marc Augé, *Non-Places - Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. by John Howe (London: Verso, 1995); C. Grieg Crysler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment, 1960-2000* (London: Routledge, 2003); *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till (London: Spon Press, 2005); Markus Miessen and Shumon Basar, *Did Someone Say Participate? An Atlas of Spatial Practice* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2006); Hyde; Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler, *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 1999).

generally remained sidelined as niche spatial practices and in the periphery of academic discourse.² More recently, alternative forms, models and practices of architecture have been emerging within contemporary architectural practice and have been contested both positively and negatively.³ Perhaps most widely observed are the positive contemporary practices of Teddy Cruz at the US Mexico border,⁴ the work of Urban Think Tank (UTT) in Caracas and South Africa,⁵ and the work of Elemental architecture in Chile.⁶

Yet these various examples are almost entirely explored from explicitly practical and largely isolated discourses that have yet to articulate the interconnections of wider spatial discourse to such socially innovative practices. Whilst various attempts have been made at such theoretical comparisons of participatory architecture they remain largely isolated as objects of peripheral intrigue, instead of being contested as viable practices in direct opposition to conventional Westernised architecture.⁷ It is in the context of this disjunctive gap between participatory development practices and Western theory that this thesis proposes to contest and interrogate the potential value and implications of informal architecture.

In summary, this thesis explores aspects of Henri Lefebvre's and Doreen Massey's urban and spatial theory through a close textual reading of key texts from their respective discourses. This methodology provides a layered analysis of post-Marxist urban space, and an exploration of an explicit connection

2 Examples of the architectural professions momentary infatuations and subsequent peripheralisation of alternative and participatory architectures include the work of John Turner. See: John FC Turner, 'Dwelling Resources in South America', *Architectural Design*, 8 (1963); John FC Turner, 'The Squatter Settlement: Architecture That Works', *Architectural Design*, 38 (1968), 355–60; These ideas can equally be observed in the works of Hassan Fathy, Bernard Rudofsky, Giancarlo de Carlo and Lucien Kroll. See: Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Giancarlo de Carlo, 'The Housing Problem in Italy', *Freedom*, 1949; Richard Milgrom, 'Lucien Kroll: Design, Difference, Everyday Life', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*, Reprint (University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

3 See for example: *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance and Reflective Practice*, ed. by Bishwapriya Sanyal, Christina Rosan, and Lawrence J. Vale (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2008); Awan, Schneider and Till; Kim Dovey and Ross King, 'Interstitial Metamorphoses: Informal Urbanism and the Tourist Gaze', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 31 (2013), 1022 – 1040; And the overwhelmingly negative critiques of Koolhaas' prostitution of Lagos. See: Tim Hecker, 'The Slum Pastoral: Helicopter Visuality and Koolhaas's Lagos', *Space and Culture*, 13 (2010), 256–69.

between Lefebvre and Massey in terms of the social production and multiplicity of space. Subsequently, this examination provides a theoretical framework from which to reinterpret and revalue the approaches to participatory development practice found in the writings and projects of John Turner and Nabeel Hamdi. Thus, the premise of this thesis is to interrogate the positive theoretical implications of alternative spatial practices of the global South in order to implicitly speculate on the reflective potential for their appropriation to the global North.

In reaction to presumptions of the inevitability of development towards Western capitalistic hegemony, this research suggests quite the contrary.⁸ Specifically, that in development practice methodologies and informal settlements we can observe spatial, economic and social relations that are far closer realisations of Western theoretical aspirations for politicised space than have ever been achieved in the neoliberal capitalist contexts.

In this context this thesis observes that the spatial, political and cultural critiques of Henri Lefebvre, Doreen Massey, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak etc are widely recognised within academia. However it is similarly observable that they have gained little concrete traction when placed in comparison with the reality of Western spatial practice.⁹ Yet in the context of this research their ideas and critiques of identity, politics and space are compared and observed as being inadvertently played out in the alternative development practice methodologies since Turner in the 1960s. The implications of such an

4 Teddy Cruz, 'Tijuana Case Study Tactics of Invasion: Manufactured Sites', *Architectural Design*, 75 (2005), 32–37; Teddy Cruz, 'Mapping Non-Conformity: Post-Bubble Urban Strategies', *Hemispheric Institute E-Misférica*, 2011 <<http://hemi.nyu.edu/hemi/en/e-misferica-71/cruz>> [accessed 21 July 2011].

5 Brillembourg and Klumpner.

6 Alejandro Aravena and Andres Lacobelli, *Alejandro Aravena : Elemental: Incremental Housing and Participatory Design Manual* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2012).

7 See variously: Hughes and Sadler; Blundell Jones, Petrescu and Till; Murray Fraser, 'The Future Is Unwritten: Global Culture, Identity and Economy', *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), 60–65; Kim Dovey and Ross King, 'Informal Urbanism and the Taste for Slums', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 14 (2012), 275–93.

8 Doreen Massey, 'Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time' (University of Heidelberg: Heidelberg: Department of Geography, 1999), p. 64.

unexplored connection between the theoretical discourse of the global North and the practical realities of the global South is implicitly contested throughout this research, with a discussion of the explicit implications for architecture and space in the global North left for the conclusion and speculative further research.

Contextualisation

The origins of this research should be understood as emerging from the context of Western architectural practice. More specifically it emerges as a direct result of personal experiences and professional discomforts of a disjunction perceived between the theoretical, practical and economic realities of a conventional Western architectural context. In many ways it reflects the observations of Turner who upon graduating in 1954 could not reconcile the reality of practice with the social potential he believed architecture should aspire to.¹⁰ In this context, this research began as a pursuit of alternative methodologies of spatial practice that might suggest a more realisable relationship to the economic, political and social advocacy of Western spatial theory and the positive potential of architecture to engage with alternative socio-spatial values.

In order to pursue alternative perspective and potentials for architecture as a critical spatial practice, this research resolved to look beyond explicit architectural discourse in an attempt to re-contextualise and contest this disjunction between theory and practice. From the outset this has given rise to an explicitly interdisciplinary methodology which has allowed this thesis to pursue a plurality of alternative trajectories of discourse, providing a re-articulation of development practice as an economically, socially and politically viable alternative to Western hegemonic architecture and spatial practice. Given the ambition of such a discourse trajectory the main body of the essay is given

9 In contrast to the theoretical works Gilles Deleuze whose rhizomatic, nomadic and folded spaces have been readily mis-appropriated by many contemporary form driven Western architectures. See: Crysler, p. 49.

10 John FC Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', in *Freedom To Build* (New York: Macmillan Education, 1972), p. 123.

over to interdisciplinary comparison and exploration, with the critique of Western architecture remaining implicit within the text and returned to more speculatively in the conclusion and thoughts for potential future research.

Thus, whilst Western architecture exists as a point of departure, this research has subsequently focused upon development practice methodologies as alternative examples of spatial practice. The exploration of the theoretical and methodological implications of such practices generates a contextual disjunction to contemporary Westernised space and architecture. This disjunction exists in terms of political and economic contexts which are implicitly linked to geographical and historical differences and the effects of the geometries of power linked to the unfolding trajectory of industrialisation, market capitalism and globalisation. Yet in the context of this thesis methodology, the fact that development practice is primarily undertaken in the context of the global South and usually in the contexts of informal settlements is seen as an opportunity to contest and problematise the contemporary abstract nature of Western spatial theory and its disjunction to spatial practices. Thus whilst Lefebvre and Massey et al have been broadly critiqued against constructs of globalisation and space in abstraction, they have never been problematised against a developing world grass-roots methodology.¹¹

The other key variable in the thesis context is the historical timelines that are traversed in the research trajectory. Primarily this encompasses the evolution of development practice from Turner in the 1960s to the contemporary works of Hamdi and similarly the relationship between the early twentieth century spatial theory of Lefebvre and the post-structural discourse of Massey. The clear disciplinary connections of Lefebvre to Massey and Turner to Hamdi respectively, have revealed an opportunity to pursue both the interdisciplinary comparisons between development practice and spatial theory, but also to examine the intra-disciplinary relations as well. Thus for example, the critical comparison of social relations and materialism in the works of Turner and

¹¹ They have similarly very sparingly drawn into comparison with Westernised architecture and spatial practices. This thesis would contest that this is itself reflective of the inability of conventional and formal architecture to provide positive examples. Instead the context of increasing neoliberal ethics and aesthetics of Western space lead to a wealth of built space that is both derided by academics, critics and the public, yet somehow is maintained within an ideology of economic inevitability.

Lefebvre lead inexorably to a re-reading of the connection between Lefebvre and Massey's conceptions of socio-spatial difference and multiplicity. It has also followed that the opportunity (and in some cases necessity) to stretch, test and reinforce the initial comparisons and propositions of the four main protagonists has required research and contextualisation within a wider constellation of theoretical discourses. Based upon a belief in the inherent value of a methodology of speculative comparison and an open research process, these more provocative trajectories of interdisciplinary comparison have informed the research trajectory and ambition.

Yet within these potential interdisciplinary relationships there remains an underlying narrative that is both explicitly and implicitly referenced throughout the thesis in a variety of contexts and theoretical guises. This is the question of value(s). The question of the values that architecture is, could, and should be engaging, and more importantly, whose values are they? This underlying question provides a narrative strand that links throughout the thesis, be it economic, social political or spatial values the existence of this narrative has been a constant point of reference throughout this thesis' contestation of spatial practice and theory.

Interdisciplinary Themes and Connections

This thesis seeks to observe critical connections and comparisons between the respective discourses of Lefebvre, Massey, Turner and Hamdi, generating a methodological framework and lens of comparison. Subsequent exploration of this initial framework provides opportunities to contend further positive connections and comparisons to wider critical theory concerning space, development discourse and architecture.

The contextual disjunctions between the four key protagonists in terms of historical time, geographical space and theoretical discipline poses distinct gaps between the original intentions of the protagonists that this research seeks to exploit and problematise anew across disciplinary thresholds. It is recognised here that a consequence of these distinct gaps is an inability (and expressed desire not) to completely resolve any one single comparison into a complete

and dualistic paralysis. Instead this analysis seeks to contest these apparent voids and incompatibilities in order to pursue a discourse that revels in the potential of dialectic trajectories and thematic resonances.

As an example, John F.C Turner's work has yet to be critiqued against the spatial discourse of Henri Lefebvre. Their works have seemingly never been compared in either theoretical or practical abstraction, let alone both reflexively. This is in spite of having their most widely recognised achievements occurring simultaneously in the global political and economic contexts of the 1960s and 70s and the inherent intersection of the spatial critiques behind their respective discourses.¹² This research will suggest that there exists within their works an explicitly comparable engagement with spatial processes of dialectical materialism that deserve detailed critical analysis. Thus Lefebvre's discourse provides a critique of the production of socio-spatial relations which resonate with Turner's grass-roots methodologies and practical concrete realisations of alternative and economically sustainable communities.

This thesis is at its core a comparison of theoretical and practical disciplines in a reciprocal re-contextualisation of the value(s) of both spatial theory and spatial practice. The research is an interdisciplinary comparison built upon the importance and implications of space and dialectical materialism as a process to critically produce social relations. Each of these threads are part of an underlying questioning of the values and meaning found in the practice and production of space.

This research trajectory is thus not intended as critique of Lefebvre or Massey, and it is explicitly not a critique of development practice. Instead the comparisons drawn here are aimed at gaining further perspective on the potential of learning from informal spatial practices in order to speculate upon the practical and theoretical notion of architecture as a verb.

12 And also similarly in spite of them having lived in the same street in Paris in the 1980s – as confirmed in personal correspondence of the author with Turner in 2012.

In essence this thesis explores what the notion of “architecture as a verb” implies in the context of conventional assumptions of space. In seeking to articulate this alternative conception of architecture, this discursive exploration questions what might be learnt from examples of grass-roots and participatory development in informal settlements and the global South. It explores this question by re-reading and re-contextualising positive participatory development examples against Western spatial theory. In doing so it begins to question what the positive thematic resonances observed in these comparisons imply in the context of conventional assumptions and articulations of Westernised architecture and space?

Methodology

Comparative analysis is a standard methodological form based upon the task of comparing and contrasting different texts, theories, process, etc. This is usually undertaken between two distinct entities to generate a form of dualistic or dialectic process of comparison and exploration, although this does not explicitly limit comparison to two parties. The standard comparative techniques can be surmised as either conforming to a *classic* or *lens* methodology.¹³ The classic methodology tends to construct a binary form of structural comparison.¹⁴ The lens methodology uses one object of comparison to provide a critical lens that frames and (re)contextualises a second object of critique, often taking into account spatial, historical and theoretical disjunctions as providing the theoretical context of the process. This thesis can best be described as utilising an adapted version of the lens critique.

However this research proposes a reciprocal relationship of comparison, allowing for both objects to engage in a sort of mutual re-contextualisation and contestation. Specifically this process is built around the traditional antagonism between practical and theoretical discourses, namely development practice and spatial theory. The historically and conventionally observed void between these two fields provides the opportunity to contextualise both in a reciprocal critique, with development practice being re-read against spatial theory, and abstract theory being contextualised against concrete realised development practices.

This alternative interdisciplinary study seeks to bring into comparison subjects which offer potentially new and provocative interpretations and coherences that problematise the field.¹⁵ This specific challenge of this thesis' methodology is that the comparisons are drawn not only within disciplinary fields but more

13 Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, *Comparative Literature. Theory, Method, Application* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009).

14 Mathew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods* (London: Sage Publications, 2012).

15 It is posited here that the context of my own architectural background, socio-political sensibilities and discourse is in fact the point of intersection and convergence that validates the premise of the novel connections explored by this thesis' research.

provocatively across interdisciplinary thresholds.¹⁶ To validate this approach, careful consideration has been given to construct both theoretically interdependent frames of references and clear grounds for comparison.

The underlying narrative framework for this thesis is built upon several key theoretical contestations, namely: Lefebvre's advocacy for the material and social value of the reality of space, and the relationality of Massey's space as multiplicity. Within each of these underlying concepts there is a connection to the value of space as a social practice – as a social and relational act of production.¹⁷ This research trajectory contests that in development practice we find the most clearly evidenced realisations of socially alternative and participatory practices, and crucially, that Westernised space, Architecture and society can learn from these alternative spatial practices.

Thus this research seeks to provide a means to contextualise the abstractions of notions such as “*space as a social product*” by suggesting clear and practical examples in development practice methodologies.¹⁸ Further to this, it also begins to interrogate various interdependent questions of cultural difference, value and identity, framing the social production of space around tangible questions of the value of relationships and identity in a newly global context.

Here it is important to articulate the recognised limitations of such a comparison and also to clearly identify the overall aspirations of the analysis. This thesis is not an explicit attempt to critique the works of Lefebvre or Massey, nor is it in any way an attempt to critique the work of development practitioners. The rich context of primary and secondary references and discourse concerning the work of Lefebvre and Massey is here used to re-read and re-contextualise their

16 This observation also suggests that there are almost invariably additional interdisciplinary examples that could be leveraged against Western spatial theory to achieve a different argument and comparison in future research.

17 Thus, inherent within such a dialogue is a critique of a tendency in Westernised space towards a structural interpretation of space as explicitly / intentionally commodified and appropriated for financial speculation.

18 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 16.

works anew in the context of Turner and Hamdi. Similarly the work of development practitioners is re-read and re-valued as positive practical examples of the dialogues with space advocated by Lefebvre and Massey et al.

Thus, this research is not attempting to provide analytical certainty but rather a series of interconnected reinterpretations of interdisciplinary discourses. A reframing of these discourses through a critical lens, but not in order to necessarily change them, merely to see them differently and draw from this comparison some trajectories for further discourse.

This research posits, explores and contests a connection between architectural discourse and developmental practice – i.e., through the lens of academic / architectural practice this thesis articulates theoretical connections to developmental practice. By approaching this analysis of spatial practice from a critical comparison of spatial discourse (and not the other way around) the thesis highlights critical intersections of Western spatial theory with positive, practical and concrete examples of alternative spatial practice and methodologies. It thus provides a new interdisciplinary methodology and discourse from which to critically frame and contest the potential of the alternative agency of architecture as a verb.

Literature Review – Contextualising Key Protagonists

The process of this thesis research has revealed a rich constellation of connections, similarities and intersections between its four main protagonists. These relationships are situated within a wider reading of surrounding discourse. This wider context provides a foundation for the targeted explorations and analysis of this thesis, and was necessary to support the main thrust of the thesis and its specific focus on the relationships between the four key protagonists.

For example, the valuable text *Spatial Agency*¹⁹ by Jeremy Till et al provides a useful frame of reference when introducing the concept of alternative spatial practice in Westernised space and spatial theory. The premise of *Spatial Agency* was to provide a broad and explorative compendium of similarly framed alternative spatial practices. The timing, success and value of this text can be linked precisely to its broad narrative. It was never intended to provide focused in-depth scrutiny of the theoretical connections and themes that emerge from close study of such examples. In contrast, the methodology of this thesis is explicitly intended to provide such an in-depth exploration. Thus, in revealing new connections between specific trajectories of theoretical and practical spatial discourse this thesis methodology provides a valuable addition to the existing literature surrounding alternative spatial agency and practice.

This research's wider literature review similarly observes connections with other theoretical discourses on space. For example, this thesis offers opportunities for detailed exploration of the work of David Harvey, whose work can be considered as an intermediary between the respective discourses of Lefebvre and Massey. From his early discussions of *Social Justice and the City*,²⁰ through

19 Awan, Schneider and Till.

20 David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, Revised edition (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010) - First edition published 1976.

to his more explicit contemporary writings such as *Rebel Cities*,²¹ Harvey's work inevitably interconnects with this thesis. However the utilisation of Massey as a primary protagonist instead of Harvey reflects both the emergent nature of this thesis' evolution, and also an observation that Harvey does not often provide the same positive perspective and analysis of space that this thesis observed and valued in Massey's discourse.

Wider connections can also be made from this thesis to the work of Kim Dovey whose discourse is recognised as a valuable contemporary contribution to the politics of urban space.²² It is compelling that Dovey's work is similarly engaged in discussion of urban informality and alternative models of urban form.²³ These recent writings have provided valuable complementary reading in the contemporary contextualisation of this thesis. Whilst Dovey's texts are not explored by this thesis in explicit detail they they remain valuable points of support as part of the wider context of the thesis.

Finally it is also noted that amongst the secondary text sources utilised in the examination of Lefebvre, Lukasz Stanek potentially provides an explicit connection of Lefebvre to architectural space.²⁴ Stanek's recent discourse is recognised as a valuable addition to the academic study of Lefebvre. However here it is again important to note that this research thesis is not intended as an analysis of Lefebvre. Instead it seeks to utilise Lefebvre's discourse in order to re-consider and re-contextualise examples from development practice. Thus Stanek's discourse is utilised here as part the existing discourse of Lefebvrian study, along with Merrifield, Brenner, Shields, Elden, and Goonewardena et al.

21 David Harvey, *Rebel Cities* (London: Verso, 2012).

22 Kim Dovey and Leonie Sandercock, 'Hype and Hope', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 6 (2002), 83–101; Kim Dovey, 'The Temporary City', *Journal of Urban Design*, 19 (2014), 261–63.

23 Dovey and King, 'Informal Urbanism and the Taste for Slums'; Dovey and King, 'Interstitial Metamorphoses: Informal Urbanism and the Tourist Gaze'; Kim Dovey, 'Informalising Architecture: The Challenge of Informal Settlements', *Architectural Design*, 83 (2013), 82–89; Kim Dovey and Ross King, 'Forms of Informality: Morphology and Visibility of Informal Settlements', *Built Environment*, 47 (2011), 11–29.

24 Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research and the Production of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. by Lukasz Stanek, trans. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

In the context of this brief review of the wider discourse surrounding this thesis, what follows is a brief contextualisation of the four main protagonists, and an assessment of existing literature concerning the connections examined by this thesis. Whilst throughout the research there have been numerous points where the interdisciplinary connections framed by this thesis are tangible, the exact critical connections and comparisons raised in this thesis have not been observed elsewhere in the literature review and thus offer new contributions to the knowledge of these discourses.

John F. C. Turner

Turner is widely recognised as a key protagonist in the development of alternative and socially progressive housing models in Latin America in the 1960s. His extensive writing on housing and community organisation was influenced by his experiences working in the squatter settlements of Peru from 1957-1965. As both Ray Bromley and Richard Harris respectively note, Turner's work must be contextualised against an understanding of Peru as a world leader in housing policy, community development and self-help in the 1950s and 1960s,²⁵ as well as observing the influence of Peruvian architects and urban theorists Pedro Beltrán, Carlos Delgado, and Fernando Belaúnde.²⁶

25 Ray Bromley, 'Peru 1957-1977: How Time and Place Influenced John Turner's Ideas on Housing Policy', *Habitat International*, 27 (2003), 271–92; Richard Harris, 'The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing" 1939-1954', *Habitat International*, 22 (1998), 165–89; Richard Harris, 'Slipping Through the Cracks: The Origin of Aided Self-Help Housing 1918-1953', *Housing Studies*, 14 (1999), 281–309; Richard Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', *Habitat International*, 27 (2003), 245–69.

26 Fernando Belaúnde trained as an architect in the USA in the 1930s and is notable for becoming president of Peru first from 1963 to 1968 before being deposed by a military coup. He was then later re-elected in 1980 after eleven years of military rule, serving till 1985. Widely recognised for his personal integrity and his commitment to the democratic process, he formed the moderate right central political party Acción Popular in 1956 as a reformist alternative to the status quo conservative forces and the populist American Popular Revolutionary Alliance party.

Turner widely acknowledges his theoretical debt to the works of Lewis Mumford²⁷ and Patrick Geddes²⁸ as well as more subtle references to the anarchist works of Peter Kropotkin, Ivan Illich and Giancarlo de Carlo.²⁹ Yet Turner's work also owes a great theoretical debt to the sociological works of William Mangin whose study of the evolution of housing in Latin America would become a vital theoretical basis for Turner's later analysis.³⁰

Whilst only a limited number of primary sources from Turner exist they are exemplary in forming a foundational premise of the political and economic logic of his approach to space.³¹ His work and discourse in the 1960s and 1970s was notably reflected on and supported by Colin Ward³², whose work from the same period sought to articulate a conception and positive contestation of anarchist housing as a proposition for the UK.³³ Ward himself was an influential academic protagonist in the discourse of post-Second World-War housing in the UK, key practical realisations of which can be read in a small number of key participatory architecture projects in 1960s UK. These are exemplified in the work by Ralph Erskine at the Byker Wall housing project in Newcastle (1968), Cedric Price's speculative projects of the Potteries Think-belt (1969) and Fun Factory (1961), and Nabeel Hamdi work for the GLC in the 1970s and 80s, including the Adelaide Road Housing program under the PSSHAK system (Primary Support Structures and Housing Assembly Kits – a practical interpretation of John Habraken's theories of support and infill).³⁴

27 Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (London: Martin Secker, 1938).

28 Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, ed. by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, 2nd edn (London: Williams and Norgate, 1949).

29 Cited in: Colin Ward, 'Preface', in *Freedom To Build* (New York: Macmillan Education, 1972). See; Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, Dover Books on History, Political and Social Science (New York: Dover, 2006); Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (Manchester, UK: The Philips Park Press, 1976); de Carlo, 'The Housing Problem in Italy'; Giancarlo de Carlo, *Urbino: The History of a City and Plans for Its Development* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1970).

30 William Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution', *Latin American Research Review*, 2 (1967), 65–98.

31 Turner, 'Dwelling Resources in South America'; Turner, 'The Squatter Settlement: Architecture That Works'; Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional'; John FC Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', in *Freedom To Build* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1972); John FC Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976).

32 Colin Ward, 'Preface'.

At the peak of his professional and academic popularity in the 1970s Turner's discourse was also subject to a variety of criticism,³⁵ most notably by the avowed neo-Marxist Rod Burgess.³⁶ This critique is explored further in chapter two yet it is important here to note the complex historical critical context in which this thesis frames Turner's literature.

In more contemporary discourse Turner's work is re-emerging as a renewed source of both professional and academic interest as the positive and negative issues of informal architecture are observed as becoming increasingly prevalent.³⁷ As such, the implications of Turner's work have been reviewed both practically and theoretically through various contributions.³⁸ Yet this thesis' research has observed that even with this renewed interest, the disjunction between analysis of the theoretical and practical implications of Turner's work remains largely unchanged and constrained by disciplinary boundaries. This thesis' comparisons contribute to existing discourse by explicitly engaging and contesting this gap between spatial theory and practice.

Henri Lefebvre

Henri Lefebvre's work defined him as one of the pre-eminent French Marxist philosophers and sociologists of the twentieth century, and he is best known for pioneering critiques of everyday life, rights to the city, and the social production of space. His work was most notably the subject of great academic interest in the Anglophone world after the 1991 publication of the first English translation of

33 Colin Ward, *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* (London: Freedom Press, 1976).

34 See: Nabeel Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses: Participation, Flexibility, Enablement* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991).

35 *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982), p. -; H Harms, 'Limitations of Self-Help. Architectural Design', *Architectural Design*, 46 (1976); H Harms, 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing', in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982).

36 Rod Burgess, 'Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control? A Critique of John Turner's Views on Housing Policy.', *World Development*, 6 (1977), 1105–33; Rod Burgess, 'Self-Help Housing. A New Imperialist Strategy? A Critique of the Turner School', *Antipode*, 9 (1978), 50–60; Rod Burgess, 'Self-Help Housing Advocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism. A Critique of the Work of John F.C Turner.', in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982).

The Production of Space.³⁹ Yet the true scope, scale and complexity of Lefebvre's interrogations of space have only begun to be critically understood more broadly following the various examinations made by Stuart Elden, Neil Brenner, Rob Shields, Andy Merrifield and Kanishka Goonewardena et al.⁴⁰ This thesis has utilised these texts in connection with a variety of Lefebvre's original source materials in order to provide a robust foundation for the interdisciplinary comparisons and connections posited.

The interdisciplinary intention of this thesis is explicitly not intended as a means to critique the work of Lefebvre. As such the choice of source material drawn from Lefebvre has been targeted in order to frame the comparisons rather than to provide a complete analysis of his entire discourse. This has meant a rather unconventional engagement with some of Lefebvre's less prominent texts, including his early work *Dialectical Materialism*,⁴¹ his critical extension of Marxism in *The Survival of Capitalism*,⁴² as well as his more prominently observed works on the city and space.⁴³

The focus of this thesis has also meant that Lefebvre's work cannot be explored here in its entirety.⁴⁴ However, the various themes of festival, spontaneity and everyday life that are perfuse throughout *The Production of Space*, as well as broad references from secondary resources have allowed implicit moments of utilisation of such themes variously in this thesis. Here it is believed that the

37 The more connected world of instantaneous images and media has confronted Western audiences with the global inequality of divisions of labour and living conditions. See: Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World*, New Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006); Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Reprint (London: Verso, 2007); Robert Neuwirth, *Stealth of Nations: The Global Rise of the Informal Economy*, Reprint (New York: Anchor Books, 2012); Ananya Roy, 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71 (2005), 147–58; Ananya Roy, 'Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Utopianism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35 (2011), 223–38; Cedric Pugh, 'Squatter Settlements: Their Sustainability, Architectural Contributions, and Socio-Economic Roles', *Cities*, 17 (2000), 325–37.

38 See variously: Ana María Fernández-Maldonado, 'Fifty Years of Barriadas in Lima: Revisiting Turner and De Soto' (Proceedings from ENHR 2007 International Conference 'Sustainable Urban Areas, 2007); Baltazar and Kapp; Peter M Ward, 'Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas', in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance and Reflective Practice*, ed. by Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina Rosan (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2008); Ana Paula Baltazar, Silke Kapp and Denise Morado, 'Architecture as Critical Exercise: Little Pointers Towards Alternative Practices', *Field*, 2 (2008), 7–30; *Building Back Better*, ed. by Michal Lyons, Theo Schilderman, and Camillo Boano (London: South Bank University: Practical Action Publishing, 2010); Stuart Hodgkinson, 'The Return of the Housing Question', *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organisation*, 12 (2012),

combination of a robust analysis of explicit primary sources and the broader contextualisation of secondary sources have provided a viable foundation for the interdisciplinary comparisons drawn in this thesis.

Whilst this thesis' comparative connection from Lefebvre to Turner remains a novel inquiry from the perspective of both spatial theory and development, this comparison is bolstered by the recent prominent conceptualisation of Lefebvre in Andrea Cornwall's analysis of the "invited spaces" of participatory development.⁴⁵ Whilst this remains a markedly singular connection observed by this research it provides a sense of the opportunity that interdisciplinary comparison such as those of this thesis may offer to overly theoretical and practical discussions of space.

In much a similar way, the links between the Massey and Lefebvre are surprisingly somewhat tangential, especially given the theoretical intersections of their respective discourses on space outlined in this thesis. Whilst references to Lefebvre do appear in the work of Massey and secondary discussions of her, they are remarkably isolated and minimal.⁴⁶ It is widely acknowledged that Massey's own articulation of Marxism and spatial relations is a product of her extensive study of Mouffe and Laclau, which is itself a reworking of Louis Althusser's and Antonio Gramsci's Marxist re-contextualisations.⁴⁷ This observation perhaps somewhat provides a rationale for the otherwise glaring

423–44; Dovey, 'Informalising Architecture; The Challenge of Informal Settlements'.

39 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

40 Henri Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, ed. by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, trans. by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love & Struggle; Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 1999); Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006); *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. by Kanisha Goonewardena and others (New York: Routledge, 2008).

41 Henri Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, trans. by John Sturrock (London: Jonathon Cape Ltd, 1968).

42 Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, trans. by Frank Bryant (London: Allison and Busby, 1976).

43 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996); Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, trans. by Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

disconnection between Massey and Lefebvre.⁴⁸ Yet Massey is known to be overtly aware of the works of Lefebvre and seems to have built certain aspects of her interpretations of space on Lefebvre's advocacy for space as emergent and real, with Massey adding a sense of density in the unfolding of its multiplicity.⁴⁹ There are also further overt references in Massey's work to Lefebvre's post-structural considerations in *Beyond Structuralism*,⁵⁰ yet the lack of critical comparisons between them remains conspicuous. Given the interconnected comparison this thesis proposes and the clear intersection of their respective discourses conceptions of the positive potential of space this thesis seeks to begin to confront and rectify this gap in contemporary spatial discourse.

Doreen Massey

Massey's writings on social science, feminism, and post-colonial and Marxist geography emerged prominently in the 1980s with her work the *Spatial Divisions of Labour*.⁵¹ This groundbreaking examination explored the geographical implications of regional inequality in the aftermath of the post-industrial restructuring of the UK in the 1970s. It is here that Massey began to articulate the concept of power-geometry as informing patterns of unequal relationships from the perspective of a Marxist political economy.⁵²

44 The most notable implication of this has been the only limited and implicit connections made towards his discourse concerning everyday life. See: Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, trans. by John Moore, 3 vols. (London: Verso, 2008).

45 Andrea Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

46 See for example: Massey, *For Space*, p. 17; Massey, 'Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time', pp. 2, 3, 6.

47 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 2001), pp. 90, 109.

48 David Featherstone and Joe Painter, 'There Is No Point of Departure: The Many Trajectories of Doreen Massey', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 4; Arun Saldanha, 'Power Geometry as Philosophy of Space', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 48.

49 Lawrence Grossberg, 'Theorising Context', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 34.

From these beginnings, Massey's discourse has become increasingly rich, provocative and multidimensional, first noted through her engagements with gender in the text *Space, Place and Gender*,⁵³ and the globalised dialogues of *For Space and World City*.⁵⁴ The variety of themes and interdisciplinary connections explored in these creative texts by Massey provide a relatively complex constellation of ideas and issues with which this thesis has attempted to converse. It is in this context that the very recent publication of *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey*⁵⁵ has been a most welcome multidisciplinary reflection on the connections and impact of Massey's work. This text provides perhaps the first grounding analysis and discussion of Massey and helpfully reinforces many of the links suggested in this thesis.

Reading Massey's work in the context of this thesis' methodology of critical comparison has allowed significant focus to be given to the text *For Space*, specifically because it provides a framework of analysis and references from which to draw connections to and from her discussions of space. This complexity is reflected in Featherstone and Painter title to their book introduction, "There is no Point of Departure: The Many Trajectory of Doreen Massey."⁵⁶ Here the sheer variety and richness of Massey's numerous articles, collaborations and interconnections are recognised as a reflection of the interdisciplinary innovation that Massey has brought to radical geography. In this context this thesis is explicitly not an attempt to engage in an overtly critical examination of the breadth of Massey's discourse. Instead it is an opportunity to

50 Henri Lefebvre, *Key Writings*, ed. by Stuart Elden and Elizabeth Lebas, Athlone Contemporary European Thinkers, 3rd edn (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 38.

51 Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (Basingstoke: Methuen).

52 Saldanha, p. 48; Massey, 'Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time'.

53 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

54 Massey, *For Space*; Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

55 *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey*, ed. by David Featherstone and Joe Painter (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

56 Featherstone and Painter, 'There Is No Point of Departure: The Many Trajectories of Doreen Massey'.

pursue a trajectory of what Arturo Escobar describes as “*the emergent ways of talking about relationality*”⁵⁷ that have prospered in the wake of Massey's discourse.

Perhaps the most interesting and explicit connection of Massey to the development practice comes from her most recent work and engagements in the Global South. Since 2007, Massey's discourse concerning the global politics of inequality has been explicitly explored in her work in Venezuela, where her concept of *power-geometry* has been utilised in Hugo Chaves⁵⁸ forming of the fifth republic movement.⁵⁹ In Venezuela and increasingly across socialist governments of the global South it is widely observed that Massey's theories have been influential as a means of thinking and engaging with programmes of decentralisation and equalisation of political power.⁶⁰

Nabeel Hamdi

Hamdi is perhaps the least academically discussed protagonist of this thesis. His key publications can be counted on one hand and yet his influence in the teaching and dissemination of development as a spatial practice is marked. This is most notably observed through his immense contributions as a pedagogue on the subject of development practice at Oxford Brookes in 1992 and later at the Development Planning Unit at London UCL, as well as now being a pre-eminent visiting lecturer and speaker on development.

57 Wendy Harcourt and others, ‘A Massey Muse’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 170.

58 Chaves was a known Marxist and his popular Chavista revolution forms part of the contemporary ‘pink-tide’ of left-wing and socialist democratic movements at work in Latin and Southern America.

59 Doreen Massey, ‘A Counterhegemonic Relationality of Place’, in *Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*, ed. by Eugene McCann and Kevin Ward, Globalization & Community Series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

60 The fourth of the five ‘motors of revolution’ was defined as ‘The New Power-geometry: The Socialist Re-organisation of the National Political Geography’. See: Ricardo Menendez, ‘The Social Transformation of Venezuela: The Geographical Dimension of Political Strategy’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

His first published text was the influential text *Housing Without Houses*,⁶¹ which provides an almost unmatched technical analysis of global self-built housing as a universal human exercise.⁶² This text marked a timely reflection upon the loss of social and political engagement that Hamdi appears to have encountered and challenged during his time working with the Greater London Council (GLC) on flexible and participatory housing during the 1970s and early 1980s.⁶³ This text was followed by a broader analysis of planning, cities and community with long time collaborator Reinhard Goethert, evolving from early papers published in *Habitat International* into the later broad and provocative text, *Action Planning for Cities*.⁶⁴

These examinations provided the foundation for his later more widely observed texts of the past decade, namely *Small Change* and *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*.⁶⁵ What is notable throughout all of Hamdi's published work is the explicitly practical nature of the discourse, which utilise Hamdi's experiences, alongside the voices of others working with him, to describe the positive potential of alternative spatial practices of development. It is from these practical thematic studies and analysis that this thesis draws its comparative threads, utilising Hamdi's self-reflective analysis not only of the places of development but the process of listening, learning and engaging in social practices of partnership in the course of pursuing socially sustainable enterprise and development.

61 Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses: Participation, Flexibility, Enablement*.

62 Surpassing the perhaps more widely read and more visual works of Rudolfsky which remain a less rigorous technical examination than is offered by Hamdi. See: Rudolfsky.

63 The link here between Hamdi and Massey (who also worked with the GLC at this time) in terms of their respective engagements with the GLC during this time, remains unexplored in this thesis and an opportunity for future research. See: Menendez; Hilary Wainright, 'Place Beyond Place and the Politics of "Empowerment"', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

64 Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, *Action Planning for Cities: A Guide to Community Practice* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1997); For earlier papers see: Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, 'Implementation: Theories, Strategies and Practice', *Habitat International*, 9 (1986), 33–44; Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, 'The Support Paradigm for Housing and Its Impact on Practice: The Case in Sri Lanka', *Habitat International*, 13 (1989), 19–28.

65 Nabeel Hamdi, *Small Change* (London: Earthscan, 2004); Nabeel Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (London: Earthscan, 2010).

Structure

The main body of this thesis consists of five chapters, each one providing a distinct comparison between two of the main four protagonists. This potentially unusual structure has been defined by the emergent process that the research exploration took. In essence, through the exploration of each of the four protagonists respective discourses a series of thematic connections, comparisons and resonances emerged. Subsequently it also became clear that these themes and connections were also interconnected and overlapping between the individual chapters.

Thus the thesis structure is complex and layered. This complexity reflects the nature of the subject matter and the aspirations of the novel connections and comparisons explored in this research project. It is also reflective of an organic, emergent and autobiographical process of exploration that defines this research. Ultimately the emergence of thematic resonances between the four protagonists offers explicitly positive and explorative intersections for critical comparison. It provides an opportunity to reflect on the potential of alternative and non-traditional methodologies of socio-spatial development for both the global South, and more provocatively the global North.

The thesis structure also reflects the historical progression of the discourses being examined. It begins with exploration of historical content drawn from Lefebvre and Turner,⁶⁶ before finding thematic connections to contemporary theory and practice in the works of Massey and Hamdi. This trajectory towards contemporary discourses also reflects the explicit intention of this thesis to pursue positive examples and connections that can be utilised in further research into the contemporary context of Westernised space and architecture.

66 Here it is important to highlight that Turner is introduced because he can be recognised as an early and pioneering example of the first Western architectural “outsiders” to engage in places of deprivation and use his skills not for architectural artistry or personal achievements, but for social, economic and political change. He is widely regarded as having created the notion of development practice as a process of social and political change (considered for both its positive and negative implications in: Harris, ‘A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner’ Discussed in greater detail in chapter two). The implications of his advocacies, practices and discourse are seen throughout much subsequent theoretical and practical discourse on development (see; Peter M Ward, ‘Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas’, pp. 290–296).

Thus a study of the connection between Turner and Lefebvre alone would not elicit methodologies that necessarily remain tangible in the contemporary context. Similarly, a comparison of the contemporary protagonists Massey and Hamdi would lack the wider historical foundation needed to ground the thematic connections observed.⁶⁷

The comparisons explored between development spatial practice and Western spatial theory are explicitly engaged in the extreme socio-economic, political and material contrasts of global inequality. As described earlier in the glossary of terms, in the context of this thesis this inequality will be loosely defined as the contrast between global North and South.⁶⁸ In light of these recognitions, this thesis is contextualised within the contemporary global division of labour and its implications for relations of inequality. These questions of inequity and poverty can be overly connected to the theoretical discourse of Lefebvre's spatial reinterpretation of Marxist theories of capitalism and inequality.⁶⁹ This imbalance provides contrasting subjects for comparison of economic, political and social relations in space between global North and South. The harsh economic, social and political realities of globally and locally peripheral contexts thus in some ways reflect an antithesis to Western hegemonic space, whilst in other ways potentially nothing less than mere rehearsals for development towards neoliberal capitalism.⁷⁰

Here it is important to reiterate that this research is in no way a critique of development practice. This is important to make explicitly clear given that the research is written from an external academic position that is abstract and without personal experience of the reality faced by practitioners and inhabitants

67 Here it is also noted that the necessity to develop a firm theoretical framework of critical analysis, in both historical and contemporary contexts, restricted the opportunity to a purely theoretical study. It is believed that this thesis provides a robust foundation that may allow for future integrated practice and theory.

68 Yet as Gupta and Ferguson observe, this is merely a convenient label for something far more complicated. See; Ferguson and Gupta, p. 19.

69 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 142–146.

70 Wolfgang Sachs, 'One World', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 111–26; Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective: Policies and Institutions for Economic Development in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

of the global South and informal settlements. Thus, this thesis is explicitly not an attempt to pursue a critique of development studies. Instead it seeks to compare and amplify some notable positive spatial practices and methodologies that can be critically observed in such alternative models of development practice.

From differing points of departure both theoretical and practical, this discourse explores and critically compares thematic discussions of space. This discursive exploration in defining the fields of research study are apart of the original thesis proposition to search for other ways of performing architecture. It allows an explicitly explorative and organic process of research, affording multiple, and overlapping, perspectives on a complex condition. Such a framework is necessary when looking at alternative places at the outside of normative Westernised socio-spatial conditions. Informal spaces are here observed and valued for their grass-roots responses to the material reality of economies of absence and the harsh reality of globalising forces.

The spatial, economic and political ambiguity of these peripheral spaces offer contexts where alternative social relations of production are formed out of necessity and enterprise. It is this spontaneous social response to the necessity, incompleteness and instability of informal space that allows development practice and the meaning of the theory to align. In this comparison we find things in the practical that have been lost in the theoretical, subsequently using these observations in a dialectic and reciprocal process. This line of enquiry seeks to explore socio-spatial responses to economies of absence as a foundation from which to begin to compare to the situation in Westernised space. Such questions of the permanence and social value of necessity and scarcity in both the global North and South are becoming increasingly relevant in a realigning global economic context. This is amplified by the equally important speculative question of how to engage the positive social aspects of necessity and community without the accompanying scarcity and absence. This ultimately suggests a critical questioning of what shift in social values is required for space to act as a medium for dialectical practices of social equality and sustainability, and how might we begin to articulate architecture as a verb?

Chapter Two – Materialism, Choice and Autogestion

This chapter introduces and contextualises the premise that the development practice of John F. C. Turner can be compared to the works of Henri Lefebvre. At first glance, Turner and Lefebvre are perhaps an unlikely pairing to discuss. Their works have each defined paradigmatic shifts in their respective fields – Lefebvre’s social and spatial theory and Turner’s developmental architecture practice – yet they are known to have no contingent spatial, theoretical or historical relationship.¹ In pursuing this comparison, this thesis’ intention is to generate an interdisciplinary framework of analysis and a critical lens through which to reveal, interrogate and contest the apparently disparate practical and theoretical discourses of Lefebvre and Turner. In doing so this analysis will validate the premise that development practices reflect many of the positive socio-spatial characteristics advocated and aspired towards in Western spatial theory discourse.

This analysis begins with a grounding of Lefebvre’s spatial contextualisation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ methodology of dialectical materialism.² Subsequently, Lefebvre’s discourse concerning “*space as a social product*”³ is recognised as inherently founded upon the framework of dialectical materialism and the relational processes that produce space.⁴ This principle of space as socially, relationally and materially produced provides the underlying theoretical

1 This observation is based upon personal correspondence with John Turner who intriguingly recalls having lived on the same street as Lefebvre in 1970s Paris, yet also noted that he had no knowledge of Lefebvre’s discourse or its potential connection to his own work.

2 Ernst Fischer, *Marx in His Own Words* (Pelican books, 1973), p. 87.

3 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 26.

4 Henri Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, ed. by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, trans. by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), pp. 303–305.

foundation upon which this entire thesis trajectory is built, namely a critical comparative analysis of the theoretical and practical articulations of dialectic and relational social space as a process and practice.

Turner's discourse remains an explicitly practical and spatial investigation of the social and economic benefits of user choice and participation in urban and informal housing.⁵ Yet his observations and engagement with the socio-economic and political implications of mass housing in the informal settlements of Peru and the wider global South provide a unique practical contestation of a dialectical and material approach to development neatly surmised in his groundbreaking articulation of "*housing as a verb*".⁶ This practical discourse affords this chapter opportunity to contest the comparison to Lefebvre through Turner's examples of the implications of supportive and oppressive models of housing, crucially revealing an inherent material and dialectic foundation of his critique and his subsequent counter-propositions.

In the context of Turner's discourse on urban mass housing and informal settlements this chapter also looks to intersect theoretical contestations of "*the city*" as a site of critical interdisciplinary comparison in critical Western spatial theory.⁷ Thus, in the context of Lefebvre's *The Survival of Capitalism*⁸ and in contrast to predominant structural and political conflations of alterity and illegality,⁹ informal settlements and economies of absence can be interpreted as a global urban condition. Returning the comparison to a theoretical analyses, Lefebvre's articulation of the inherent contradictions of capitalism and

5 John FC Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), p. 153.

6 John FC Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', in *Freedom To Build* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1972).

7 David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *Harvey, David. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (2003), 939–41.

8 Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, trans. by Frank Bryant (London: Allison and Busby, 1976).

9 Ana María Fernández-Maldonado, 'Fifty Years of Barriadas in Lima: Revisiting Turner and De Soto' (Proceedings from ENHR 2007 International Conference 'Sustainable Urban Areas, 2007), p. 5.

subsequent contesting “*the reproduction of the social relations of production*”¹⁰ provides a further intersection with informal urban settlements as articulations of alternative differential spaces and values.¹¹

This theoretical articulation of positive alternative spatial relations is thus drawn into critical comparison with Turner's advocacy for housing and development as a progressive and intergeneration process and social practice.¹² In contrast to prevailing presumptions of inevitable models of growth, capitalism and their accompanying political ideologies,¹³ the alternative values, practices and social relations of informal settlements exist as practicable and socially sustainable examples of the positive implications of heterogeneity and autonomy as a socio-spatial condition.¹⁴

Finally, Turner's advocacy for housing models based upon networks, autonomy and heteronomy provides a further point of intersection to Lefebvre through a comparison with his advocacy for a spatial politics of autogestion and self-management.¹⁵ Whilst Lefebvre's autogestion is a positive spatial contextualisation of the Marxist concept of self-management, it equally raises and recognises the dangerous ability of late capitalism to consume and re-appropriate such objects and identities of transgression through co-option and reification.¹⁶ When placed in such critical comparison with Lefebvre's theoretical advocacy for autogestion, Turner's practical examples of networked, heteronomous and alternative development practice are interpreted not as mere

10 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 17.

11 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 52; Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 115.

12 John FC Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', *Habitat International*, 10 (1986), 7–25 (pp. 10–12).

13 Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 190.

14 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 21–23; Barbara Ingham, 'The Meaning of Development: Conversations Between “New” and “Old” Ideas', *World Development*, 21 (1993), 1803–21.

15 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 40; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 14.

16 David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 233.

aberrations and anomalies of backwards societies.¹⁷ Instead they are here contested as inherently positive realisations of socially produced space, and as a socially and economically logical, contingent and valid model of grass-roots self-management.

Subsequently a foundational point of origin for this thesis trajectory is observed in Turner's contestation of the implications of the central issue of "*Who decides?*"¹⁸ Within this simple, eloquent and critical examination of political authority and hierarchy Turner offers a first connection the broader spatial, political and cultural implications of this thesis' interdisciplinary comparison. The contestations of hegemony, identity and values in later chapters are here provided with both a theoretical and practical analysis of space as the critical lens through which to contest the social and political implications of local and global development.¹⁹

In the context of these comparisons, Turner's work can be read anew as a post-structural reinterpretation of development practice and a provocative contestation of difference versus authority; hierarchy versus grass-roots democracy; hegemony versus participation.

Similarly, the intersection of Turner's practices as a spatial dialectical materialism provides a renewed practical agency to Lefebvre's theoretical discourse. In the context of this comparison, participatory and progressive development is recognised as a concrete realisation of Lefebvre's articulation of spatial practices; of the notion of social, political and spatial change as being driven by a dialectical process and explicitly informed and implicated by the concrete material reality of its socio-political context.²⁰

17 Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 122.

18 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 11.

19 Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love & Struggle; Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 183.

20 Kanisha Goonewardena and others, 'Globalizing Lefebvre?', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 100.

A Brief Study of Dialectical Logic

In order to contest this chapter's premise of an interdisciplinary comparison between Turner and Lefebvre, it is first necessary to provide a foundational contextualisation of dialectic reasoning. Lefebvre's critique of society and space is based upon a theoretical lineage back to Marx and to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.²¹ This trajectory of thought itself relies upon transitions and contextualisations concerning the explicit contradictions of abstract philosophy and material reality. Marx's material and economic re-contextualisation of Hegel's abstract logic is intrinsic to Lefebvre's discourse and is implicit within this thesis' premise of material comparison of spatial theory and practices.²²

In essence, Hegel argues that ideas are in constant conflict with each other and the result of this conflict is new ideas. This process in turn leads to new conceptions and new conflicts and so on. This is Hegel's dialectic logic which, much like the classical articulation of dialectics,²³ contests that whilst everything is composed of contradictions and opposing forces, things are also all part of a continual process of change and evolution.²⁴ For Hegel and dialectic reasoning, change was therefore a continuous dynamical process and helical not circular.²⁵ The implications of Hegel's logic and its inherently positive identification of

21 Hegel's work on dialectic logic itself must be understood in the context of the discourse of Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Writing at the turn of the 19th century, both Kant and Fichte's respective discourses focus on the empirical and rational nature of consciousness and logic. See Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, new revised (Penguin classics, 2007), p. 26; Shields, p. 116; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 11.

22 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 190; Shields, p. 155.

23 As explored in the Socratic works of Plato in: Kant, p. 301.

24 Hegel builds upon Fichte who translated the negativity of Kant's logic of contradictions into a dialectic model, developing the process of thesis-synthesis-antithesis, and in doing so is widely acknowledged as providing the bridge between Kant and Hegel. See Shields, p. 11; Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Foundations of Natural Right*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Dieter Henrich, David S Pacini and Garth W Green, 'Between Kant and Hegel', *The Review of Metaphysics*, 59 (2005), 423–25; Lawrence S Stepelevich, 'Philosophie Als System Bei Fichte, Schelling Und Hegel', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 15 (2008), 485–87.

25 George Friedrich Hegel, *George Friedrich Hegel and the Science of Logic*, The Cambridge Hegel Translations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 46.

contradiction, mediation and negotiation as processes leading towards synthesis become intrinsic to this thesis when they are politically and spatially contextualised by first Marx and later Lefebvre.²⁶

For clarity this thesis here defines a theoretical baseline for its study, beginning with Engels' discourse on industrial Manchester published in 1844,²⁷ and Marx's first political and economic works that emerge at this key point in history.²⁸ Here a critical intersection of Hegel's dialectics with space emerges in the discourse of Marx, who appropriated and retooled dialectics for use as an analytical method to contest the socio-political and economic conditions of the 19th century.²⁹ Yet Marx was dismissive of Hegel's abstract and inherently negative articulation of logic, specifically contesting the philosophical abstraction and internalised contradiction of the logical form abstract-negative-concrete³⁰. Lefebvre's treatise on the dialectic similarly contests the same sense of injustice at these structural abstractions and their persistence a century later:

“Hegel was not content merely to deepen the content and make it explicit in order to attain the form, he reduced it to thought, by claiming to grasp it ‘totally’ and exhaust it. He insists on the rigorously and definitively determinate form which the content acquires in Hegelianism. All the determinations must be linked

26 Where Kant and Fichte's processes of logic are bounded and fixed to an internal subjects consciousness, Hegel's interpretation identified contradiction and opposition as being preserved, unified and elevated within a progressive evolutionary process. See Hegel, p. 33.

27 Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845).

28 Namely the first volume of *Kapital* which coincided with the writing of his thesis on Feuerbach (which Engels was to publish later posthumously). See: Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, ed. by R Pascal (New York: International Publishers, 1947); Karl Marx, *Capital: Volumes One and Two*, Wordsworth Classics of World Literature (London: Wordsworth editions, 2013).

29 Marx, *Capital: Volumes One and Two*, pp. 15–16.

30 Because each contradiction emerges from abstract philosophical thought it necessitates its negative or negation as emerging from an internal conflict and thus the subsequent process of mediation was required to cleanse it and then only to remain a renewed abstract idea.

*together in order to become intelligible. As far as Hegel is concerned, these connections are not discovered gradually, obtained by an experimental method; they are fixed.*³¹

In contrast to this abstract absolutism and fixity, when Marx united with Engels they would together provide a paradigmatic contribution to the dialectics of philosophy, sociology and economics, through their observations and critiques of the implications of the industrial revolution on the common man.³² Their accompanying critique of Hegel reflects a collective outrage at what they perceived to be the politically, socially and economically abstract isolation in which Hegelian philosophy existed. Hegel's derivation of a form of pure abstract philosophy was for them an "*esoteric history of the abstract mind, – alien to living men, – whose elect is the philosopher and whose organ is philosophy.*"³³

This critique of Hegel's dialectic method came to define and give critical validity and purpose to Marx and Engels' struggle to grasp and engage in the relational and material context of space.³⁴ It is crucial here to note how the comparisons explored throughout this thesis resonate from these innovative critiques of political and economic realities as interdependent with material and social contexts.³⁵ Thus, years after rejecting Hegelianism, Marx describes salvaging the process of dialectic reasoning as a kernel of logic that he described as "*the only valid element in the whole of existing logic*", by standing Hegel on his head.³⁶

31 Shields, p. 51.

32 Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England', in *The Collected Works of Marx and Engels* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), IV, 295–596.

33 Cited in: Henri Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, trans. by John Sturrock (London: Jonathon Cape Ltd, 1968), p. 79.

34 Fischer, p. 152.

35 This pursuit of the content and context of relationships ultimately formed the observational framework of historical materialism, leading to Marx' empirical core theories of surplus value, surplus production and alienation as ways of interpreting the social and political implications of the prevailing capitalist mode of production. See Fischer, pp. 26–28.

36 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 84.

“The dialectic method, worked out first of all in an idealist form, as being the activity of the mind becoming conscious of the content and of the historical Becoming, and now worked out again, starting from economic determinations, loses its abstract, idealist form, but it does not pass away. On the contrary, it becomes more coherent by being united with a more elaborate materialism.”³⁷

In reaction to the social inequality observed in industrial Manchester Marx and Engels appropriated Hegel's dialectic process and contextualised it within a concrete and materialist field of discourse.³⁸ In contrast to the abstraction and internal negativity of Hegel's logic, this critical analysis would place the relationships between things, people and place at the crux of social, economic and political contestation of the inequalities of industrialisation.³⁹ Marx's historical materialism utilises the dynamic of idealism (of Hegel's interpretation of history as trajectory towards reason and hence freedom) and the conditioning stated by materialism (as an interpretation of Ludwig Feuerbach⁴⁰) and fuses them, generating something new. The proposition that we are conditioned by our environment, but we can intervene to recondition these conditions that affect us precisely because time unfolds in a socio-material and historical evolution.⁴¹

Whilst this in itself might not seem controversial, Marx realised that if every idea, practice and social relation is constantly changing, then no condition is natural, inevitable or fixed – they are made. In the context of Marx's observations of social inequality and the political ideology of the mid 19th century, dialectic logic was re-purposed to contest not abstract philosophy but material and economic reality, and subsequently was to become Marx method of exposition. It formed a new way of seeing, valuing and contesting the

37 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 84.

38 Fischer, p. 81.

39 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 98.

40 Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, *The German Ideology: Including Theses on Feuerbach and an Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy* (New York: Prometheus, 1998), p. 106; Marx, *The German Ideology*, pp. 197–198; Fischer, pp. 154–157.

41 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, pp. 120–121.

material reality of spatial content.⁴² Consequently the first thing to look at in understanding how a society works is to look at the things – products, housing, social relations – they produce and how they are produced.⁴³

Whilst this is by necessity a somewhat expedient exploration of the origins of dialectical materialism, its significance to Lefebvre's discourse and this thesis cannot be overestimated.⁴⁴ The material and social foundations of Marx's logic has been important to explicate before proceeding with this thesis critical comparisons of purposefully practical (Turner and Hamdi) and theoretical (Lefebvre and Massey) protagonists. Marx's discourse provides explicit connections to the material and practical contestation of abstraction that underpin this thesis utilisation of dialectical materialism in comparison with Turner's participatory development. It also highlights the social imperatives and contestation of inequality that drove the work of Marx, Engels and Lefebvre as a trajectory that continues into the later works considered by this thesis of Massey and subsequently Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak.

Lefebvre's Dialectical Materialism

Lefebvre's discourse *Dialectical Materialism*⁴⁵ narrowly preceded his more famous work *The Production of Space*⁴⁶ and is notably different, offering a short focused analysis of Marxist logic that he would explicitly utilise in much of his later pioneering works.⁴⁷ In exploring dialectical logic Lefebvre found the embryonic framework of an explicitly spatial methodology by beginning to

42 Fischer, p. 157.

43 Fischer, p. 53.

44 Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre; Theory and the Possible* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 33.

45 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*.

46 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

47 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 129, 417; Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre; Theory and the Possible*, pp. 32, 40; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 303–305.

interpret space as relationally constructed in a continuously evolving process.⁴⁸ This spatial turn informed Lefebvre's use of dialectical and material reasoning as a critical lens and observational method. The insights he drew from this relational analysis of space as a product prompted Lefebvre to transcend the institutional Marxist interpretations that he considered as pervading much of his academic contemporaries.⁴⁹ In direct criticism of a prevailing institutionalised ideological Marxism, Lefebvre proposed Marx had to be understood as a spatial “programme or project [which] must be brought face to face with reality, that is with the praxis (social practice), a confrontation which introduces new elements and poses problems other than those of philosophy.”⁵⁰

Lefebvre’s resurrection of the positive political potential inherent within Marx's dialectic materialism is the basis of his later incisive and critical observations and interpretations of spatial relationships. Both *The Survival of Capitalism*⁵¹ and *The Production of Space*⁵² variously contest the concrete implications of a spatialised reinterpretation of the social and political implications of Marx’ propositions.⁵³ This reinterpretation of dialectical materialism becomes the critical lens through which he interprets the relations of social practice and spatial relationships,⁵⁴ and was to inform his spatial contextualisation of Marxist revolutionary process as being explicitly interdependent with spatial practices and cultural praxis.⁵⁵

48 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 120.

49 Henri Lefebvre, ‘Marxism Exploded’, *Review*, 4 (1980), 19–32; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 100–106; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 4.

50 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 19.

51 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*.

52 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

53 Shields, p. 116.

54 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 172.

55 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 155.

If Marx can be said to have rescued the dialectic method from Hegel's abstract philosophy, then Lefebvre is equally valuable for his attempt to salvage from dialectical materialism the political imperative found in the notion of spatial practice and praxis.⁵⁶ Utilising the dialectic model Lefebvre describes praxis using the language of movement, conflict and contradiction. Within this utilisation of movement is a tacit implication of spatial practices with the idea of a continuum of space and time provoking change through the praxis.⁵⁷

Thus, Lefebvre's articulation of spatial practice and social relations as interdependently linked by praxis implicates an intersection with dialectical space, process and evolution, and with this chapter's comparison with Turner's discourse of participatory development practice. His models of progressive housing based upon informal settlement practice methodologies explicitly implicate the production of space and social relations with grass-roots, heteronomous and networked social relations that empower social, economic and institutional change. Turner's spatial and concrete observations of such participation resonate in comparison with Lefebvre's relational space of dialectical materialism:

“Practical activity and effective action is what we and existence are all about. As well as being stimulated by them, actions lead to problems. And problems raise issues. Issues, in turn, indicate principles for action, while principles determine the resolution of issues. And finally, principles are guides for practice as well as being generated by it. These elements in the development of a process for action must be fully recognised for any coherent discussion of social, institutional and environmental change.”⁵⁸

This chapter's comparison of Turner's work as a dialectical materialism is a re-reading of his practices in Peru as advocating the same aspirations for space that Lefebvre expounding contingently on the other side of the world, in Paris.

56 Shields, p. 152; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 10.

57 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 94.

58 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 103.

Both Lefebvre and Turner's respective critical discourses lead to a conception of space as inherently materially and relationally constructed, whilst also implicating further clear interdependent connections to concepts of identity and culture:

*“The praxis is where dialectic materialism both starts and finishes. The word itself denotes, in philosophical terms, what common sense refers to as ‘real life’, that life which is at once more prosaic and more dramatic than that of the speculative intellect. Dialectical materialism’s aim is nothing less than the rational expression of the Praxis, of the actual content of life – and correlatively, the transformation of the present Praxis into a social practice that is conscious, coherent and free.”*⁵⁹

It is the idea of a conscious, coherent and free social practice that this chapter will now move on to discuss, and to suggest examples of a concrete realisations of a dialectic materialism method in Turner's participatory model of housing praxis.

User-Choice Participatory Housing

Between 1957 and 1965, Turner lived and worked predominately in the rapidly expanding urban squatter settlements of Peru for independent and government housing agencies in the promotion and design of community action and self help housing.⁶⁰ In comparison with Lefebvre's spatial critique, Turner's practices, discourse and observations of housing offer a point of intersection and resonance. In particular, his observations of the necessity of user-choice

59 Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, p. 112.

60 Turner's arrival in Peru coincided with a number of interconnected factors; most notably the political context of 1960s Latin America in general, and specifically Peru's popular socialist democratic government (including communist party support). Fernando Belaúnde Terry (an architect by training) was President of Peru for two non-consecutive terms (1963–1968 and 1980–1985). Deposed by a military coup in 1968, he was re-elected in 1980 after eleven years of military rule. He has been widely recognised for his personal integrity and his commitment to the democratic process.

and participation in mass housing are proposed in this chapter's comparison as a form of spatialised dialectic materialism and as specifically interpreting, questioning and engaging with concrete social and economic content.⁶¹ Turner's articulation of the conflict between his practical confrontation with space and his education and role as an architect are implicit within the contextualisation of his retrospective discourse:

"It was only after living and working in Peru that I began to articulate the dissatisfaction shared with so many contemporaries. We felt and knew that architecture cannot be practiced as if it were an independent variable – as though the architect had no social or political responsibilities – yet neither could we accept the marxist antithesis. It seemed as absurd to believe that social structure could be changed through architecture as it was to believe that architecture should be entirely subjected to the official interpretation of taste."⁶²

Trapped between abstract architectural formalism and institutional Marxism, Turner's words resonate with this thesis' premise. As outlined in this quote, Turner's practical and hands-on engagement with a developing world context led him to a critical interpretation of the socio-political engagement of his architectural contemporaries.⁶³ In contrast with the declining ideologies of CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne),⁶⁴ Turner utilised a broad context of political and sociological theory.⁶⁵ Perhaps most notable are his readings of the anarchist politics of Peter Kropotkin and Ivan Illich, Giancarlo de Carlo's⁶⁶ problematisation of housing⁶⁷ and Patrick Geddes general systems

61 Here Turner's critique of the abstract and elitist nature of architectural practice can be observed and compared as aligning with Marx' critiques of Hegel's abstract dialectic logic, and subsequent engagement with the real life implications of material and economic contexts.

62 John FC Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', in *Freedom To Build* (New York: Macmillan Education, 1972), p. 123.

63 George Baird, *The Space of Appearance*, new edition (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2003), pp. 265–272.

64 Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City*, new edition (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1999), p. 29.

65 Colin Ward, 'Preface', in *Freedom To Build* (New York: Macmillan Education, 1972), pp. 8–10.

theories.⁶⁸ He sought an active engagement with a broader interpretation of architectural context as being interdependent upon political, economical and human relationships.⁶⁹

This desire to engage in a broader and relational context of architecture and development provided the beginnings of Turner's exploration of what this chapter contends as a dialectical approach to the materialist reality of space. In this context Turner's appropriation of Geddes advocacy to "*involve himself as closely as he could with all the people concerned*"⁷⁰ resonates with the same materialist social analysis and advocacy of Marx and Engels. Yet crucially Turner's discourse is not limited to political observations, social discourse and economic theory, but is contested in spatial practices of development and the concrete reality of informal settlements and mass housing. It is this explicitly spatial turn of Turner's work that defines the comparison to Lefebvre's spatial re-appropriation of dialectical materialism and critical observations on the urbanisation of France.⁷¹

The rapid urbanisation of Peru provided a context for Turner to confront and contest the problems and potential of mass housing and social inequality. His major contribution to this field marks a contestation of the contradictions of the top-down models of housing that he observed in South and Latin America.⁷²

66 Himself a key member of TEAM X who are recognised as prompting the final decline of CIAM.

67 Giancarlo de Carlo, 'Il Problem Della Casa', *Volonia*, 2 (1949); reprinted in English as Giancarlo de Carlo, 'The Housing Problem in Italy', *Freedom*, 1949.

68 Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, ed. by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, 2nd edn (London: Williams and Norgate, 1949).

69 Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', pp. 24–25; John FC Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 33 (1967), 167–81 (p. 179).

70 *Freedom to Build*, ed. by Robert Fichter and John FC Turner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 122.

71 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 126–130.

72 Richard Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', *Habitat International*, 27 (2003), 245–69 (pp. 247–251); Kim Dovey and Ross King, 'Informal Urbanism and the Taste for Slums', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 14 (2012), 275–93 (p. 16).

This analysis is exemplified by the social and economic disjunctions between the negative social effects of state-sanctioned *superbloques* housing and the positive social potential of informal settlements in the urban peripheries that were generally assumed to be illegal, socially detrimental and valueless.⁷³

Turner observed across Latin America and the wider developing and urbanising world that the principles of modernist housing were being advocated and rapidly imposed upon cities by government-sanctioned centralised and administered housing programmes.⁷⁴ In contrast to informal settlements, Turner critiqued these housing programmes as generating an alienating economic and social spaces and relations not simply because of their abstract form and planning but also because they separated people from the participation and production of their housing and values. Treating housing and people as quantifiable and economic values created diseconomies and dysfunctions of social products, uses and values.⁷⁵ The scale and homogeneity of formal centralised housing development provides quantitative and bureaucratic solutions that are intrinsically unable to adapt to fit the variety of lifestyles that are vital in the economic evolution and social sustainability of cities. Crucially, this critique of the disjunction of central and abstract models of housing as socially alienating and divisive is for Turner further compounded by the relationships such practices produce between all concerned and the environment.⁷⁶

The formal standardisation of modernist and symbolically Westernised space and housing models was implicitly dependent on economic models of production that benefit a scale and homogeneity that have two main effects.⁷⁷

73 'A Basic Issue: Values and Standards' in; John FC Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing', *RIBA journal*, 2 (1974).

74 'Housing by Trained Professionals for Untrained Masses', in; Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'.

75 In a rare and notable reference Turner cites E.F Schumacher's quotation of Marx' observation that 'the more useful machines there are, the more useless people there will be'.

76 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'; Here Turner is notable for not contesting housing from merely political orientations but as a confrontation of the material, social and economic inefficiencies that he saw as impossible to sustain against a finite material world. Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 42–43.

77 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 46–47.

Firstly, they isolate the economic benefits of manufacture in the hands of large corporations, restricting the opportunities for relations of small and medium business' to compete. Secondly, because of their alienation and abstraction from the actual users of housing they inherently generate spatial misfits of design and economy that are targeted precisely at the part of the population who can least afford such inappropriate waste.⁷⁸ In contrast to this, Turner advocates an alternative understanding of housing as defined not by economic and political quantification of what it is, but by quantitative and heteronomous contestations of values in what housing does:⁷⁹

“If the usefulness of housing for its principal users, the occupiers, is independently variable from the material standards of the goods and services provided as the case studies and other sources show, then conventional measures of housing value can be grossly misleading. As long as it is erroneously assumed that a house of materially higher standards is necessarily a better house, then housing problems will be mis-stated.”⁸⁰

In the 1950s and 60s the widely accepted response to the informal settlements on the edges of cities both spatially, socially and economically was to provide state intervention to impose the stability and rigidity of a formalised model.⁸¹ For Turner, this presumption of the social and economic benefits of formal, centralised and modernist housing interventions is based upon a misapprehension that people in informal settlements are unable to make rational judgements about their own space and everyday lives for themselves.⁸² The evidence of which is supposedly demonstrated in the informality of their habitation and interaction as individuals and a community beyond normal

78 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 51.

79 Cultural Value and the Economy of Autonomy in; Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'.

80 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 60.

81 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. -143–144.

conventions. These political assumptions act to validate a direct imposition of control and authority by formal, centralised state housing and a rejection of any positive potential of self-reliance, self-governance and social sustainability that might exist within the dialectical materialism of informal development. In contrast, Turner's celebrated observations and interpretations of this context were some of the first attempts to demonstrate that the exact opposite is true.⁸³

This observation coincided with the groundbreaking work of anthropologist William Mangin, who would become a key academic contemporary of Turner in Peru. In 1967 Mangin published in the *Latin American Research Review* and titled *The Latin American Squatter Settlement: A Problem and a Solution*,⁸⁴ within which he exposed the unwarranted social stereotypes of irregular settlements. He concluded that given moderate and sustained support through self-help, mutual aid and localised support, such settlements offered demonstrably better social value as models of intergenerational development over periods of fifteen to twenty-five years.⁸⁵

In this theoretical context, Turner's advocacy for housing consolidation and the self-help progressive development of informal settlements aligns with the observations of Charles Abrams.⁸⁶ Abrams and Turner similarly advocate that given the economic incapacity and social homogeneity of the government and the formal housing market, self-help was an appropriate response by the urban

82 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. 141 This observation is similar to the same institutional changes wrought against economically impoverished urban housing in the global North. Yet here the rampant economic progress of the leading world economies largely masked this re-development under a social imperative. The implications of modernist housing blocks in the UK has been felt by those they were meant to help but who became caught up in the modernist institutionalisation of housing as an object or noun. See; Owen Hatherley, *Militant Modernism* (New York: Zero Books, 2009).

83 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 129.

84 William Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution', *Latin American Research Review*, 2 (1967), 65–98.

85 Mangin, pp. 74–75.

86 Charles Abrams, *Housing in the Modern World: Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanising World* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1964); Charles Abrams, 'Squatter Settlements, the Problem and the Opportunity' (Washington DC: Department of Housing and Urban Development).

poor to provide housing at an affordable price and on a large scale. Turner observes the critical paradox that “governments have done so little with so much, whilst poor people have done so much with so little”.⁸⁷

In contrast the progressive development of urban migrants who had appropriated land either by illegal squatting or informal purchase could be seen to generate sustainable social improvement from the grass-roots community action. The organisation and collaboration of people to level streets, hook up rudimentary services and electricity distribution, and eventually to agitate for local state services was both economically valuable, but more importantly it was socially conducive to sustainable communities.⁸⁸ In the context of political incapacity and economic instability and absence, informal settlements and progressive development articulated for Turner an “architecture that worked.”⁸⁹

Having introduced these connections to Mangin and Abrams, it is necessary here to note various critiques of Turner that exist within existing discourse. These pertain as to whether he acknowledged clearly enough the existence of self-help housing prior to his interventions in Peru. Harris is explicitly critical of this supposed “deafening silence” in spite of the time gap between the first of self-help in the 1940s and 1950s and its resurgence in the late 1960s.⁹⁰ This critique relates to Jacob Crane's work on self-help in the 1940s and specifically the links to key housing specialists like David Vega Christie in Peru. This work in turn led Eduardo Neira, an architect at the Ministry of the Public Works, to establish a pilot project with squatters in Arequipa, and invite John Turner as an advisor on the project. Writing retrospectively Peter Ward notes Turner, Mangin

87 John FC Turner, 'Housing in Three Dimensions: Terms of Reference for the Housing Question Redefined', in *The Urban Informal Sector: Critical Perspectives on Employment and Housing Policies*, ed. by Ray Bromley (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 1135–46.

88 Peter M Ward, 'Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas', in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance and Reflective Practice*, ed. by Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina Rosan (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2008), p. 290.

89 John FC Turner, 'The Squatter Settlement: Architecture That Works', *Architectural Design*, 38 (1968), 355–60.

90 Richard Harris, 'The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing" 1939-1954', *Habitat International*, 22 (1998), 165–89; Richard Harris, 'Slipping Through the Cracks: The Origin of Aided Self-Help Housing 1918-1953', *Housing Studies*, 14 (1999), 281–309.

and Abrams as having not recognised that rather than inventing self-help they merely introduced it to a wider audience, or for Ward of “*putting old wine in new bottles*”.⁹¹

Yet in spite of these points it is indisputable that from within the informality of Lima’s *barriados* Turner generated a unique and pioneering discourse of methodological expressions and principles that can be observed and demonstrated regarding informal settlement. Firstly, that irrespective of material appearances of the results, people are almost always the best judge of their own needs and actions. Secondly, that by taking charge of their destinies, people and communities are able to generate models of appropriate, reactive and sustained development as a logical response to a context that cannot be understood in abstraction – a process that this chapter contends can be described as a materialist dialectic. And thirdly, that through the continuous process of progressive development, the social and economic circumstances of informal settlements should start to be viewed as the answer to economic deprivation instead of the problem itself.⁹² In this context Turner’s socio-economical observations and practical realisations of alternative development explicitly advocate the social and political importance of autonomy, choice and the freedom to build:

*“When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contributions to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over, nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden on the economy.”*⁹³

91 Peter M Ward, ‘Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas’, p. 288.
Peter M Ward, ‘Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas’, p. 288.

92 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 137, 140, 149.

93 Fichter and Turner, p. 241.

Turner's critique of the cultural and economic implications of control and authority crucially coalesce here with broader political implications of participatory and user-informed housing to become something more than the sum of their individual parts.⁹⁴ When engaging in rich and vibrant cities of both formal and informal settlements it must be inherently more valuable to empower, facilitate and advocate for people and communities to produce places for themselves in a model of intergenerational and progressive growth.⁹⁵ This underlying principles of people having freedom, opportunity and control so that they might build for themselves is both statistically, economically and practically validated by Turner's observations,⁹⁶ but also emblematic of a deeper recognition of the need to pursue alternative social and political contestations of value.⁹⁷

"It seems that all national and international housing and planning agencies, mis-state housing problems by applying quantitative measures to non or only partly quantifiable realities. Only in an impossible world of limitless resources and perfect justice – where people could have their cake and eat it too – could there be a coincidence of material and human values. [...] So long as this fact of life remains, and as long as people's priorities vary, the usefulness of things will vary independently of their material standard or monetary value."⁹⁸

Here, such a political advocacy for the value of user-defined housing compares to Lefebvre's observations that certain organisations tend to institutionalise the space and values of everyday life, leading to social alienation and the reification

94 In explicit recognition of such observations Turner pointedly cites Edward Sapir, noting how such institutionalisation of housing (and other social productivity) deprives the vast majority of us of the opportunity to engage in the immediate satisfaction of value. Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. by David Mandelbaum, new edition (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 321.

95 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 17.

96 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 66–70.

97 Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', p. 179.

98 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 61.

of such activities.⁹⁹ These observations provide a useful explicit comparison with Lefebvre's contestations of use and exchange value in the articulation of social relations and production of space.¹⁰⁰ Like Turner's observations of the social alienation of formal housing as an institutional product, Lefebvre critiques the world of commodities and exchange value as generating its own reductive logic, with use value resigned to mere sign and symbolic exchange, noting that this "is a world which de-dialectises itself, defusing contradictions and conflicts."¹⁰¹ In his confrontation of these issues Turner articulates practices of support and advocacy for informal and user-choice housing models that engage and contest these contradictions and conflicts dialectically through autonomous and progressive growth. These social and political practices are a recognition of Turner's necessity to contest the social and economic value of housing as interdependent with the choice and participation of users.¹⁰²

This spatial and relational turn represents a form of material dialectic reasoning,¹⁰³ which explicitly recognises the necessity of working in close proximity with the social and material reality of space.¹⁰⁴ In his contestation of the potential value of informal housing Turner explicitly acknowledges material and relational contexts in participatory and socially innovative practice that transcends architectural preconceptions. His analysis not only explores the issues which frame the delivery of much of our urban environment but goes further. In his critique of the socio-economic context of informal settlements he is able to propose and realise concrete alternatives which demonstrated empirically that it is a more socially responsive and economically viable

99 Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, trans. by Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), pp. 67–68; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 47; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 116.

Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, trans. by Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), pp. 67–68; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 47; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 116.

100 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 191–194.
Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 191–194.

101 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 71.

102 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 159.
Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 159.

103 David Harvey, *Rebel Cities* (London: Verso, 2012), p. x.

104 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', pp. 124–125.

practice. In order to confront this further this chapter will next introduce an example drawn from Turner's analysis that demonstrates this contestation of value, choice and necessity.

Supportive Shacks & Oppressive Houses

Turner's analysis and advocacy for the social and material efficiency and relational sustainability of informal housing settlements is best surmised in his analysis and comparison of what he describes as “*supportive shacks*” and “*oppressive houses*”.¹⁰⁵ This comparison forms part of a detailed social study of a range of twenty-five examples from urban Mexico which each describe a spectrum of material and social values of in their individual situations.¹⁰⁶

In contrast to the presumptions of prevailing large scale housing developments, Turner's analysis of these examples focuses upon the relative social values of both formal and informal housing.¹⁰⁷ This documentation of the interdependent spatial criteria of *tenure*, *security* and *access* provided quantifiable evidence that the rich heteronomy of informal housing networks offers a social efficiency that could not be achieved by homogenous centrally administered housing.¹⁰⁸ Based upon alternative social criteria this analysis utilised a frame of references and grass-roots observations that more accurately reflect and value the social and material reality of dwelling in informal settlements. Thus, he observes in the supportive shack:

105 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 52–53.

106 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 69.

107 Here the architects Urban Think Tank provide an intriguing point of comparison in their Golden Lion winning project on the Torre David in Caracas for the 2012 Venice Biennale. Subsequent to this study, in 2014 UTT collaborated with ETH Zürich to work on a self-help community upgrading housing prototype they named 'The Empowering Shack'. See: <http://www.empowershack.com/>

108 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 68–69.

“All these conditions are met by the car painter’s shack. While the family would undoubtedly enjoy a higher standard dwelling this is relatively unimportant. [...] This materially very poor dwelling was extremely well located for the family at that time; the form of tenancy was ideal, giving them security without commitment and the freedom to move at short notice; and the shelter itself provided all the essentials at minimum cost. The shack was, therefore, an admirable support for their actual a situation and a vehicle for the realisation of their expectations.”¹⁰⁹

Within these observations and the wider study is an explicitly material and dialectic methodology of logical analysis. Rather than relying upon assumptions or ideologies of housing and growth, Turner's studies the variety of choices made by people facing the reality of necessity in order to understand and interpret their specific value.¹¹⁰ The vast potential of mismatches between offered by informal settlements became clear in the contrasting example of the oppressive house:

“The mason’s modern standard house is disastrously unsatisfactory. [...] This family now lives in a vastly improved modern house, equipped with basic modern services and conveniences. However, this ‘improvement’ is endangering the lives of the family members, and in human and economic terms has led to a dangerous deterioration of their condition. Incredibly, the family is required to pay 55 per cent of its total income to meet the rent-purchase and utility payments.”¹¹¹

“In their previous situation there was a positive match between their priorities and their housing services the family’s housing priorities were naturally for security of tenure and access to their sources of

109 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 56.

110 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', pp. 164–168.

111 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 56.

*livelihood. [...] They were therefore able to maintain their rudimentary but tolerable shack in order. They were able to feed and clothe themselves reasonably well, and most importantly, they could save for security in their old age. In their present situation they have lost nearly all of these advantages and they acquired others of secondary importance. They lost access to a major source of income and as events proved, were unable to maintain the absurdly high level of housing expenditure. [...] Whether this family was more comfortable or not, with the anxiety and hunger that they certainly experienced as soon as their savings were used up, is a not-so-open-question.*¹¹²

Yet Turner takes pains to not simply dismiss the value of the more materially substantial housing that the state sought offer. This is not an implicitly anti-capitalistic or anti-state analysis of housing. Turner's work explicitly recognises the potential for the state to help and facilitate the improvement of informal settlements in his advocacies for locally administered "*sites and services*" programmes.¹¹³ Formal and informal housing exist on a spectrum of services and choice that adapts and evolves over time to the needs of the people. However, in contrast to housing as a product of intervention, Turner's alternative advocacy for progressive self-help housing development programmes is specifically designed to counter social, political and economical mismatches. By valuing and advocating the notion that people themselves are best placed to judge the best solution to their own situation, Turner's observations critique the paradox of the false social values inherent in formal housing both in the context of economies of absence and beyond:

112 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 59.

113 Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', pp. 11–13; Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', pp. 6–8; Kim Dovey, 'Informalising Architecture; The Challenge of Informal Settlements', *Architectural Design*, 83 (2013), 82–89 (p. 87); D Schon, 'Institutional Learning in Shelter and Settlement Policies', in *Shelter, Settlement and Development*, ed. by L Rodwin (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987), p. 361.

“Some of the poorest dwellings, materially speaking, were clearly the best, socially speaking, and some, but not all of the highest standard dwellings, were the most socially oppressive.”¹¹⁴

In light of Turner's critique of formal and informal housing, this chapter's comparison to the dialectical materialism of Henri Lefebvre can now begin to be articulated more clearly. By re-contextualising and re-reading these examples in relation to each other, it becomes clear that Turner's work is explicitly a practical critique of the material, economic and social relations that defined the housing in 1960s Peru. The practices, process and space of Turner's housing advocacy for the value of informal settlements and housing can thus be considered as realisations of Lefebvre's articulation of space as a process of dialectical materialism. Turner's last sentence quote above also offers the first point of reflection upon the opportunity to learn from such practices in comparison to the architectural practices of Westernised space and the global North.

Housing as a Verb

In his observations of informal settlements Turner confronts conventional interpretations of housing value and ownership of land as purely economic factors.¹¹⁵ In contrast he documented both the economical and social efficiencies in facilitating informal housing as a progressive process in contrast to formal mass housing interventions.¹¹⁶ These simple yet profound observations reflects a summation of the participatory and grass-roots based alternative housing model that defined Turner's practice and contributions to

¹¹⁴ Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ The conventional model leading to capitalistic interpretations and manipulations of housing, centrality and gentrification. See; Kim Dovey, 'The Temporary City', *Journal of Urban Design*, 19 (2014), 261–63; Kim Dovey and Leonie Sandercock, 'Hype and Hope', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 6 (2002), 83–101.

¹¹⁶ Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', pp. 8–9.

development theory.¹¹⁷ His discourse demonstrates both the empirical, materialist possibilities of his socially alternative progressive approach to housing.¹¹⁸

In contesting the values of centrally administered and hierarchical housing, Turner recognised informal settlements as being invaluable opportunities to observe and learn the practical implications and possibilities of non-hierarchical housing.¹¹⁹ The broader political implications of such observations become apparent when Turner articulates this analysis to inform development methodologies, practices and discourses, advocating the political and economic cooperation and support of informal and grass-roots housing settlements.¹²⁰ As Peter Ward observes, in contrast to prevailing political ideologies of instantaneous development, Turner's support for such existing sites and settlements reflects a controversial need to actively engage with informal and alternative practices as a potentially positive solution to the urbanisation of cities.¹²¹ This analysis combined practical and situated analysis of the material context of informal settlements (and more specifically the *barriados* of Lima Peru) with a broader political and economic critique of projected Western values:¹²²

117 Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', p. 14.

118 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 64.

119 The Alagado in Brazil: An Ecosystem, in; Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'; Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 37, 48.

120 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 127–140.

121 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 152; Peter M Ward, 'Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas', p. 305.

122 John FC Turner, 'Tools for Building Community', *Habitat International*, 20 (1996), 339–47 (p. 346).

“As the cases show, the performance of housing, i.e. what it does for people is not described by housing standards, i.e. what it is, materially speaking. Yet this linguistic inability to separate process from product and social value from market value is evident in both commercial and bureaucratic language.”¹²³

For Turner it was imperative to also speak of the social and human value of housing as a social process, and it was this belief that led to his innovative critique of the assumption that housing is a noun – a unit of measure for the stock of dwelling units.¹²⁴ This alternative interpretation of housing sought to value, support and advocate the freedom of people to build housing and communities by themselves is an implicit contestation of hierarchical and ideological Western development methodologies generally imposed on the developing world.¹²⁵ He realised that the practical reality of Latin American urbanisation and informal settlements was a materialist paradox to Western quantifiable values and standards:

“The obvious fact that use values cannot be quantified worries those who assume that housing can only be satisfactorily supplied by large-scale organisations. The immeasurability of use values is not in the least perturbing to the conventional capitalist. His value system can only admit the existence of market values in the sphere of commercial production, distribution and consumption.”¹²⁶

In complete contrast to the assumption of top down, centrally and institutionally administered housing, Turner believed in the political, social and economic value of supporting, facilitating and empowering people to house themselves to

123 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 60.

124 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', pp. 148–149.

125 Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 59–60; Gustavo Esteva, 'Development', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010); Wolfgang Sachs, 'One World', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 111–26.

126 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 65.

their own need and requirements.¹²⁷ The socio-economic reality for people living and working in urban squatter settlements suggested an antithesis of housing that isn't derived from the aspiration of a Western ideology, but from the material reality of the context. This was an interpretation of development, space and housing not as a noun, object or product, but as a process, practice, and verb.¹²⁸

Perhaps the most noted of these practical methodologies for progressive housing was Turner's advocacy for sites and services programs.¹²⁹ In such programs a balance was met between the state providing basic land zones, roads and services within which urban migrants could readily appropriate and self-manage the space for themselves.¹³⁰ Over time such sites were upgraded through mutual cooperation from both government and individual action. This principle was also widely applied to existing informal settlement upgrading programs.¹³¹

The conception of housing as a verb is an implicit engagement with a process of self-help as a leveraging of social capital. Whilst this idea of social capital was not popularised until the 1990s by Robert Putnam,¹³² Peter Ward suggests that the idea was implicit in Turner's advocacy of the social capabilities of informal settlements. Furthermore, Ward attributes the potential origins of self-help housing within the community planning efforts of 1950s London, generating a paradox of planning ideas whose Western gestation is now abstracted from its origins, only existing in translation in developing countries.¹³³

127 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 169.

128 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 175.

129 John FC Turner, 'From Central Provider to Local Enablement', *Habitat International*, 7 (1983), 207–10 (pp. 2–3).

130 Schon, p. 361.

131 Lisa Peattie and Doebele, 'Freedom to Build - Book Review', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 39, 66–67 (p. 67).

132 Robert D Putnam, Robert Leonardi and Rafaella Y Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993).

133 Peter M Ward, 'Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas', p. 289.

Yet the supposition Ward draws from this paradox is that Turner's promotion by the UN and World Bank has negatively associated self-help with poverty, and isolated it as a planning model only suitable for developing nations.¹³⁴ Here this thesis' comparison of Lefebvre's dialectic process and logic to the notion of housing as a verb posits a renewed intersection of planning and spatial critique in the disparate contexts of global North and South. The social and economic contradictions of state intervention housing are logically negated and mediated by Turner's analysis, and is then further articulated as a spatial synthesis in his advocacy for the solution to be found in the social capital of informal housing.¹³⁵ Thus the inherent relational and material foundation of this analysis is eminently comparable to the political articulations and contestations of Lefebvre's dialectical critique of *The Survival of Capitalism*, with space as the medium in which the social relations of reproduction are contested in developed and developing countries alike:¹³⁶

*"Housing problems only arise when housing processes, that is housing goods and services and the ways and means by which they are provided, cease to be the vehicles for the fulfilment of their users' lives and hopes. ... To be of any positive and constructive use, housing problems must be restated in terms that indicate burdens or barriers created by housing procedures, goods and services; or in terms of waste resulting from the failure to use available resources, or the misuse and non-use of resources."*¹³⁷

Turner's experiences in Lima in Peru set about a process of analysis and contestation that would confront and briefly popularise the informal urban situations of Latin America.¹³⁸ Yet whilst Turner's engagement in this process

134 Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale and Christina Rosan, 'Four Conversations', in *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance and Reflective Practice* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2008), p. 17.

135 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 72.

136 Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 153.

137 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 64.

138 As evidenced by the full authorship given to Turner of an entire RIBA journal in 1974. John FC Turner, 'Freedom to Build', *RIBA journal*, 3 (1974).

offer considerable achievements as spatial practices, it is in combination with his advocacy for supporting and reinforcing the social relations of informal settlements that a redefinition of housing as a verb can begin to be understood in comparison with Lefebvre's spatial discourse.

It should be noted here that this chapter's comparison does not seek to propose a simple paradox of wealth and poverty, developed or developing, or even the quantifiable compared to the qualitative. Instead, Turner's discourse simply offers a concrete realisation of an architecture judged upon what it does socially and economically as a process, not what it is as an aesthetic object or product. This chapter's comparison with the spatial critiques of Lefebvre's dialectical materialism begins to suggest a provocative resonance, when framed against Turner's articulation of housing as a verb and for the positive social value of informal housing. This in turn leads in this chapter towards Lefebvre's overlooked spatial contextualisation of *the reproduction of the social relations of production* as intrinsic to understanding the contradictions of capitalism, its survival and the inherent possibility to contest it in social relations and practices of the everyday.¹³⁹

Social Relations of Production

Whilst Lefebvre's critical re-appropriation of dialectical materialism informs the theoretical foundation of this chapters' comparisons, it is his later text *The Survival of Capitalism* that provides this thesis with a crucial contextualisation of social and relational productions of space.¹⁴⁰ In this focused examination of the relations of production and capitalism, Lefebvre articulates a spatial appropriation of Marx's critique of the modes of production.¹⁴¹ In contrast to institutional Marxist interpretations of the contradictions of capitalism as inherently negative, Lefebvre critiques the assumed linear causality between

139 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, pp. 46, 52, 59.

140 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 187–189.

141 Shields, p. 122.

the social relations of production and capitalist politics of space¹⁴² and generates a provocative advocacy for an alternative proposition of the positive opportunities for social change and *mondialisation* within capitalist space.¹⁴³

In search of an articulation of spatial relations of production as a “*process, with a direction*”¹⁴⁴ Lefebvre applies the concept of a continuously reproducing, cyclical and materialist dialectic to observations of the social relations of production and realised that if these relations were understood as part of the praxis and synthesis of materialist conditions, then they must be being produced and reproduced in space.¹⁴⁵ More significantly, if they were being produced then they could not be predetermined or fixed.¹⁴⁶ And if they were not fixed, then formal capitalist social relations of production were not a global inevitability.¹⁴⁷ Here this theoretical turn suggests an opportunity for a connection and critical comparison with Turner's articulation of housing as a verb as a counter to conventional hierarchical and institutionalised architecture and planning.

Lefebvre's socio-spatial and dialectic re-interpretation of capitalist space and production suggests that continued fruitless attempts to somehow defeat an imagined leviathan foe of capitalist economics head-on through direct political opposition were always destined to fail.¹⁴⁸ Capitalism is itself only a part of the social process of producing social relations. It is dynamic, adaptive and

142 Stuart Elden, 'Mondialisation Before Globalisation', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 88; Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, pp. 19–21.

143 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 126.

144 *ibid*

145 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 29; Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 26.

146 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, pp. 175–177; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 193–194; Neil Brenner, 'Global, Fragmented, Hierarchical: Henri Lefebvre's Geographies of Globalisation.', *Public Culture*, 10 (1997), 135–67.

147 Here there are direct comparisons and intersections to be drawn to this thesis later discussion of Doreen Massey's articulations of space and development as not being an inevitability but instead being a rich multiplicity of intersection stories and trajectories.

148 Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre; Theory and the Possible*, pp. 180–182; Ross Kristin, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 8–9.

coercive, something that Lefebvre suggests Marxism was never quite able to grasp.¹⁴⁹ For Lefebvre this proposition suggested something decisive – that the coercive power of capitalist space was not held in abstract models and modes of production, but in the unconscious coercion of social relations and production of space.¹⁵⁰

Here Turner's development practice and alternative housing models intersects with Lefebvre's proposition interpretation of social relations of production as an open and continuous socio-material dialectic.¹⁵¹ In advocating support for the alternative spatial relations of informal settlements and facilitating their support and integration as legal and valuable city developments Turner provides a positive and practical contestation of the social relations of formal housing production. This chapter's comparison to Turner is further reinforced by Ana Paula Baltazar and Silke Kapp's analysis of contemporary informality in the context of Lefebvre social relations of production:

“He [Lefebvre] argues that the persistence of capitalist social relations is not self-evident. It is neither ‘natural’ nor ‘obvious’ that a mode of production to which crisis is inherent, manages to maintain productive forces constantly subordinated to contradictory relations of production. [...] Therefore, Lefebvre asks how capitalism maintains and renews itself generation after generation. His answer is that capitalism survives due to its capacity to produce space according to its own logic, and to accommodate any resistant niches into itself.”¹⁵²

149 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 8.

150 Stefan Kipfer and others, 'On the Production of Henri Lefebvre' (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 10.

151 Shields, p. 158.

152 Ana Paula Baltazar and Silke Kapp, 'Learning from "Favelas": The Poetics of Users' Autonomous Production of Space and the Non-Ethics of Architectural Interventions.' (McGill University, Canada: Proceedings of the International Conference Reconciling Poetics and Ethics in Architecture, 2007), p. 12.

Lefebvre's interpretation of the social relations of production as unfixed provides foundation for a renewed critique of the social relations of production as a dialectical materialist process. It places the agency of producing these relations at the heart of this thesis comparative analysis and critique of space and capitalist ideology.¹⁵³ Understanding these social relations as a continuous process generates a material and historical framework from within which to perceive social relations as spatio-temporal manifestations of broader political intent. Thus, Lefebvre's proposition seeks to understand capitalism as a materialist dialectic.¹⁵⁴ Viewed in the context of this critical comparison, institutionalised forms of housing can be critiqued as interdependently linked with capitalist social relations and the assumed inevitability of ideological cohesion, homogenous values and growth.

Yet in contrast to capitalist ideological belief in inevitability, cohesion and values, at a global level the material evidence of political coercion and social inequality can be observed (and was observed by Turner) as contested in the contradictions of permanence and impermanence that play out on the edges of capitalist space – in the slums, *favelas* and *barrios* of informal settlements.

Contradictions thus only become apparent when instead of interrogating the form of capitalism, you understand its production through the social praxis of peripheral space.¹⁵⁵ This observation of ideologically intrinsic contradiction is a continuation of Lefebvre's earlier work on the sociology of Marx, where particular attention is given to the logical fallacies that ideologies generate.¹⁵⁶ However, more significant to this thesis is the question of whether questions of local or global scale and inequality affects our awareness of these contradictions. Significantly, Lefebvre suggests that the social, economic and political contradictions and inequalities are masked by the projection of ideological cohesion and are only made explicit at a global scale:

153 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 61.

154 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 14.

155 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 17.

156 Henri Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx*, trans. by Norbert Guterman (London: Allen Lane Penguin Press, 1968), pp. 116–120.

“One cannot show how the relations of productions are reproduced by emphasising the cohesion that is internal to capitalism. One must also and above all show how the contradictions are enlarged and intensified on a worldwide scale. The attempt of a separate ‘theoretical practice’ to superimpose the mode of production upon the relations of production, as coherence upon contradiction, has only one aim: to liquidate the contradictions and evacuate the conflicts (or at least the essential ones), by obscuring what happens to and results from these conflicts. [...] The dialectic is liquidated precisely at the moment when a fundamental interrogation is called for, concerning the relation between the coherence and cohesion on the one hand, and conflict and contradiction of the other.”¹⁵⁷

Lefebvre’s suggestion is that the dialectic of cohesion and contradiction might only reveal itself in space when capitalist coherence becomes illogical. The plausibility of this analysis is revealed when it is compared to the expression of inequality and oppression implied by informal settlements in the global South as “*transgressions*”.¹⁵⁸ This question of the peripheral global location of such transgression of capitalism is the same historical subject that Engels pursued in industrial Manchester before the globalisation of poverty removed these conditions from early industrialised Western space. The equivalent contemporary question suggests the logical necessity to consider people and social relations that exist in the informal peripheries and contradictions of capitalist space:

“Analysis of social space reveals that coherences (strategies and tactics, “sub-systems”) enter into conflict with each other. There are specific contradictions for example, those between the centres and peripheries ... [but the] relation between the centre and periphery is

¹⁵⁷ Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁸ Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, pp. 34–35; Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*, p. 155; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 54; Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx*, pp. 53–58; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 396–397.

not generated “dialectically” in the course of historical time, but “logically” and “strategically”... We are not speaking of a science of space, but of a knowledge (a theory) of the production of space.”¹⁵⁹

Thus, in light of this explicit observation of the contradictions of a generated periphery and centre dichotomy this chapter has concordantly focused upon the dialogues of the periphery and alternative spatial relations that can be observed in the informal housing advocacies of Turner – housing as a process and praxis of choice, autonomy and social sustainability. This analysis thus seeks to engage with the informal, alternative and other as protagonists that remain subservient to the capitalist schema in search of positive alternative praxis of dialectical materialism.

Contradictions and Transgressions

In the critique of space and the reproduction of the social relations of production, Lefebvre intersects the contradictions of capitalism with the inevitability of social transgressions.¹⁶⁰ The positive potential of spatial transgressions outlined by Lefebvre provokes a contested comparison with Turner, whose autonomous and progressive housing model is notable for being implicitly founded upon anarchist political theory.¹⁶¹ Critically the disjunction between anarchism and Marxism is here transcended by the similarities drawn in both Lefebvre and Turner to social relations of space as a process. Both Lefebvre and Turner's analysis of contexts of periphery and transgression provokes an analytical and dynamic methodology that re-frames informal settlements as models of how to generate the dynamic spaces of vitality,

159 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 17.

160 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 35; Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*, p. 144.

161 Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', p. 348; Sanyal Bishwapriya, *Cooperative Autonomy: The Dialectic of State-NGO's Relationship in Developing Countries* (Geneva: International Institute for Labor Studies, 1994), pp. 16, 34; Stuart Hodkinson, 'The Return of the Housing Question', *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organisation*, 12 (2012), 423–44 (pp. 428–430).

difference and inclusion.¹⁶² In contrast to their assumed negativity, these social relations and transgressions feed off the contradictions of the capitalist form and produce something new and different through a continual and sustainable dialectic process, as Baltazar and Kapp describe:

“The richness of the ‘favela’, as an example of open process, space of difference and dynamic space, can still be clearly seen, although it is not guaranteed to last in a near future. We are not proposing we all should move to ‘favelas’ or to start living without any planning. Our analysis of the ‘favela’ intends to indicate the formal possibilities of dynamic and not entirely predictable spaces, which indeed accommodate differences.”¹⁶³

The proposition therefore, becomes how to learn from informal settlements and to engage with how communities can produce social relations of production and space themselves that can accommodate, promote and celebrate difference.¹⁶⁴ This chapter's suggestion is that by returning to Turner's observations of informal settlements in Peru, we can suggest a methodology or framework that could provide guidance for the re-appraisal and re-appropriation of the social and economic opportunities of informal, dynamic and un-planned social and spatial agency of grass-roots progressive development.

This point of comparison is connected with the spatial and urban criticisms of centre vs periphery as an economic and political construction.¹⁶⁵ This critique of “*the right to the city*” and “*the right to difference*” continues to pervade contemporary urban theory¹⁶⁶ and will be discussed in more detail in chapter three. However this chapter's comparison highlights the provocative intersection

162 Shields, pp. 104, 213.

163 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 1.

164 Here we can see early complementary links to later comparisons in this thesis of the notion of difference, multiplicity and the subaltern.

165 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 17; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 189; Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, pp. 169–170.

of informal settlements – *favelas*, *barrios*, slums – against Lefebvre's articulation of social transgressions as inevitable expressions of difference and the contradictions of capitalism:

*“This dialectised, conflictive space is where the reproduction of the relations of production is achieved. It is this space that produces reproduction, by introducing into it its multiple contradiction, whether or not these latter have sprung from historical time. Capitalism took over the historical town through a vast process, turning it into fragments and creating a social space for itself to occupy. But its material base remained the enterprise and the technical division of labour in the enterprise. The result has been a vast displacement of contradictions, requiring a detailed comparative analysis.”*¹⁶⁷

This centre-periphery dialogue in itself succinctly reflects a key spatial implication of the contradictions of capitalism and social enterprise.¹⁶⁸ Here Lefebvre explicitly references “*so-called underdeveloped countries*” in his articulation of the differences expressed in transgressions against the contradictions of capitalist space.¹⁶⁹ Contradictions are articulated by the exclusion and coercion of difference from the accepted structural centrality of state government and political process.¹⁷⁰ Yet these transgressions also come to be identified as critical counter-narratives of the formality and structural rules and expectations of modern Westernised city models.¹⁷¹

166 Harvey, *Rebel Cities*; Andy Merrifield, ‘Citizen’s Agora’, *Radical Philosophy*, 179 (2013), 31 – 35; Ananya Roy, ‘Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Utopianism’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35 (2011), 223–38; Teddy Cruz, ‘Mapping Non-Conformity: Post-Bubble Urban Strategies’, *Hemispheric Institute E-Misférica*, 2011 <<http://hemi.nyu.edu/hemi/en/e-misferica-71/cruz>> [accessed 21 July 2011]; Murray Fraser, ‘The Global Architectural Influences on London’, *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), 14–21; Murray Fraser, ‘The Future Is Unwritten: Global Culture, Identity and Economy’, *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), 60–65.

167 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 19.

168 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 175–176.

169 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 116.

170 Spatial relations of periphery, difference and alterity are thus here interpreted as the outcome of transgressions generated by the socio-economic necessities of rapid urbanisation and economic migration. See Mangin, pp. 69–71.

171 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 373.

Here Lefebvre's positive advocacy for the appropriation and transgressions of urban space can be critically compared to the earlier explication of Turner's "housing as a verb". This material dialectic of contradictions and transgression is implicated in the conflict between formal and informal, marginalised and accepted, central and peripheral.¹⁷² The urban transgressions of informal settlements and housing express at a global level reflect the inherent inability of capitalism to absorb and manifest a sustainable material reality and the inherent inequality of neoliberal economics.¹⁷³ Thus the identities of transgression and illegality against socially accepted patterns can be interpreted as a reaction to the material reality of inequality. Turner realised that the development of informal settlements he documented were in fact logical and reasoned actions of people generating rational answers to their situation through the illegal inhabitation and production of space.¹⁷⁴ This reality has been somewhat successfully suppressed and hidden from cities and space in the global North, however it's global prevalence remains a depiction of a global ideology of the inevitability of continuous growth and a rejection of the finite reality of global resources and economy.¹⁷⁵ Thus Lefebvre's identification of the positive potential of difference as transgressions against ideological cohesion is supported by Turner's progressive, intergenerational and sustainable facilitation of informal housing practices.¹⁷⁶

172 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 145.

173 In contrast to the inequalities of industrial Manchester the global inequalities of the capitalist mode of production are expressed in the disjunctions between the manufacturing conditions of urban Asia and the consumption of Western states. See; Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, pp. 162–166; E.F Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful - A Study of Economics as If People Mattered*, new edition (London: Vintage, 2011).

174 This process and identification of informality and urbanisation became a performance between the police and squatters that Bromley describes as 'an elaborate charade'. See; Ray Bromley, 'Peru 1957-1977: How Time and Place Influenced John Turner's Ideas on Housing Policy', *Habitat International*, 27 (2003), 271–92 (p. 274).

175 Ha-Joon Chang and Ilene Grabel, *Reclaiming Development: An Alternative Economic Policy Manual*, 2nd edn (London: Zed Books, 2014), p. 25; Bauman, pp. 36–37; Sachs.

176 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 62.

Necessity, Informality, Periphery

Due to their assumed conflict with political normality and formalism, informal settlements remain largely isolated in social negativity. The existence of informal settlements is deemed symptomatic of a violently rapid urbanisation of huge populations and the inevitable inability of formal city structures and political systems to adapt to this pressure and to provide access to these necessary social and economic networks.¹⁷⁷ Such settlement practices are driven by the well established economic, social and cultural processes through which rural populations migrate to rapidly urbanising cities and proceed through staged and layered processes of integration into social and economic networks.¹⁷⁸ Yet accounts of informal settlements development make clear that various levels of economic stability manifest are within these communities as part of their social and spatial development. Once again, Baltazar and Kapp succinctly describe the Brazilian expression of these issues:

“Some of the big Brazilian cities, such as Belo Horizonte, are just over 100 years old. When this city was ‘founded’ (it was a designed city) it offered place for an elite to live in accompanied by their workers. As the city grew, there was a need for more workers along with the many informal activities which started taking place. This growth was not planned, and since the model of the city was very rigid — there is even a contour avenue supposed to fix its spatial limit — it was not prepared to accommodate the ones who were not programmed to be there. It is a model of exclusion imposed by spatial design. [...] ‘Favelas’ are born in response to this rigid and exclusive city model, in order to accommodate those workers and those looking for work in the new growing city.”¹⁷⁹

177 Bromley, p. 4; See also; Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World*, New Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006); Roy, ‘Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Utopianism’; Ananya Roy, ‘Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning’, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71 (2005), 147–58.

178 Mangin, p. 68; Cedric Pugh, ‘Squatter Settlements: Their Sustainability, Architectural Contributions, and Socio-Economic Roles’, *Cities*, 17 (2000), 325–37.

179 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 1.

These same observations of necessity and contradiction are at the core of John Turner's much earlier experiences of Peru in the 1960s as he encountered the implications of informal settlements that were beginning to take root and expand in the surrounding urban periphery of Lima.¹⁸⁰ The speed and dynamic adaptation of informal settlements, coupled with the necessity of urbanisation generated a social and spatial methodology that is intrinsically a material expression of necessity and informality. In contrast to the centrality and hierarchy of structural space and state housing, the social relations produced by informal settlements cannot be reduced to abstractions and objects, existing as it does within distributed and localised socio-economic networks.¹⁸¹ Viewing informality as a contradiction informs a political isolation of their interdependent alternative social relations as counter and negative appropriations of space. Their ability to produce new, novel and dynamic social relations in reaction to the capitalist contradictions highlights the socio-political and spatial isolation that Turner encountered.¹⁸² Yet, informal space remains de-valued and unable to transcend this negativity.¹⁸³

At this point it should be noted that Turner does not romanticise informal settlements. This is not an attraction towards some fantasy of impoverished utopia, but as a stark reflection of inequality that was only beginning to be realised in the 1960s. Yet the global prevalence of informal settlements and urban inequality today allows Baltazar, Kapp and Morado to provide an appropriate summation of a conflicting positive and yet harsh reality:

“An everyday production of space, which in some aspects resembles the idea of emancipation, happens in Brazilian favelas today. Nevertheless, the favela space should not be romanticised as it occurs out of necessity not choice. The relative autonomy of the

180 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'.

181 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 152.

182 Ana Paula Baltazar, Silke Kapp and Denise Morado, 'Architecture as Critical Exercise: Little Pointers Towards Alternative Practices', *Field*, 2 (2008), 7–30 (pp. 12–13).

183 Baltazar and Kapp, pp. 1–2.

favela dwellers in the production of their spaces is a direct consequence of their marginal position in the economic system, which excludes them from the consumption of architecture as a formally produced commodity. Any of its possible advantages are born out of its antagonisms within the socially dominant order."¹⁸⁴

As Turner observed and documented, the existence of informal settlements was in fact merely a highly appropriate material and spatial resolution of the political and economic context in which people were having to live.¹⁸⁵ It was in essence a logical process of dialectical materialism. A material response and dialectic process of necessity and survival practiced non-hierarchically at grass roots level. Significantly this chapter's comparison suggest that Turner's advocacies reinforce social relations that generate something more than the apparently crude and insubstantial dwellings. The process of generating their own settlements outside of formal authority allowed them to create, utilise and continually recreate networks of social relations that directly improved and supported the identity, stability and prosperity of individuals and communities.¹⁸⁶

By validating an alternative way of producing space, Turner helped to reinforce the social production of relations alternative relations of production that would contest formal political and urban values creating "... a process which was vividly described in '*Desborde popular y crisis del Estado*' (*Popular overflow and crisis of the State*) by Matos Mar (1984) who claimed that these new practices were altering the conventional social, political, economic and cultural 'rules of the game'."¹⁸⁷

184 Baltazar, Kapp and Morado, p. 18.

185 Turner, 'The Squatter Settlement: Architecture That Works', pp. 356–357.

186 Written 50 years later, Fernández-Maldonado identify the significance of the strategies of engagement with material and social inequality and necessity as the key element of study that precipitated the unique research generated by Turner and his contemporaries. See Fernández-Maldonado, p. 5.

187 Fernández-Maldonado, p. 5.

The inherent fear in the formal identification of a “*popular overflow and crisis of the state*” is a direct response to the ability of a vast and impoverished working class to “*alter the conventional rules of the game*”¹⁸⁸ at social, cultural, economic and even political levels. The threat identified in changing the rules of the game is not aimed at a supposed illegality of the settlements, but at their social impacts.¹⁸⁹ It questions how such spaces and relations challenge the urban condition through the creation of associative practices, enterprises, business etc or in essence, the production of their own social relations of production and space. As Baltazar and Kapp suggest, these practices are in direct opposition to the assumed social passivity and subordination of informality:

*“Favela’ is then an answer of a modern spatial attempt of inclusion, focusing on difference and the dynamic possibility of growth in order to accommodate the ones that are excluded from the planned city. Although the reason of existence of ‘favela’ is related to the need to ‘solve’ a spatial problem, its developments are strongly committed to the problem-worrying strategy.”*¹⁹⁰

The social and visual discomfort directed towards informal settlements from the Western perspective can be understood as merely evidence of anxiety at the alternative social identities and practices produced by those succeeding and prospering within informality.¹⁹¹ This is an uncomfortable inversion of the assumed passivity of those who were deemed excluded, isolated and peripheral. Having placed so much stock value (both figuratively and literally) in the unquestionable supremacy of the formal housing and socio-political processes and institutions, the expression of something so evidently counter to formal and regularised capitalist relations of production is cause for political

188 Bishwapriya, p. 34; Amos Rapoport, ‘Spontaneous Settlements as Vernacular Design’, in *Spontaneous Shelter: International Perspectives and Prospects*, ed. by C Patton (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

189 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 8; Pugh, p. 332.

190 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 1.

191 Roy, ‘Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Utopianism’, pp. 223–223, 232; Pugh, pp. 332–333.

concern and socio-economic discomfort.¹⁹² This social and political discomfort also has to be measured against the realisation that these settlements are not a form of direct opposition. Instead, and as was proposed by Lefebvre, they are merely an expression of the contradictions within capitalism. They reflect an expression of the same process of dialectical adaptation without the top-down rigidity of form and hence producing social relations of inclusion and economically realistic sustainability.¹⁹³ As observations of these affects, Baltazar and Kapp distinguish two key factors to the social relations of informal settlements:

“As such, the purpose of a ‘favela’ is not free from the system of dominance; on the contrary, it is created in order to enlarge the space of inclusiveness of the city. With regards to its formal manifestation, it ends up as an unprecedented artificial settlement inside the modern tradition. It is a dynamic space; it is alive, spontaneous, constantly growing, constantly in transformation. It is formally non-representational although it is created in order to achieve the patterns of living in the city. Its formality is a consequence of a non-planned, non-rational settlement, giving place to a more sensible manifestation, even if not intended, since it lacks predictions. The difference of the lack of prediction in ‘favelas’ and the lack of prediction in the city is that in the first it results from a dynamic and inclusive space while in the second it is a consequence of an exclusive plan ending up as a static and exclusive space.”¹⁹⁴

Lefebvre’s proposition that contradictions are only made apparent at a global scale focuses attention onto the geographical, socio-economic and political peripheries as the arena in which the potential for alternative social relations of production might exist. This subsequently reveals places that might provide the opportunity to produce spatial relations different from “*any that can be inferred*

192 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 274, 301; Peter M Ward, ‘Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas’, p. 305.

193 Neuwirth, pp. 62–65.

194 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 1.

*from the existing relations of production. [... relations] produced through space as well as time, and by means of a conception of space.*¹⁹⁵ Lefebvre realised that capitalism's power wasn't manifest in any fixed idea of production or abstract inequality, but in the process of consumption itself. Thus in comparison, Turner's alternative advocacy for the social production of informal housing marks a uniquely practical positive advocacy in direct comparison to Lefebvre's articulation of transgressions and difference to produce alternative and sustainable social relations of change.

Critique of Housing as a Verb

Turner was not alone in the 1960s and 70s in his questioning of the implications of projecting Western models, particularly in the context of development as a global ideology affecting Latin America and the wider global South.¹⁹⁶ Colin Ward notes similar critical reflections being made by architectural contemporaries such as Giancarlo de Carlo, as well as in the political discourses of Ivan Illich and Paulo Friere.¹⁹⁷ These intersecting interpretations resonate with Turner's observations of the mismatches of state based housing, and still pervades the contemporary conflict of formal and informal development.¹⁹⁸ The methodologies and practices which produce space and communities are inherently connected, being both subject to authoritarian intervention yet also holding an inherently positive potential for change.¹⁹⁹

195 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 35.

196 This articulation and political use of *development* discussed extensively in chapter five.

197 In the context of Turner's discourse both Illich and Friere provide useful interrogations of the social implications of formal spatial development models and observations of the interdependent relationship of development and social identity. See Colin Ward, p. 4; Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (Manchester, UK: The Philips Park Press, 1976); Paulo Friere, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 2nd edn (Penguin, 1996).

198 Hodkinson.

199 Baltazar, Kapp and Morado, pp. 12–13.

Further broadening the critical framework and theoretical potential of his discourse, retrospectively Turner would describe and utilise connections from his practices to the loose-fit principles of Alex Gordon,²⁰⁰ Simon Nicholson's "The Theory of Loose Parts",²⁰¹ and John Habraken's "Supports".²⁰² Yet it is equally important to highlight the contemporary criticisms that generated an overtly socio-political contestation of the implications of Turner's advocacies for autonomous housing. The main trajectory of such critiques suggests that Turner development models implicitly allow the state to relinquish its responsibilities to its people, generating housing models of sweat equity and neoliberal co-option.²⁰³

Most notable of these critiques in that of noted neo-Marxist and structuralist Rod Burgess who engaged in provocative debate of the implications of a "Turner school of development".²⁰⁴ His critique suggested that true choice could not be achieved by self-help housing models, which would be inevitably co-opted by systems of structural constraint, namely, poverty and the lack of effective

200 Alex Gordon, 'Loose Fit, Low Energy, Long Life', *RIBA journal*, 1974, 9–12.

201 Simon Nicholson, 'The Theory of Loose Parts, An Important Principle for Design Methodology', *Home*, 4 (1972), 5–14.

202 John Habraken, *Supports: Alternative to Mass Housing* (London: Architectural Press, 1972).

203 H Harms, 'Limitations of Self-Help. Architectural Design', *Architectural Design*, 46 (1976); H Harms, 'Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing', in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982); *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982); *Colonias and Public Housing Policy in Texas and Mexico: Urbanisation by Stealth*, ed. by Peter M Ward (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Peter M Ward, 'Informality of Housing Production at the Urban-Urban Interface: The Not-so-Strange Case of Colonias in the US-Texas, the Border and Beyond', in *Urban Informality* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2004); Peter M Ward, 'The Lack of "Cursive Thinking" with Social Theory and Public Policy: Four Decades of Marginality and Rationality in the so-Called "Slum"', in *Rethinking Development in Latin America*, ed. by Bryan Roberts and Charles Wood (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

204 Paul Jenkins, Joanne Milner and Time Sharpe, 'A Brief Historical Review of Community Technical Aid and Community Architecture', in *Architecture, Participation and Society*, ed. by Paul Jenkins and Leslie Forsyth (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 24; Rod Burgess, 'Self-Help Housing. A New Imperialist Strategy? A Critique of the Turner School', *Antipode*, 9 (1978), 50–60; Rod Burgess, 'Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control? A Critique of John Turner's Views on Housing Policy.', *World Development*, 6 (1977), 1105–33.

choice.²⁰⁵ For Burgess, informal settlements could not function outside capitalism and market relations, and therefore self-help focused excessively on use-value rather than on exchange value of housing.²⁰⁶

Here it is important to note the contrast between Burgess' institutional articulation of the social revolutionary nature of Marxism as arriving through direct political struggle, and Lefebvre's engagement with the inherently positive spatial and dialectic potential of implicit difference, appropriation and the spontaneity of urban social relations to achieve change.²⁰⁷ Burgess' critique focuses far more on the implications that surrounded global development and the co-option of informal housing.²⁰⁸ Robert Harris would seem to clarify these contradictions in his highlighting the mis-representation and simplification of Turner's discourse to a programmatic model of sites-and-services as a panacea that the notably humble Turner never sought to provide.²⁰⁹ The political support for self-help, sweat equity and progressive housing models notably by organisations such as the UN and World Bank coincided with global economic models of neoliberalism leading to the adoption and co-option of Turner's ideas as an advocate for policies that mistook its underlying premise.²¹⁰ As Harris identifies, the most innovative contributions Turner made in advocating the “*political necessity of user choice*” are largely overlooked.²¹¹ Thus as Colin Ward notes:

205 Burgess' Marxist critique also focused upon the potential de-densification implicated in self-help models, suggesting a prominent challenge to this chapter's comparison with the explicitly urban discourse of Lefebvre. See: Rod Burgess, 'The Compact City Debate: A Global Perspective', in *Compact Cities: Sustainable Urban Forms for Developing Countries*, ed. by Rod Burgess and Mike Jenks (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 17.

206 Rod Burgess, 'Self-Help Housing Advocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism. A Critique of the Work of John F.C Turner.', in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. by Peter M Ward (London: Mansell, 1982).

207 Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre; Theory and the Possible*, p. 144; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 108.

208 Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona and Theo Kolstee, 'Contemporary Policies for Enablement and Participation: A Critical Review', in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997), p. 147.

209 Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', pp. 260–263.

210 John F.C Turner, 'Foreward', in *Beyond Self-help Housing*, ed. by K Mathe!y (London: Mansell, 1992).

211 Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', pp. 263–264.

*“Notice that he says ‘design construction or management’. He is not implying, as critics sometimes suggest, that the poor of the world should become do-it-yourself house builders, though of course in practice they often have to be. He is implying that they should be in control.”*²¹²

In contrast to mere “sweat equity”, Turner's proposition is a far more fundamental political contestation of authority and value, articulated through a simple and practical analysis of housing. Thus he notes that the most important thing about housing is what it does in people's lives, or in other words that *“dweller satisfaction is not necessarily related to the imposition of standards.”*²¹³ This premise is reinforced by the contestation of value implied in his observations that *“... the deficiencies and imperfections in your housing are infinitely more tolerable if they are your responsibility than if they are somebody else's.”*²¹⁴

Thus, within the demonstrable economic and socially logical principles of progressive development, Turner was evidently aware of the implications of the social content and relations that this process was generating in relation to concepts of autonomy, freedom, etc.²¹⁵ Yet crucially, and in contradiction to Burgess' critique of self-help as a project, Turner had not imposed these practices as an external political influence upon the context of informal settlements.²¹⁶ This was not an alternative economic, political or even social ideology. Turner was observing, documenting and eventually facilitating social relations and practices that were already occurring. This opportunity to observe and interact with the idea of autonomy having simply found it as a logical expression of social and economic contradictions allowed Turner to document

212 Colin Ward, p. 6.

213 Colin Ward, p. 5.

214 Colin Ward, p. 6.

215 Turner, ‘The Squatter Settlement: Architecture That Works’, pp. 357–358.

216 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 37–40.

what remains a valid concrete expression of the positive potential of autonomy. This interdependence of autonomy and informal settlements continues to be highlighted in contemporary contexts as exemplified here by Baltazar and Kapp:

“Autonomy in the design or production of space means that people involved in designing and building need to have access to knowledge of design and building processes and components in order to discern and enact. But at the same time it means that those processes have to be open enough to increase autonomy instead of limiting it or even turning it impossible.”²¹⁷

As previously discussed, the apparent socio-political opportunities that are created in spaces of marginality and exclusion need not be interpreted as any form of Marxist or socialist utopia that might promote an abstract alternative or provide anything remotely approaching an ideological polemic.²¹⁸ Any attempts to do so would be counter to Turner’s original critique that diligently pursued the unique response to contradictions through a process of generating sustainable alternative and positive social relations.²¹⁹

Instead this chapter's premise simply remains that informal settlements can be re-read and compared as concrete spatial realisations of Lefebvre’s observed contradictions of capitalism. Such a re-reading reinforces the analysis that Harris' and Burgess' criticisms which are explicitly not aimed at Turner, but at the narrow political appropriations of his work. In contrast this thesis re-aligns Turner's advocacy for user-choice and autonomy within a spatial Marxist and materialist framework, extracting the positive socio-economic potential of choice whilst understanding sweat-equity as merely a practical reality and one of many methodologies explored of his work in the economic context of Peru and the global South.

217 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 10.

218 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 100–106; Baltazar and Kapp, p. 8.

219 John FC Turner, ‘Learning in a Time of Paradigm Change’, in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997), p. 164.

If the spatial and social relations of informal settlements are simply the logical response to intrinsic contradictions of capitalism represented at a global scale in all its inequalities, then Turner's premise of user-choice and autonomy would contest these spaces as positive global articulations of social difference and transgression that might be re-appropriated as active political contestations. Thus perhaps of greater concern is a continued lack of political engagement and recognition of informal settlements for what they are, and the continued perception and uncritical interpretation of informality simply as a reaction to the peripheries refusal and structural inability to form a logical cohesion.²²⁰

Here the question of access to “*political articulation*” becomes both a validation of Turner's overtly political engagement with development,²²¹ and a challenge to the potential of informal settlements to become articulated beyond their current identity of exclusion and periphery.²²² In the context of both Turner's practices and contemporary conditions in the global South, the demonstrated socio-cultural beneficial value to communities existing outside of formal control is offset against their intractable lack of advocacy, interaction and voice at a political level.²²³ This affords this chapter's crucial renewed intersection with Lefebvre in the critical comparisons of spatial autonomy. In this context Lefebvre notes that whilst the global phenomena of informal urban spaces and settlements exist, they remain socio-culturally, politically and semantically excluded as a periphery. The potential value of such informal, alternative and different spaces remain isolated and cannot achieve their true potential to contest the existing social relations of capitalism:

“This tactic of concentrating on the peripheries is not wrong, in fact the very existence of the peripheries is symptomatic of the importance of the “centrality” which operates. [...] The masks and snares of power are revealed in their full light, and the ideological clouds are dispersed. [...] And yet this tactic, which concentrates on

220 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 3.

221 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 155–162.

222 This premise discussed extensively in chapters four, five and six.

223 Burgess, Carmona and Kolstee, pp. 150–152.

*the peripheries and only on the peripheries, simply ends up with a lot of pin-prick operations which are separated from each other in time and space. It neglects the centres and the centrality; it neglects the global.*²²⁴

Autonomy and Heteronomy

So far we have observed that Turner's advocacy for informal settlements can be positively compared against the negative implications of ideological political and economic constraints of formal urban models.²²⁵ In reaction to the economic waste of formal development, for Turner the opportunity and necessity was to facilitate the removal of objects and barriers that restricted the progress of these communities and advocate for them at an economic and political level.²²⁶

*“In other words, to state the problem of housing (or any other personal and necessary local service) depends on who needs the statement and what it is used for. If housing is treated as a mass-produced consumer product, human use values must be substituted for material values. [...] However sensitive individuals in such heteronomous systems may be, they are locked into positions in which this contradiction is inescapable.”*²²⁷

Turner's involvement in various NGOs provided him the ability to advocate initiatives that would benefit and strengthen the socio-spatial relations that crucially already existed in informal settlements. This simultaneous act of valuing and advocating the positive potential of communities who were

224 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 116.

225 'Cultural Values and the Economy of Autonomy', in: Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'.

226 Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', pp. 177–179; Similar observations have been explored in critique of Westernised space in; Leonie Sandercock, *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), p. 37.

227 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 66.

empowered by the authority of choice and the potential scale of change from social empowerment.²²⁸ Such spatial and political initiatives ranged from financial loans to home-owners, increased availability of building materials, advocacy for rights to ownership of land to stabilise tenure, all of which were intrinsically linked to reinforcing the network of *choices* that autonomy was predicated upon:

*“If housing is based on open services, the builder, buyer, or householder is free to combine the discrete services in any way his own resources and the norms governing their use allow. In other words, local executive decisions (and generally supra-local normative decisions) are fully differentiated. For the local decision-maker or user, the open service system has a high degree of, or the capability for, providing many different ways of achieving the same end – in the present case, the construction of a house.”*²²⁹

This simplistic explanation of autonomous and network based relations of production nevertheless provided a clear expression of why top-down interventions were an inappropriate, restrictive and homogenous response compared to informal settlements.²³⁰ This was an analysis that was sorely needed at a time when modernist housing super-blocks were widely utilised to re-house people who had been forcefully evicted from informal settlements.²³¹ Yet in collaboration with the vast increase in choice by heteronomous housing procurement models, Turner also inherently recognises that “*expert systems*” remain necessary as an inherently facilitative and supportive framework for a network of housing processes.²³² These included the necessity to support local builders with structural and safety expertise, planning efficient typology patterns to guide and inform those who ask for help, and to engage with and support

228 Bishwapriya, pp. 34–35.

229 Turner, ‘Housing as a Verb’, p. 154.

230 Turner, ‘Tools for Building Community’, p. 344.

231 Peter M Ward, ‘Self-Help Housing Ideas and Practice in the Americas’, p. 296; Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 46–47.

232 Turner, ‘Tools for Building Community’, p. 344.

communities through grass roots action and participation. Yet for Turner it was the necessity to advocate with state political bodies for improved amenities and legal rights and to resist any centralised planning was ultimately the key aspect of his housing development methodologies.²³³

The autonomy Turner defined in the simplistic contestation of “*who decides, and who provides?*”²³⁴ offered the basis of an alternative model and contestation of spatial and political authority and control. Thus the issue of owner-builder is not important.²³⁵ For Turner, “[*t*]he best results are obtained by the user who is in full control of the design, construction, and management of his own home,” and subsequently that “*it is of secondary importance whether or not he builds it with his own hands*”.²³⁶ The question of how to define what the “*best results*” of housing might be offers an explicit engages with the question of who decides what are the right values that our built environment engages with and embodies. Turner's simple advocacy is that increased autonomy and heteronomy in housing programs leads to housing that is designed to best suits the changing needs and circumstances of their occupants. Thus the extended process of homes built, managed and adapted by the occupants provides the qualification for governments and communities to engage with the autonomy and heteronomic processes of housing as a verb.

Here, Turner's principles for autonomy and heteronomy in housing once again provides compelling comparison to Lefebvre's critique of the relational production of space and social relations of reproduction. The issues of autonomy and heteronomy intersect with the transgressions and differences of formal capitalism that “*endure or arise on the margins of the homogenised realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities (lateral heterotopical, meteorological)*”.²³⁷ Informal space and housing remains dynamic

233 M.A. Franks and John FC Turner, 'Different Ways of Seeing', *New Economics*, Autumn Winter (1995); M.A. Franks and John FC Turner, 'How to Build Powerful Third Sector Economics', *New Economics*, Autumn Winter (1995).

234 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 127.

235 Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', p. 248.

236 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 158.

237 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 373.

and adaptive to suit the needs of the inhabitants within the reality of an economy of absence. The rationality and sustainability of informal settlements suggests that they can be considered as adaptive and successful due to exactly the same methodology as capitalism, (i.e. the production of social relations of production and space), but doing so within the contradictions of inequality that capitalism seeks to repress and deny. The significance of this expression within informal settlements and its negation of ideology through rational materialism defines Turner's discourse:

*"[If] housing is treated as a verbal entity rather than as a manufactured and packaged product, decision-making power must, of necessity, remain in the hands of the users themselves. I will go beyond to suggest that the ideal we should strive for is a model which conceives of housing as an activity in which the user – as a matter of economic, social, and psychological common sense – are the principal actors."*²³⁸

Intrinsic to this proposition is the critique of the political and spatial practices of top-down system of government and housing. Instead of this, Turner's insights suggest an alternative where governments need only to respond to the quantitative information that points towards pent-up demands and needs by providing the materials, finance and opportunities for people to create their own solutions.²³⁹ In the 1970s and 1980s this reframing of the question of urban squatter housing led to widespread political critique and laid the conceptual groundwork for criticism of the state from both the right and left of the ideological spectrum and the contrasting proposition of good governance and the leveraging of social capital.²⁴⁰ Yet in spite of the political and academic discourse that emerged from this period the same mis-matches and ideologies

238 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 154.

239 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 56, 72.

240 Sanyal, Vale and Rosan, p. 16; Yet only later did international agencies begin to begrudgingly acknowledge the limits of self-help and the government's role in the delivery of goods and services, including housing for the urban poor. See: The World Bank, 'World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World' (Oxford University Press, 1997).

of housing are still observed as pervading urban thinking throughout the global South, where the ideological image of development remains constrained to the vision offered by Westernised formal space.²⁴¹

Turner's observation, definition and advocacy for progressive development demonstrated that a grass roots, bottom-up networked approach was systematically more materially and socially appropriate means to contest inequality and poverty on a global scale.²⁴² Significantly, progressive development demonstrated not only that it generates more economically and socially appropriate spatial forms, but significantly how the process itself generates something more. In contrast to the critique of Burgess and aligning with Lefebvre concepts of autogestion, Turner observed the network of social interconnections that autonomous progressive development created. He understood and believed that that this process did not impede social mobility, or trap people in poverty, but actually empowered them and their community with diverse opportunities to produce alternative informal social relations and sustainable opportunities for growth:

*"The significance of the cultural change that takes place over time and in the same barriada location not only confirms this kind of dwelling environment as a vehicle for social and economic development, but also points to the connections between the different demands of various social levels. It is clear that the relative priorities and demands of the low-wage earner and that of the high-wage (or low-salary) earner must be different though not as different as the levels compared above. Preoccupation with material status is as evident in the barriadas it is elsewhere."*²⁴³

241 Andy Merrifield, *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest Under Planetary Urbanization*, Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation) (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2103), p. 79.

242 Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', pp. 177–179.

243 Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', p. 179.

The distinct difference between politically expedient, top-down practices and the alternative progressive development that Turner advocated corresponds succinctly with Lefebvre's discourse on autogestion and community self-management.²⁴⁴ This convergence with Turner's advocacy for facilitating autonomous networks of social relations to generate heteronomous housing choices reflects the concrete observations of practices that existed within the social contradictions of capitalism without his prior intervention. The contradictions between the hierarchy and authority of formal dominance and the rich autonomy of informal and progressive housing marks a crucial practical contestation of Lefebvre's theoretical autogestion:

*"This dominant order means, first of all, heteronomy or that individuals and primary groups are no longer able to negotiate and to decide for themselves. Even if participation is part of public policy, the whole process of the production of space turns out to be bureaucratic, far from the understanding of most people, and dominated by so-called 'technical' decisions. Therefore, one of the main goals of a critique is to show how the general and abstract logic of the production of space determines people's lives and forces them into a passive role."*²⁴⁵

Re-reading Turner's practices against the concept of autogestion provides a valuable opportunity to perceive self-management of housing in 1960s Peru as a practical realisation of Lefebvre's spatially contextualised autogestion.²⁴⁶ In this we can positively contest a renewed re-examination of Turner's practices as advocating community and social engagement with the politics of freedom and choice to take control of housing from a grass-roots level.²⁴⁷

244 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 148–149.

245 Baltazar, Kapp and Morado, p. 12.

246 The criticisms raised by Burgess et al being of a supposedly pronounced Marxist denunciation of self-help are themselves a reflection of the institutional Marxist aporia that Lefebvre sought to contest. See Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 100–106.

Autogestion and Self-Management

With the premise of autogestion and self-management Lefebvre sought to provide a further socio-spatial extension of Marxism. The term autogestion literally means self-management, but Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden note that its French connotation may be captured more accurately as “*workers' control*”.²⁴⁸ Here Lefebvre's Marxist interpretation of workers and control can be brought into close close comparison with Turner's anarchist housing premises of progressive development and user choice.²⁴⁹ Thus for Lefebvre:

*“The aim is to take over development, to orient growth (recognised and controlled as such) towards social needs. Whoever talks about the self-determination of the working class or about autonomy, is also talking about self management.”*²⁵⁰

This concept and practice of self-management provides an original response to the Marxist problem of how to socialise the means of production. Lefebvre notes autogestion as a “*concept and practice can avoid the difficulties which, since Marx, have arisen in the experiment with authoritarian centralised planning.*”²⁵¹ Here a comparison of autogestion with Turner's principles of progressive development as a social practice offers a clear contestation of the same authoritarian centralisation of authority and control. Yet as with Turner, Lefebvre is explicit that self-management is not a panacea, as it poses just as many problems as it suggests to solve.²⁵²

247 This retrospective reservation of the impact and implications of self-help and sites and services is highlighted in: Turner, ‘Future Directions in Housing Policy’, pp. 14–16; Turner, ‘Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries’, p. 190; Turner, ‘Foreward’, p. 6.

248 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 14.

249 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 139–141.

250 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 40.

251 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 120.

252 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 84.

Thus, autogestion as a social principle of grass-roots political self-governance is a concept that has to be fleshed out and contextualised across the full spectrum of global conditions.²⁵³ It is in this process that Lefebvre maintains that class and workers struggle can be stimulated through social participation, and that such active engagement in space is necessary to give self-management continued meaning. The inherent spatial practice of development and its articulation of continual social relations of production are required to resist the manipulation and potential ideology of political co-option.²⁵⁴ Thus Lefebvre makes clear his belief that only through self-management and the continuous dialectic contestation of social relations can participation be considered real.²⁵⁵

This intersection of participation is further reinforced by the similarity in both Lefebvre and Turner's discourse of grass-roots control and self-determination.²⁵⁶ Here Lefebvre suggestion that networked and territorial autogestion should be articulated to exert pressure against state powers and administrative rationality highlights the interdependence of the transformation of social life suggested by autogestion with the material reality of political and economic obstacles is what maintains its political potential.²⁵⁷ Yet whilst Lefebvre's critique resonates with Turner's discourse and advocacy, if read in abstraction from material and social context and agency it remains empty and lifeless:²⁵⁸

“The worshippers of the total state economy, for example, may use the self-management thesis: but they are just playing with words. The self-management slogan cannot be isolated, for it is born spontaneously out of the void in social life which is created by the state; it has sprung up in various places as the expression of a fundamental social need. It implies an overall project designed to

253 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 193–194.

254 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 68.

255 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 120.

256 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 150.

257 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 250.

258 And subsequently becoming akin to Hegels' abstract dialectic logic that Marx originally rebelled against.

refill the void, but only if it is made explicit. Either the social and political content of self-management is deployed and becomes strategy, or the project fails."²⁵⁹

This comparison of progressive development to self-management is made further compelling with Lefebvre's articulation of the inherent positive problematic that autogestion poses.²⁶⁰ Interdependent with autogestion as a global project, the complexity of social relations provides a direct connection to the material reality of contexts that cannot be abstracted.²⁶¹ Instead Lefebvre articulates autogestion as a dialectic process: "*What this determines is not a state but a process, in the course of which new problems are posed and must be solved in social practice.*"²⁶² Framed in this way autogestion is both a project of radical democratic governance and interdependently a conflictual and contradictory process.

Thus in comparison to Lefebvre's positive articulation of autogestion, participants in progressive housing and self-management can be considered as engaging "*in self-criticism, debate, deliberation, conflict, and struggle; it is not a fixed condition but a level of intense political engagement and 'revolutionary spontaneity' that must 'continually be enacted'.*"²⁶³ The positive potential of political change driven by the social practice and production of relationships and space offers an unrealised yet tantalising proposition:

"The analysis which I have attempted here points to the dissolution of the state, a kind of wavering away of its power, its strategic capacity and the ramifications of absolute politics. To this extent, the state self-destruct; the conditions in which it functions, its social 'base', are undermined, even though its foothold in the economic

259 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 120.

260 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 16.

261 Thus any absolute form of politics and ideology cannot be used in the purpose of radical change and redefined socialism.

262 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 125.

263 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 16.

*sphere remains firm. It is the institutions and ideologies, the superstructures upon which the absolute state is erected that crumble.*²⁶⁴

These are the radical yet plausible implications of self-management responding to the contradictions and inequalities of capitalist space and generating rational and logical practices and a concurrent network of social relations. The comparative analysis methodology that this thesis employs to connect Lefebvre to Turner has been an explicit attempt to highlight in informal settlements the practical and positive examples of self-management that Lefebvre only hints at existing in the global periphery. What remains in this thesis therefore is to explore the wider implications and significance to contemporary spatial practice and practitioners of Lefebvre's observations of the informal periphery.²⁶⁵

The contradictions and disparities of informal settlements validate the intersection of Turner's principles of autonomy and user choice, and Lefebvre's socio-political aspirations for autogestion.²⁶⁶ Thus, the autonomy of informal settlements generates plurality and a dynamism that are typically the hallmarks of the capitalist process, yet their appearance and unruly reality confounds the conventional sanctity of logical cohesion.²⁶⁷ Turning this observation on its head prompts an uncomfortable re-reading of Westernised space. Questions of whether formal and conventional space offer the same plurality and freedom of choice found in the freedom of informality. Thus whilst Lefebvre's theoretical critique of space has always contested the political ideology of Western space, Turner's analysis of top-down state programming versus network based social relations of progressive development places similarly Western spatial values

264 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 125.

265 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 8.

266 The intimate economic, social and political connections between the act of building itself and the social relations that these productions generate are clearly demonstrated in Turner's contrasting of instant and progressive development practices. Reflected here; Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 121.

267 Such unconventionality is merely the consequence of what Turner perceived as user defined choice and autonomy. See Baltazar, Kapp and Morado, p. 18.

and condition in sharp focus.²⁶⁸ The apparent freedom of our choice is in fact largely prescriptive to a plethora of culturally and economically acceptable formalities that we perceive as freedom of expression.²⁶⁹ This reality might suggest that perhaps our position at the pinnacle of capitalist space affords us little ability to generate the dynamism that exists on the periphery:

“It is impossible to induce or program such a process, or even to organise it in the manner of the industrial production. Nevertheless, it has certain objective conditions: first of all, the absence of domination in the relations of production. This implies, among other things, the disposal of the producer over her/his means of production.”²⁷⁰

The capacity to self-generate organisations and social relations within the context of self-management practices, exemplified by user choice and progressive housing, are undoubtedly the foundation of the social value of informal settlements that Turner advocates. As he was to observe, the ideological intervention of architects and planners within the dynamic realities of these communities and contexts lead to inevitable degeneration of the social sustainability of such dynamic communities.²⁷¹ As discussed previously, what is required is therefore to pursue the analysis of the periphery and ascertain the possibilities and implications within these methodologies. The globalised contradictions of capitalism are themselves an inevitable dynamic and shifting context of urbanisation, poverty, immigration and spatial inequality. Yet the underlying inevitability of their existence continues to provide the opportunities for the relative success of informality against all its adversity and the generation of social relations that might hold the key for the dissolution of ideology and the re-articulation of growth as sustainability. Lefebvre’s articulation of this project is eloquently presented in the conclusion to *the survival of capitalism*:

268 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 68; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 81–83; Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 68.

269 Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction*, p. 154.

270 Baltazar and Kapp, p. 7.

271 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 122.

“A strategy which would join up the peripheral elements with elements from the disturbed centres. [...] An operation of growth towards specifically social needs and no longer orientated towards individual needs. [...] A complete and detailed project for the organisation of life and space, with the largest possible role for self-management [...] This kind of global project, which is the route rather than the programme, plan or model, bears on collective life and can only be a collective oeuvre which is simultaneously practical and theoretical. It can depend neither on a party nor on a political bloc; it can only be linked to a diversified, qualitative ensemble of movements, demands and actions.”²⁷²

Who Decides and Who Provides?

Here this chapter's comparison returns full circle to some of the original conjecture of the concept of the disjunction between exchange and use values, articulated through Turner's critical questioning of who decides?²⁷³ This distinction is at the heart of Turner's advocacy for progressive development and the necessity for individuals to decide on their own needs and priorities. As this chapter has observed, the similarity of autonomous progressive development to a dialectical materialist process of self-management suggests provocative possibilities for the development of economically sustainable social relations:

“Those who recognise the fact that use-values lie in the relationships between people and things – and not in things themselves – will recognise the significance of alternative means by which alternative ends are sought. This is the issue of economy. If primary values and ends are functional and defined by performance (that is, use rather than quantities), then economy must have as much to do with the

272 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, p. 119.

273 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 11–13.

means of production, as with productivity. [...] Those who confuse economy with material productivity make a dangerous error. Like market-values, industrial production has its uses but these must be limited or industrialisation will destroy mankind even more surely than the primitive capitalism that generated it.”²⁷⁴

Based on the observations and comparisons drawn within this chapter we can begin to interpret informal settlements as a concrete example of the practice of autonomy, freedom and active social participation that Lefebvre advocated in the notion of autogestion and self-management. The shift in cultural perception and representation of identity, autonomy, choice and alterity suggested by these observations remains perhaps one of the most difficult obstacles to such a proposition.²⁷⁵ This advocacy for and validation of informal settlements and development practice methodologies as a transcendence of capitalist ideology is inherently fraught with the necessary recognition of the extreme inequality and deprivation of such contexts.²⁷⁶ Thus, unlike historical mis-reading of Turner's work as merely advocacy for sweat-equity and self-help, the comparisons and intersections in this chapter help to outline the far more spatial and political critique of autonomy and distributed governance:

“Those who see this point are bound to recognise the issue of authority which determines the choice of means and which are use to achieve the ends. When economy is understood as resourcefulness, technology is obviously political as it is a matter of who controls resources and their uses. The central issue raised in this book is that of who decides? Who decides, and who provides what for whom is clearly the political issue of power and authority.”²⁷⁷

274 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 154.

275 Kim Dovey and Ross King, 'Forms of Informality: Morphology and Visibility of Informal Settlements', *Built Environment*, 47 (2011), 11–29 (pp. 16–18).

276 Dovey and King, 'Informal Urbanism and the Taste for Slums', p. 1031.

277 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 154.

This chapter's comparisons suggests that the intersection of spatial theory and spatial practice outlined are summarised by the issue of who decides. Turner's question of who decides and who provides? Is intrinsically related to the Lefebvre's socio-spatial critique of the social relations that produce space. Whilst disparity exists between Turner's anarchist approaches and institutional interpretation of Marxism, their shared spatial interrogation of authority and power represents a novel and productive interdisciplinary intersection of discourse. Not only are these critiques comparable but the positive counter propositions by both Turner and Lefebvre are also aligned.

Thus when considered in the context of the thesis premise of an architecture as a verb, the principles of dialectical materialism provide a spatial foundation and scale within which to transcend the distinctions of anarchist autonomy and the autogestion of a socio-spatial Marxism. This allows Lefebvre's theoretical advocacy for autogestion to be contextualised in explicitly peripheral and spaces of informal settlements and economies of absence. Similarly it allows Turner's contested advocacies for self-help to be re-read and re-imagined outside of a purely sweat-equity analysis and positively connected to an explicitly political and theoretical spatial critique of Lefebvre. As such this comparison offers opportunity to focus upon the articulation of positive difference, alterity and heteronomy as an intersection between the practical and theoretical discourses of Turner and Lefebvre. It provides an opportunity to re-read Turner's user-choice progressive housing and methodologies of participatory spatial practice to confront and contest the qualities and aspirations of Western space posed by the articulation of architecture as a verb.

Chapter Three – Space, Difference and Multiplicity

Having validated the critical intersections of autonomous progressive housing and dialectical materialism, chapter three aims to pursue and explore the theoretical lineage of critical spatial discourse from Lefebvre to Doreen Massey. This trajectory is important as it builds upon the theoretical premise of understanding space as material and dialectic process, and expands its implications into discourse concerning the city, appropriation, difference and positive multiplicity. This expansion of the theoretical exploration of post-structural space as interdependent with alternative identity and difference provides a foundation for the critical trajectories of later chapters.

This trajectory of research contests this connection between the spatial critiques of Massey and Lefebvre and their respective advocacies for the positive potential of space. This comparison observes intersections in their respective theoretical discourses concerning the social and political relations that are riven throughout our conceptions and experience of space – Lefebvre in “*space as a social product*”¹ and reflectively in Massey’s “*relationality of space*”.² The premise therefore is to contextualise this critical intersection observed within key texts of both theorists, as well as connections and implications to the wider post-structural field of spatial theory. This will afford these texts to be re-contextualised as a framework from which to contest the implications and positive potential of these formative spatial theories on alternative development practices.

The articulations and critical contextualisations of space that define the work of both Lefebvre and Massey are fundamentally built upon their political foundations with Marxist and socialist conceptions of space and the

1 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 26.

2 Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 100, 194.

fundamentals of dialectical reasoning and process.³ This chapter's comparison allows Massey to be read as offering a global contextualisation of Lefebvre's observations of differential spaces, and a post-structural critique of the relational construction of space as expressed in positive multiplicity.⁴ In observing this lineage as emanating from Lefebvre's discourse on "*the right to the city*"⁵ and "*the right to difference*"⁶, this chapter contests points of intersection between ideas of participation, appropriation and positive relational multiplicity.⁷ Similar to this spatial critique, the political lineage of Marx, Lefebvre and David Harvey provides further foundation for the positive and political activism to Massey's interpretation of space, and further connections to the urban questions and problems confronted in the participatory development practices of Turner and Hamdi.

The trajectory of this research also reflects the academic and socio-political transition from structuralism to post-structuralism that has marked the historical context within which both Lefebvre and Massey's discourses are contingent with. Lefebvre's advocacy for differential space offers a clear connection to post-structural theory, yet his articulation of such space remains largely abstract in aspirations of particularities, spontaneity and moments, rather than offering positive practical examples or methodologies.⁸ Contextualising Lefebvre's spatial critique against such post-structural discourse confronts his articulations of differential space and appropriation with the questions of global inequality that pervade post-colonial theory and development discourse. Thus, this

3 Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp. 66–67; Henri Lefebvre, 'Marxism Exploded', *Review*, 4 (1980), 19–32 (p. 23).

4 Arun Saldanha, 'Power Geometry as Philosophy of Space', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 48–49.

5 Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 148; David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *Harvey, David. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (2003), 939–41.

6 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 96.

7 Doreen Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18 (pp. 14–15).

8 Kanisha Goonewardena and others, 'Globalizing Lefebvre?', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 292; Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love & Struggle; Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 183.

chapter's explicit pursuit of the connection between Lefebvre's concept of differential space and Massey's advocacy for the multiplicity of space seeks to provide a new *interpretation of*, not addition to, Lefebvre's differential space in a global and post-colonial context of alternative, informal and participatory development.

This chapter observes that whilst both Lefebvre and Massey advocate the interdependence of time and space,⁹ in Massey this critique of the social and relational production of space is far more extensively grounded upon a critique of global geographies of inequality and development.¹⁰ Thus in Massey we find a theoretical projection of Lefebvre and Marxism that allows a critical interrogation of space, architecture, development and the contemporary global context. This offers a conception of Lefebvre's critique of space that is open-ended, relational, plural and positive. It is not a negative critique of space and difference, but an advocacy for valuing and working within the positive relational specificity and "*throwntogetherness*"¹¹ of space.

Massey's discourse utilises a series of propositions for space, each built around the imperative of multiplicity – the recognition of other and alternative interpretations of the world as part of the relations that exist within space (and time). This recognition of the multiplicity of space affords this thesis to later draw development practices into comparison with the further theoretical trajectories of post-colonialism and subalterneity. Thus, this chapter's theoretical lineage from

9 Henri Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, ed. by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, trans. by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 40.

10 Doreen Massey, 'Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice', *Doc. Anál. Geogr.*, 55 (2009), 15–26 (p. 22).

11 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 140–141.

structuralism to post-structuralism, and Lefebvre to Massey acts a foundation for later trajectories into elements of the discourses of Derrida,¹² Bhabha¹³ and Spivak,¹⁴ all built upon the implications and values of space and difference.

This is not a unique proposition as post-colonial theory and subaltern studies have themselves explicitly built upon post-Marxist discourses of Gramsci, Althusser and Foucault.¹⁵ Yet the trajectory via Lefebvre and Massey provides new opportunities for comparison and problematisation with development theory specifically because of its articulation of space and spatial relations as a medium of critique and positive potential of difference and appropriation, multiplicity and participation.¹⁶ This chapter's critical grounding and framework allows the wider thesis to contest and questions the political and economic potential of space as framed and defined by social relations and contextualised material practices of cities, difference and multiplicity:

“By seeking to point the way towards a different space, towards the space of a different (social) life and of a different mode of production, this project straddles the breach between science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived. It aspires to surmount these oppositions by exploring the dialectical relationship between ‘possible’ and ‘impossible’, and this both objectively and subjectively.”¹⁷

12 Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. by A Bass, 2nd edn (London: Athlone Press, 1987); Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jacques Derrida, ‘Remarks on Deconstruction and Pragmatism’, in *Deconstruction and Pragmatism*, ed. by Chantal Mouffe (London: Routledge, 1996).

13 Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004); Homi K Bhabha, ‘Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences’, in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by B Ashcroft, G Griffiths, and H Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 155–57.

14 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by L Grossberg and C Nelson (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1998), pp. 271–313; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value’, *Diacritics*, Marx after Derrida, 15 (1985), 73–95.

15 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin classics, 2003), pp. 14–16.

16 Massey, *For Space*, p. 12.

17 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 60.

The Production of Space

Since Donald Nicholson-Smith's English translation of *The Production of Space*¹⁸ there have been multiple insightful analyses of Lefebvre's perhaps most studied text. These include notable works by Andy Merrifield, Stuart Elden, Rob Shields, Neil Brenner, Rosalyn Deutsche and Kanisha Goonewardena et al, many of which are utilised in this thesis. However, it is explicitly not the intention of this thesis to untangle Lefebvre's discourse in its entirety, but to extract from it several key spatial and critical concepts and methodologies and contextualise them within this thesis' contemporary post-structural comparison.

The evolution of Lefebvre's discourse is remarkably complex, broad and nuanced. As Merrifield notes, "*The Production of Space was Lefebvre's fifty-seventh book*",¹⁹ and is regarded as a summation and consolidation of much of his earlier propositions in the wake of the 1968 Paris riots and his abrupt break from the French Communist Party and the Situationists.²⁰ This influential text explores the spatial implications of concepts of representation, dialectics, spontaneity, everyday life, political struggle and philosophy, amongst others. Similarly, the range of theoretical discourse upon which Lefebvre draws is further suggestive of its complexity, including Hegel, Marx, Kostas Axelos, Michel Foucault and Friedrich Nietzsche.²¹ It also marks somewhat of a coalescence of many strands of Lefebvre's discourse into a single work, seeking to reveal the connections between the urban process, spatial relations, politics and economics. This coalescence is surmised within the now famous conception that (social) space is a (social) product.²²

18 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

19 Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre - A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 99.

20 Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City*, new edition (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1999), p. 45.

21 Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre; Theory and the Possible* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 73.

22 Christian Schmid, 'Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, trans. by Kanisha Goonewardena (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 28.

This notion of space as a product and contingent upon social relations that define that production is Lefebvre's resolution of the problem of the fragmentation of space that he observes in the academic, political and bureaucratic abstractions of space.²³ *The Production of Space* offers an explicit critique of this abstraction, countering it with the spatial framework and critical lens of a trialectic relational model of physical space (nature), mental space (abstractions of space), and social space (the space of human interaction).²⁴

Utilising this critical lens, Lefebvre is explicit about the implications of the production and manipulation of space in connection with the progression from absolute to historical and industrial space, on to contemporary abstract spaces and homogenous global urbanisation.²⁵ Space is abstracted and fragmented in a dichotomy with the representation of the political and economic relations that underlie capitalist space as logical cohesion.²⁶ Merrifield succinctly paraphrases the implications of the fragmentation and subsequently induced hegemonic abstract space that "... *tends to sweep everybody along, molding people and places in its image, incorporating peripheries as it peripherises centres, being at once deft and brutal, forging unity out of fragmentation.*"²⁷ In light of this critique, Lefebvre's expansion of the analytical methodology of the dialectic into a spatial trialectic provides a paradigmatic confrontation of this fragmented space against the dialectic production of a triad of interdependent relations of space.²⁸ This discourse yielded the now widely observed and contested triad of conceived, perceived and lived space.²⁹

23 A similar observation to Marx's reaction to Hegel's abstracted dialectics and his inversion to generate dialectical materialism, as highlighted in chapter two.

24 Merrifield, p. 103.

25 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 46–49; Merrifield, p. 130.

26 Shields, p. 146.

27 Merrifield, p. 112.

28 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 262–265.

29 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 33, 38–39.

In contrast to structural abstractions of space, the continuous and open-ended instability of a trialectic spatial framework does not provide a static resolution to space, as to do so would invalidate the political potential of social production, returning space to ideology.³⁰ Instead the material dialectic process is spatially re-appropriated by Lefebvre, creating a fluid, participatory and open-ended interpretation of space as inseparable from practice – space as a process with three specific moments that intersect, overlap and blur into each other.³¹

Subsequently, Lefebvre utilises this trialectic observation of the relational production of space, revealing the complex spatial manifestations of economic and political influence upon the space of everyday life.³² The interdependence of space as relationally constructed in a trialectic and yet also inherently unfinished and continuous reinforces Lefebvre's advocacy for the action, moments and spontaneity of space and practice, making “*political purchase of process thinking, of conceiving reality in fluid movement, in its momentary existence and transient nature.*”³³

Yet in spite of the implications of theoretical abstraction, the intellectual achievement of perceiving space as forever unfinished remains provocative in its inherent advocacy for the positive potential of space and social relations as a continuous dialectic. What remains to be identified are the positive practical implications and methodologies for confronting the complex economic bureaucracies and systems of political power manifest within the superstructure to complex societies and cities.³⁴ Thus this chapter seeks to explore a re-articulation of Lefebvre's Western spatial critique that connects abstract space with a global and post-structural Marxist critique³⁵ of the social relations of capitalist hegemony.

30 Elden, p. 23.

31 Shields, p. 116.

32 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 34.

33 Merrifield, p. 104. Here again we can see renewed connections in this spatial trialectic to the comparisons drawn in chapter two to Turner's articulations of housing as a verb and a social process.

34 Schmid, p. 43.

“Contradictions of capitalism henceforth manifest themselves as contradictions of space. To know how and what space internalizes is to learn how to produce something better, is to learn how to produce another city, another space, a space for and of socialism. To change life is to change space; to change space is to change life. Neither can be avoided.”³⁶

This dialectic proclamation to change life and space remains one of the most powerful evocations of the necessity of theory and practice to be entwined in the production of space. Lefebvre’s spatial trialectic implies a continuously evolving and dynamic construct of social relations that inform and compose social space. Thus the production of social and spatial relations proceeds without a need to totalise and resolve the complexity of space, instead only aspiring towards a post-structural desire to engage with the interconnected relations that produce it:

“Critical knowledge has to capture in thought the actual process of production of space. ... It is a task that necessitates both empirical and theoretical research, and it’s likely to be difficult. It will doubtless involve careful excavation and reconstruction; warrant induction and deduction; journey between the concrete and the abstract, between the global and the local, between self and society. Between what’s possible and what’s impossible.”³⁷

As suggested above, the question of how to produce different or alternative spaces and cities is intimately connected to the exploration of the journey between the concrete and abstract, self and society, possible and impossible. Urban space as the richest and densest expression of spatial and relational

35 The exploration of a Marxist critique of space as a social process remains a provocative re-interpretations and can be read in parallel with many post-Marxist discourses, such as post-colonial theory, which we will utilise later in chapter six’ comparisons with Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak.

36 Merrifield, p. 108.

37 Merrifield, p. 108.

trialectic becomes for Lefebvre the medium in which such a contestation of the social and political production of space is most clearly expressed. The city's complexity and density reveals and highlights the abstract nature of passive social space and provokes Lefebvre's groundbreaking rally cry for "*the right to the city*".³⁸ This contestation and confrontation of the city has been continually renewed academic throughout many major contemporary spatial discourses; from David Harvey,³⁹ Saskia Sassen,⁴⁰ Iain Borden,⁴¹ Mike Davis,⁴² Robert Neuwirth⁴³ etc, and will form the foundation for this chapter's trajectory towards Massey's discourse on the positive multiplicity of space.

The right to the city

Advocacy for a Marxist political awakening of the working class to their "*right to the city*" began in the observations of worker housing conditions and social conditions in Engels' studies of nineteenth century Manchester.⁴⁴ Subsequently, the modern post-industrial city has long been recognised as the point of aggregation, coalescence and conflict that most sharply reflects the political and economic manifestations of class inequality and power:

38 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 148.

39 Harvey, 'The Right to the City'.

40 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.*, 2nd revised edition (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001).

41 *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. by Iain Borden and others (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2001).

42 Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Reprint (London: Verso, 2007).

43 Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World*, New Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006).

44 Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England', in *The Collected Works of Marx and Engels* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), IV, 295–596; Originally published in German: Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845), then translated and published in English in 1847.

“For the working class, victim of segregation and expelled from the traditional city, deprived of a present and possible urban life, a practical problem owes itself, a political one, even if it hasn’t been posed politically, and even if until now the housing question [...] has masked the problematic of the city and the urban”⁴⁵

This “*problematic of the city and the urban*” is a conception that allows Lefebvre to explicitly implicate the urban in class struggle,⁴⁶ and further utilise his critique of the social production of social space and implicating a theoretical lineage with contemporary interpretations of the post-industrial city by Massey et al.⁴⁷ In connection to Lefebvre, Massey’s contribution is to advance questions of material inequality to interrogate the relational contradictions that define contemporary abstract urban space.⁴⁸ In this context, “*the right to the city*” is inherently an advocacy for the social production of urban space through appropriation and contestation as a means to expose the underlying inequalities and contradictions of abstract space and capitalism:

“Marx ... held that we CHANGE ourselves by changing our world and vice versa. This dialectical relation lies at the root of all human labor. [...] We are, all of us, architects, of a sort. We individually and collectively make the city through our daily actions and our political, intellectual and economic engagements. But in return, the city makes us.”⁴⁹

45 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 100 These observation can be read as the same evolution observed in development practice. What began as attempts to solve a housing crisis (i.e. Turner) have had to evolve to become explicitly engaged with the social relations of urban cities (i.e. Hamdi). See chapters four and five.

46 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, pp. 7, 37.

47 Massey, *World City*, pp. 17, 84; David Harvey, *Rebel Cities* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 29; Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 35–37.

48 Massey, *For Space*, p. 103.

49 Harvey, ‘The Right to the City’, p. 939.

The idea here advanced by David Harvey is a very succinct summation of the trajectory of “*the right the city*” concept from Marx to Lefebvre, and explicitly reflects both the negative implications of abstract urban space, and the positive spatial advocacy of Lefebvre and Massey.⁵⁰ The dialectic that we make the city but in return the city makes us can be considered as a simplified recitation of a spatial trialectic but more so as an expression of the materialist unfolding of history and the inherent ability to change things for the better.⁵¹ This dialectic and relational identity of urban space explicitly relates to Lefebvre’s advocacy for the potential of the city as being realised only through the participation and production of social relations that define the lived reality of cities,⁵² and in what Lefebvre describes as the “*exquisite oeuvre of praxis and civilisation*”:⁵³

“The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city.”⁵⁴

The intentional and specific references here to participation and appropriation advance Lefebvre’s advocacy in a very explicit way. The right to the city can only be perceived as a positive force when it is understood as linked to the necessity for active engagement in the social relations that produce our space.⁵⁵ Thus we find explicit reference to both conflict and contestation in Harvey's

50 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, pp. 169–170; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 167, 194, 210.

51 Further reflecting the observations and intersections explored in the previous chapter's comparison of Turner and Lefebvre.

52 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 155.

53 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 126.

54 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 173.

55 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 88; Shields, p. 35.

recent discourse on *Rebel Cities*⁵⁶ and Massey's *World City*,⁵⁷ each attempting to transcend abstract retrospective critiques of the abstract nature of capitalist cities towards positive alternative practice.

Conflicts are thus widely considered as inherent in the participation and contestation of the right to the city.⁵⁸ Appropriation, transgressions and conflicts are expressions of difference that are implicitly alien to the assumed coherence of capitalist space that relies on the logical cohesion of market forces.⁵⁹ For Lefebvre, the right to challenge, contest and remake the social relations of space inherently implies the creation of “*differential spaces*” which are identified as counter, peripheral and alternative of formal and conventional space. Such spaces are the expression of different social relations and the different political and economic attitudes that such positive difference and alterneity might engender.⁶⁰ Yet within these distinctions are a continued paradox. Interdependent with the possibility for social change and social space that is entitled by the right to the city is the inherent responsibility and culpability within such complex and interdependent variables of space, economics and society, and the implication of the social inequality of difference:

*“The right to the city therefore signifies the constitution or reconstitution of a spatio-temporal unit, of a gathering together instead of a fragmentation. It does not abolish confrontations and struggles. On the contrary!”*⁶¹

56 Harvey, *Rebel Cities*, pp. 151–153.

57 Massey, *World City*, p. 188.

58 Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, trans. by Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), pp. 68–70.

59 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 69–77, 120. This question of transgressions and capitalist cohesion explored explicitly in chapter four.

60 Harvey, ‘The Right to the City’, p. 939.

61 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 195.

Lefebvre's critique of the homogenous, abstract and ideological representations of spaces and representational spaces as reflections of the suppression that restricts the true potential of space is clearer to perceive in contrast with alternative and differential space. Simply put, differential spaces express and articulate social conflicts, contestations and possibilities.⁶² They are both built from and representations of the spatial practices that engender change and unsettle the status quo, but are perhaps closer to Massey's relational interdependence and "throwntogetherness" of space.⁶³ This positive conception of space is articulated from both the spontaneity and festival, and the material reality of everyday life – specifically in contrast to assumptions of change coming from class revolution.⁶⁴ Such spatial relations of difference question what is possible and impossible. They are not prescribed by representations of space and spaces of representation, but are born from the complexity of difference and lived space.

*"The affirmation of difference can include (selectively, that is, during a critical check of their coherence and authenticity) ethnic, linguistic, local, and regional particularities, but on another level, one where differences are perceived and conceived as such; that is, through their relations and no longer in isolation as particularities. Inevitably, conflicts will arise between differences and particularities, just as there are conflicts between current interests and possibilities. Nonetheless, the urban can be defined as a place where differences know one another and, through their mutual recognition, test one another, and in this way are strengthened and weakened."*⁶⁵

62 Shields, p. 183.

63 Massey, 'Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice', pp. 140–141.

64 Goonewardena and others, 'Globalizing Lefebvre?', p. 296; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 16.

65 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 98.

It is this affirmation and valuing of difference that allows Lefebvre's spatial critique to transcend beyond a classical and intransigent political "*right to the city*". However the "*right to difference*" goes further, revealing a somewhat spatially overlooked perspective of the contestation of difference as intrinsic to the negotiation and confrontation of what is possible and impossible.⁶⁶

The right to the city contested as a right to potentially differential space is a radical contextualisation of the Marxist advocacy for change through political action of workers.⁶⁷ In contrast Lefebvre proclaims that by remaking the city through the contestation of difference, we can remake political and economic relations as part of a differential contestation of the spatial trialectic. By living differently and promoting different social relations we would engender representational spaces that respond and engage with such difference. Thus, we might begin to conceive of the socio-spatial framework of space as a support to grass-roots lived spaces of difference, rather than conceiving of its suppression in homogeneity.⁶⁸ However, the implications and challenges of difference are acutely surmised by Liette Gilbert and Mustafa Dikec:

"Unless the forces of the free market, which dominate – and shape to a large extent – urban space, are modified, the right to the city would remain a seductive but impossible ideal for those who cannot bid for the dominated spaces of the city; those, in other words, who cannot freely exercise their right to the city."⁶⁹

For Gilbert and Dikec, the historical complacency of consensus and homogeneity that is born out of abstract space as a conceived and perceived construct is a daunting obstacle to social change. As has been previously noted, this thesis is explicitly not a critique of Western space or of cities in the global south. However, in comparison to Lefebvre's articulation of the positive potential

66 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 60.

67 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 120.

68 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 383.

69 Liette Gilbert and Mustafa Dikec, 'Right to the City', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 261.

of differential space this thesis seeks to explore alternative examples and methodologies of realising differential space. By critically comparing the theoretical social implications of differential space against the informal settlements of the global South this chapter's analysis suggest provocative methodological insights into the appropriation and participation in space that can engender change, contestation and in a non-Western context.

This thesis contends that Lefebvre's concept of differential space is a critical lens through which to interpret the implications, possibilities and positive potential of informal settlements in the global south. Such informal spaces are produced out of material, economic, political and social necessity – out of a spontaneity and invention that necessitates a continual contestation of social relations and the production of provocative alternative, informal and socially different spaces. Informal housing settlements, slums, squats, favelas and barrios are perhaps the epitome of differential space:

“Differences endure or arise on the margins of the homogenised realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities (lateral heterotopical, meteorological). What is different is, to begin with, what is excluded: the edges of the city, shanty towns, the spaces of forbidden games, of guerrilla war, of war. Sooner or later, however, the existing centre and the forces of homogenisation must seek to absorb all such differences, and they all succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted on from their side. In the latter event, centrality and normality will be tested as to the limit of their power to integrate, to recuperate, to destroy whatever has transgressed. [...] The vast shanty towns of Latin America (favelas, barrios, ranchos) manifest a social life far more intense than the bourgeois districts of the cities. [...] The result – on the ground – is an extraordinary spatial quality.”⁷⁰

70 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 373.

Originating from a confrontation of the inequality of industrial Manchester, a contemporary globalised contestation of “*the right to the city*” engages the same issues but outside of the Western spatial field of reference.⁷¹ However the right to the city as an expression of difference in the global South is more pronounced. The extreme polarisation of equality that prevails in informal settlements and economies of absence makes such rights necessities for survival.⁷² The city in the context of necessity and difference is implicitly understood as both a right and a responsibility. When such rights do not exist they are spontaneously seized, appropriated and taken, out of necessity creating informal settlements and differential city spaces. This was the situation Turner encountered in 1960s Peru. The same situation that exists today throughout cities in the global South and increasingly in the global North, necessitating the kind of critical research that this thesis begins to frame.

The underlying reasoning of this thesis' comparative analysis is marked here by this explicit intersection of interdisciplinary discourses when compared with the social and political potential of positive differential space. The participatory methodologies that underpin the development methodologies of Turner and Hamdi can be seen as spatial practices which facilitate the gestation of such differential space. Provocatively such practices are not defined by conventional concrete architectural interventions, but are articulated through confrontation and continual contestation of the broader social and spatial relations of place.⁷³

71 The inability of contemporary Western spatial practices to contest the city is raised in chapter four's introduction of cultural hegemony.

72 C. Douglas Lummis, 'Equality', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 38–54; C. Douglas Lummis, *Radical Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

73 Massey, 'Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice', p. 19.

The Right to Difference

Lefebvre's spatial discourse is recognised as a contestation of the political and social potential of cities understood as a product.⁷⁴ However, by observing the right to difference as a fundamental transition in Lefebvre's discourse prompts further exploration of the positive spatial implications of difference as a means to socially produce alternative relations of space. Here the observation of the city as a right and responsibility in informal spaces also reveals and highlights the hidden differences and contradictions of capitalist hegemonic space.⁷⁵ In other words, if the right to the city is merely the right to abstract space then there is no value in it as part of a social process, and space becomes inanimate, passive and tame.⁷⁶

The right to difference is thus an overarching principal of positive Lefebvrian space that transcends the right to the city.⁷⁷ It implicates the inherent positive potential of Lefebvre's "*social space as a social product*" as an explicit means to counter space as an abstract product (or commodity). Lefebvre is clear that only through practical action is the social responsibility for space made manifest in its articulation and contestation of different possibilities of space through social relations.⁷⁸ They articulate the potential difference and alternative relations of space to contest the inevitability of cultural hegemony. Thus, Lefebvre's advocacy for the critical re-appropriation and re-articulation of social space as a social product is articulated towards the possibility of differential space, and the contestation of the conceived and perceived constructions of abstract space through the material reality and practices of the lived everyday.⁷⁹

74 Elden, p. 144.

75 This connection of the city, difference, rights and hegemony provides a foundation for the comparisons and trajectories explored in the development methodologies of Nabeel Hamdi in chapter four.

76 Massey, *For Space*, p. 23.

77 Merrifield, p. 113.

78 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 52.

79 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 202–205; Merrifield, p. 112.

For Lefebvre, differential space implies the positive potential of liberation. Contrary to difference as merely that which rejects or counters the homogeneity of abstract space, Lefebvre explicitly advocates for space as a “*geography of different rights*” that moves beyond rights in general.⁸⁰ The struggle to implement such rights implies a confrontation with the homogenising power of ideologies, centralities and unlimited growth which enforce themselves through supposed technical and scientific rationality of formal and abstract space which destroy the particular and differential possibilities.⁸¹ Yet here this chapter is confronted with both the great insight and complication of Lefebvre’s approach. He articulates both a dialectical necessity for difference as a vehicle for social and political contestation as interdependent with a necessary ambiguity and illusiveness of form that such spatial contestation might entail:

“With differential space, Lefebvre plays his Nietzschean-Marxist trump card at a decisive moment [...] Differential space isn't systematic, and so the form and content of The Production of Space unfolds eruptively and disruptively, unsystematically through a Nietzschean process of 'self-abnegation'. [...] Nothing even remotely resembles a system [...] neither in form nor in content. 'It's all a question of living,' he explained in closing lines of Le manifeste differentialiste. 'Not just of thinking differently, but of being different,’”⁸²

In the context of this thesis such an advocacy for the positive potential of Lefebvre's “*being different*” is comparable to the material or social scarcity that drives dialectic social change observed by Turner in informal settlements. Lefebvre’s contention that difference must be fought for is perhaps revealing of the passive acceptance that is often observed as afflicting Westernised space.⁸³ In contrast, spaces, practices and relations of difference are a manifestation of

80 Henri Lefebvre, *Le Manifeste Differentialiste* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), p. 45.

81 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 96.

82 Merrifield, p. 117.

83 Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994).

change that is driven from practical and grass-roots dialectical exploration of alterneity, scarcity and necessity. The implication being that difference is found within the interdependence of scarcity, necessity and freedom is suggestive of a re-alignment of the lived, conceived, and perceived trialectic in confrontation with political ideology:

“The reawakening of a ‘politics of difference’ (as opposed to the tendency of homogenisation), in which the rich creativity of the excluded can be developed into a concrete alternative to the present spatial system. Lefebvre detected this in his Latin American travels and stays in the slums and favellas of Brazil, which appeared to be moments in which alternative local spatialisations were brought into existence. Was he a naive romantic?”⁸⁴

This chapter and thesis contend that by looking beyond the confines of Western cities to the contexts of informal settlement spaces we can learn from spatial practices that challenged abstracted hierarchies and social hegemonic trajectories by the simple necessity of being different. This global contextualisation of Lefebvre's differential space-time provides an explicit intersection with Massey's advocacy for the positive interdependence of a relational interpretation of space as a complex multiplicity.⁸⁵ For Massey, urban space, whether formal or informal, is inherently interdependent and relationally constructed.⁸⁶ Local and global differences of culture, economy and social relations thus become an opportunity to recognise, contest and negotiate the material dialectic practices of both specificity and difference.⁸⁷ In this context, differences cannot be isolated. They exist as active connections, allowing such relations to resist structural antagonism and dichotomy.⁸⁸ Interactions within and in between differential spaces and alternative social relations inherently lead to

84 Shields, p. 183.

85 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 180–183.

86 Wendy Harcourt and others, ‘A Massey Muse’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 170.

87 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 5.

88 Goonewardena and others, ‘Globalizing Lefebvre?’, p. 296.

social contact, and to positive spatial agonism and the potential of eventual relational mutuality.⁸⁹ Such a positive conception of difference advocates embracing the potential of the inevitable conflicts, agonisms and intersections of differences that transcend the cohesion of abstract spatial relations and Westernised spaces of neoliberal capitalist hegemony:⁹⁰

“Such alternative and oppositional claims for difference can take on very difference forms and ways of expression: small-scale remittances, counter-projects, anti-imperial insurgencies, rebellions of the disposed in metropolitan centres such as the recent uprisings in Paris, as well as well-documented anti-globalisation struggles and networked encounters. Struggles of peripheralised social groups against segregation and for empowerment can produce their own forms of centrality. [...] The search for new centralities in a contest of translational urbanisation thus leads not only to global and capital cities (New York and London) but also to central places produced by counter-networks and mobilisations (Porto Alegre and Bamako).”⁹¹

Here this thesis aligns with the underlying post-structural and post-colonial tenets of Kanisha Goonewardena et al's recent text *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*.⁹² In seeking to transcend the economic and post-modern analyses of Lefebvre, Goonewardena et al propose a “*third reading*” of Lefebvre with the intention to explore “*a heterodox and open-ended historical materialism that is committed to an embodied, passionately engaged, and politically charged form of critical knowledge.*”⁹³

This third reading of Lefebvre provides a first critical intersection with Homi Bhabha's *third-spaces* and *cultural hybridity*.⁹⁴ In connection with Lefebvre's differential space, this re-reading contextualises cultural identity and difference

89 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 265–266.

90 Stefan Kipfer, ‘How Lefebvre Urbanized Gramsci’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 206.

91 Goonewardena and others, ‘Globalizing Lefebvre?’, p. 296.

92 *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. by Kanisha Goonewardena and others (New York: Routledge, 2008).

within the anti-representational implications of post-colonial "...'*radical openness,*' '*otherness,*' '*margins,*' and '*hybridity,*' where '*everything comes together*' in a place of '*all inclusive simultaneity*'."⁹⁵ This conception of space as both open-ended and interdependent with lived everyday space can be seen vividly explored in Massey's advocacy for space as "*the sphere of coexisting heterogeneity*" and of a "*simultaneity of stories so far*".⁹⁶ Similarly for Lefebvre, to re-assemble the positive potential of such differential lived space required the social transformation of fragments of positive difference in urban life, not its coalescence and reification as within the structural abstractions and reification of modernity.

For Goonewardena et al, the post-structural appropriations of Lefebvre led by Bhabha and similarly the urban political-economic renderings of Harvey largely fail in their attempt to "*overcome the divide between culturalism and economism in a substantive way*".⁹⁷ This thesis' analysis would contend perhaps the same lack of practical positivity of Soja and Harvey, but articulated as a lack of a critical dichotomy between both theoretical and practical discourses on space. Thus, whilst Goonewardena's critique provides a provocative theoretical intersection with this thesis' wider goal of contextualising Lefebvre in a global, plural and positive spatial contexts of difference is welcome, this attempt at a critical expansion of Lefebvre's critical exploration of difference remains conflicted in its critique and rejection of many post-structural adaptations of Lefebvre.

93 Goonewardena and others, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, p. 2; This articulation is made by way of Edward Soja's seminal expansion of Lefebvre's spatial discourse into the hybridity of Los Angeles. The intersection of Soja and Bhabha will not be discussed here as its isolation in the extreme Westernised space of Los Angeles would require a protracted comparison against informal settlements. It does however remain an intriguing opportunity for further research. See Edward W Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996).

94 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 53–56. This connection and the work of Bhabha will be explored extensively in the remaining chapters.

95 Goonewardena and others, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, p. 9.

96 Massey, *For Space*, p. 24.

97 Goonewardena and others, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, p. 8.

Of particular interest is Kipfer's rejection of Derrida's post-structural *différance* as a viable mechanism to contest the cultural practice and identity of differential space.⁹⁸ Thus, the necessary pluralism of spaces that is contested in cultural difference and differential space is an underlying feature that even the provocative insights of Andrew Schmuely⁹⁹ and Richard Milgram¹⁰⁰ respectively cannot quite transcend. This missed opportunity in avoiding Derrida's post-structural articulation of difference is remarkably similar to Massey's critique of the inherent negativity of deconstructive *othering*.¹⁰¹ However, as this thesis will explore in chapter four, Massey in contrast actually extracts crucial value from Derrida.

It is important to note however that Goonewardena et al provide some of the clearest discourse with which to articulate the global implications and positive potential of "*the right to difference*". Their work is thus utilised here in an attempt to generate a wider questioning of the urban question that transcends the structural dichotomies and the traditional mechanisms of political contestation through organised protest and antagonism:

*"... To this end, three tasks will be vital. First, it is important to grasp the basic construction of Lefebvre's epistemology in order to achieve a sound theoretical basis for empirical analysis. Second, fruitful applications of Lefebvre's theory have to be found. Manifold possibilities have arisen for this purpose, which remain to be fully explored. Some promising analyses do exist, however. Third, the crucial point of Lefebvre's approach should be taken into consideration: to go beyond philosophy and theory, and to arrive at practice and action."*¹⁰²

98 Kipfer, p. 202.

99 Andrew Schmuely, 'Totality, Hegemony, Difference: Henri Lefebvre and Raymond Williams', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

100 Richard Milgrom, 'Lucien Kroll: Design, Difference, Everyday Life', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

101 Massey, *For Space*, p. 93.

102 Schmid, p. 43.

This chapter and wider thesis trajectory is itself intended as such a “*fruitful appropriation and application*” of Lefebvre’s theory, which is explicitly seeking to provide practicable and realised examples of positive and alternative social production of space. Here the evocation “*to go beyond philosophy and theory, and to arrive at practice and action*” once again is powerfully evoked in the comparative analysis that this thesis draws with development practice methodologies. One of the great unspoken implications of Lefebvorean critique remains that such examples of practical realisations of social spatial relations are incredibly difficult to discern in a Western context. Even more difficult is to derive fruitful spatial methodologies that underpin such spaces in a positive and meaningful way. It is here that this thesis’ comparisons offer new additions to discourse concerning what the concrete realisation of Lefebvorean space might imply for spatial practices, the agency of architecture and its methodologies of participation.

Appropriation and Difference

Given the premise of this chapter’s comparison in relation to the wider thesis it is necessary here to intersect concepts of appropriation and difference in Lefebvre’s and Massey’s respective discourses. Contemporary examinations of the positive potential of “*the right to difference*” rely upon Lefebvre’s conception of spatial appropriation.¹⁰³ His discourses on spontaneity, contestation and appropriation are explored throughout various texts, notably *The Explosion*¹⁰⁴ and *The Production of Space*. Yet the practical reality of spatial appropriation and its connection to the right to difference remains a problematic contestation. As noted by Walter Prigge, “... *if social power is symbolised in the appropriation of space, the significance of such spatialisation is revealed only through an analysis of these relations of meaning.*”¹⁰⁵ In somewhat of a reflection of this complexity of relational space, Lefebvre’s interpretation of appropriation remains

103 See for example: Harvey, *Rebel Cities*; and Bradley Garrett, *Explore Everything: Place-Hacking the City* (London: Verso, 2013).

104 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*.

105 Walter Prigge, ‘Reading the Urban Revolution’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 48.

problematically balanced between the notion of the city as “*an exquisite oeuvre of practice and civilisation*”,¹⁰⁶ and the explicit political articulation of contestation and spontaneity as a refusal to be integrated.

This complex articulation of the positive political potential of the social appropriation of space is apparently reliant upon both spontaneous moments of everyday festival, and equally upon a political counter-revolutionary uprising from the streets.¹⁰⁷ The city as oeuvre “*is use value and the product is exchange value. The eminent use of the city, that is, of its streets and squares, buildings and monuments, is la fete*”.¹⁰⁸ Whereas in contrast, contestation is born from negation and is articulated by the negative characteristics it brings to light from its place of origin: “*... it surges from the depths to the political summits, which it also illuminates in rejecting them.*”¹⁰⁹

Thus whilst the festival defines a moment in which the world is turned upside down, re-imagined and only symbolically re-enacted, revolution is different – it is for real. It is this disjunctive contrast between Lefebvre's propositions for both positive and negative articulations of appropriation that defines his theoretical and political critique of use value and exchange value. Trapped in the contradiction between the festival of the everyday and the Marxist notion of revolutionary upheaval through class struggle, Lefebvre's critique remains focused upon the danger of the co-option of differential spatial relations rather than a practical positive advocacy.¹¹⁰

Thus appropriation and the contestation of difference is a rallying cry for the urban populous to become apart of social production of space. Yet such theoretical and ideological appropriations run the risk of overlooking the

106 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 126.

107 Such revolutionary uprising was at the forefront of Lefebvre's writing in *The Explosion* etc due to his explicit role and engagement in the 1968 Paris student riots.

108 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 66.

109 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 67.

110 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 356.

quotidian necessity of Lefebvre's spatial, material and dialectical propositions.¹¹¹ As a consequence of these complex academic articulations of appropriation, practical applications of Lefebvre's observations and advocacy for the significance of everyday life as a site of spontaneity, invention and appropriation remain linked to the potential for a working-class revolution in the city.¹¹²

In contrast, Lefebvre's proposition of appropriation as interdependent with quotidian and spontaneous moments offers a clearer articulation of what this thesis seeks to explore in the contestation that arises in "*the right to difference*". This more sensory and material articulation of appropriation in the everyday suggests a more practicable grassroots political engagement with the social relations that articulate the production of space. It is in the context of this practical and material articulation of appropriation as a positive social agonism of difference and multiplicity that Lefebvre's social practices of appropriation and change can be critically compared to the grass-roots social change of alternative participatory development.¹¹³ Thus Lefebvre frees contestation from mere negativity and revolutionary ideology and offers the potential for positive contestation and struggle in concrete material problems.

*"The encounter brings politic back into the city by breaking the circuit of endless reproduction, of ideology masquerading as politics. It becomes a short circuit in a web of social relations. The city itself becomes the privileged subject/object, rather than mere location, of philosophy: the perception of the city as form, as an expression of 'situated knowledge' (the phrase of Bahktin's), constitutes an aesthetic praxis. [...] Lefebvre recovers the utopian potential of aesthetic mediation as a privileged expression of appropriations of the spatio-temporal."*¹¹⁴

111 Henri Lefebvre, *La Somme et Le Reste*, 4th edn (Economica, 2008), IV, p. 676.

112 Merrifield, p. 92.

113 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 150.

114 Sara Nadal-Meslio, 'Lessons in Surrealism', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 167.

With the explicit articulation that it is not enough to simply produce difference and that it is necessary to see difference as part of lived experience and praxis, Lefebvre's discourse of appropriation with spontaneity and moment can be perceived as recognising an explicit value in the social contestation of the material reality of the everyday.¹¹⁵ This everyday contestation as revolution reflects Massey's advocacy for the daily negotiation and contestation of place.¹¹⁶ Through their shared articulation and value of spatial and social difference Massey and Lefebvre can be critically observed as intersecting within the identification of place as formed "*through a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation; practices, moreover, through which the constituent 'identities' are also themselves continually moulded.*"¹¹⁷

This interpretation of Lefebvre's appropriation as a relationally interdependent contestation of the everyday re-frames his earlier discourse on the implications of materials context, lived spaces and the social relations of production.¹¹⁸ As exemplified in chapter two's comparison of dialectical materialism with Turner's "*housing as a verb*",¹¹⁹ this relational interdependence is articulated through a model of informal appropriation which produces social relations through participation, action and a more positive identification of the contestation of space:

*"Central to Lefebvre's materialist theory are human beings in their corporeality and sensuousness, with their sensitivity and imagination, their thinking and their ideologies; human beings who enter into relationships with each other through their activity and practice."*¹²⁰

115 Schmid, p. 28.

116 Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', p. 11; And similarly Jean-Luc Nancy's identification of political space as 'a community consciously undergoing the experience of its sharing'. See Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 40.

117 Massey, *For Space*, p. 154.

118 Shields, p. 119.

119 *Freedom to Build*, ed. by Robert Fichter and John FC Turner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 152.

120 Schmid, p. 28.

This crucial articulation of activity and practice contests the reification and abstraction of space in Western cities and society in general.¹²¹ This is not to suggest that such lived spaces do not express differences, but that they can be critiqued as co-opted and pacified by the logical cohesion, security and hegemonic comfort of capitalist space.¹²² It reflects Lefebvre's nearest confrontation of the imbalance of the conceived and perceived over the material reality of the lived:

“The practice of appropriation [...] manifests a higher, more complex rationality than the abstract rationality’ of modernism. Significantly, as in Hegel’s category of concrete universal, these steps from the abstract to the concrete are seen as a sequence of differentiations: Lefebvre writes explicitly that the inhabitants ‘produce differences in an undifferentiated space.’”¹²³

Appropriation and the alternative social relations that articulate the production of differential space offer a clearer articulation of what we might aspire for in the contestation that arises in “*the right to difference*”. By proposing appropriation as an articulation of social practices that are relationally constructed in both space and time, the potential for positive contestation and struggle is renewed in concrete material problems instead of political and class based ideologies. Appropriation was a part of a social process Lefebvre would label “*cultivated spontaneity*” in *The Survival of Capitalism*.¹²⁴ Yet for Lefebvre contestation and struggle, transgression and creation are dialectically interdependent:

121 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 187–193.

122 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 187; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 69.

123 Lukasz Stanek, ‘Space as Concrete Abstraction’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 66.

124 Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, trans. by Frank Bryant (London: Allison and Busby, 1976), p. 100 For more details see Remi Hess’s ‘postface’ to the third edition of *La survie du capitalisme*, Anthropos, Paris, 2002, pp. 197-214.

*“Transgression without prior project, pursues its work. It leaps over boundaries, liberates, wipes out limits” and advocates the far more explicitly political necessity of an “explosion of unfettered speech.”*¹²⁵

In this context the question remains of how to cultivate such spontaneity without providing the formal fixidity of the prior project, and particularly in light of the abstract technical and bureaucratic space, of modern urban life.¹²⁶ Here, this chapter seeks to articulate and reinforce this thesis underlying comparison of the positive aspirations of this explicitly Western spatial theory with the participatory methodologies of development practice which will be explored in later chapters. Thus, the trajectory of theoretical spatial discourse connecting Lefebvre's differential space to Massey's relational multiplicity articulates an explicitly positive articulation of appropriation, participation and contestation.¹²⁷ Complementary dialogues of the material dialectics, inequality and contradictory space of participatory development practice can thus begin to be re-contextualised as concrete realisations of the positive potential of informal appropriation, difference and multiplicity:

*“How can this homogenising 'contradictory space' become a differential space that particularises and humanises? Against conflict approaches, which begin with the assumption of the primacy of conflict in the relations between economic groups as the basis for the study of society, Lefebvre's formulation poses the disturbing question of people's cooperation, docility and complicitous self-implication on systems of inequality. [...] In answer to these issues, the spatial problematic draws attention to the symbolic and distorted forms of resistance practised through the spatialisation itself: eruptions of instability through the carefully spread net of Cartesian three-dimensional grid of rational and homogeneous modernity. Space itself becomes at once the medium of compliance and resistance.”*¹²⁸

125 Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, pp. 118–119.

126 Merrifield, p. 66.

127 Massey, *For Space*, p. 10.

128 Shields, p. 183.

Participation and Difference

This chapters analysis and comparison of Lefebvre and Massey's discourse highlights a critical intersection of appropriation and spontaneity as spatial practices that are articulated towards the value of the positive contestation of difference. This connection is reinforced in this thesis' comparison of the intersection of differential space with participatory practice. This further reinforces connections to the critical re-reading of Lefebvre's interpretation of social transgressions, placing them in comparison with intersecting theoretical discourses of dialogue,¹²⁹ alterity and multiplicity.¹³⁰ These themes are explored variously in later chapters, however they are introduced here in order to expand the relation of contestation and appropriation with participation and difference. Thus it is compelling to find Sara Nadal-Meslio making explicit references to action, spontaneity and the “*Lefebvorean event*” as a spatio-temporal act of social relation and participation:

“The spontaneity of the desire to connect is unequivocally political and has much in common with the lesser known Bahktinian theorisations of the ‘act’ in his unfinished Towards a Philosophy of the Act. In Bakhtin’s words the act ‘brings together the sense and the fact, the universal and the individual, the real and the ideal.’ As we have seen, the revolorisation of the everyday, enacted through the aesthetic, as the natural milieu of both the ‘event’ and the ‘act,’ as a site for the enactment of being as event, is the prerequisite for both the ‘act’ and the ‘event’ to explode.”¹³¹

129 M. Bakhtin, *Towards a Philosophy of the Act*, trans. by Vadim Liapunov and Michael Holquist, Slavic Series, 10, Reprint (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Leszek Koczanowicz, ‘Beyond Dialogue and Antagonism: A Bakhtinian Perspective on the Controversy in Political Theory’, *Theor Soc*, 40, 553–66.

130 Chantal Mouffe, ‘Space, Hegemony and Radical Critique’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 22–23.

131 Nadal-Meslio, p. 169.

Within Lefebvre's conception of appropriation and contestation as interdependent there remains an implicit connection with the notion of spatial participation.¹³² However Lefebvre's articulations of appropriation in relation to the political representation and manipulation of space suggests that the notion of participation can also be negatively implicated in the co-option and oppression of abstract formal and bureaucratic space. Here Lefebvre employs his spatial articulation of autogestion, as explored in chapter two, as a counter to this potential co-option of participation as merely a mechanism for placating and quieting the populous.¹³³ However this chapter contends that in the confrontation of the co-option of spontaneity, difference and participation, Lefebvre's use of autogestion provides a pronounced intersection with post-structural participation discourses.

In their exploration of practical methodologies of participation, development discourses such as *The Development Dictionary*¹³⁴ and *Participation: The New Tyranny?*¹³⁵ specifically contest the same spatial questions of difference, multiplicity and positive appropriation that this thesis has extracted from Lefebvre and Massey. This intersection of discourses also highlights the problematic gap that has recently been exposed and critiqued in contemporary development and participation discourse¹³⁶. Foundationally, these are key critiques of the same unjust and illegitimate exercise of power that was observed and critiqued in space by Lefebvre's nuanced articulations of co-option and autogestion as interdependent and ever-present within spontaneous spaces of difference.¹³⁷ Reflecting Lefebvre's analysis of the dichotomy of

132 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 68.

133 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 84; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 150.

134 Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, 2nd edn (London: Zed Books, 2010).

135 *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, ed. by Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001).

136 These same disjunctions between the theory and practice of social participation were eminently explored and confronted in the Paris 1968 riots. Perhaps the most famous poster from that event (illustration 5) describes the social disenfranchised Western spaces of participation that Lefebvre's theory contested and that the students sought to confront on the streets of Paris.

137 Nadal-Meslio, p. 167.

participation and difference, co-option and autogestion, this chapter's re-contextualisation and comparison of informal settlements and development practice similarly implicates participation as interdependent with both the positive potential of multiplicity and negative implications of co-option and ideology.¹³⁸

The critical observations of the potential for global co-option, ideology and inevitability in participatory development are exemplified in contemporary discourse by the influential text *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*¹³⁹ which explores a return to the positive potential of facilitated (or cultivated) participation. This critical and challenging examination of the political complexity of development space and global policy is explored in more detail in chapter five, however its intersection here with Lefebvre's positive potential of differential space is provocatively accurate:

*"The idea of 'togetherness in difference' is based on the interspersion and interaction of difference theories. While differences exist, there is also the recognition that relational identities require multiple others so that the identity of one depends upon other/s, which gives groups a mutual stake in one another's existence. At various levels this opens up the possibility that alliances exist since only some differences are intractable."*¹⁴⁰

The most explicit intersection of these trajectories of participation, difference and appropriation is explored by Andrea Cornwall's *Space of Transformation*.¹⁴¹ Cornwall offers a novel and valuable comparison of Lefebvrian spatial analysis

138 Majid Rahnema, 'Participation', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. 132.

139 *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, ed. by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (London: Zed Books, 2004).

140 Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan, 'Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 64.

141 Andrea Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

of contestation, resistance and agency against what she terms “*invited space of participation*”.¹⁴² In contrast to strict structural boundaries of development discourse and theory, this interdisciplinary comparison contests a theoretically provocative explorations of participation and development as a spatial practice:

*“Viewing participation as a spatial practice helps draw attention to the productive possibilities of power as well as the negative effects. [...] Social relations, Lefebvre contends, exist only in and through space; they have no reality outside the sites in which they are lived, experienced and practiced. And every space has its own history, and is threaded through with the traces of other histories, in other spaces, its own 'generative past'. [...] Spaces come to be defined by those who are invited into them, as well as by those doing the inviting.”*¹⁴³

This critique of the invited nature of participatory spaces articulates a theoretical discussion of the complex relations of political, economic and spatial power that practical development methodologies are engaged with, referencing Lefebvre's conception of the trialectic interdependence of space, power and representation. The explicit confrontation of the relations of power and agency is recognised in the significance of the distinction (and difference) between those being invited to participate, and those with the power to invite.¹⁴⁴ In order for participation and change to be transformative and to resist this effect of co-optation, alienation and reification, it cannot be defined by invited spaces. Instead it must become an interdependent part of the everyday social relations, self-management and participatory production of space.¹⁴⁵ Here participation and

142 Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, p. 76.

143 Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, p. 80.

144 Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, p. 76.

145 Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, p. 90.

appropriation are co-implicated in an articulation of positive difference and heterogeneity and the consequences and challenges of this premise are not lost on Cornwall:

“Spaces in which citizens are invited to participate, as well as those they create for themselves, are never neutral. Infused with existing relations of power, interactions within them may come to reproduce rather than challenge hierarchies and inequalities. Yet the 'strategic reversibility' of power relations means that such governmental practices and 'regimes of truth' in themselves are always sites of resistance; they produce possibilities for subversion, appropriation and reconstitution.”¹⁴⁶

Yet in her utilisation of Lefebvre's spatial discourse, crucially Cornwall does not abandon the positive potential of invited spaces of participation. Instead she continues to pursue the socially transformative potential of development through positive and critical spatial practices, observing that the comparison of participation as a spatial practice in a Lefebvrian framework offers a particularly useful critical lens of analysis.¹⁴⁷ In this comparison, spaces of participation can thus be critiqued in terms of the situated nature of such practice within *“bounded yet permeable arenas in which participation is invited, and the domains from within which new intermediary institutions and opportunities for citizen involvement have been fashioned.”¹⁴⁸* This analysis proposes participation as both a positive and situated spatial practice of socio-political contestation of differences and social relations of inequality. Thus when considered in comparison with Lefebvre's differential appropriations of space, Cornwall's articulation of participation can potentially confront and contests the

146 Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', p. 81.

147 Andrea Cornwall, 'Making Spaces, Changing Places: Situating Participation in Development', *Brighton IDS*, 170 (2002).

148 Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', p. 75.

dynamics of power, voice and agency, revealing their material and spatial qualities in order to facilitate the necessary spatial and strategic turns towards a *“more genuinely transformative social action.”*¹⁴⁹

The conception of invited spaces of participation remain for Cornwall a viable positive medium for social change precisely because of the relational potential of space she draws from Lefebvre's spatial turn. In the context of both Lefebvre and Massey's articulations of the positive potential of space, this crucial connection to the agency of participation confronts, contests and appropriates the positive potential of the differential and relational space through the spatial practice of participation. Considered in this way, participation is integral to the production and social practice of space as a political forum and theatre through which positive social debate and transformation can be performed and cultivated:

*“...‘invited spaces’ bring together, almost by definition, a very heterogenous set of actors among whom there might be expected to be significant differences in status. [...] ‘invited spaces’ assemble people who might relate very differently if they met in other settings, who may be seen (even if they don't see themselves) as representing particular interests, and who generally have rather different stakes in, accountabilities for and responsibilities following any given outcome.”*¹⁵⁰

Thus, in comparison with Lefebvre's spatial practices Cornwall's positive notion of invited space exists as a forum in which to assemble heterogenous actors and agency is an articulation of participation in the appropriation and facilitation of *“the right to difference”*. Similarly, the dialogue and negotiation that is implied and necessitated by invited spaces of participation articulates the political possibility of the negotiation of socio-spatial differences. The act of negotiation provides the underlying positive contestation of social relations as a spatial

149 Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, p. 75.

150 Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, p. 76.

practice of dialogue, negotiation and agonistic contestation, moving towards the social production of alternative social space.¹⁵¹ As a consequence of this analysis there remains for Cornwall an explicit awareness of the social and political implications of identity, marginalisation and authority that are entailed within spaces which are 'invited' rather than spontaneous:

“The contrast here between spaces that are chosen, fashioned and claimed by those at the margins – those sites of radical possibility – and spaces into which those who are considered marginal are invited, resonates with some of the paradoxes of participation in development. Yet the boundaries between such spaces are unstable: those who participate in any given space at also, necessarily, participants in others; moving between domains of association, people carry with them experiences and expectations that influence how they make use of their agency when they are invited to participate, or when they create their own spaces. And the scope that 'invited' or 'popular' spaces offer for political agency is, in turn, influenced by a host of contextual factors. Analysed through the lens of the concept of space, the political ambiguities of participation become all the more evident.”¹⁵²

Exploring this issue of the co-option of participation further, Cornwall utilises Lefebvre's conception of space as “...not simply 'there', a neutral container waiting to be filled, but is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control and hence of domination, of power”.¹⁵³ Viewing participation as a spatial practice helps to draw attention to inherent productive possibilities of power as well as the more frequently focused upon negative implications. Here Cornwall's analysis and discourse aligns once again with Massey's advocacy for the positive multiplicity of space.¹⁵⁴ If social relations are produced and reproduced

151 J Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol 1: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society* (Boston: MA: Beacon Press, 1984), pp. p80–81.

152 Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', p. 78.

153 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 24.

154 Massey, *For Space*, p. 100.

only through the specificity and relationality of social sites, then every place has its own history and truly relational places exists as a spatial practice and as such expresses traces of it's own stories and social "*generative past*".¹⁵⁵ Thus for Cornwall, "*Spaces come to be defined by those who are invited into them, as well as by those doing the inviting.*"¹⁵⁶ These socio-spatial relations define the traces and stories of place and identity whether for good or bad or all the complex grey areas in-between.

This interjection of participation as a politically agonistic and positive Lefebvorean spatial practice culminates with Cornwall's utilisation of James C Scott's original discourse on the practices of informal spaces and development.¹⁵⁷ This series of intersecting comparisons begin to reinforce a confirmation of this thesis' interdisciplinary and comparative methodology and the necessity to reveal and contest the hidden potential relationships between the theoretical and practical observations of socially, spatially and relationally produced space:

*"Scott's [...] explicit concern with the spatiality of power and resistance offers useful analytic tools for making sense of the shaping of spaces, and for exploring the potential of differently located spaces. [...] Exploring the extent to which such 'weapons of the weak' are deployed on spaces for participation may be instructive: agendas can be shaped as much through pretending not to understand, remaining silent, staging as argument, taking all at once, as by articulating positions openly."*¹⁵⁸

155 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 110.

156 Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', p. 80.

157 J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, new edition (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987); J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); J.C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

158 Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', p. 82.

The provocative connection of participation and political spatial practice suggests an interdependence of the politically ambiguous potential of participation and the complexity and contradictions of Lefebvre's spatial trialectic. Within this critical framework, the complex social and political ambiguities of the various actors in participatory development that Turner and Hamdi engage with in their practices reflect both Lefebvre's interdependent conceived, perceived and lived spaces,¹⁵⁹ and with Massey's conception of space as the "*sphere of positive multiplicities*".¹⁶⁰

The political and spatial implications and positive potential of participation methodologies is explored in much greater detail in later chapters. However, this chapter's reading of both Lefebvre and Massey's respective articulations of the positive potential of difference and multiplicity has described a trajectory of spatial discourse that intersects with development discourse and the contemporary critical question of participation. Here we find resonance with the Marxist critiques of the co-option of participation and appropriation that is possible when Turner's discourse is mis-interpreted and oversimplified to simple dichotomies of sweat-equity and self-help. As explored in chapter two, by re-reading Turner and Hamdi's participation as contestations of political freedom, autonomy and choice the potential of positive participation reveals a renewed conviction for practical space as the medium for change that is made manifest in spatial relations and practices as an ongoing and unfolding social process.

Positive Multiplicity and Difference

Having exploring this critical trajectory emanating from Lefebvre's production of space, difference and appropriation into participatory development theory, this chapter here suggests a critical connection to Massey's discourse. This thesis re-contextualisation of this analysis offers a critical framework from which to perceive new comparisons and intersections of space to questions of

159 Shields, p. 120.

160 Mustafa Dikec, 'Space as a Mode of Political Thinking', *Geoforum*, 43 (2012), 669–76 (p. 673).

geography, politics, economics and global development. By reading Lefebvre's articulation of differential space and appropriation in connection to the global context of critical development discourse the connection to Massey's positive articulations of multiplicity, difference and space become explicit.

Massey's global spatial critique of structuralism's negative and passive interpretations of space emanates primarily from a geographical interrogation of modern structural systems of differentiation and organisation into bounded places.¹⁶¹ Her discourse contests the implications of structuralism on conceptions, representations and lived experiences of space specifically by confronting how spatial difference has been systematically convened into temporal sequence. Or to paraphrase, how development has become structurally tamed within an ideological progression towards a singular Westernised prescription of modernity.¹⁶² Massey's confrontation and contestation of space as abstract and the inevitability of development intersects with Lefebvre's, Turner's and Hamdi's various advocacy for spatial positivity, heterogeneity and practice. This intersecting advocacy for positive differential space, and an open multiplicity of unfolding development trajectories provides the basis for the wider post-structural field of interdisciplinary references that this thesis utilises.

Massey's analysis observes how different stories and lives are identified and organised within modernity and development as merely moments of existence within the sequential production and performance of a prescribed homogenous development.¹⁶³ This critique of structural space, globalisation and development highlights the socio-political implications of interpreting different places as merely different stages along a single unilinear temporal development. As a counter to this, Massey advocates for an open, plural and mutually interdependent positive space as relationally produced and implicated:

161 David Featherstone and Benedict Korf, 'Introduction: Space, Contestation and the Political', *Geoforum*, 43 (2012), 663–68 (pp. 663–665).

162 Bauman, pp. 59, 123.

163 Massey, *For Space*, p. 68.

*“For to open up ‘space’ to this kind of imagination means thinking about time and space as mutually imbricated and thinking of them as the product of interrelations. You can’t go back in space-time. To think that you can is to deprive others of their ongoing independent stories. It may be ‘going back home’, or just imagining regions and countries as backward, as needing to catch up, or just taking that holiday in some ‘unspoilt, timeless’ spot. The point is the same. You can’t go back. ... You can’t hold places still. What you can do is meet up with others, catch up with where another’s history has got to ‘now’, but where that ‘now’ (more rigorously, that ‘here and now’, that *hic et nunc*) is itself constituted by nothing more than – precisely – that meeting up (again).¹⁶⁴*

This globalised comparison of differential space and multiplicity marks a pivotal intersection in this thesis’ explication and utilisation of the positive potential of space. In simple terms, this chapter’s theoretical framework and critical lens posits that Massey’s multiplicity of space can be re-read as a global articulation for Lefebvre’s differential space. Thus in critiquing the relationship between space and time to global development, Massey’s observation of spatial taming into temporal sequence of singular homogenous capitalist development provides an explicit lineage to Lefebvre’s spatial articulation of Marxist critical theory.¹⁶⁵ By introducing the complexity, implications and potential of coeval multiplicity,¹⁶⁶ Lefebvre’s observations of the social relations and production space are able to be contested as a positive and plural conception of difference and alterneity in contemporary development practice.¹⁶⁷

164 Massey, *For Space*, p. 124.

165 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 4, 82.

166 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 30–32; Massey, *For Space*, p. 59.

167 Goonewardena and others, ‘Globalizing Lefebvre?’, p. 297; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 119.

This comparison contests that Massey's articulations of space and positive multiplicity offers an inherently globalised yet locally interdependent interpretation of Lefebvre's exploration of the production of space.¹⁶⁸ Here the material, relational and dialectic recognition of global inequality in development can be perceived as an expression of the co-option of difference and the denial of multiplicity. It is a critique of both global and local relations and the specificity of place, and of political and economic practices.¹⁶⁹ It is also an explicit critique of post-structural spatial discourses that critique space without challenging the linear western hegemony and subjectivity from whence they are produced:

“Produced through and embedded in practices, from quotidian negotiations to global strategising, these implicit engagements of space feed back into and sustain wider understandings of the world. The trajectories of others can be immobilised while we proceed with our own; the real challenge of the contemporaneity of others can be deflected by their relegation to a past (backward, old-fashioned, archaic); the defensive enclosures of an essentialised place seem to enable a wider disengagement, and to provide a secure foundation. In that sense, each of the earlier ruminations provides an example of some kind of failure (deliberate or not) of spatial imagination. Failure in the sense of being inadequate to face up to the challenges of space; a failure to take on board its coeval multiplicities, to accept its radical contemporaneity, to deal with its constitutive complexity.”¹⁷⁰

Massey's introduction and utilisation of multiplicity reflects a desire and necessity to recognise the positive potential of understanding space and time as interdependent in place, and consequentially, to engage with the plural and open-ended potential difference in global development.¹⁷¹ In contrast to the

168 For a similar utilisation of this comparison, see: J Baldwin, 'Putting Massey's Relational Sense of Place to Practice: Labour and the Constitution of Jolly Beach, Antigua, West Indies', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 94 (2012), 207–21.

169 Massey, *For Space*, p. 173.

170 Massey, *For Space*, p. 8.

171 Massey, 'Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice', pp. 24–25; Massey, *For Space*, p. 11.

authority and quantifiable assumptions of structuralist space, the concept of multiplicity provokes a spatial counter-proposition to the inequality of globalised Western hegemony and homogenisation.¹⁷² In this context, Lefebvre's discourse on difference and appropriation is implicitly a contestation of the same Western spatial reification and hegemonic inequalities, yet the abstract Western context of his analysis lacks the element of space as global multiplicity. It lacked the ability to contest differential space in a global sphere or to engage with the conception of planetary urbanism.¹⁷³

Multiplicity implies the pluralism and difference that Lefebvre strived to release from the historical inevitability of socialist politics and class revolutionary struggle.¹⁷⁴ Yet where appropriation, spontaneity and contestation have lacked traction in the increasingly affluent and politically passive capitalist neoliberal contexts, Massey's notion of the global relationality and implications of space maintains and contests the positive political implications of space as a complex multiplicity, confronting its interdependence with development and inequality. Positive pluralism and open-ended relational dialectic space implies the existence of a simultaneous multiplicity of lived world spaces – “...*cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism.*”¹⁷⁵

The intersections of Massey's social “*relations of paradox and antagonism*” here compare to a Lefebvorean interpretation of appropriation and difference with passive autogestion of social change.¹⁷⁶ Yet more provocatively this interpretation of spontaneity, difference and alterity can also be recognised in

172 Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey and Michael Rustin, 'After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 2013, 8–22; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 212–221.

173 Whilst the rapid acceleration of globalisation might explain this gap in Lefebvre's discourse, it is also noted that he was aware of global inequality and differential spaces, (Merrifield, p. 73.) thus suggesting a form of Eurocentric academic authority that was not contested till the advent of post-colonial theory; see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, New Edition (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007).

174 Shields, p. 125; Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, p. 16.

175 Massey, *For Space*, p. 3.

176 Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, pp. 138–146.

the observations of Turner and Hamdi analysed in this thesis. Their examples and methodologies of participatory development highlight the positive implications of alternative and agonistic spatial practices in the socially sustainable development informal settlements. Just as with Turner's advocacy for the autonomy and user-choice of informal housing, multiplicity implies that the relational specificity of place is key to empowering, and facilitating grass roots change. Thus in comparison with Massey's articulation of multiplicity, space is appropriated as the key medium in which to explore, engage and interact with positive heterogeneity of informal space.¹⁷⁷

This positive and relational interpretation of multiplicity and space is itself somewhat complicated to conceive of, especially when seen from the perspective of Western abstract space – a space largely devoid of contestation and assured of its pre-eminence as the logical pinnacle of development.¹⁷⁸ This is the challenge that Massey's advocacy for the multiplicity of space faces and it suggests the same potential for theoretical abstraction that Lefebvre posited in the co-option of social space and participation.

Yet when critically compared against Massey's discourse of multiplicity and the alternative development practices of Turner and Hamdi, the inherent value of Lefebvre spatial critique of the fragmentation and social production of space can be re-read. In this context, positive difference can be used to confront the negative structural representations of space through the inaction of positive spontaneity and contestation of everyday spatial practices.¹⁷⁹ Massey's successful interrogation of the oppressive nature of spatial fetishism and temporal convening confronts the implications of conceiving of space and time in static dualism throughout structural and post-structural theory.¹⁸⁰

177 Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', p. 13.

178 Bauman, pp. 69–72; Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', p. 11; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 86–87.

179 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 65, 90.

180 And lays the foundation for a spatial critique of post-colonial contestations of identity, values and hegemony that will be explored in the following chapters of this thesis.

As such, this thesis' proposition for a comparison with development methodologies is posited as offering a practical re-contextualisation of Massey's engagement with global inequality and positive heterogeneity.¹⁸¹ By extension this thesis' critical comparisons and re-readings of Turner and Hamdi are inherently also an implicit contestation of Lefebvrian and other Marxist advocacies for political contestations of space, providing a renewed theoretical imperative within the practical methodologies of Turner and Hamdi. Chapter two's example of Turner and Lefebvre could have been considered somewhat a historical conflation of chance, but with this chapter's re-reading of Massey's utilisation of difference as the positive foundations of multiplicity, appropriation and participation this thesis' comparison is validated in its re-contextualisation of both the problems and positive potential of space within global development.¹⁸²

Continuous Multiplicity, Positive Difference and Otherness

Exploring the implications and opportunities of multiplicity further, Massey's analysis leads her to utilise both Henri Bergson¹⁸³ and Gilles Deleuze's¹⁸⁴ respective articulations of relational space in terms of discrete or continuous multiplicities. This contestation of difference reflects a continuation of her earlier feminist work exploring the notion of negative difference in gender politics and is part of a critique of Derrida's dualistic notion of "othering" as negativity.¹⁸⁵ His negativity of "the other" as conceived of as the negative opposite of an accepted identity or meaning is confronted by Massey in her examination of the spatial implications of multiplicity.

181 Revathi Krishnaswamy, 'The Criticism of Culture and the Culture of Criticism: At the Intersection of Postcolonialism and Globalization Theory', *Diacritics*, 32 (2002), 106–26 (p. 119).

182 Massey, *For Space*, p. 39.

183 Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, trans. by F.L. Pogson (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1910).

184 Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism*, trans. by H Tomlinson and Barbara Baggerjam (New York: Zone Books, 1988).

185 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 4, 118.

Massey contests this critical distinction between the discrete and continuous interpretations of multiplicity drawn from Bergson, against the inherent negativity of Derrida's *othering* as both employing the same forms of dualism of time and space, masculine and feminine.¹⁸⁶ Her critique remains that in many ways post-structuralist theory still relies upon discrete and hence closed multiplicities of choice. By exposing that such simplistic dualisms of space are maintained within post-structuralism Massey reinforces the explicit need for the positive multiplicity of space to counter these negative and oppositional interpretations of post-structural space and time:

*“The argument here is instead to understand space as an open ongoing production. As well as injecting temporality into the spatial this also reinvigorates its aspect of discrete multiplicity; for while the closed system is the foundation for the singular universal, opening that up makes room for a genuine multiplicity of trajectories, and thus potentially of voices. It also posits a positive discrete multiplicity against an imagination of space as the product of negative spacing, through the abjection of the other. [...] On this reading neither time nor space is reducible to the other; they are distinct. They are, however, co-implicated. On the side of space, there is the integral temporality of a dynamic simultaneity. On the side of time, there is the necessary production of change through practices of interrelation.”*¹⁸⁷

Yet Massey is explicit in her critique of the negativity of deconstruction¹⁸⁸ and is clear that the utilisation of Derrida's identification of post-structural *difference* is positively linked to the political argument for practical, open and positive space. In contrast to the other as a negativity and a definition of a discrete multiplicity as constituted by division and separation, Massey advocates for a continuum and plurality of multiplicity as overlapping, open and continuous.¹⁸⁹ By

186 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, p. 260; Massey, *For Space*, p. 144.

187 Massey, *For Space*, p. 55.

188 Massey, *For Space*, p. 51.

189 Massey, *For Space*, p. 21.

contesting this connection between difference and otherness Massey activates space as the medium within which to confront identity and pluralism, ideology and multiplicity. The potential positivity of difference exists in multiplicity as an expression, acceptance and advocacy for the configurational openness of space.¹⁹⁰

Thus, in contrast to Bergson and subsequently Deleuze's articulation of discrete multiplicity,¹⁹¹ Massey's alternative advocacy for continuous multiplicity as a positive spatial condition intersects here with this thesis' comparisons with development and inequality. Here, Massey's utilisation of the Lefebvrian spatial turn provides an interpretation of a socially relational production of space which does not seek to produce multiplicity. Instead it merely engages and contests the inherent political implications that exist within the material and relational reality of complex space.¹⁹² Here difference, multiplicity and otherness can be seen to intersect within the medium of positive space and identity. It is this articulation of spatial relations and methodologies to positively engage in the politics of space that this thesis comparisons to development practice begin to reveal and reflectively critique our own Westernised assumptions of inevitability, freedom and choice.¹⁹³

This complex distinction of multiplicity as open, continuous and produced as a spatial practice of identity is of fundamental importance in this thesis' later exploration of difference and identity regarding development. The spatial relations and practices of informality and difference must be understood here as not constructed out of a deconstructed negativity or opposition, but from the open continuum of identity and space that is produced by the true complexity of interactions, agonisms and intersections that are the reality of relational and material space.

190 Massey, *For Space*, p. 12.

191 Deleuze, pp. 44–45.

192 Massey, *For Space*, p. 195.

193 Mouffe, p. 29.

Lefebvre and Massey – Difference and Multiplicity

This chapter's critical comparisons and re-reading has posited that Massey's articulation of multiplicity intersects with Lefebvre's interconnected concepts of appropriation and differential space. As such it has provided a theoretical framework and lens through which Lefebvre's discourse on the city and difference can be re-read in the context of contemporary global development inequality. As a consequence of this analysis, both Lefebvre and Massey's respective advocacies for positive heterogeneity can be contested within this thesis' wider confrontation of post-structural global discourses of identity, authority and difference in the coming chapters.

This complex trajectory between Lefebvre and Massey's positive articulations of, difference, multiplicity and the production of alternative socio-spatial practice is perhaps aligned closest with Andrea Cornwall's notion of "*invited spaces*" in participatory development practice. Yet this does not exhaustively or conclusively explore the global potential of Lefebvre's spatial critique, nor confront the problematic implications of introducing the global inequality of development into Lefebvre's discourse.¹⁹⁴ Whilst Lefebvre explicitly recognises uneven development and the predicament of the developing world as an expression of the hegemony of global capitalism, it remains merely a momentary point of critique rather than contested as the opportunity for change, spontaneity and positive agency and practice that this thesis proposes.¹⁹⁵ Thus it is only in the scarce explorations of Merrifield and Goonewardena et al, that notions of post-colonialism, identity and pluralism begin to be connected to Lefebvre's critique of abstract space.¹⁹⁶

This thesis' utilisation of Massey's multiplicity as a global contextualisation of Lefebvre's difference and spatial appropriation provides a foundation and theoretical lineage for the interdisciplinary comparison with Turner and Hamdi in

194 Merrifield, p. 118.

195 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 383.

196 Kanisha Goonewardena, 'Marxism and Everyday Life', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Merrifield, p. 130; Goonewardena and others, 'Globalizing Lefebvre?'.

the coming chapters. These critical comparisons will seek to articulate and compare the positive heterogeneity of development practice methodologies as a mechanism to reveal the true political potential of differential space and multiplicity in spatial practices and social relations of informal space:

“Imagining space as always in process, as never a closed system, resonates with an increasingly vocal insistence within political discourses on the genuine openness of the future. It is an insistence founded in an attempt to escape the inevitability which so frequently characterises the grand narratives related by modernity. The frameworks of Progress, of Development and of Modernisation, and the succession of modes of production elaborated within Marxism, all propose scenarios in which the general directions of history, including the future, are known. [...] Only if the future is open is there any ground for a politics which can make a difference.”¹⁹⁷

This quote's articulation of the political implications of difference only being possible *“if the future is open”* provides a concise and crucial connection to the plural global trajectories of development. By implication this premise contends that only the open development of continuous and practiced multiplicity offers a means to transcend the historical, spatial and political directions of globalisation or the similar restrictions of negative Marxist thought and social agency. The introduction of Massey's positive heterogeneity, openness and multiplicity of space stands in contrast to institutional Marxism's structural and negative critique, allowing this thesis to articulate space as a medium for positive possibilities and a critical lens with which to compare and critique development and architecture. Massey's introduction of multiplicity can thus be understood as implicating space with the potential of alternative and multiple futures, stories and social relations, but is also intimately connected to the human acts of social participation that make such alternatives possible. This is in effect the positive heterogeneity of multiplicity that this thesis seeks to explore, compare and contest in the remaining chapters.

197 Massey, *For Space*, p. 11.

Here the comparisons to development practices methodologies that this thesis proposes builds upon these theoretical foundations and seeks further opportunities for critical reflection on the practical potential and implications of space and the right to difference and multiplicity. Does the openness and necessity of participatory development provide a medium of space in which the social aspirations for difference and multiplicity of Lefebvre and Massey have actually been realised? And if so what does this imply as a reflective critique of the assumed exemplary realisations of choice and freedom offered by Western spatial relations and practices?

Chapter Four – Geometries of Power and Small Change

Building upon chapter three's observations of critical intersections in theoretical concepts of the right to difference, participation and multiplicity, chapter four turns to a comparative analysis of the development practice of Nabeel Hamdi and Doreen Massey's critical spatial discourse concerning geometries of power. This interdisciplinary comparison is based upon a close critical reading of the methodological practices and observations of Hamdi as exemplars and concrete realisations of Massey's advocacy for space as a positive and open socio-political development and multiplicity.

In exploring Massey's discourse in further detail this chapter will contest concepts of cultural hegemony and global spatial homogenisation against Hamdi's articulation of small change as mechanisms of disruption, social catalysis and alternative development practices. Specifically, the positive potential of such socio-spatial disruption in development practice allows this analysis to contextualise Hamdi's practices of *small change*¹ against contemporary spatial discourse concerning agonistic and counter-hegemonic political theory.²

In connection with this thesis' wider premise, this chapter will suggest that the necessity and scarcity of informal space allows Hamdi to articulate mechanisms of social change and the contestations of spatial relations that offer concrete realisations to the complex Western advocacies of Massey et al. Thus the opportunity for change Lefebvre highlighted as held within the social relations of space and difference are observed in Hamdi's methodologies. Yet in the plurality and openness of his approach Hamdi offers a closer reflection to Massey's relational multiplicity of space. Here Massey's premise that the

1 Nabeel Hamdi, *Small Change* (London: Earthscan, 2004), p. xvii.

2 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 2001), p. 7.

relations, contentions and conditions of space are produced, is confronted by the spatial practices of agonism and disruption, and the rich continuum of possibilities offered by informal spaces and development.³

In drawing theoretical comparisons to Hamdi's positive practices and methodologies, this chapter offers a critical re-reading of Massey's spatial contextualisation of hegemony against both its original articulations by Antonio Gramsci,⁴ and more contemporarily, Chantal Mouffe's and Ernesto Laclau's political counter-hegemony.⁵ This theoretical framework allows the concept of cultural hegemony to be introduced and to contest the spatial and cultural factors that Massey observes as implicating space and global development as negatively constrained and perceived as a fixed homogenous inevitability.⁶ Massey's conjecture against the spatial taming and passive conception and manipulation of space towards a singular and universal model of Western development is shown to intersect with Hamdi's advocacy and facilitation of disruption, alterity and diversity as a concrete contestation of inevitability.⁷ It is in this connection and comparison that Hamdi's methodologies can begin to be recognised as offering insight into practical methods with which to facilitate the positive potential of space as a multiplicity.⁸

In support of this comparison this chapter will highlight various points of Hamdi's discourse that reveal an explicit articulation of practices of disruption, social agonism and spatial catalysts that each contribute to the provocative political potential of development.⁹ Examples drawn from Hamdi's work demonstrate economic and social disruptions to the space of development that contest and

3 Laclau and Mouffe, p. 190.

4 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971).

5 Chantal Mouffe, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?', *Social Research*, 66 (1999), 745–58 (pp. 755–756).

6 Doreen Massey, 'Politics and Space/Time', *New Left Review*, 196 (1992); Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 11.

7 Massey, *For Space*, p. 154.

8 Massey, *For Space*, p. 175.

9 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 140.

confront the political and cultural hegemony that pervade the global South.¹⁰ Practicing in contexts of cultural hegemony and political inequality, this chapter's comparison proposes Hamdi's methodologies as rare practical examples of the potential for positive alternative socio-cultural relations and positive counter-hegemonies born from the practices of disruption.

In contrast to passive Westernised space, notions of hegemony, disruption and the social and material production of space are explicitly recognisable in Hamdi's work as part of the uneasy and uncomfortable contextual reality of engaging with the complexity of informal space.¹¹ Through this process Hamdi's work and discourse can be re-read and re-valued for revealing the spatial practices and methodologies needed to contest Massey's positive space as the sphere of multiplicity, of simultaneous stories-so-far, and of trajectories and stories yet to be.¹²

In light of this critical reading and comparison, the social and political disruptions generated by Hamdi's practices in contexts at the periphery of economic instability can subsequently be recognised as realisations of dialectical social change. Thus, like Turner's models of progressive housing, Hamdi's community and enterprise based participatory practices are observed as producing spatial opportunities for alternative sustainable social relationships. This thesis' comparative re-reading and re-contextualisations against spatial theory thus allows the interpretation of these methodologies as counter-hegemonic practices of grass-roots networked governance and social participation.¹³

10 Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2013), p. 119.

11 Doreen Massey, 'Philosophy and Politics of Spatiality: Some Considerations - The Hettner-Lecture in Human Geography', *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 87 (1999), 1–12.

12 Massey, 'Politics and Space/Time', pp. 24, 54.

13 Laclau and Mouffe, p. xv.

Building upon this critique of hegemony, Hamdi's appropriation for disruption is complemented by his use of an open-ended model of participatory practice and learning.¹⁴ This chapter's discourse will seek to offer a speculative comparison of these practices as maintaining the local material and social realism of specificity with the necessity of strategic scalability necessary to provide socially sustainable change. Subsequently, Hamdi's practices are similarly compared with Massey's advocacy for space as the sphere of relational politics.

This analysis and comparison is finally explored through an intersecting discussion of scale and relationality. Massey's articulation of the relational interdependence of global and local space¹⁵ is offered against Hamdi's advocacy for small changes as catalysts for strategic scalability of ideas and alternative social relations.¹⁶ Within such richly complicated contexts, the strategic scalability of such small and humble practices reveal opportunities for intervention and empowerment through participation. This chapter's intersection of theoretical and practical advocacies for space combine to contest the positive political opportunity of small change and alternative hegemonic projects to reveal and contest the fundamental faults that exist within the passive inevitability and socio-economic power-geometries of capitalist space.¹⁷

Geometries of Power, Inevitability and Small Change

In his seminal texts *Small Change*¹⁸ and *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*¹⁹ Nabeel Hamdi makes repeated and explicit reference to the implications of his participatory development practice on the political stability and social fabric of place. These references highlight the social and political

14 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 98.

15 Massey, *For Space*, p. 180.

16 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 110–115.

17 David Featherstone, *Space and Political Identities: The Making of Counter-Global Networks* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), pp. 36–38; Laclau and Mouffe, p. xix.

18 Hamdi, *Small Change*.

19 Nabeel Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (London: Earthscan, 2010).

implications of such models of development interactions in “*other*” peoples space,²⁰ and reflect an explicit recognition of global development intervention in terms of anthropological authority, post-colonial identity and textual values. These issues are discussed further in chapters five and six, however this chapter first seeks to explore and contextualise Hamdi's methodologies of participatory development in comparison with discourses concerning hegemony, power-geometries and global local relations of place. This analysis begins with a critical contextualisation of Massey's articulation of geometries of power as defining an assumed inevitability of globalised capitalistic hegemony.

Hamdi's development practice methodologies are inherently based upon various techniques he identifies under the concept of “*small change*”. These practices of participation, empowerment, and facilitation are focused upon targeted, efficient and simple practical actions to confront and engage people in the production of social space and the practice of social relations.²¹ His discourse and methodologies have been widely applauded and advocated as offering concrete and practical potential for profound spatial and ideological change by placemaking and community building.²² Yet this chapter will posit that these practices also inherently question and contest the cultural assumptions of what change and development looks and feels like. They challenge both the institutional assumptions of development and also the expectations of local people, prompting a positive and alternative contestation of how to define and facilitate positive social change.²³ Hamdi's participatory practices offer an alternative visions of change and growth and question the inevitability of development, yet in the context of Cornwall's warnings of the political power of

20 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 56; A Kaplan, *The Development Practitioner's Handbook* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), p. 107.

21 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xx. Examples of such practices can be found both in this chapter (pied bus and pickles) and in chapters five and six.

22 Murray Fraser, 'The Future Is Unwritten: Global Culture, Identity and Economy', *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), 60–65 (pp. 63, 65); Jeni Burnell, 'Small Change: Understanding Cultural Action as a Resource for Unlocking Assets and Building Resilience in Communities', *Community Development Journal*, 48 (2012), 134–50 (pp. 135–137).

23 Fritjof Capra, *The Hidden Connections. A Science for Sustainable Living* (London: Harper Collins, 2002), p. 102.

invited spaces of participation observed in the previous chapter,²⁴ the more complex political and cultural implications of the disruption and social implications of participation are important to explore in closer detail.²⁵

The explicit recognition of Hamdi's practices and methodologies as inherently disruptive affords a comparison with Massey's critique of the spatial interdependence with power, hegemony and inevitability. The self-awareness of Hamdi in his articulation of development as a disruptive practice implicates his work with a critical understanding of the inevitable consequence of contesting conditions, relations and existing issues that define the power-geometry and hegemony of his working contexts throughout the global South. In order to invoke the kinds of social and political change that Hamdi is lauded for achieving, this critical recognition of the socio-political complexity of development suggests that potentially all development practice must be interpreted as an inevitable disruption to the cultural, political and economic status quo.

Yet in contrast to the assumptions of development as a process of homogeneity and inevitability, and in spite of the complexity of the existing social context, Hamdi's practices actively seek to reveal and activate a contestation of existing hegemonic social relations:

“Practice disturbs. It can and does promote one set of truths, belief systems, values, norms, rituals, powers and gender relations in place of others. It can impose habits, routines and technologies that may lead to new and unfamiliar ways of thinking, doing and organising, locally, nationally and even globally. It may do this intentionally because the existing structures have become malignant, or because

24 Andrea Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 80.

25 Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona and Theo Kolstee, 'Contemporary Spatial Strategies and Urban Policies in Developing Countries: A Critical Review', in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997); Wolfgang Sachs, 'One World', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 111–26; Serge Latouche, 'Standards of Living', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010).

they could work more effectively if they were to change, or because there is no order – no sophistication where it is needed. It may also do so in the interests of one power elite over another to induce internationally a new global order. In all these respects, practice – that artful skill of making things happen; of making informed choices and creating opportunities for change in a messy and unequal world – is a form of activism and demands entrepreneurship.”²⁶

For Hamdi it is clear that being engaged in development practice and actively interested in the spaces of others must inevitably disturb their space. Within this analysis Hamdi provides a tacit recognition that his development practice is engaged with the articulation and manipulation of structures, be it intervening against “*malignant relationships*” or introducing “*order and sophistication*”. This interpretation of development as inherently an intervention within the hegemony, inevitability and assumed trajectory of development suggests the concurrent realisation that such contestations inevitably generates both winners and losers.²⁷ Thus, in the framework of this thesis' critical analysis Hamdi's conscious, practical and agonistic engagement with the disruption of social relations is interpreted as a contestation of social hegemony and spatial inevitability. By engaging in the alternative and differential practices of informal necessity Hamdi's practices of small change and participation offer opportunities for positive disruption of expectations and prejudices, authorities and assumptions, vulnerability and aspirations.

This comparative re-reading of Hamdi in the context of Massey's relational spaces of development is built upon explicit recognition of the widely demonstrated implications of capitalism as producing unequal relations not merely of economics, but of geometries of power (be it economic, social or political) for the benefit of some and to the detriment of others.²⁸ Once this notion of development as being intrinsically interdependent with both local and global geometries of power is accepted, the remaining question relates to which participants or beneficiaries in such practices are going to benefit from such

²⁶ Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xix.

²⁷ Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 73, 99; Capra, p. 102.

interventions? The true social and political implications of development practice are revealed in the either positive or negative political articulations and confrontations of such disruptions.²⁹ In this context Hamdi cites Joke Schrijvers: “*This struggle for world hegemony was and continues to be at the core of what is lovingly referred to as development cooperation*”, a process in which the poor (and their governments) had to be willing to cooperate if they were to reap the benefits of globalisation and the good life:

*“The results: most who participated became co-opted into systems of production and trade, agreed internationally and reflected in such policies as structural adjustment. In practice, the highest toll (of such structural adjustment programmes) fell on the poorest social group, not on governments or other elites. Women, responsible for day-to-day survival and for the children, shouldered the greatest burden.”*³⁰

The notion that within development there must inevitably and inherently be winners and losers of such interventions is inevitably an oversimplification of the complex situation in the balance of development and global inequality. Yet in contrast to traditional Westernised development interventions of formal and abstract paternalism, by contesting assumptions of development in this way this thesis' critical comparison observes that Hamdi in fact advocates for a truly innovative and post-structural approach to development by engaging and valuing the spaces and values of others:³¹

28 Doreen Massey, ‘Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time’ (University of Heidelberg: Heidelberg: Department of Geography, 1999), p. 33; Arun Saldanha, ‘Power Geometry as Philosophy of Space’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 48; David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, Revised edition (University of Georgia, 1973), pp. 75, 78–79; David Harvey, *Rebel Cities* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 162.

29 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 73; Capra, p. 102.

30 Joke Schrijvers, *The Violence of Development* (Utrecht: International Books, 1993), p. 11.

31 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 118.

“We had learnt that peacemaking could mediate the interests and values [...] of different kinds of community. Engaging these partners in participation would be to 'dance with conflict' literally and metaphorically to acknowledge their roles as agents of change.”³²

In this context it is crucial to observe the intersection of Hamdi's development as disruption with Massey's articulation of the inevitability of development as interdependent with an increasingly homogenous and hegemonic global presumption of space.³³ To ground this comparison it is necessary to understand that Massey's contestation of the passivity of such spaces of development is defined by the interdependence of cultural and political relations and the assumption that capitalist models of growth, economics and society were an inevitable and universal answer:

“Moreover, within the history of modernity there was also developed a particular hegemonic understanding of the nature of space itself, and of the relation between space and society. One characteristic of this was an assumption of isomorphism between space/place on one hand and society/culture on the other. ... It was a way of imagining space – a geographical imagination – integral to what was to become a project for organising global space. ... It is a response which takes on trust a story about space which in its period of hegemony not only legitimised a whole imperialist era of territorialisation but which also, in a much deeper sense, was a way of taming the spatial.”³⁴

This critical observation of the taming of space and global development implicates an interdependent link between to the hegemony of capitalist social relations and an inevitable cultural passivity and acceptance of what change looks and feels like.³⁵ In reading Massey's alternative and critical discourse on space we can contend that modernity as a project conflated the representation

32 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 33.

33 Massey, *For Space*, p. 11; Doreen Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18 (p. 13).

34 Massey, *For Space*, p. 64.

and abstraction of space into intersecting trajectories, geographies and geometries of power.³⁶ Reflecting much of Lefebvre's earlier criticism of the fragmentation of abstract space, Massey observes and articulates modern space and its concurrent neoliberal political and economic context as a system of formal and abstract structure of assumption, fixidity and inevitability that articulates and enforces hegemonic ideologies through space. This critical interrogation of structuralism implies modern space as simultaneously refusing to acknowledge the fractures, instabilities and multiplicity of space and culture.

However the full spatial implications of this structural project of modernity have begun to be recognised in the wake of post-colonial contestations of identity complex overlapping and practiced. This cultural contestation of the cohesion and hegemony of modern space can in some ways be recognised as a reactionary mechanism to deal with the creativity, difference and confrontation of otherness.³⁷ In contemporary post-structural discourse identity and space are newly recognised as interdependent within complex and social and spatial relations that overlap, intersect and combine to produce a rich multiplicity of space.³⁸ In this analysis, Massey provides an invaluable point of theoretical critique between the global space of development and the political and cultural hegemony of capitalist policies and practices that evoke the necessity of cohesion and stability within the identity of global development space.³⁹ Thus whilst Massey's positive multiplicity of space might be conventionally restricted in terms of its practical applicability to Westernised space by the institutional assumptions of formal abstract space of structuralist theory, in Hamdi's practices of disruption we find hints of the positive potential of development that revels in the confrontation of such hegemony.⁴⁰

35 Doreen Massey, 'When Theory Meets Politics', *Antipode*, 40 (2008), 492–97 (pp. p496–497); Sachs.

36 Massey, *For Space*, p. 63.

37 Massey, *For Space*, p. 65.

38 Explored further in chapter five.

39 Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 59–60.

40 Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey and Michael Rustin, 'After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 2013, 8–22.

Cultural Hegemony

In order to further explore this chapter's comparison of Hamdi's small change and Massey's critical discourse on the inevitability of development, this thesis now seeks to contextualise Massey's utilisation of spatial hegemony by pursuing its broader political and cultural foundations. This process begins with the explication of Marx's descriptions of hegemony, which can be reasonably and succinctly paraphrased as the systemic oppression of the working class by a ruling elite through ideology and superstructure, and the cultural institutions, power structures, rituals and state.⁴¹ This groundbreaking articulation of the socio-political framework and concurrent hegemonic inequality was developed later in Antonio Gramsci's examination of cultural hegemony and its implications as an explicitly cultural sphere of intellectual and moral leadership.⁴² Gramsci critiqued hegemony as cultural practices of identity, institutional representation and fundamentally as the suppression of alterneity and otherness.⁴³ However he is also very careful to articulate hegemony as not defining an unchangeable inevitability but merely reflecting the implications of a dominant cultural power.⁴⁴ Crucially he notes that:

“... it is precisely the porosity of a hegemonic bloc to the demands of others which provides a cause for optimism. A ruling power that asks for consent and yet which cannot give voice to the aspirations of those in whose name it rules will not survive indefinitely.”⁴⁵

41 Karl Marx, *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. by D McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 164; Laclau and Mouffe, p. 85.

42 Steve Jones, *Antonio Gramsci* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 49–52.

43 Revathi Krishnaswamy, 'The Criticism of Culture and the Culture of Criticism: At the Intersection of Postcolonialism and Globalization Theory', *Diacritics*, 32 (2002), 106–26 (p. 115).

44 Here we can observe once again a close and complementary Marxist interrogation of space to that of Lefebvre's articulation of the inherently positive potential of the reproduction of the social relations of production as noted in chapter three. See: Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, trans. by Frank Bryant (London: Allison and Busby, 1976).

45 Jones, p. 47.

Gramsci argues positively that this “porosity” explicitly suggests and implies that the process of hegemonic development must be continuous, unfixed and open. As a consequence of this inherent instability and the implicitly false appearance of cohesion that sustains such hegemonic relations, space is rich with identities and communities that represent alternative and subaltern social relations. Gramsci posits that over time such identities pass from isolation and exclusion to become protagonists, and eventually as potentially effective counter-movements to the cultural institutions and political ideology.⁴⁶

It is this positive potential of hegemonic porosity as articulated through the voices of otherness and alterity that provided the foundation for Mouffe and Laclau's now seminal text *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*.⁴⁷ The agonistic politics posited by Mouffe and Laclau provide Massey with a positive articulation of counter-hegemonic space as interdependent with issues of identity, otherness and disruption.⁴⁸ Massey's utilisation of these intersections as factors in space and development further reinforce this chapter's critical comparisons to Hamdi's participatory practice engagement with identity and change. Thus it is important to note Chantal Mouffe's reflections on Massey's contribution to contemporary discourse on hegemony:

“Such an adversary cannot be defined in broad general terms like ‘Empire’ or subsumed under an homogenous label such as ‘capitalism’, but in terms of nodal points of power that need to be targeted and transformed in order to create the conditions for a new hegemony. It is a ‘war of position’ that needs to be launched in a multiplicity of sites. This can only be done by establishing links between social movements, political parties and trade unions, as Doreen Massey’s own political interventions have strived to do. To create, through the construction of a chain of equivalences a

46 Gramsci, p. 170.

47 Laclau and Mouffe.

48 Michael Rustin, ‘Spatial Relations and Human Relations’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 59.

*'collective will' aiming at the transformation of a wide range of institutions so as to establish new geometries of power is, in my view, the kind of critique suited to a radical politics.*⁴⁹

In their aspiration to explore the positive potential of a socialist hegemonic strategy, Mouffe and Laclau build upon Gramsci's critique of the historical sedimentation of Marxism and socialist political theory which they suggest has become suffocated by a layered historical contingency with capitalism. In contrast to this they explicitly propose to challenge the *"increasing gap between the realities of contemporary capitalism and what Marxism could legitimately subsume under its own categories"*.⁵⁰

In response to this *"gap"* Mouffe and Laclau advocate the necessity of a political reactivation *"...to show the original contingency to the synthesis that the Marxian categories attempted to establish."*⁵¹ In other words, their project is an explicit attempt to return to the original political reaction of Marxism against the inherent crisis of capitalism. In this task they explicitly extend upon key contributions of Gramsci's departures from institutional Marxism, offering a renewed intellectual arsenal of concepts, and specifically *cultural hegemony*, from which to pursue the potential of an alternative socialist and counter-hegemonic strategy.⁵²

Gramsci's conception of the hidden yet inherent political and cultural production of hegemony as itself a continuous process allows Mouffe and Laclau a provocative theoretical framework from which to contest the limits of hegemony. They propose that if the cultural implications of hegemony lie in the relationships that exists between constructed unequal power-relations and the project of capitalism to produce them, then the opportunity for positive and alternatives counter-spaces must also originate from such socio-spatial

49 Chantal Mouffe, 'Space, Hegemony and Radical Critique', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 30.

50 Laclau and Mouffe, p. viii.

51 Laclau and Mouffe, p. xvii.

52 Laclau and Mouffe, p. ix.

relations of false cohesion.⁵³ This notion of hegemony as being a political and cultural response to the inherent fracture, rupture and dislocation of logical capitalist cohesion articulates such development as a manipulation of material and social relations within the progression of historical necessity. This gap or fracture is both caused by and subsequently proliferates within capitalist space:

“The concept of hegemony did not emerge to define a new type of relation in its specific identity, but to fill a hiatus that had opened in the chain of historical necessity. ‘Hegemony’ will allude to an absent totality, and to the diverse attempts at recomposition and re-articulation which, in overcoming this original absence, made it possible for struggles to be given a meaning and for historical forces to be endowed with full positivity. The contexts in which the concept appear will be those of a fault (in the geological sense), of a fissure that had to be filled up, of a contingency that had to be overcome. ‘Hegemony’ will not be the majestic unfolding of identity but the response to a crisis.”⁵⁴

Thus capitalist hegemony can be critiqued as the reaction to an imbalance of social and economic relations. It is a cultural and social condition and an articulation of the logical cohesion of capitalist space as inevitability. However as Gramsci, Mouffe and Laclau, and Massey have each sought to articulate, positive alternatives to this inevitability can be found in the subaltern, difference and otherness that exists within these gaps and fractures of capitalist cohesion.⁵⁵ Once again, this analysis that reinforces the potential of this chapter's comparison of Hamdi's practices of intervention within just such peripheral contexts of alterity.

53 Laclau and Mouffe, pp. 51–52; Clive Barnett, ‘Deconstructing Radical Democracy: Articulation, Representation, and Being-With-Others’, *Political Geography*, 23 (2004), 503–28 (p. 515).

54 Laclau and Mouffe, p. 7.

55 Jane Willis, ‘Place and Politics’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chicago: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 132; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 70.

Concurrently, this suggests that alternative constructions of relations and power-geometries could – and indeed for Mouffe and Laclau should – be equally used in a positive way.⁵⁶ This point is crucial to this chapter's positive comparisons with Hamdi's practices of disruption and small change. If the social and spatial hegemony encountered in development and in all spatial practices is understood as a constructed imbalance, then alternative and disruptive practices could be articulated to produce new counter-hegemonic political spaces. Such spaces are not a panacea, but they might exist as imperfect articulations of more socially viable geometries of power that are practiced and performed in explicitly political, plural and agonistic forms of space. They might facilitate a process of positive, open and self-aware spatial relations and the potential of a more socially articulated cultural hegemony:

“Our approach is grounded in privileging the moment of political articulation, and the central category of political analysis is, in our view, hegemony.”⁵⁷

Here Mouffe and Laclau privilege the political moment and action that is inherent within hegemony as a positive cultural expression of the political voice of an active society. In critique of this perhaps over-simplistic and theoretical explication of positive hegemony, John Clarke is noted as suggesting an almost utopian evasion of the material reality of such positive conceptions. Clarke notes an almost ideological (Mouffe and Laclau would use *symbolic*⁵⁸) overlooking of the ruling bloc and capitalism's inherent ability to reshape the conditions upon which such potential alternative actions need to gain momentum.⁵⁹ Similar contestations of the potential political limitations and implications of positive hegemony are articulated by Stefan Kipfer, noting hegemony must be understood as forever entwined in a continuous dialectical

56 Laclau and Mouffe, p. 183; Jones, p. 130.

57 Laclau and Mouffe, p. x.

58 Anna Marie Smith, *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 103.

59 J Clarke, *New Times and Old Enemies: Essays of Cultural Studies and America* (London: Harper Collins, 1991).

process.⁶⁰ Thus the positive counter-hegemonic spaces this chapter compares in Hamdi's methodologies are dependent upon the continuous process of political democracy and the plural logic of difference and discursive identity.⁶¹ In returning to Massey's spatial contextualisation of the hegemonic process we can see this endless debate as in fact integral to the articulation of relational yet specific equalities of space:

*"In order to respond to specificity, however, one needs (ever provisional) agreement about aims, and that requires global fora of a very different nature. [...] The objection to such a suggestion would undoubtedly be that it would lead to endless debate and disagreement. And it undoubtedly would. But endless debate and disagreement are precisely the stuff of politics and democracy."*⁶²

Thus, building upon this chapter's notional comparison of positive hegemony and development, the need exists to ground Ernesto Laclau's aspirations for positive hegemonic process within Massey's critical relational and spatial theoretical field.⁶³ In Massey we find a renewed spatial aspiration and positive re-articulation of the question of hegemony within the interdependence of space and development. The interdependence of spatial relations and the openness of relations being constantly reproduced and continuously shifting power-geometries articulates the potential of positive hegemony in the performance and practice of Hamdi's examples of participatory development.⁶⁴

In contrast to today's hegemonic story of globalisation, and its temporal convening towards universal structures of modernity, for Massey global space is about contemporaneity. In contrast to inevitability, space is about openness and must be practiced in ways which revel, contest and confront the existing

60 Stefan Kipfer, 'How Lefebvre Urbanized Gramsci', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 206–207.

61 Kipfer, p. 203.

62 Massey, *For Space*, p. 103.

63 Massey, *For Space*, p. 25; Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London: Verso, 1990), p. 72.

64 Massey, *For Space*, p. 85.

relations, fractures, discontinuities and practices of capitalist hegemonic space. In this identification of positive hegemony and spatial practice, this chapter returns to the comparison with the development methodologies of Hamdi. Echoing Massey's utilisation of both Gramsci and Mouffe and Laclau's contestation of hegemony, the pronounced spatial observations of Hamdi and examples that follow in this chapter reflect this same contestation of hegemony in spatial relations.

Hamdi's participatory practices in informal communities and the global South articulate the potential of counter-hegemonic spaces as being readily contested outside of the spatial and economic formality and structuralism of Westernised space in the informality of the global South. Such examples and practical realisations of small change and disruption can be considered as inherently dialectical processes that contest socio-spatial relations and give rise to the potential of positive alternatives. Thus this chapter is able to begin to advocate the practices and discourses that define Hamdi's alternative and positive developments of small change as perhaps providing concrete exemplars of positive alternative hegemony.

Small Change

*"... 'small' because that's usually how big things start; 'change', because that's what development is essentially about; and 'small change', because this can be done without the millions typically spent on programmes and projects."*⁶⁵

The disarmingly modest title of Hamdi's "*Small Change*" is itself an emblematic articulation of his alternative practice. The humility of this phrase conceals a socio-spatial complexity of methodology that this chapter advocates as a profound articulation and practical confrontation of the theoretical implications of cultural hegemony and the positive potential of spatial practices of targeted disruption. In contrast to classical Westernised notions of spatial appropriation

65 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xxiii.

and transgression against authority through class upheaval, protest or negative antagonism, Hamdi's disruptions are innately small, humble and largely passive. They are agonistic instead of antagonistic, inciting a social questioning of space and relations as an ongoing process rather than a moment of temporary abstract violence and anger. In engaging in small practices which disrupt hegemonic spatial relations Hamdi's practices act as catalysts that potentially reveal inequality and prompt change through enacting or supporting alternative social relations and spatial practices.⁶⁶

“Small Change thinking predominately focuses on placemaking and the transformative way that place-based interventions can generate opportunities for social and economic development. Small Change starts with practice, drawing on local innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship to catalyse change. Through participatory planning, a process is facilitated by which community collectives make important project decisions, including identifying key problems and opportunities, establishing goals and priorities and defining project resources and constraints. Decisions made during this facilitated process direct or are incorporated into traditional placemaking, including architectural design and urban planning. This way of working challenges many professional working practices by raising questions about the amount of formal structure required to successfully deliver community improvement programmes before the structure itself restricts progress, becomes self-serving and inhibits personal freedom. Small Change thinking also extends beyond place-based interventions to address issues including community-led DRR along with community health and wellbeing initiatives.”⁶⁷

Small change is an articulation of intelligent and creative problem solving and facilitation as a means to generate open-ended and crucially self-driven reliance and social sustainability.⁶⁸ Based upon direct observations and experiences,

66 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xxiii.

67 Burnell, p. 139.

68 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 102.

Hamdi's development methodologies are inherently built upon distributed networks of grass-roots social change and upon "the collective wisdom of the streets".⁶⁹ Classic examples of such practices include the noted success of financial micro-loans in rural areas and the networks of grass-roots women's banking initiatives that have taken root in the twenty-first century.⁷⁰ These practices have not conventionally been considered in comparison with architecture or Western space, yet the socio-spatial challenge that such facilitation poses is increasingly resonating with contemporary alternative spatial practitioners and advocates.⁷¹ Once again intersecting with the practices and observations of Turner,⁷² such observations confront, contest and contrast the political, social and economic interventions of prescriptive top-down models of development within economies of absence.

In the context of Lefebvre and Massey's Marxist critiques of space, the inevitable globalised projection and acceptance of neoliberal capitalism upon the global South is challenged by the material conditions of necessity and inequality. These conditions are compounded and exacerbated by such abstract assumptions of what development means, and what it looks and feels like. Formal projections of housing and planning reflect an economic, social and structural implausibility of capitalist development as producing anything other than further inequality.⁷³ In contrast to practices of small change, homogenous development and social hegemony would inevitably produce only further inequality and at an extremely high cost to those who can least afford it.⁷⁴

69 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xviii.

70 Wendy Harcourt and others, 'A Massey Muse', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 160; Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures* (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp. 60, 192–193.

71 Here this chapter would cite the works of the AOC, assemble studio, architecture 00:/ and the work of UTT amongst others.

72 John FC Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', in *Freedom To Build* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1972), pp. 169–171; Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 16–17.

73 Massey, *For Space*, p. 87; C. Douglas Lummis, 'Equality', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 38–54 (p. 44).

74 John FC Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), pp. 62–66, 127.

In contrast to the homogenous tendencies of contemporary neoliberal globalised development, Hamdi builds upon theoretical discussion of emergence and complexity. Using observations and concrete examples he contextualises the importance of producing space and building dense interconnected networks using simple elements. It is these networks of interchangeable materials and relations create the potential for sophisticated, diverse and socially sustainable economic behaviour to trickle up, rather than be forced down.⁷⁵ This sentiment and methodology echoes Turner's advocacy for autonomy and heteronomy,⁷⁶ and the necessity that in order to generate positive change you have to start small and start where it really counts – in the specificity and material reality of complex contexts and practice.⁷⁷

In order to contextualise this as a spatial practice, Hamdi articulates various exemplars of small change which at first sound intractably remote, small and abstract from the aspirations of positive political change suggested by this thesis. Such examples include the facilitation and support of rubbish pickers, sorters and water-tap attendants towards a social entrepreneurship of recycling, networked water management and associated economic and political engagement.⁷⁸ Similar positive opportunities are articulated in cheap and quick catalysts to support a composting bin program which could be scaled up, and eventually becoming engage with local authority waste collection, education, food, health and sanitation programs.⁷⁹

The challenge of such examples is in interpreting them in contrast with traditional models of physical intervention which prompts challenges to assumptions to the balance of projects delivering immediacy and impact versus Hamdi's models of intergenerational change and sustainable livelihoods. This is

75 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 73.

76 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 17–19.

77 Camillo Boano, 'Architecture Must Be Defended: Informality and the Agency of Space' (OpenDemocracy.Net, 2013) <<http://opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/camillo-boano/architecture-must-be-defended-informality-and-agency-of-space>>.

78 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 77–82.

79 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 34–35.

particularly challenging when considering these methodologies in relation to a Western context. Here the theoretical and practical comparisons drawn in the thesis resonates with the aspiration for an alternative articulation of architecture as a verb and a socio-spatial catalyst and agency for change.⁸⁰

In contrast to formal, centralised and institutionalised development models, small change practices reflect an alternative perception of development that confronts and contests the same social relations and expectations that are interdependency linked with economic, political and social hegemony. Hamdi's questions prompt the difficult question of what is the value in conventional instantaneous and externally driven development change when it only maintains and exacerbates the same social relations of inequality that prompted the necessity for change in the first place. In contrast, the expectations of what development is, what it looks like and means are confronted by Hamdi's acute attention to small, practicable and efficient change. Such targeted and strategic change challenges people, space and communities to generate far richer and densely interconnected social relations that are not reliant upon the continuous external aid and support.⁸¹

Hamdi's advocacy for such practices of small change articulates the opportunities to break down assumptions and contest the inevitability of development. This suggests a level of spatial interrogation and impact that is palpably more politically positive and provocative than contemporary institutionalised development in the global South. It is also suggestive in relation to this thesis' wider questioning of the spatial practices and architecture of the global North which continue to be largely restricted and constrained by hegemonic social and spatial relations. Could architecture in the global North learn from the positive potential of small change and spatial practices that actively disrupt and contest the assumptions and inevitability of the social

80 Here again this thesis would reference Alistair Parvin's and architecture 00:/s call for architecture to serve the other 90% of people and spaces that it has traditionally been disconnected from in contemporary profession. See Parvin, Alistair. *Architecture for the People, by the People*. TED talk February 2013.

81 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 22.

relations that define and contain existing hegemonies. Crucially they do not rely upon more money or social upheaval, but revel in humility, efficiency and intelligent social practice.

Small change practices are open and plural and rich in agonistic in their challenge to the same socio-cultural hegemony that Massey derides. Thus, in light of this reading Hamdi's methodologies can begin to be seen not only as simple, practical methodological techniques for engaging with complex socio-political contexts, but more profoundly as perhaps a shift from a process of hegemonic and homogenous development to a process of open change.

Positive Counter-hegemonic Disruption

The comparison of Hamdi and Massey's spatial articulation of positive counter-hegemony originates with the observation of an intersection in their respective articulations and advocacies for the positive potential of space. Here Massey's discourse provides a spatial contextualisation of the political discourse of Mouffe and Laclau in order to expose the political implications of a relational interpretation of space.⁸² Yet the practical mechanisms for articulating and enacting alternative hegemonic space as an act of agency remains retrospective and theoretical in Massey's utilisation of Mouffe and Laclau's discourse.

The comparison to Hamdi is explicitly linked to his practical exploration, testing and observation of similar spatial relations. As explored in this chapter's analysis of small change, Hamdi explicitly observes the inherently disruptive nature of practice in terms of the hegemonic inevitability of space.⁸³ However, in response to this inevitability he actively advocates and engages in methodologies of participation and critical spatial moments of political agonism.⁸⁴ Here the political implications of engaging and intervening in

82 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 38–42.

83 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 56.

84 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 140.

informal contexts are demonstrated in methodologies of participation that recognise and react against the constraints of the inevitability of capitalist hegemonic spatial relations and what Massey has described as the “*temporal convening*” of space and development.⁸⁵

Hamdi utilises various methodologies, practices and workshops in the processes of engendering and empowering participatory practice. These practices are variously engaged with both strategic action plans (SAP) and community action planning (CAP). Working at both strategic and community scales simultaneously these practices are articulated towards revealing, confronting and contesting the constraints and livelihoods that affect the potential for positive sustainable change.⁸⁶ Such practices are part of well defined development approaches and are utilised to reveal the everyday realities of inevitably complicated sites.⁸⁷ Yet perhaps because Hamdi stops short of explicitly recognising disruption as an explicitly positive part of his methodologies, the wider theoretical critical comparison of such practices have been overlooked.

In advocating the necessity of practical methodologies that contest political and social assumptions and relations, Hamdi articulates what could be described as a post-modern self-awareness of his practices in contrast to the negative implications of disruptive development as renewed post-colonial intervention.⁸⁸ Echoing the global and local relationality of space advocated by Massey,⁸⁹ these are practices built upon the significance of specific cultural and political participation as a means to empower communities to confront assumptions of their socio-cultural and economic trajectory of development. Thus when

85 Massey, *For Space*, p. 65.

86 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 67–68.

87 Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan, ‘Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 17; Ute Kelly, ‘Confrontations with Power: Moving Beyond “The Tyranny of Safety” in Participation’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 215.

88 Hickey and Mohan, p. 61; Kelly, p. 213; Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 63.

89 Massey, *For Space*, p. 102.

describing participatory practices and workshops in informal settlements Hamdi clearly recognises that participation alone is inherently capable of generating or reinforcing relationships and social power-geometries:

“Participation [...] often serves to reinforce existing leadership structures; gives dominance to the majority or elite and either way can exclude minorities. It winds up being oppressive to minorities and undermines the sense of belonging.”⁹⁰

Such questioning of the problematic positive and negative potential of disruption and intervention within complex cultural contexts continues to underpin Hamdi’s discourse, going on to note how his practices had to be designed:

“... to give definition to the term participation from the points of view of some of the principal actors in development, in order to reveal some of the conflicting agendas and also the complementarity. Moderating the dominance of one actors agenda versus another, converging interests and negotiating priorities is one of the key roles of facilitation.”⁹¹

Within such observations it becomes clear that the political, economic and social complexity of informal communities articulates development as an inevitable engagement with the disruption and contestation of social relations. This chapter’s premise is that if such relations can be considered as part of a global hegemony of inevitability as described by Massey, then Hamdi’s methodologies attempt to balance the conflict between the inherent hegemony of Fritjof Capra’s critique of social “*willingness to change*”⁹² and Massey’s advocacy for open development and multiplicity.⁹³

90 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 99.

91 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 87.

92 Capra, p. 102.

93 Massey, *For Space*, p. 95.

“Participatory programs, in the early stages of planning, also help identify areas of potential conflict among groups vying for power or competing for resources. They tap the ingenuity of people to discover ways of solving problems that may not be a part of the expert repertoire. They enable [...] the construction of alternative versions of the world, to fashion networks of solidarity, and build people’s confidence in their own knowledge and capabilities and with it a sense of entitlement’.”⁹⁴

For Hamdi, participatory practice inherently recognises disruption as an inevitability of development, but crucially, he utilises these practices as opportunities for all actors and agencies to discuss, reveal and realise the social, economic and political relations that might need to be questioned, challenged and disrupted. Thus, Hamdi’s methodological use of disruption intrinsically seek to provoke instability and agonism in order to reveal the unequal power relations of space, firstly to the development practitioner as the assumed expert and outsider, but more provocative to also reveal these relations to local inhabitants themselves.⁹⁵ His observations explicitly reference not only the need to facilitate and empower “*networks of solidarity, confidence and political entitlement,*” but crucially they must also enable “*the construction of alternative versions of their worlds.*”

This chapter's comparison of Massey's critique of spatial hegemony to Hamdi is revealed in this methodological comprehension and application of positive agonistic disruption that has previously only been explored in the purely theoretical Western discourse of Mouffe and Laclau. Contextualised against the complexity of informal settlements and communities of the global South, Hamdi recognises that people themselves must assume control of their own futures and actively engage in producing their own spaces and relations.⁹⁶

94 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 93.

95 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, pp. 71–72.

96 Burnell, pp. 135, 140–143.

Such advocacy for intrinsic grass-roots control and freedom in development marks a direct connection to John FC Turner's work over thirty years ago, and this is the central tenet of all Hamdi's writings – the observation that Westernised ideologies of what development should look and feel like are not compatible with what they actually can be.⁹⁷ Hamdi's participatory practices use disruption and small change not merely to reveal hegemonic inequalities but then to transcend these relations and demonstrate that change is possible.

Placed in the context of complicated informal and developing communities the possibilities of participation and disruption can thus offer vital political articulation of the realities, plausibilities and struggle for practical counter-hegemonic practices and catalysts for change.⁹⁸ Here disruption becomes not merely the opportunity to reveal hegemonic relations but also the potential to act as social catalysts that demonstrate that the idea, image and practical reality of development is not inevitable and hegemonic and articulating the social opportunity and economic necessity to pursue development as change.⁹⁹

By drawing Hamdi's practices into comparison with what Mouffe and Laclau described as "*the moment of political articulation*",¹⁰⁰ this chapter proposes that Hamdi uses disruption in order to reveal the hidden power-geometries of spatial relations and, provocatively, suggest the potential to change them.¹⁰¹ This is where the notion of a catalyst becomes significant for both a practical and theoretical comparison of the potential for not merely development, but alternative and counter-hegemonies spatial relations.

97 John FC Turner, 'From Central Provider to Local Enablement', *Habitat International*, 7 (1983), 207–10 (p. 208); Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 64.

98 Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically* (London: Verso, 2013), p. 139.

99 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 166.

100 Laclau and Mouffe, p. 183.

101 Nabeel Hamdi foreward in: *Building Back Better*, ed. by Michal Lyons, Theo Schilderman, and Camillo Boano (London: South Bank University: Practical Action Publishing, 2010), p. xi.

Pied Bus

Hamdi's description of developments as positive disruption can be relatively simply paraphrased. It describes a practice of creative exploration that looks for interventions that might solve problems but crucially also generate ideas and contestations. Whilst this chapter has already explored both theoretical trajectory and practical methodologies of participatory development that can and must be understood as disruption, Hamdi's simple example of a project for a school pied (or walking) bus is highlighted here for its explicit agenda to reveal and contest local hegemonic relations.

As with so many examples explored in this thesis' research, the apparent insignificance of this project belies the opportunity and implications of a far richer and more complex theoretical comparison. The project itself forms only one part of multi-stranded and explorative development agency.¹⁰² However as an act of positive and agonistic disruption of cultural hegemony it is exemplary.

As part of a much broader discussion of community development practices which included engagements with agriculture, education, recycling, food, health and political interventions, the pied bus was a singular response to a frequently recurring issue in informal and illegal settlements. This projects worked with a community in a dense and informal settlement suffering from a variety of problems, differences and disjunctions. Their one collective common frustration was the lack of adequate infrastructure generated an inability for children to get to school safely given the absence of a working school bus system in the area.¹⁰³ This prompted Hamdi to advocate for and facilitate a relatively cheap and part-government sponsored walking bus which would serve both formal communal bus stops and direct pick-ups from isolated locations, starting with a small number of such buses walking approximately forty minutes to and from the school.

102 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 119, 130.

103 Intriguingly Hamdi's practice in this instance borrows from a successful walking bus system in Lecco, Italy, in which the local authorities hire bus drivers who walk the children to school rather than drive them

This in itself is a practical, efficient and spatial articulation of innovative problem solving through small change. However Hamdi is also explicit about the broader social disruption that this bus service would offer the community. In discussion with parents and the wider community, the bus would take different routes to school through neighbourhoods thought to be unfamiliar or risky by parents. Hamdi notes how:

*“It would be like a daily transect walk with children observing, recording, learning, informing. [...] It was a practical intervention with lots of potential for strategic planning.”*¹⁰⁴

The walking bus would allow children to investigate different aspects of the neighbourhoods that traditional site analysis could not engage with, and specifically to engage with *“breaking down perceived borders between communities”*.¹⁰⁵ These buses would cross borders of class, caste and religion. They would confront the socio-spatial hegemony, implications and expectations of the community by engaging with the universal desire for children to be given the best possible start in life. In the end these groups of school children would emerge as local area planning resources whose expertise could be applied to brainstorm ideas for improvements.

The information learned by the children and the intervention of a renewed spatial relations that tied the community together through the universal commonality of their commitment to educating their children, became a mechanism to contest and disrupt both the local expectations of what development meant and the local authorities presumptions of the value of participation. The communities' original belief that the local authority were letting down their children was disrupted, empowering their belief in their own political agency, and similarly the local authority gained a renewed interest in alternative solutions for previously uncontested and unwanted problems.

104 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 113.

105 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 113.

From Space as Stasis to Space as Multiplicity

In re-reading and re-contextualising examples of participatory practice such as the pied bus this chapter's comparison of practical and theoretical approaches to space, development and hegemony considers Hamdi as realised, concrete and methodological articulations of the positive counter-hegemonic space proposed by Mouffe and Laclau. This comparison is thus also co-implicated with Massey's critiques of the hegemonic inevitability of development as an expression of structural interpretations of space as representation and not imbued with the potential for social change.¹⁰⁶

As articulated in the pied bus example, Hamdi's methodology can be interpreted as explicitly seeking to reveal and contest the hidden hegemonic social relations that form the complex spatial context and relations of development. Crucially Massey specifically challenges Mouffe and Laclau's problematic insistence on "*the moment*" of political articulation of counter-hegemony (or time) at the expense of an assumed passivity of space:

*"For Laclau spatialisation is equivalent to hegemonisation: the production of an ideological closure, a picture of the essentially dislocated world as somehow coherent."*¹⁰⁷

Here this thesis observes a recurring theme in the conjunction between space as representation, spatial relations and ideas of hegemony, coherence and cohesion.¹⁰⁸ For Massey these links are assumed and inscribed within a way of perceiving and limiting our understanding of space which she describes as the "*the prison house synchrony of space and time*".¹⁰⁹ From this analytical departure Massey ventures further, citing Laclau's problematic reduction of space as merely the stasis representation of time:

106 Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp. 24, 211; Hall, Massey and Rustin.

107 Massey, *For Space*, p. 25.

108 Reflecting an extension of Lefebvre's spatial trialectic of the interdependent lived, conceived and perceived as outlined in the previous chapter.

109 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 36–37.

*"Any representation of a disclosure involves its spatialisation. The way to overcome the temporal, traumatic and unrepresentable nature of dislocation is to construct it as a moment in permanent structural relation with other moments, in which case the pure temporality of the 'event' is eliminated [...] in this spatial domesticisation of time"*¹¹⁰

In response to this "domesticisation of time" Massey advocates for an understanding and utilisation of space in a profoundly different way. This alternative post-structural articulation explicitly identifies space and time as co-implicated partners in the constitution of the events and moments of political articulation.¹¹¹ This is a direct contestation of the historical, theoretical and abstract equivalences of space as passive representation that Massey observes as having been constructed repeatedly by some of the greatest philosophers and theoreticians of the twentieth century: David Gross, Bruno Latour, Henri Bergson, Gilles Deleuze, Ernesto Laclau, and Michel de Certeau.¹¹² In contrast Massey advocates "developing a relational politics around this aspect of time-spaces"¹¹³ that address their embedded and interdependent relations and geometries of power.

The central tenet of Massey's critique of space thus remains the contestation of the continued and repeated restrictive binary interpretations and articulations of space that defined structuralism and survive within supposed post-structural thought. In response to this critique Massey advocates an alternative and political re-articulation of space as the sphere of something beyond mere representation of time as change.¹¹⁴ Here development and architecture cannot

110 Laclau, p. 72.

111 Doreen Massey, 'Double Articulation: A Place in the World', in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, ed. by Angelika Bammer (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 116–117; Massey, *For Space*, p. 158.

112 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 20–29.

113 Massey, *For Space*, p. 180.

114 Elena dell' Agnese, 'The Political Challenge of Relational Territory', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 116.

be articulated through formal planning and building alone, but must also engage as agents to facilitate adulterant social relations and practices like Hamdi's walking school bus.

Specifically building upon Mouffe and Laclau's proposition for "*radical democratic politics*" and a pluralism of alternative (socialist) hegemonies,¹¹⁵ this alternative understanding of change as implicated with space is explicitly a politicalisation of not merely space but the relations which produce it.¹¹⁶ Here this chapter's comparison is reinforced by reflections upon Lefebvre's dialectical interrogation of "*the reproduction of the relations of production*" in *The Survival of Capitalism*,¹¹⁷ and simultaneously to Hamdi's participatory practices that contest the necessity and inevitability of development to by disrupting existing social relations. Crucially, Massey's positive articulation of space resonates with the wider theoretical context of this thesis. Her articulation of space as a relational product of agonism, difference and change offers a critical lens to critique, challenge and contest the hegemonic constructions of space, articulating the positive political potential of space in connection with the multiplicity, chance and thrown-togetherness of social placemaking.

Thus, within all of the common misconceptions of space as representation, Massey is able to carefully and purposefully explicate the theoretical importance of the dynamics and relationality of space, by releasing it from mere stasis and representation.¹¹⁸ Her critique releases the synchrony of space and time as interlocked and purely representation and as closed systems of stasis. Massey notes that such stasis:

"... robs 'the spatial' (when it is called such) of one of its potentially disruptive characterises: precisely its juxtaposition, its happenstance arrangement-in-relation-to-each-other, of previously unconnected

115 Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', pp. 6, 10; Massey, *For Space*, p. 99; Laclau and Mouffe, p. xix.

116 Massey, *For Space*, p. 65.

117 Lefebvre.

118 Massey, *For Space*, p. 23.

narratives/temporalities; it's openness and its condition of always being made. It is this crucial characteristic of 'the spatial' which constitutes it as one of the vital moments in the production of those dislocations which are necessary to the existence of the political (and indeed the temporal)."¹¹⁹

This profound rejection of space as being inherently bound up in representation, ideological closure and cohesion reveals the full limitation of Mouffe and Laclau's proposition for positive hegemony and agonism.¹²⁰ Their "moment of political articulation" is profoundly lacking the potential of space that Massey suggests comes from an appreciation of multiplicity. For Massey space is not stable, or coherent, or cohesive,¹²¹ and is co-implicated in spatial relations, power and change. It is inherently and necessarily chaotic and riven with the consequences and implications of time and chance. By transcending representation and inevitability, Massey's positive articulation of space is not linear nor fixed, but layered and overlapping, and because of these principles and characteristics, it is flooded with possibilities found in multiplicity.¹²²

This interpretation of space and representation trapped in an unwarranted theoretical stasis provides a concise spatial critique of traditional structuralist development models.¹²³ Massey's critique of both global and local space as bound by structuralism, closed systems and spatial relations can be critically linked to the implications of inevitability born from hegemony.¹²⁴ Projected further and across disciplines this critically alternative proposition for dynamic, evolving and necessarily incomplete relations of space can be compared to

119 Massey, *For Space*, p. 39.

120 Leszek Koczanowicz, 'Beyond Dialogue and Antagonism: A Bakhtinian Perspective on the Controversy in Political Theory', *Theor Soc*, 40, 553–66 (p. 553); David Featherstone and Benedict Korf, 'Introduction: Space, Contestation and the Political', *Geoforum*, 43 (2012), 663–68 (pp. 664–665).

121 Massey, *For Space*, p. 166.

122 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 3–4; Massey, *For Space*, p. 151.

123 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 13.

124 Massey, *For Space*, p. 59.

Hamdi's disruptions of the inevitability of development and to the alternative social relations, values and spaces produced by communities of participatory practice and small changes.

In keeping with this thesis' pursuit of the positive alternative potential of space Massey concurrently articulates the notion of interdependent space-time relations as offering framing the positive potential of space as a multiplicity:

“Space is as much a challenge as is time. Neither space nor place can provide a haven from the world. If time presents us with the opportunities of change and (as some would see it) the terror of death, then space presents us with the social and in the widest sense: the challenge of our constitutive interrelatedness; the radical contemporaneity of an ongoing multiplicity of others, human and non-human; and the ongoing and ever-specific project of the practices through which sociability is to be configured.”¹²⁵

This interrelation and instability of space, multiplicity and development suggests further provocative implications at both local and global scales. Considered in this comparison it is clear that Hamdi's methodologies and practices of socio-spatial disruption resonates with the specificity of space by focusing on local agendas and small changes. Such counter-hegemonic social practices engage in the specific social and material reality of informal contexts, learning from and articulating the positive potential that can be found in the minutia of the everyday. For Massey it is this specificity and the “*throwntogetherness*” of local place that can be used to articulate the political implications and potentials of humble changes.¹²⁶ Massey's alternative advocacy for the interpretation of space as incomplete, relational and specific reveals a framework and critical lens through which the potential of space might be revealed:

125 Massey, *For Space*, p. 195.

126 Massey, *For Space*, p. 66.

“The chance of space may set us down next to the unexpected neighbour. The multiplicity and the chance of space here in the constitution of place provide (an element of) that inevitable contingency which underlies the necessity for the institution of the social and which, at a moment of antagonism, is revealed in particular fractures which pose the question of the political.”¹²⁷

Space as such is understood as constituted of ever-shifting constellations of plural trajectories, connections and relations which are intimately connected to the material and unfolding reality of local and global relations. The positive multiplicity and chance of space must be recognised as ungainly and complex in comparison to the abstract simplicity of structural thought and static definable space. Yet it is in the undecideability and chance of space that the positive political potential of space can be found, explored and articulated. Thus Laclau similarly notes the potential of space as found in contestation and subsequent relational openness:

“The moment of antagonism where the undecideable nature of the alternatives and their resolution through power relations becomes visible constitutes the field of the 'political'.”¹²⁸

Specificity and Undecideability

Having highlighted the theoretical significance of space as a multiplicity in the context of the positive disruption of Hamdi's participatory development, this chapter now projects this comparison further into theoretical discourse of the deconstruction of meaning and value. Here Massey is invaluable in providing a spatial turn to the challenging premises of deconstruction that allows the positive tenets of Derrida's undecidability to be returned to the specificity of space and development practice.

127 Massey, *For Space*, p. 151.

128 Laclau, p. 35.

Hence in this context perhaps the most provocative comparison of Massey's discourse to Hamdi's disruptions of small change can be drawn from a re-reading of her advocacy for a radical reinterpretation of space through the interrogation of the negative horizontality and dualism of deconstruction. By re-contextualising such deconstruction against the multiplicity of space as a political process, Massey recognises the potential for spatial practices such as Hamdi's to provoke an invalidation, re-interpretation and re-inscription of meaning and values through the production of alternative counter hegemonic spatial relations. By understanding the social production of spatial relations as a means to contest and provoke change, space is implicated in the creation of cultural meaning and values that define social space. Just as was observed in Hamdi's pied bus, positive space and multiplicity can contest the cultural hegemony and inevitability by deconstructing and confronting cultural assumptions of values and meaning. Quoted here at length, Massey's critique of deconstruction as being mistakenly utilised as an inherently negative and dualistic formation:

“The focus is one rupture, dislocation, fragmentation and the co-constitution of identity/difference. Conceptualising things in this manner produces a relation to those who are other which is in fact endlessly the same. It is a relation of negativity, of distinguishing from. It conceives of heterogeneity in relation to internal disruption and incoherence rather than as a positive multiplicity. It is an imagination from the inside in. It reduces the potential for an appreciation of a positive multiplicity beyond the constant production of the binary Same/Other. [...] For, unavoidably, this imagination entails the postulation of a structure striving to be ‘coherent’ (in this very particular sense) but inevitably undermined by, or internally dependent upon, something defined as an ‘Other’. This is the constitutive outside which is also the internal disruption. It is a way of thinking which posits identities (coherence) both in order to differentiate them counterpositionally one against the other (or, the Other) and in order subsequently to argue that they are, inevitably,

internally disrupted anyway. What gets lost is coeval coexistence. [...] It is an imagination which, in spite of itself, starts from the 'One' and which constructs negatively both plurality and difference."¹²⁹

Within this critique Massey explicitly contests that deconstruction's negative utilisation of "othering" sacrifices the social and political potential of plurality and multiplicity for an internal instability of post-structural identity, and thus fails to translate deconstruction beyond linguistic and textual abstractions.¹³⁰ Yet by comparing these same ideas with her own advocacy for space as the sphere of multiplicity, the positive potentials of deconstruction in terms of values and spatial relations is materially re-contextualised to empower space as the sphere in which such political change must occur. Here this thesis' earlier theoretical intersections drawn in chapter three between Lefebvre's and Massey's articulations of difference, appropriation and multiplicity are renewed and projected further into positive utilisations of deconstruction as a pluralisation of meaning, values and purpose.

Thus, in Massey's spatial contextualisation of deconstruction we find an almost perfect theoretical articulation of the political implications of Hamdi's catalysts and disruptions of small change as "*an ever-moving generative spatio-temporal choreography*".¹³¹ The trajectories that these practices create and the alternative futures and potentialities of sustainable communities of practice are interpreted in this comparison as practical realisations of the need to "*shift in physical position, from an imagination of a textuality at which one looks, towards recognising one's place within continuous and multiple processes of emergence*".¹³²

129 Massey, *For Space*, p. 51.

130 Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. by A Bass, 2nd edn (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p. 107.

131 Massey, *For Space*, p. 54.

132 Massey, *For Space*, p. 54.

Such advocacy reinforces Massey's recognition of space as the sphere which poses the question of the political existing through the practice of the throwntogetherness of living together,¹³³ and of the positive necessity of the chaos, risk, chance, disorder and incoherence of space and multiplicity. Similar echoes are observable in Sennett's call to make positive use of disorder,¹³⁴ yet perhaps the clearest and most provocative theoretical description of the potential and necessity of instability are offered in Derrida's articulation of deconstruction and the positive re-evaluation of chaos:

*"This chaos and instability, which is fundamental, founding and irreducible, is at once naturally the worst against which we struggle with laws, rules, conventions, politics and provisional hegemony, but at the same time it is a chance, a chance to change, to destabilise. If there were continual stability there would be no need for politics, and it is to the extent that stability is not natural, essential or substantial, that politics exists and ethics is possible. Chaos is at once a risk and a chance."*¹³⁵

Here Massey crucially provides a spatial contextualisation of Derrida's advocacy for chance and chaos, advocating that the concurrent chaos and instability of space be re-conceived as an inherently valuable facet of socially positive and politicalised space. This interpretation of space is not to suggest that formalism and structure become worthless or negative, but that the corollary informal, undecideable and chance of rich space should be equally as valuable. By articulating the positive implications of deconstruction outside the abstractions of its connections to language and meaning¹³⁶ and re-contextualising them within the political potential of space, Massey is proposing something very different. In contrast to structural space, these articulations of the necessary instability of space contest the uncomfortable connection between open and positive political space and how such space may be ordered,

133 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 140–141.

134 Richard Sennett, *The Use of Disorder* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

135 Jacques Derrida, 'Remarks on Deconstruction and Pragmatism', in *Deconstruction and Pragmatism*, ed. by Chantal Mouffe (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 84.

136 Derrida, *Positions*, pp. 17–22.

negotiated and coded in specific places and social relations.¹³⁷ For Massey, what is missing is that the chaos of instability be articulated and embraced, and that disruption is valued. Thus spatial agents, development practitioners and architects must learn to engage, articulate and embrace their role in the process of socio-spatial disruption, and that such open-ended practice must be re-valued.

The implications of positive multiplicity and space to questions of difference, otherness and values is explored extensively and speculatively in chapter six. Yet it has been necessary to contest the foundations of deconstruction here in order to reveal the complex implications of releasing space from hegemony and static representation. If, as observed in Hamdi's practices, space is to be open to positive change and agonism then in Massey's critical discourse this chapter observes a framework that is foundational to any conception of development as open and free, and to any articulation of architecture as a verb. These notions connect with Hamdi's open methodologies of practice as acts of exchange and learning between partners.¹³⁸ Massey's utilisation of both Mouffe's and Laclau's advocacy for the political necessity of positive agonistic political theory and Derrida's notion of deconstruction and the positive undecidability of meaning and values can be critically re-read and compared as part of an advocacy for the positivity of space through disruption:

*"From deconstruction, the notion of undecidability has been crucial. If, as shown in the work of Derrida, undecidables permeate the field which had previously been seen as governed by structural determination, one can see hegemony as a theory of the decision taken in an undecidable terrain."*¹³⁹

Thus Massey's re-articulation of the politics of space as innately part of the sphere of multiplicity and political negotiation of social relations draws equally upon Mouffe and Laclau's reading of hegemony, and Derrida's deconstruction

137 Massey, *For Space*, p. 151.

138 A theme discussed more extensively in chapter six.

139 Laclau and Mouffe, p. xi.

and undecidability. In the process Massey provides various moments of comparison to Hamdi's open-ended participatory practices of disruption, which begin to represent more than mere practical expressions of inevitable development. Re-reading Hamdi in this way, his methodologies and examples come to represent concrete realisations of counter-hegemonic strategies that can be seen as explicitly "*privileging of the political moment in the structuration of society*"¹⁴⁰ within the multiplicity of space and the "*undecidable terrain*" of development.

This connection and comparison provides a crucial spatial link between the open positivity of multiplicity as a projection of deconstruction, and the practical reality and methodologies offers by Hamdi's participatory practices. It is to the local and global implications and specificity of such positive undecideable terrain that this chapter will now seek explore.

Pickle Jar Project

Massey's positive articulation of undecideability as concurrent with the multiplicity of space becomes important as a means to connect between the unstable and undecideable nature of place and context, and the spatial specificity that informs local negotiations of politics.¹⁴¹ If the chance and chaos of deconstruction is bound to instability and incoherence, then changing political space must always remain an incomplete and ongoing practice, or in more conventional terms, a dialectic. This necessity for political space to be practiced in order that it retains dialectic instability remains largely intractable and potentially negative when set against the hegemonic passivity of the global North.¹⁴² Yet when compared and contextualised against Hamdi's participatory development practice, his methodologies of local disruption and advocacy for

140 Laclau and Mouffe, p. xi.

141 Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', p. 11.

142 Harvey, *Rebel Cities*, pp. 24–25.

social change can be observed as producing alternative spatial relations that are negotiated and developed from within a truly undecideable terrain of participatory practice.¹⁴³

The fact that such positive political space must always remain unstable and undecideable remains the implication of truly democratic and political space. In this context, this chapter's premise remains that in both theoretical and practical ways, Massey and Hamdi are rallying against such implausible capitalist spaces of inequality and hegemony, instead advocating for the negotiation of relations within spaces of local and global specificity. If change is generated by instability then the shared social act of negotiating space that represent the possibility of a truly open and free politics of space. The challenge for all spatial advocates, agents and participations is having the confidence to treat space in this way in the face of the implications such a contestation supposes:

“Instead of trying to erase the traces of power and exclusion, democratic politics requires that they be brought to the fore, making them visible so that they can enter the terrain of contestation.”¹⁴⁴

In this context, Hamdi's disruptions and catalysts can be suggested as revealing such *“traces of power and exclusion”* and reconstitute space with the potential of politics and alternative possibilities. Where Massey advocates a theoretical resilience found in the notion of space as the sphere of multiplicity and chance, Hamdi's development practices can be seen as actual realisations of counter-hegemonic political space. Massey's theoretical advocacies for positive counter-hegemonic practices and alternative social relations resonate with Hamdi's project of facilitating a local community vegetable pickling industry is exemplary. The pickling project is one of several wonderfully simple and imaginative examples of participatory development practice that Hamdi uses to demonstrate the implications of his methodologies for engaging in informal settlements. The pickle project is referenced here as relevant to this discussion as it represents

143 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 127.

144 Chantal Mouffe, *The Return of the Political* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 149.

several of the characteristics of Hamdi's articulation of development practice as a positive and catalytic disruption that are too easily overlooked or undervalued:

“... we encountered one enterprise, easy to miss, the smallest I have seen, along one of the many hidden pathways leading to the Centre. Two glass jars. [...] The jars contained five pickled cucumbers each, which were for sale to passers-by.”¹⁴⁵

This social relation of pickling vegetables would be remarkably easy to overlook without a pronounced determination to contest expectations and hegemony. Yet Hamdi's informal encounter and creative humility regards this discussion of pickles reflects a contestation of truly open and disruptive practice and a subversion of both local and global expectations of development ideology. Emblematic of small change, it starts with the very small idea of facilitating already existing social relations by supporting and expanding the local enterprise pickle jars. In this act Hamdi instigates a humble and almost unbelievably simple disruption. But it carries with it far greater implications than at first appear. And crucially it offered a concrete realisation of real and meaningful change made possible.

Local people had already tried to make this idea of pickling and selling vegetables into a more substantial enterprise and yet they had failed to make it into a viable business.¹⁴⁶ The assumed explanation of this was merely that this simple cottage industry was nothing more than a couple of women making pickles from subsistence gardening. The reality of their economic context based upon a capitalist hegemony of inequality and imbalanced power-geometries of formal economies seemingly invalidated their enterprise and hard work as a source of inspiration for development. Hamdi's recognition of the greater opportunity of this enterprise runs counter to the spatial relations of capitalist hegemony that had isolated this enterprise not because it wasn't socially viable

145 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 85.

146 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 86.

and potentially economically beneficial, but because it doesn't conform to accepted formal models of development such as economies of scale, profit margins etc.

Whilst this would suggest that the project had apparently already been shown to be unviable, this is exactly where Hamdi decides to enact a form of participatory practice as disruption. In attempting to facilitate and connect this pickling enterprise Hamdi enacts a disruption to the local economic hegemony and provokes a small, targeted and agonistic act of counter-hegemony within the vast problems of this informal community. This chapter's alternative interpretation of the pickle jar project in comparison with Massey's space of multiplicity and undecideability suggests that if this enterprise did not have to be constrained by the spatial relationships of capitalist hegemony, it could potentially contest and transcend the inevitability of hegemonic development.

Instead of being constrained by hegemonic assumptions of development Hamdi acts to advocate and facilitate an emerging network of alternative social relations that connect pickles to complex and specific model of socially sustainable enterprise. This allows him to connect the simple act of pickling to a wider context of social relations that included school reform, ecology, education, food and helping with malnutrition.¹⁴⁷ Considered in relation to this chapter's critical theoretical framework, this can be considered as an alternative social hegemony where spatial relations are working towards something other than capitalist relations. Whilst this project created employment and enterprise, it would not do so merely for profits of a few people, but would look to articulate new alternative and positive social relations that reflected realisable, scaleable and distributed economies of sustainable enterprise.

Here, development practices of small change and pickles describe a political articulation in a space and moment of change. This is change built upon necessity, but necessity not translated into Western capitalism, but alternative

¹⁴⁷ Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 87.

socially sustainable hegemony. As a product of economic and social necessity this is a recognition that 'Western' standards, models and forms of development cannot and must-not be adhered to as expectations for the world.

"It served as a catalyst: a community of interest energising around a common need. And later [...] they would be welcomed across entrenched social boundaries. Where once there were barriers – a place to hide, in the face of the threat from others, from evictions, the low self-esteem imposed by poverty or the real threat of class conflict – these new boundaries offered a sense of belonging and connectedness. They offered a common context of meaning where 'individuals acquire identities as members of a larger social network [where] the network generates its own boundaries. [...] This, then, is the 'soft city' of dreams, expectations, interests held in common and webs of relationships, not easy to explain or model because its structure is largely invisible and, in any case, always changing."¹⁴⁸

Considered as a social catalyst, Hamdi is clear that the act of facilitating a catalyst itself was more important than whatever outcome might have come from pickles. Such acts suggest to local people that in even the smallest activity, there were alternatives and possibilities that exist outside of cultural hegemony and its cohesion and inevitabilities. Whilst Massey provides a theoretical explication of positive space, Hamdi achieves the same thing practically by simply supporting the idea, endeavour and social sustainability of growing and selling pickles.¹⁴⁹ Such a small endeavour might not seem to suggest a great achievement in the development of impoverished informal settlements, yet with pickles and imagination Hamdi is advocating an understanding of development values that aren't constrained by inevitabilities of Western cultural hegemony.

This is an agency within space to articulate new relations between social and political institutions and to see the world in a different way. Providing people with alternative aspirations and expectations can begin with pickles and go on to

148 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 88.

149 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 87.

mean something far more important. Thus, because this project was shown to be possible, it suggested that the local economic and material reality wasn't fixed and inevitable. The community was free to become something more, in time (and space) and was shown that it was possible to strive towards a better future:

“It was all at once ambitious and imaginable. What if, we asked, these same organisations became partners in education for sustainable development, an alliance of local, national and global institutions in the governance of education? Who would win and who might lose out? What might happen to Tandia and her colleagues if big money and big organisations got involved? We decided to get it all going first in a small way, without outside help and later, maybe, involve others when we were ready to scale up.”¹⁵⁰

The pickle project articulated a positive political moment through a spatial practice of specificity and political agonism that contested a challenge to inevitability. The small disruption of a community enterprise of pickle growing might change an entire city, in time. Or they might not. What was important was simply the potential that they could and might generate change and that local people (ambitious residents, local politicians and agencies) would see that alternatives were possible. That they would talk about pickles, and about their lives and aspirations and would begin to realise that capitalist spatial relations are not inevitable and not the only solution.

Crucially this desire to see things differently comes not at the point of an ideological imperative but upon the necessities and specificity of a place that exists at the peripheral edges of Western economic hegemony. In this context Hamdi recognises the necessity of alternative ways of doing things, and of alternative social and economic relationships and of alternative values with pickles as a catalyst. Whilst the connection of this example to this thesis wider implicit commentary on Westernised space and architecture is on the surface difficult to see, if it can be allowed to stand as an exemplar of counter-

150 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 88.

hegemony then its implications might begin to appear quite profound. If architecture was considered with both the humility of aspirations and respect for local social and material contexts then its potential to engage with people and space would be greatly increased. An architecture that sought to contest hegemony would not have to do so through structure and form, but could seek to do so through socio-spatial practices of empowerment and facilitation. This would not be an architecture based upon form, style and taste, but an engagement with the space and values of undecideable terrain and the articulation of positive alternative social relations and space through disruption and catalysts of change.

Catalysts and Going to Scale

The comparisons between theoretical and practical articulations of the positive multiplicity of space highlighted in this chapter reflect the potential for a disruption and catalytic emergence of alternative social relations from within the specificity of place. Yet crucially these examples do not reflect attempts to provide to a fixed answer and solution to space. Hamdi's practices are explicitly intended to act as catalysts that test the water of complicated and apparently cohesive spaces. Furthermore, Hamdi is explicit in this regards, noting that the disruption and social catalytic effects of small change are intended to “... *enable outsiders to focus their efforts where need is greatest and together to search for triggers for change.*”¹⁵¹

Hamdi's acts of disruption generate this potential by acting as catalysts that hold within them the potential for scaleable social change, be that in the form of pickle jars, bus stops, water taps or waste recycling programs. These catalysts are not fixed futures. Each of them is only ever an aspiration, a challenge to the inevitable and a possibility of alternatives and change. Catalysts such as the pickle projects, as a point of departure in participatory development practice allow Hamdi to articulate the role of the practitioner as a facilitator of alternatives and possibilities:

151 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 96.

“It offers a different process and, at the same time, consolidates the role of the outsider as a catalyst, mediator, facilitator or enabler.”¹⁵²

Catalysts generate discussion, argument, disagreement, and eventually the potential for the fragile balance of truly political space. Hamdi advocates for these catalysts of small change to create forward momentum and binds them into notions of dreams, relations, networks, boundaries, belonging and connectedness. The subsequent relationship of development agency as a facilitator and enabler of open change contests both the inevitability of development and also the identity of both “outsiders” and “recipients” of such projects.¹⁵³

Such a model of development does not prescribe that there must indeed be change, or the form that change may take. It merely creates the space needed for the potential of change and alternative stories to be a possibility.¹⁵⁴ That space is “*always changing*” and is a part of the “*common contexts of meaning*”¹⁵⁵ can here explicitly link Hamdi’s practices to Massey’s articulation and interpretation of space as the sphere of possibilities, and as existing as a medium of positive multiplicity, relationality and specificity. Thus, Hamdi’s agonistic, disruptive and catalytic practices are always:

“... searching for ways to join people and organisations together, build ties in some circumstances and loosen ties in others, expand the scale of small initiatives, open doors to ideas, to other people, to organisations who can help find money and enterprise, reframe questions, legitimise and give stays. And also to be rigorous, flexible and principled, working sometimes with individuals for the collective

152 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 105.

153 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 128.

154 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xvi.

155 Doreen Massey, ‘Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice’, *Doc. Anàl. Geogr.* 55 (2009), 15–26 (pp. 25–26).

good and not always with communities. And, importantly, as one goes about one's work, learning that sometimes it may be best just to leave thing alone."¹⁵⁶

Here this comparison highlights a further significance of Hamdi's methodologies in the importance of actions, disruptions and catalysts that are not predicated upon knowing what their outcome will be or whether they will succeed. They are not implicated or interdependent with a hierarchical political ideology, instead empowering networked governance and grass-roots radical democracy.¹⁵⁷ Catalysts are the starting point. They are the moment of intersection and transgression where new social relations and practices are created and contested. They are never intended as a resolution in themselves, merely facilitating moments and spaces of political articulation through participatory practices of negotiation. This insight into Hamdi's methodologies of practice reflects the explicit importance of practicing without knowing or prescribing an answer or even necessarily a specific problem:

"We worked somewhere between knowing and not knowing what might happen. We provided ample opportunity for the results of our first decision – routing the bus line, positioning the bus stop – to tell us something about subsequent actions that may induce a change of mind, a change in direction or even change of objective. We avoided pre-emptive answers, in this case to community, and instead facilitated its emergence. [...] We see in this way of working, a kind of practice that does not rely for its effectiveness on certainties or complete information. [...] Improvisation then becomes a means of devising solutions to solve problems which cannot be predicted, a process full of inventive surprises that characterise the informal way in which many poor people gain employment, make money and build houses."¹⁵⁸

156 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 85.

157 Mouffe, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?', pp. 753–755.

158 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 98.

In many respects this suggests the ultimate outcome is not important, or at least that the outcome should be unknown, or more profoundly that there can be no fixed outcome if such spaces are to be truly political. This is once again the disruption of the inevitability of hegemony, whether it be capitalist, Westernised, or merely unequal space, the implications remain the same.¹⁵⁹ Thus, it is the practical imperative of not knowing the “*end result*” or “*resolution*” of development practices that becomes of the utmost importance. Here this chapter draws a renewed comparison with Massey's spatial articulation of Derrida's values of otherness and the undecideable nature of politically positive space.

Hamdi explicitly notes that practices based upon not knowing or assuming answers are profoundly uncomfortable for old-paradigm thinking and the traditional assumptions and concepts of development.¹⁶⁰ Conventional development practice is constructed around clear demarcations of quantifiable results and policy-based planning whose goal must be to find the answer of the problem of space by the quickest and most structurally efficient means. As such, practicing without knowing this answer or even without the ambition of achieving an answer is challenging. It is also profoundly provocative. This aspect of Hamdi's practice is much overlooked and underestimated. In light of which this chapter suggests further insight is offered Hamdi's recollection that:

“It is about getting it right for now and at the same time being tactical and strategic about later.”¹⁶¹

This articulation of practicing without knowing what the end result might be suggests a provocative contestation of architecture and design that might easily be interpreted again as just a simplistic approach for intervening in

159 C. Douglas Lummis, *Radical Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 64–65.

160 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 13; Norman Long, ‘From Paradise Lost to Paradigm Regained?: The Case for an Actor-Oriented Sociology of Development’, in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 270.

161 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xix.

contexts on the economic and social edge of necessity. Yet by again drawing these methodologies into comparison with a far broader theoretical context – of space and deconstruction – we can see in Hamdi a practical realisation of Massey’s positive and spatial contextualisation of an “*ever-moving generative spatio-temporal choreography*.”¹⁶² Once again the wider implications of this comparison are drawn out in this thesis implicit intention to articulate the notion of architecture as a verb. If Hamdi’s open-ended practices can now be read as a contestation of positive counter-hegemonic social relations and politics, then whilst the examples of pickle jars and pied buses remain perhaps only emblematic, the underlying principles of openness and critical engagement with space as a multiplicity of social relations begins to offer valuable opportunities for critical reflection.

In these practices Hamdi explicitly values the ambiguity, shifting and open nature of participatory catalyst projects, and advocating actions which will provoke critical spatial dialogues. Such “*open-ended*” practices are intentionally begun in small, realistic and graspable actions that involve and engage people in the negotiation of space. Crucially, the not-knowing of these practices is explicitly not the replacement of one hegemonic imbalance with another. These practices merely facilitate and release other people to imagine and try-out other alternatives.¹⁶³ The challenge of such openness to truly post-structural and plural space is perhaps reflective of why Westernised space remains an expression of structuralist hegemony.

Interdependent with the commitment to localised and efficient small scale changes, Hamdi’s alternative imaginations of space and development are implemented with the specific intention of “*going to scale*”.¹⁶⁴ This commitment to strategic change is integral to the social sustainability that Hamdi’s practices embody, whilst also suggesting the far greater political potential such scalable social change might contain within it. The scalability offered by such alternative form of network based grass-roots practices and social relations are

162 Massey, *For Space*, p. 54.

163 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 93.

164 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, pp. 67–68.

in critical contrast to the traditional hierarchical models of political authority. Empowered by participation and social enterprise which act as catalysts for social relations founded upon material and political reality, the implications of such forms of network governance and grass-roots politics of change are potentially profound. They contest and confront the question of who governs cities, and to what purpose?¹⁶⁵ Thus as Shann Turnbull observes:

“Currently, we seem to face a choice between state-run enterprise or state regulation, or privatised and public interest companies. Stakeholder governance provides an alternative.”¹⁶⁶

This alternative notion of stakeholder governance is inherently offered in the catalytic development to facilitate a grass-roots network of resilience and enterprise that Hamdi recognises in the global South. It provides a resonance with Turner's earlier work on progressive housing and autogestion to facilitate the alternative and positive leveraging of social capital. In contrast to the Western urban context of neoliberal capitalist inevitability, Hamdi's catalysts explicitly act to recognise, value and facilitate the scalability of hidden and suppressed subaltern livelihoods. These agencies and rich social networks of stakeholder governance articulate alternative trajectories for development existing within the cracks of hegemonic space that only need targeted facilitation and development to be set free to contest contemporary capitalist space:

“Practice sparks the process by which small organisations, events and activities can be scaled up. This can happen in various ways: quantitatively, where programs get bigger in size and money; functionally, through integration with other programs and other organisations both formal and informal; politically, where programs and communities can wield power and can become part of the governance of cities; and organisationally, where the capacity to be

165 D Yates, *The Ungovernable City* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1980).

166 Shann Turnbull, *A New Way to Govern* (London: New Economics foundation, 2002), p. 32.

*active increases and become sophisticated and influential – at which point it becomes a higher order of organisation. Emergents and going to scale are, therefore, complementary processes: practice is a catalyst to both.*¹⁶⁷

Hamdi's philosophy of catalytic practice and acting in order to induce others to act is a cultivation of the necessary environment for change from within.¹⁶⁸ It starts on the ground from small beginnings that have emergent and scaleable potential to induce social enterprise and change. This connection of catalysts to strategic scale is not a rejection of municipal authority and governance, but a cultivation of an alternative grass-roots collectivism of self-organising power. It is not a rejection of social hegemony and infrastructure, but a proposition for a socially and materially alternative of plural and networked multiplicity. Thus in spite of the inherent challenge that such provocative counter-hegemony implies, Hamdi remains committed to the positive implications of this small change:

*“Not all small beginnings achieve strategic value. Indeed most times, strategic change is hard to come by – the filter upwards of ideas and learning clogs with those who will resist change and those with old-style laws and regulations left over from days of old-paradigm thinking. The connectedness it all demands between events and organisations doesn't happen because people are still dependent, or because they have only recently won their independence and are not yet ready to move to interdependence. But none of this diminishes the importance of the effort and the gains on the ground.”*¹⁶⁹

The fact that such alternative practices are yet to become connected to global relations and socio-cultural expectations of space only reflects the ideological impenetrability with which neoliberal capitalism continues to subsume social and political frameworks of space. Hamdi's and Turner's challenges to these

167 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xix.

168 Once again reflecting a link to Marx, Lefebvre and Harvey's respective advocacies for the dialectical opportunities for space to change us, but reciprocally, for us to change space. See chapter two.

169 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 90.

relations in the global South merely highlight the global inequality and implausibility of neoliberal economics, and the frustrating gap between necessity and want, value and excess.

Global and Local – Relational Interdependence

In contrast to any reductive identification of localism and “*geographies of resistance*”¹⁷⁰ implied by the specificity of space, for Massey local space is always, and has always been, inherently implicated in the production of the global. Any such traditional calls of localism as resistance to global relations and power sacrifices the political potential of truly open and relational space, losing the potential points of purchase it offers.¹⁷¹ Thus, Massey’s critical contextualisation of global and local in terms of multiplicity and relationality necessitates a final thread of comparison with the inherent aspirations of scaleable change observed in Hamdi’s positive participatory projects.

For Massey, local space exists interdependently with practices and processes in relational space-time.¹⁷² Contrary to calls to nationalism and cultural specificity local space is constructed out of a multiplicity of trajectories of space and are inherently reliant on an openness to chance and change.¹⁷³ Each local space and specific context is continually being produced by its local and global connections, and as such is shifting and contracting in response to its economic, social and political relations. Within the complexity of such global and local space-time the true political implications of such openness is found in the terms in which the power-geometries of relations are constructed.¹⁷⁴

As such, attempts to develop a practical relational politics of such time-spaces forces a confrontation with the specific, interlocking and embedded geometries

170 Massey, ‘Geographies of Responsibility’, pp. 10–12.

171 Massey, ‘Geographies of Responsibility’, pp. 14–15.

172 Massey, ‘Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time’, p. 33.

173 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 64–65.

174 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, p. 5.

of power. Based upon this critical analysis, this chapter further contends that Hamdi's practices of revelation, disruption and explicitly scaleable catalysts can be compared as practical contestations of such time spaces. This comparison is born out in Massey's description of a relational politics of place as involving:

“...both the inevitable negotiations presented by throwntogetherness and a politics of the terms of openness and closure. But a global sense of place evokes another geography of politics too: that which looks outwards to address the wider spatialities of the relations of their construction. It raises the question of a politics of connectivity.”¹⁷⁵

Such a contestation of the open connective relationality of the local and global is a direct theoretical reflection of Hamdi's advocacy for both locally targeted and yet specifically “*scaleable catalysts*” for sustainable social enterprise and development.¹⁷⁶ It rejects the simple binary surface of local global relations in favour of the political potential of relational agonism. In accepting globalisation as being an intrinsic condition of space-time the question for Massey becomes, what kinds of alternative interrelations are allowed to underpin development, and what the nature of such a political project is?

The inherent critique of political utilisation of hegemony and counter-hegemonic identities in local and global agendas intersects with broader critical discourse of universal political struggle and cultural uniqueness. The most recent and controversial indictment of such discourse is Vivek Chibber's “*Postcolonial Theory and the Spectre of Capital*”, which has provocatively contested the intellectual and subsequent political implications of discourses of cultural subalterneity as subverting the underlying imperatives of universal class

¹⁷⁵ Massey, *For Space*, p. 181.

¹⁷⁶ Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 110–115; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 139.

struggle.¹⁷⁷ Whilst rebuttals to this discourse are only beginning to surface,¹⁷⁸ this contestation of uniqueness and specificity might already be partially articulated in Massey's global local relationality and specificity.

The implications of local and global trajectories of multiplicity in relational space suggest very different geometries of power. Within such a context each contestation and struggle for change and difference is an extension and meeting along lines of constructed equivalence and relational equality. Here subalterneity and the rich cultural multiplicity of space is not restrictive to broader scaleable advocacy for universal class struggle. Instead, the practice and process of negotiating and engaging in the contestation of relational topographies of power offers an imagination in which local struggles are relationally independent with global common struggles against hegemonic cohesion.¹⁷⁹ This understanding and contestation of the relationality of global and local space provokes an immensely complicated articulation of space, but yet one that still remains grounded and grass-roots social relations and practices. These are exactly the types of relations that this chapter observes Hamdi contesting and engaging with, and thus this comparison is reinforced by Massey's observations of the practical challenge of such a confrontation:

“One effect is to demand far more of the agents of local struggle in the construction of both identity and politics than there is room for in the topography where identity seemingly emerges from the soil. Theorists of radical democracy, on the other hand, have rarely engaged with the complexity and real difficulty of this construction of equivalences.”¹⁸⁰

As this chapter has observed, by placing issues of difference, specificity and multiplicity of local struggles as the core of contesting complex relations of power, the disruption, catalysts and scale of Hamdi's development practice

177 Chibber, pp. 217–218.

178 Bruce Robbins, 'Subaltern Speak: Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital - Review', *N+1*, 2013.

179 Massey, *For Space*, p. 182.

180 Massey, *For Space*, p. 182.

methodologies are critically comparable to Massey's advocacies for the multiplicity of space. This chapter has shown that they provide a similar fundamental political agenda to space as this thesis previously discussed in Lefebvre's narrower theoretical articulation of "*the right to difference*", and suggest a form of counter-hegemonic practice akin to Mouffe and Laclau's advocacy for positive social agonism in political space.¹⁸¹

Yet unlike chapter three's theoretical discussion, this chapter's specific comparison with practical methodologies contests space as the sphere and field of multiplicity in practical small change of political engagement. It is this contextual comparison which makes Hamdi's articulations of alternative development so spatially provocative.

Small Change and Positive Multiplicity

Through this chapter's critical comparisons and close re-readings of key theoretical concepts, Hamdi's methodologies of participation and disruption are critiqued here as offering far more positive spatial implications than what they might suggest on first inspection. This thesis' critical reflection and comparison of the observations and practices of participation undertaken by Hamdi critically articulates the political and social implications and specificity of practices of small change in a post-colonial and globalised context of multiplicity. The social and political disruptions generated by Hamdi's practices in contexts at the periphery of economic instability are thus recognised as realisations of dialectical social change through the interrogation, disruption and production of alternative sustainable social relationships. In this comparison, Hamdi's disruptions of small change are valued as relatively unique practical articulations of the potential of space to produce positive counter-hegemony and spatial relations of multiplicity. When drawn into this comparison these disarmingly simple practices can have been shown to reflect common spatial aspirations with the pioneering spatial and political theory of Massey et al:

181 Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically*, pp. 17–19.

“Conflict and division, in our view, are neither disturbances that unfortunately cannot be eliminated nor empirical impediments that render impossible the full realisation of a harmony that we cannot attain because we will never be able to leave our particularities completely aside in order to act in accordance with our rational self – a harmony which should nonetheless constitute the ideal towards which we strive. Indeed, we maintain that without conflict and division, a pluralist democratic politics would be impossible. To believe that a final resolution of conflicts is possible – even if it is seen as an asymptotic approach to the regulative idea of a rational consensus – far from providing the necessary horizon for the democratic project, is to put it at risk.”¹⁸²

As purely theoretical propositions these abstract articulations remain frustratingly unrecognisable, particularly when faced with the extreme cohesion and oppression of Western hegemonic space. Yet in critical comparison to Hamdi's practices the theoretical discourse of Massey's relational space is made tangible in simple practices of small change that revel in the politics potential for change and the chaotic chance of space. Thus the comparison to Hamdi is illuminating both practically, economically and geographically as it places the proposition for change at the periphery of global society. At this periphery we find the instability and undecidability that is needed to invoke positive change. Here we find the conflict and otherness that is missing in Western contexts:

“Change requires interaction. Interaction, including of internal multiplicities, is essential to the generation of temporality. Indeed, were we to assume the unfolding of an essentialist identity the terms of change would be already given in the initial conditions. The future would not be open in that sense. And for there to be interaction there must be discrete multiplicity; and for there to be (such a form of)

182 Laclau and Mouffe, p. xviii.

multiplicity there must be space. [...] We cannot 'become', in other words, without others. And it is space that provides the necessary condition for that possibility."¹⁸³

This chapter's final moment of comparison is found in this notion of alternative spatial practice as engaging with openness, unknowing and otherness. Such practices of social agency are found in the theoretical provocations of instability, incoherence and agonism, all of which are violently uncomfortable relative to Western existence. As evidenced by Hamdi, disruption is necessary even in informal settlements, where capitalism has no viable claim to logical coherence. This suggests that the potential for political spaces of agonism in the global North will either not come at all, or perhaps only ever in peripheral contexts of economic necessity.

Or perhaps not. Perhaps there is still something more to be found in the disruption of small changes. Perhaps within the idea of small changes by communities of practice there is retained enough scope for alternative ways of thinking and acting. The relations between things can be changed. Even within the hegemonic and politically passive space of neoliberal capitalism, perhaps in small things like pickle jars we might still find positive spaces for positive actions. Perhaps, even within the hegemonic realms of the global North, there remain possibilities for porosity, for power's leakage or a scaling up of spatial and social disruptions to a point of catalysing major changes.

This chapter's re-contextualisation within development discourse and practice creates precisely the critical opening implied by Massey's desire for multiplicity, relational global development. It is this opportunity to further contextualise and re-examine Massey's foundation of positive spaces of multiplicity and difference that will be pursued in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

183 Massey, *For Space*, p. 55.

Similarly, Hamdi's discourses and practices must also be reconsidered in light of their intersection with such broad strands of critical spatial theory. Once again, it is this opportunity to further contextualise and contest the global, intellectual and theoretical value of Hamdi's practices that will be pursued in the next chapters.

Chapter Five – Identity and Practice

Chapter five seeks to discuss various critical contextualisations and comparisons between the methodological practices of John Turner and Nabeel Hamdi, and the theoretical discussion of identity in the post-colonial context of global development. This analysis posits critical observations noted in the respective discourses of Turner and Hamdi against a broader interdisciplinary context of political and cultural theory. Ultimately this thematic analysis highlights the positive methodological potential of Hamdi's practices as means to articulate new cultural identities and social practices in development practice.

This chapter's comparative re-reading of key development discourse against wider questions of cultural identity firstly in terms of the emerging diversity of the global South, but also as an implicit reciprocal critique of the cultural passivity and emerging homogeneity of the global North. In doing so it provides a further framework with which to interpret and re-evaluate the theoretical and methodological value of Turner and Hamdi's development practices as exemplars of post-structural spatial practice.

The implications of the scale and complexity of this interdisciplinary research trajectory negate the ability to offer a complete discourse on the historical evolution of development practice and its relation to Turner or Hamdi.¹ However, the open and discursive trajectory of this chapter's analysis is proposed in order to highlight and explore key interdisciplinary points of comparison, revealing new and provocative connections between abstract theoretical discourse and realised material practices.

¹ As an example of the necessary incompleteness of this chapter's points of comparison, in the key text 'Orientalism' Edward Said explores philological, historical and political documentary evidence ranging from 17th to early 20th century history. Full discussion of the history of development and colonialism is available in well established texts such as: Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development*, 3rd edn (London: Zed Books, 2006); Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective: Policies and Institutions for Economic Development in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem Press, 2002); Chang. As such, this chapter's borrowing from these already well established critical comparisons is focused on enabling a clearer discussion of practical methodological implications of identity and the potential for positive development change.

Based upon these observations the relational interdependence of knowledge, power, authority and identity here offer a potentially valuable point of comparison between the conception of identity as a product – a theoretical and ontological construction – and identity as practice – the valuing of cultural specificity and everyday life in the formation of alternative development practices of Turner and Hamdi. This chapter's utilises Edward Said's pioneering discourse *Orientalism*² in which academic discourse concerning the historical dialogue of East and West is critiqued as an institutional projection of identity implicated. Said is recognised as providing much of the theoretical framework for subsequent post-colonial studies,³ interrogating the relationship between the occident and orient, West and East, us and them.

Building on this initial theoretical discussion of the implications of Said's notion of political authority as a “*flexible positional superiority*”⁴, this chapter contests that the development practices of Turner and Hamdi offer valuable insights in comparison to discourses of post-colonial identity and its economic and political contexts. Beginning with Turner, this chapter seeks to analyse the methodological shift pioneered in his models in Peru, observing the implications of his re-articulations of development from intervention to interaction, participation to partnership, housing to sustainable enterprise.⁵ Examples of practical observations and experiences help to elucidate this comparison and Turner's response to identity the implications of identity to his practice.⁶

2 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin classics, 2003).

3 Malisa Ruthven, ‘Obituary: Edward Said’, *The Guardian*, 26 September 2003; Terry Eagleton, ‘Lust for Knowing - Book Review’, *The New Statesman*, 13 February 2006; Andrew N Rubin, ‘Techniques of Trouble: Edward Said and the Dialectics of Cultural Philology’, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102 (2003), 862–76; *Post-Structuralism and the Question of History*, ed. by Derek Attridge, Geoff Bennington, and Robert J C Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); R Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004); R Young, *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, New (London: Routledge, 1990).

4 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7.

5 John FC Turner, ‘From Central Provider to Local Enablement’, *Habitat International*, 7 (1983), 207–10.

6 John FC Turner, ‘The Re-Education of a Professional’, in *Freedom To Build* (New York: Macmillan Education, 1972).

This analysis of identity is then broadened to explore the critical identity of development in relation to global political and economic homogenisation and hegemony⁷ in the conception of 'under-development' as an identity. This observation is drawn into comparison against Hamdi's observations of the political and economic mis-appropriation of the promise of Turner's early development practice throughout the late-twentieth century,⁸ before being explored against the implications of contemporary discussion of "*post-development*" practice.⁹

This chapter's critical articulation of the interdependence of social identity and participatory practice is explored in examples drawn from Hamdi's discourse in order to reinforce the links between theoretical and methodological insights into identity. The various connections Hamdi makes to issues of vulnerability,¹⁰ dependency, ownership¹¹ and livelihood¹² are referenced in order to define comparisons between methodological tropes and their positive theoretical implications.

Further critical comparison of both Turner and Hamdi's participatory practice is then explored in the contestation of the negative implications exposed in participatory practice by Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari¹³ and the subsequent renewed positive potential by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan.¹⁴ This exploration of critical participation reflects Massey's critique of spatial conformity

7 Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 69–70.

8 Nabeel Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (London: Earthscan, 2010), pp. 2–9.

9 Wolfgang Sachs, 'Preface to the New Edition', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. xiii.

10 Jeni Burnell, 'Small Change: Understanding Cultural Action as a Resource for Unlocking Assets and Building Resilience in Communities', *Community Development Journal*, 48 (2012), 134–50 (p. -138–140); Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 53.

11 Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, 'The Support Paradigm for Housing and Its Impact on Practice: The Case in Sri Lanka', *Habitat International*, 13 (1989), 19–28 (pp. 23–24); Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 180.

12 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 190.

13 *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, ed. by Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001).

and inevitability in development assumptions and is here compared with Hamdi's renewed contestation of practice as a means to empower local sustainable enterprise and social relations of identity.¹⁵

Concluding this chapter's premise the concept of "*identity as practice*" is discussed as an outcome of this renewed critical consideration of the work of Turner and Hamdi. This comparison is articulated through a contextualisation of the deeper and previously un-connected theoretical discussions of both concrete practical realisations and concurrent theoretical articulations of identity and practice.¹⁶ The integration of this interdisciplinary critique of identity provides a valuable thematic layer of socio-political critique to this thesis' methodological trajectory. It questions the contextual relations and implications of the political and historical processes of global inequality and capitalism, with the practical reality of identity, subjectivity and equality confronted in alternative development practice.

Identity as a Product

In order to critically contextualise the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of this thesis in relation to concepts of identity and practice this chapter here offers a brief contextualisation of Edward Said's text *Orientalism*.¹⁷ This groundbreaking analysis of the academic discourse concerning "*the orient*" is generally appreciated as one of the first critical applications of post-structuralist theory to historical documentations of the space and global politics of colonial empire.¹⁸ It's critique of the relationships between ontology and identity, discourse and action are widely acknowledged as having provided the

14 *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, ed. by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (London: Zed Books, 2004).

15 Nabeel Hamdi, *Small Change* (London: Earthscan, 2004), pp. 83–85.

16 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 26; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 54.

17 Said, *Orientalism*.

18 Bruce Robbins, 'The East as a Career', in *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993), p. -58–59; Stephen Slemon, 'The Scramble for Post-Colonialism', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 45–48.

theoretical foundation from which post-colonial and subaltern studies have evolved.¹⁹ Said's documentation of this relationship between the Western identity and a generic oriental Other²⁰ is interpreted in the context of this thesis as a clear precursor to the contestation of multiplicity in the post-structural geographies of theorists such as Doreen Massey.²¹ However it also intersects critically with notions of identity and values that have been instrumental in the criticism of Wolfgang Sachs et al,²² Homi Bhabha²³ and Gayatri Spivak.²⁴

In the context of these intersections the potential viability of this chapter's comparison with development practice becomes clear. Said is explicit in the description and analysis of orientalism's ideologies and its implications for the identity, freedom and subjectivity of persons, governments or organisations who interact with others and otherness.²⁵ Reflecting the same critical reservations as Hamdi highlighted in chapter four, he notes the inability to engage in the physical or theoretical context that surrounds orientalism without implicating conflicts of class, race, religion, and socio-political history in the discussion.²⁶ No matter how well intended such actions might be Said is clear that because of "...*Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action.*"²⁷

19 J Clifford, 'Orientalism - Book Review', *History & Theory*, 19 (1980), 204–23; *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by B Ashcroft, G Griffiths, and H Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 85; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 265, 270; Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 102.

20 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 10.

21 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 66–67; James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference.', *Cultural Anthropology. American Anthropological Association*, 7 (1992), pp 6–23 (p. 8).

22 Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, 2nd edn (London: Zed Books, 2010).

23 Homi K Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Homi K Bhabha, 'Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by B Ashcroft, G Griffiths, and H Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 155–57; Bart Moore-Gilbert, 'Spivak and Bhabha', in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. by Sangeeta Ray and Henry Schwartz (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

Building upon key post-structural theoretical methodologies,²⁸ Said's analysis frames orientalism as an expression of globalised socio-cultural inequalities, and subsequently as a political manifestation of identity and authority.²⁹ For Said, orientalism reflects a utilisation and manipulation of abstract academic discourse in order to represent and define the culture and identity of “*the other*”.³⁰ Observing numerous historical manipulations of philological documentation Said observed this phenomenon as a politically motivated discourse that authorised, produced and represented space and identity.³¹ Its product was an identity existing interdependently as both abstract discourse and concrete practical manifestations contributing to and reinforcing the politics and economics of global inequality.³²

This analysis allows Said to provide a critique of orientalism as being produced and maintained by the assumptions of Western authority.³³ The extensive historical and geographical examples through which Said demonstrates how the political implications of this exchange were used to justify economic, political and geographical conquest and ideological hegemony,³⁴ are utilised in this chapter as a framework with which to read and contextualise the interdependent political context and evolution of development in the twentieth century.³⁵

24 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by L Grossberg and C Nelson (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1998), pp. 271–313.

25 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 210, 216; Edward Said, *The World, the Critic, and the Text* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 14, 29.

26 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 10–12.

27 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

28 Specifically Foucault’s analysis of the relationship between knowledge and power, as noted in: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 103–106; Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 3, 14, 22–23.

29 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 6, 10, 327.

30 This analysis can be seen further reflected in the observations of Franz Fanon whose studies into the psychopathology of colonisation explored the human, social and cultural consequences of de-colonisation. See: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Reprint (London: Penguin classics, 2001), pp. 169–175; Lewis Gordon, *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985).

Said's rich and detailed critique of orientalism as a structuralist and self-referential discipline ultimately exposes the conception that identity as a product can never be interpreted as an accurate representation of others.³⁶ Instead the lack of critical self-reflection that defines orientalism as a theoretical abstraction conversely allows such discourse to represent the reflective identity of the authors themselves. Said observes orientalism as offering a critical representation of certain facets of the Westernised identity that remain hidden in the ideological cohesion and hegemony of capitalism.³⁷ It is in this theoretical inversion that Said explicates a deeper clarity on the contemporary implications of the moral authority derived from the definition of "*the other*."³⁸ Considered in this way, the abstract and politically produced identity of the oriental *other* comes to represent little more than a manifestation of all the things that the West despised and feared in and of itself:

"Along with all other peoples variously designated as backward, degenerate, uncivilised, and retarded, the Orientals were viewed in a framework constructed out of biological determinism and moral-political admonishment. The Oriental was linked thus to elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having in common an identity best described as lamentably alien. Orientals

31 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 118–119.

32 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 6, 52.

33 Frederick Jameson, 'Modernism and Imperialism', in *Nationalism Colonialism Literature*, 5th edn (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 49; Edward Said, 'Yeats and Decolonisation', in *Nationalism Colonialism Literature*, 5th edn (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 73; Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 86–87, 197.

34 Herbert S Lewis, 'The Influence of Edward Said and Orientalism on Anthropology, or: Can the Anthropologist Speak?', *Israel Affairs*, 13 (2007), 774–85; Or see: Said, *Orientalism*, p. 73 'Projects'. And; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 92 'Crises'.

35 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 6–9.

36 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 22.

37 Terry Eagleton, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, 5th edn (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 26; Said, 'Yeats and Decolonisation', p. 78; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 53.

38 Said, *Orientalism*, p. xii.

*were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analysed or confined or – as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory – taken over.*³⁹

This form of self-denial in the negative identification of the oriental other⁴⁰ thrives on the ability to associate the products of its own moral inequalities (such as relationships with the identities of women, the insane, criminals and the poor), with the fear and danger embedded within a distant, shadowy and indefinable other.⁴¹ This contestation becomes intriguing when global development is critiqued as relying upon similar universal identities of “*under-development*”⁴² and “*catching up with the West*.”⁴³ Within this observation is a recognition of the inequality of Western moral authority as a product of geo-political history and an explicit reluctance to engage or confront the reality of spatial multiplicity as explored by Massey.⁴⁴

In the context of this chapter's analysis of orientalism and more broadly identity as a means to isolate and disassociate western ideology from the negative identity of “*the other*”, we can now begin to contest whether development can ever be more than a representation of the West, and thus always some form of project and product upon its recipients.

Here it is important to note various counter-arguments and testing re-contextualisations to the broad implications and suppositions Said draws in his analysis.⁴⁵ Such critiques are notable for their explication of both the positive and negative implications of the moral subjectivity placed upon the authors of

39 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 207.

40 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 204.

41 Discussed widely in post-structural literature and post-colonial studies. See for example: Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*; Young, *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Paladin, 1970); Ranajit Guha, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

42 C. Douglas Lummis, ‘Equality’, in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 38–54 (p. 51).

43 Massey, *For Space*, p. 68.

44 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 22; Massey, *For Space*, p. 82.

political history. Ibn Warraq contentiously notes the implications of what he describes as Said's oversimplification of the orient/occident relationship into a strict dichotomy.⁴⁶ Whilst this in itself appears to overlook the clear intentions to not engage in any such dichotomy as outlined in Said's rebuttal to such criticisms,⁴⁷ this thesis finds sympathy towards Warraq's concern for the multiplicity of subaltern identities that are subsumed under the academic scale which Said's discourse theoretical inversion of oriental discourse is implicated.⁴⁸

Yet, Said's critique of orientalist identity as a product and negative self-reflection of the West might still be used provocatively to in direct comparison to the more practical applications and implications of identity and the dynamics of global power relations of inequality and development.⁴⁹ Simply put, the negative projection from the occident upon the orient provides a continuing physical and theoretical manifestation of authority that persists in today's global politics and explicitly affects the discourse and practice of international development.⁵⁰ Orientalism's un-critical use and manipulation of dualistic and negative otherness generates a lasting and endemic sense of "us and them" that remains deeply engrained in contemporary socio-political questions.⁵¹ A singular vision of history, development, identity and democratic moral superiority that continues to be projected using discourse as a tool of hegemonic negation and subjugation of the other,⁵² which concurrently denies the multiplicity and directionality of power whilst enacting the suppression cultures that cannot not be made to conform:

45 Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's 'Orientalism'* (New York: Prometheus, 2007); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (Penguin, 2007).

46 Warraq, pp. 40–43.

47 As highlighted in his new preface to the 2003 edition of *'Orientalism'*.

48 Warraq, pp. 23–24. It should be noted that whilst the point is conceded to Warraq, the vehement tone of the attack is also considered largely unnecessarily and unhelpful. It is also noted that the critiques of Irwin are equally intriguing in their expansion of orientalism into German and Russian contexts, however they similarly are tangential to this thesis utilisation of Said's core discourse. Irwin 'Enemies of Orientalism'.

49 Lummis, 'Equality'; Gustavo Esteva, Salvatore J Babones and Philipp Babcicky, *The Future of Development: A Radical Manifesto* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

*“It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength I have been speaking about so far. [...] In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper-hand.”*⁵³

This notion of a “flexible positional superiority” is the clearest explanation of how abstract discourses can be shown to continually produce and reproduce identities that are constructed around simplifications of right and wrong,⁵⁴ us and them, here and there, developed and developing.⁵⁵ The effects of such sustained and proliferated discourses of superiority are keenly felt in the expressions of identity that they historically produced and that continue to be contested in contemporary development as an ideology.⁵⁶ In responding to shifting historical contexts, a politically constructed orientalism validated a moral and authoritative suppression of otherness that again warrants comparison to the history of development practice and the concept of development and its corollary under-development.⁵⁷

Echoing Said’s critique this chapter suggests that if development discourse can be perceived as a metaphorical mirror of the Western social conscience, it reveals a representation of a systematically constructed global capitalism and economic inequality. It reflects and highlights a construction of negative identity

50 Various examples can be explored here including the continued contemporary military and economic manifestations of the Western government and corporations in the Middle East, the political interventions in the ongoing Syrian conflict, as well more historical examples in the Indian independence movement and Western various interventions in South American political processes.

51 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 327.

52 An overtly similar contestation to: Massey, *For Space*, p. 87.

53 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7.

54 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Righting Wrongs’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103 (2004), 523–81 (p. 532).

55 Sachs, *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, p. 5; Lummis, ‘Equality’, p. 51.

56 See ‘Common sense, identity, and culture’ in: Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey and Michael Rustin, ‘After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present’, *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 2013, 8–22.

that is reliant upon a produced identity of universal Western values that invalidates the multiplicity of identities and practices that prosper in the alterity of other, different and alternative spaces and cultures. Thus whilst Said's historical and theoretical implications of colonial empire and the production of identity allow a philological critique of the subjectivity of history, it also offers the opportunity for comparison with the production and manipulation of identity suggested in the contentious history of development practice and the residual contemporary continuity of such negative articulation of otherness and difference.⁵⁸

This brief exploration of Said's critique of orientalism provides valuable critical frameworks with which to compare the both positive examples and negative critical observations of the appropriation and contestation of identity in development practice. Here, questions of authority, control and freedom that Turner raised can be compared with post-colonialism's critique of "*negative identification of Others*"⁵⁹ and the underlying "*flexible positional superiority*" that pervaded orientalism. Placed in a critical comparison with Turner's observations and critique of development practices, the same projection of negative identity and flexible authority might be observed as pervading the evolution of global development policy and practice over the 50 years after his original observations.

Turner and Identity

Turner can be considered one of the clearest demarcations of the origin of critical practice in the history of international development, his work marking a watershed moment in the shift from colonialism to development in the 1950s

57 Ananya Roy, 'Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Utopianism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35 (2011), 223–38 (p. 224); Arturo Escobar, 'Planning', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. 145; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 143.

58 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 327.

59 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 249.

and 60s.⁶⁰ This historical change in development practice is notable for corresponding with Turner's research and presentation of the seminal paper "*Uncontrolled Urban Settlements*"⁶¹ at a United Nations seminar in 1965. His subsequent research at MIT and involvement in the UN development policy frameworks is similarly recognisable as a pivotal point in the theoretical discourse of development practice, and Turner's research is recognised as perhaps the most influential contribution in setting in motion governmental '*sites and services*' housing programmes.⁶²

Both Turner's socio-economic observations and practical realisations of alternative development were explicitly based upon the importance and value of choice and the freedom to choose and to build.⁶³ As observed in chapter two Turner not only provides explicit and evidenced critique of the socio-economic implausibility of hierarchical development intervention,⁶⁴ but crucially also a positive alternative methodology based upon the critical political frameworks of autonomy and heteronomy,⁶⁵ and the implications of mismatches of identities and values:

*"Quantitative methods cannot describe the relationships between things, people and nature – which is just where experience and human values lie. [...] Only by standing Lord Kelvin's dictum on its head can one make sense of it: nothing of real value is measurable."*⁶⁶

60 Notably observed in: Richard Harris, 'A Double Irony: The Originality and Influence of John F.C. Turner', *Habitat International*, 27 (2003), 245–69 (pp. 245–248); M J Rodell and others, 'Introduction. Contemporary Self-Help Programmes', in *People, Poverty and Shelter. Problems of Self-Help Housing in the Third World* (London: Methuen, 1983); K Mathey, *Beyond Self-Help Housing* (London: Mansell, 1991), pp. 380–382; Lisa Peattie and Doebele, 'Freedom to Build - Book Review', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 39, 66–67 (p. 67).

61 John FC Turner, 'Uncontrolled Urban Settlements: Problems and Policies', *International Social Development Review: United Nations. New York*, 1 (1968), 107–28.

62 Lisa Peattie, 'Some Second Thoughts on Sites and Services', *Habitat International*, 6 (1982); Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona and Theo Kolstee, 'Contemporary Spatial Strategies and Urban Policies in Developing Countries: A Critical Review', in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997).

63 John FC Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), pp. 11, 54, 61, 153–154.

This advocacy for progressive development has been conventionally valued for its remarkably clear and evidenced demonstrations of both the social and economic value of self-build and user-defined housing.⁶⁷ Whilst not wanting to overlook criticisms raised by Burgess⁶⁸ and retrospectively by Peattie,⁶⁹ simply put, progressive development practice advocates for housing and communities organised, built and managed by the inhabitants of informal settlements themselves.⁷⁰ Crucially this approach advocates the necessity of both grassroots, participatory and “*bottom up*” approach, and strategic and political advocacy and democratisation of planning legality towards space and development as self-management.⁷¹ This discourse thus reflects a re-evaluation of informality as a positive alternative to Western development models of top-down institutional and hierarchical policies.⁷² Here Said’s critical analysis of abstract and negative identification of otherness and the interdependent reproduction of flexible positional superiority might begin to frame a critical analysis of the historical and political contexts that are implicated by development’s global and local relationships. In framing the theoretical connection of identity production and inequality in this way, this chapter posits development as interdependent with an adaptive framework of geometries of power and values.⁷³

64 John FC Turner, ‘Housing as a Verb’, in *Freedom To Build* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1972), p. 169; Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 14, 42; John FC Turner, ‘Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns, and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries’, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 34 (1968), 354–63; John FC Turner, ‘The Fits and Misfits of People’s Housing’, *RIBA journal*, 2 (1974).

65 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 17–19.

66 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 64.

67 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 43–48; John FC Turner, ‘Dwelling Resources in South America’, *Architectural Design*, 8 (1963), p. 363,381,381; Turner, ‘Housing as a Verb’, pp. 163–165.

68 Critique of implicit control and poverty implied in Turner’s approach: Rod Burgess, ‘Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control? A Critique of John Turner’s Views on Housing Policy.’, *World Development*, 6 (1977), 1105–33 (p. 1117); Rod Burgess, ‘Self-Help Housing. A New Imperialist Strategy? A Critique of the Turner School’, *Antipode*, 9 (1978), 50–60.

69 Peattie.

For Turner this experience is clearly articulated in his discussion of a project for a new school in Tiabaya near Lima in Peru.⁷⁴ These early experiences of the implications of such geometries of power of identity are uncovered in the problems he faced in his aspirations for a contextually, materially and economically efficient design for the school based on the inherent appropriateness of the vernacular building style, local materials and well intentioned thoughtful design.

Turner notes, that his approach of communicating the design to the village council ended up being an “*onslaught of economic and design logic*”, before ruefully noting that “*our own enthusiasm was not audibly echoed or even shared by the council members.*”⁷⁵ Upon returning to the village to see work progressing, Turner noted that the designs had been changed by the council in his absence and were now attempting to use concrete and steel whist keeping just his overall layout.⁷⁶ The implications of changes of material would mean that the project would not be possible on budget and was ultimately doomed to failure. Crucially, instead of decrying such happenings as the naivety of other people Turner turned his frustration inwards and was self-critical and reflective:

“The disaster which would have overtaken the well-intentioned Tiabaya school project [...] would have been the direct result of power to impose decisions from above which must come from below if good use is to be made of local resources. [...] We, the authorities,

70 Turner, ‘Housing as a Verb’, pp. 154–160.

71 *Freedom to Build*, ed. by Robert Fichter and John FC Turner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 127; Henri Lefebvre, *Henri Lefebvre - State, Space, World; Selected Essays*, ed. by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, trans. by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 16.

72 Turner, ‘From Central Provider to Local Enablement’, p. 208.

73 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 84, 103.

74 Turner, ‘The Re-Education of a Professional’, p. 125.

75 Turner, ‘The Re-Education of a Professional’, p. 126.

76 Turner, ‘The Re-Education of a Professional’, p. 127.

overpowered the Tiabaya School committee with words, and though more respectful of our Miraflores clients' felt architectural needs, we overwhelmed them with our political power.”⁷⁷

Upon reflection Turner notes the assumed authority used to impose a design upon the community that did not reflect their aspirations for modernity that the school represented for the village community.⁷⁸ In being deaf to these local aspirations Turner recognises in his own practice the implications of development as a projection of identities and assumptions. The best intentions of development cannot be reconciled through professional confrontation any more than they can overcome the manifest differences of multiple identities through brute force of design and values as an imposition open other people.⁷⁹ In place of assumptions and authority what Turner recognised the need for mutuality and humility.

In response to these experiences, Turner was to explore an approach to development as a facilitation of autonomy, choice and heteronomy⁸⁰ that built upon participatory engagement, political and economic education, empowerment and advocacy, and more fundamentally the contestation of assumed roles, identities and values. In his important observations of informal housing development Turner would note the implications of mismatches and prescriptions of value implicated within conventional top-down housing models:

“If the usefulness of housing for its principal users, the occupiers, is independently variable from the material standards of the goods and services provided as the case studies and other sources show, then conventional measures of housing value can be grossly misleading.

77 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. 133.

78 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. 134.

79 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 23; Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. 145.

80 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 23; Turner, 'Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns, and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries', p. 355.

*As long as it is erroneously assumed that a house of materially higher standards is necessarily a better house, then housing problems will be mis-stated.*⁸¹

Various examples of the success of such projects can be found in Turner's self-help housing in Huascara in Lima Peru,⁸² in the Brazilian Algado housing system⁸³ and in Caracas informal barrios that Turner observed,⁸⁴ each representing a version of self-management and grass-roots social practices of material necessity. Yet these observations hint at the problematic implications that such alternative development practices suggest for socio-cultural relations and global political inequality of identity and value. Here remains the implications of a freedom and necessity to build not only your own home, but also your own identity.⁸⁵ The disjunction between produced identities based upon abstract assumptions⁸⁶ and practiced identities of material reality reveals a connection to the political authority and control in development discourse and international policy. This crisis of identity in development that can be observed pervading and persisting in mainstream discourse⁸⁷ is searingly and darkly reiterated by Turner's humble and stark observations of ideological development and housing in informal settlements.⁸⁸ The culmination of misplaced good intentions, political and economic hegemony and the underlying premise of a singular, universal purpose and identity pertaining to development:

81 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 60.

82 Turner, 'The Re-Education of a Professional', p. 141.

83 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'.

84 Turner, 'Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns, and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries', p. 361.

85 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 23.

86 Notably from Turner's experiences these is prevalent even when practice is approached with the best of intentions.

87 Majid Rahnema, 'Poverty', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010); Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and UnMaking of the Third World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995).

88 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing'; Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 61.

“The vast majority of officials and professionals keep recommending the destruction of people’s homes in order to solve these same people’s ‘housing problems’ by providing them with alternatives either they or society cannot afford. In a world of grossly maldistributed resources and injustice, this is a huge, but very black joke. Such stupidities are inevitable as long as those who perpetuate them have confused their values and lost their common sense of life’s wholeness.”⁸⁹

These dark observations of misplaced values are contrasted by the positive potential Turner highlights in examples of development identities that are inherently counter-intuitive to conventional ideologies of development. In contrast to formal legal and planning infrastructures such examples highlight the support, empowerment and integration of informal settlements as positive and alternative realisations of material necessity and grass-roots sustainable enterprise.⁹⁰ Turner explores these observations variously but an exemplar of the efficiency of informal housing and identities can be found in Mama Elena's low-income communal household.⁹¹

The example of Elena describes the experience of a family whose frequent forceful eviction from unaffordable government tenement buildings by state agencies and police, leading to the communal creation of “*provisional shack*” dwellings that existed in highly convenient yet formally illegal situation close to schools and work.⁹² This illegal and unorthodox system afforded a degree of flexibility and adaptability to circumstances that was never afforded by previous tenement occupancies. It thrived on variables of social and spatial relations that were based in material and economic realities that were contradictory to external agencies and government perceptions of what development looks

89 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 61.

90 Turner, ‘Uncontrolled Urban Settlements: Problems and Policies’, pp. 121, 127; Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 3.

91 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 90.

92 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 91.

like.⁹³ Turner's involvement was not as facilitator or developer, but merely as political advocate for this and other projects as examples of materially and socially sustainable practices and identities.

For Turner, affective housing and development was a product of “*what housing does for people*” and not “*how it looks*”.⁹⁴ He realised that a house can only act and succeed as a home if people's housing needs are stated in terms of material and social priorities of *access*, *shelter* and *tenure*. These three variables might be considered largely universal and independent of formal or informal housing and development:⁹⁵

“This apparent paradox, created by false values and confused language, is a very common one, especially in the majority of low-income countries as well as, and perhaps increasingly, in countries like Britain.”⁹⁶

In these explicit references to the global political implications of the inequalities and implausibility of development as an identity Turner even reflects his critique back upon Britain and the West. In critiquing the pinnacle representations of developed nations and Turner suggests an inversion of the political, social and economic validity of neoliberal capitalism that resonates with this thesis' underlying critiques of Westernised spatial practices. In this reflective critique of Western values and identity, Turner hints at the same reversal of negative and presumed production of identity that pervaded Said's study of orientalism, and a profound geo-political inversion based upon Turner's critical observations and experience of conventional development methodologies. The political implications of such a critique perhaps suggest why the same critique of identity

93 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing', p. 96.

94 Turner, 'The Fits and Misfits of People's Housing', p. 97.

95 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 51, 63, 153–154.

96 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 52.

still pervades contemporary development discourse.⁹⁷ Thus some fifty years since Turner first raised a critique of the produced identity that accompanies development that Turner notes as “*mirage*”⁹⁸, we find Hamdi observing:

“... *the concept of bringing civilisation (development?) and promoting progress being a crusade (for some) resonates still with some of the ambitions, if not policies, which underpin the politics of aid under the guise of development.*”⁹⁹

Under Development as Identity

The political question of identity in global development remained implicit throughout Turner's early participatory methodologies, and is still pervasive in both practical and theoretical development discourse.¹⁰⁰ Yet it is not until the late twentieth century context of expanding post-colonial and subaltern studies that development discourse began a renewed political and economic critique in reaction to this issue of development as an identity. This strand of discourse came to be identified as “*post-development*”¹⁰¹ which articulates a theoretical (and highly impassioned) critique of the apparent misconceived neutrality and passive subordination is perceived as pervading much twentieth-century development discourse, policy and practice.¹⁰²

97 Richard Sennett, *Respect, The Formation of Character in an Age of Inequality* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 91.

98 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 15.

99 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 1.

100 Gustavo Esteva, 'Development', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. 3.

101 Sachs, 'Preface to the New Edition'.

102 'According to them, the “backward” or “poor” countries were in that condition due to past lootings in the process of colonisation and the continued raping by capitalist exploitation at the national and the international level: underdevelopment was the creation of development'. See Esteva, p. 5.

Advocates of post-development contest that the post-colonial contexts of development in the global South are suffused with political and economic projections of continued negative colonial identities that are implicated in all attempts at development practice. Thus conventional development as a projection from one culture upon another (regardless of good intentions) is considered by many proponents of post-development as merely the translation of colonial oppression to a similar yet more subtle and duplicitous control in the concept of global development.¹⁰³ The most notable aspect of this critique surrounds the analysis of the political articulation and projection of negative identity that pervades the political, economic and semantic¹⁰⁴ identity of what it means to be “developed”.

The implications of this critical discourse are generally contested as originating in the inaugural address of President Harry S Truman to the United States and the rest of the world in 1949. Post-development protagonists implicate this speech as a point of origin for the production of the negative political terms and identities of developed and the corollary under-developed. The structural dualism of these terms and identities is analysed as having fundamental ramifications for global politics.¹⁰⁵ The inevitability pertained to in the desire and goal to help the world attain the vision and idea of development that the Western world represented is perceived as enshrining the singular identity of development with the ideological cohesion of capitalist values and mechanisms. Whether un-intentionally or not, subsequent identities of development were once more articulated in a political monologue of what development meant:¹⁰⁶

“Underdevelopment began, then, on 20 January 1949. On that day a billion people became underdeveloped. In a real sense they stopped being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified

103 *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. by Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (London: Zed Books, 1997); Ivan Illich, ‘Needs’, in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 99–102; Serge Latouche, ‘Standards of Living’, in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. 279; Esteva, Babones and Babcicky, p. 54.

104 Esteva, p. 3.

105 Massey, *For Space*, p. 68.

106 Harry S Truman, *Inaugural Address*, Documents on American Foreign Relations (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967).

into an inverted mirror of others' reality: a mirror that belittles them and sends them off to the end of the queue, a mirror that defines their identity, which is that of a heterogenous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenising and narrow minority."¹⁰⁷

Academic and political responses to such post-development discourse have critiqued the oversimplification that is presupposed by the assumption that all development is imposed from the West as a spatial and political ideology.¹⁰⁸ This critique of such reductive dualism is perhaps validated by Marc Edelman's well documented argument that a large proportion of development can be observed arising from within the developing world itself, with Ray Kiely observing that "[t]he post-development idea is thus part of a long history within the development discourse."¹⁰⁹

In a further critique, Kiely explores suggestions of similarities of post-development with neoliberalism in their rejection of top-down, centralised approaches.¹¹⁰ This suggestion contests that the consequence of radical decentralised governance might unintentionally be ignoring the potential of large scale strategic projects to assist impoverished people against the logic placing people in such economies of absence completely responsible for their own prosperity.¹¹¹ The simple argument being that as we played a large contributing role in creating development disparity we should not abandon others to attempt to fix our mistakes.

Thus in spite of the implications of these reservations in the context of this chapter's comparison with Turner and Hamdi's local and strategic approaches to development practice, post-development still offer a critical insight into the

107 Esteva, p. 2.

108 Marc Edelman, *Peasants Against Globalization: Rural Social Movements in Costa Rica* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 10–15.

109 Ray Kiely, 'The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory', *European Journal of Development Research*, 11, p. 30.

110 Ray Kiely, 'Development Theory and Industrialisation: Beyond the Impasse', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 24 (1994), 133–60.

111 Kiely, 'The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory'.

contemporary contestation of post-colonial identity. Resonating with Massey's critique of the academic and political taming of space towards temporal convening and inevitability,¹¹² the premise remains that the intrinsic assumptions of the hierarchical models and ideologies observed in conventional development are interdependent with the political and economic ideologies that accompanied efforts of post-colonial superpowers.¹¹³ The implications of perceiving development as an ideological construct is articulated in this thesis as necessitating a return to practical confrontations with the politics and material reality of identity as observed and highlighted in Turner and Hamdi's discourse.¹¹⁴

In the context of this chapter's critical comparisons, implications of this can again be perceived as playing out through the frameworks of imposing identities of those deemed as under-developed against a universal model of development framed around Western identities, concepts and values. The consequences of this conflation of ideological development with local social values and identities are noted extensively by Marianne Gronemeyer¹¹⁵ and here Hamdi:

"The phase of centralised planning and the public provision of everything including sites and service paralleled, more or less, the 1950s era of modernisation. When the ideals of modernisation were exported to the developing world they were done so on a simple assumption. If you want to be developed and 'modern' (like us), then do as we do, conform to how we do it in technology and style, use the standards and goals we set ourselves, adopt our vision of a better world and, in time, with a bit of luck and a lot of help (from us) you will achieve modernity!"¹¹⁶

112 Massey, *For Space*, p. 70.

113 Remarkably similar to observations made on the contemporary consequences of orientalism: Said, *Orientalism*, p. 327.

114 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 62.

115 Marianne Gronemeyer, *Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004).

116 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 10.

In spite of the economic and political success of Turner's practices, the subsequent geo-political history of development as an idea and identity have become conflated with various capitalist and neoliberal policies emerging from various agents of change, e.g the World Bank, corporate and institutional NGOs, and state-controlled aid programs.¹¹⁷ The variety of implications that projects based upon Western political and capitalistic values and development identities can be seen repeated again and again throughout later twentieth-century and contemporary development discourse.¹¹⁸

The identity and values that accompanied development are noted by Turner, Hamdi and others as being interdependent with global capitalist economic policies with various implementations throughout the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.¹¹⁹ Here Hamdi is notable for providing valuable introspection into the historical evolution of development practice, describing the shifting focus and emphasis of theoretical discourse and international policy.¹²⁰ The success of development came to be judged based on criteria that relate directly to the Western model of what being developed means, through various shifting uses of GDP's and global indexes of economic criteria. The dislocation from local values and identities of practice is here noted starkly by Lummis:

“The essence of economic development equality is contained in the phrase ‘catching up’ or narrowing the gap’. [...] The accusation of injustice cannot traditionally be made against inequalities between systems, but only within a system. The fact that the idea is intelligible today is evidence of the degree to which we accept that the world has been organised into a single economic system. [...] The idea that now the world economy has become capitalist it can generate quality through its own ‘development’ is remarkable.”¹²¹

117 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 8–12.

118 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 13–18; Illich, 'Needs', p. 106; Burgess, Carmona and Theo Kolstee, 'Contemporary Spatial Strategies and Urban Policies in Developing Countries: A Critical Review', pp. 111–116.

119 Robyn Eversole, 'Remaking Participation: Challenges for Community Development Practice', *Community Development Journal*, 47 (2012), 29–41 (p. 32).

120 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 8.

As observed in the discourses of Hamdi¹²² and Burgess,¹²³ the historical evolution of development ideology is frequently critiqued as a neocolonial capitalist and hegemonic projection upon the developing world, and as an experiment of almost fundamentalist ideological conviction to the inevitability and infallibility of global capitalism.¹²⁴ Thus at no point in Hamdi's critique of the evolving ideologies of policy, economics and politics of development can he identify an engagement with the vast range of differing global contexts of multiplicity and specificity being subsumed by abstract policy terminology.

As such, under-development and its corollary of subsequent policy conflation of development as conforming and "*catching up to the west*"¹²⁵ are comparable to the various observations of the projected positive identity of development existing as a *mirage, guise* and *fantasy* of either Western or capitalist visions¹²⁶ of modernity and development observed by Turner. However, more pronounced and immediate implications are surely felt in the negative corollary identity of under-development as envy and inferiority which remains largely uncontested and destructive within the discourse and practice of development.¹²⁷

Development Identities and Equality

Post-development discourse offers a remarkably similar articulation of the political observations drawn by Massey in the notion of "*temporal convening*" of space and development, and an assumed inevitability of capitalist hegemonic

121 Lummis, 'Equality', p. 45.

122 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 3–9.

123 *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities; Neoliberalism and Urban Strategies in Developing Countries*, ed. by Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona, and Kolstee (London: Zed Books, 1997).

124 Doreen Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18 (p. 8); Massey, *For Space*, p. 65; Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures* (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp. 93–94, 152–153.

125 Massey, *For Space*, p. 68.

126 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 14–15.

127 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 44.

development.¹²⁸ Echoing Massey, Lummis notes that conceiving identities of developed and under-developed allows for all such development practice to be subsumed within the idea of catching up or narrowing the gap to the West.¹²⁹

In this conflation of time, development and equality there is notably a similar dismissal of the specificity of space, context and subsequently identity observed in the historical abstractions found in orientalism. The articulation of what it means to be under-developed abruptly casts two-thirds of the planet's population with a single identity, overlooking the cultural uniqueness and multiplicity that exists within those who are "other".¹³⁰ Building on this abstract universalism of identity Lummis critically connects the implications of catching up to the West with ideological constructions of economic inequality:

"Placing all the world under a single yardstick, so that all forms of community life but one are disvalued as underdeveloped, unequal and wretched, has made us sociologically blind. [...] How and when a people prospers depends on what it hopes, and prosperity becomes a strictly economic term only when we abandon or destroy all hopes but the economic one."¹³¹

Much like Said's observations of orientalism as an abstraction and negation of identities in support of economic and colonial conquest,¹³² Lummis proposes that the transcription of Western hegemonic values as economic ideologies of development produced a quantifiable scale with which to distinguish between developed and under-developed, North and South, us and them. Such an economic measure is devised with a scope and scale that applies irrespective

128 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 70, 82.

129 Lummis, 'Equality', p. 45.

130 Esteva, p. 3; C. Douglas Lummis, *Radical Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 67.

131 Lummis, 'Equality', p. 51.

132 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 216; See also: Said, *Orientalism*, p. 73 'Projects'; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 92 'Crises'. And: Lewis, p. 778.

of the global multiplicity of difference and otherness. Thus, this chapter's comparison of the production of identity with Turner's observations of the use-value of development is valuable here in recognising that:

*"No one denies the universal need for homes any more than the importance of learning or keeping in good health. But many have come to identify the ends with the ways and means that turn them into products."*¹³³

Such comparisons with post-development discourse offer a crucial challenge to the validity of the theoretical discourse and policy that frames international development as a global practice.¹³⁴ As this thesis comparisons have explored, the question of the values, meaning and identity politics that accompany development are exemplified in the alternative spatial practices articulated by both Turner and Hamdi. Yet the significance of conflating a moral authority and geographical universalism of development with such an apparently universally acceptable concept of equality remains hidden within the complex rhetoric and semantic hegemony of development policy.¹³⁵ Thus, for some the continued existence and political utilisation of development itself became a cause for protestation and highly charged academic contestation, as exemplified in the claims of Majid Rahnema, Arturo Escobar and, in this example, Ashis Nandy:

*"The underlying myth of development, that it will remove poverty forever from all corners of the world, now lies shattered. It is surprising that so many people believed it for so many years with such admirable innocence. For even societies that have witnessed unprecedented prosperity during the last five decades, such as the United States of America, have not been able to exile poverty or destitution from within their borders."*¹³⁶

133 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 12.

134 Turner, 'From Central Provider to Local Enablement', p. 209.

135 Lummis, *Radical Democracy*, pp. 62–64.

136 Ashis Nandy, 'The Beautiful Expanding Future of Poverty: Popular Economics as a Psychological Defense', *International Studies Review*, 4 (2002), 107–221 (p. 108).

This shift in the critique of equality from distant alterity of the under-developed identity of otherness, to an introspective within the supposed sanctity of developed nation states is critical. Much like Turner's earlier reflection of housing values and development identities back upon Britain,¹³⁷ such a contestations of equality suggest that Western development might no longer be represented as a universal aspiration.¹³⁸ Instead, what becomes crucial for the identity of development and equality are the processes, products and implications of inequality experienced across unequal geometries of economic power, and gaps of inequality that exist throughout both supposedly developed and developing countries.¹³⁹ In essence, the identity of inequality cannot be limited to national boundaries and must instead confront the universal struggles of unequal power geometries created by the economic systems of employed in the name of neoliberal development.¹⁴⁰

This implausibility of development as a means to catch up to the West was explicitly outlined by Turner who by the 1970s had already observed the economic and cultural oppression that such apparently well intentioned development could be such a fundamentally damaging and detrimental approach.¹⁴¹ The capitalist principles of trickle-down development and the premise of capitalist hegemonic inequality being a viable model from which to generate a globally distributed financial equality¹⁴² are now being actively re-contextualised in light of post-colonial and post-development academic discourse.¹⁴³ Quoting Lummis here at length, we can observe a valuable comparison to the original observations and advocacy of Turner, noting how his

137 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 52.

138 Wolfgang Sachs, 'One World', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 111–26 (p. 124).

139 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 82–84; Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', pp. 11–16.

140 Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 15, 70; Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', p. 9; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, p. 22; Iris Marion-Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, New (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011); David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996).

141 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 39–42; John FC Turner, 'Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 33 (1967), 167–81 (pp. 167–170).

142 Esteva, p. 3; Esteva, Babones and Babcicky, pp. 23, 68.

advocacy for politically alternative progressive developments¹⁴⁴ based upon material and social use-value compares favourably with many of the post-development critiques of the universal values and equality:

“Development equality – catching up with the rich through economic activity – is thus a notion that goes against both common sense and economic science; it is a physical impossibility (assuming the earth is only one planet we have) and a logical contradiction. At the same time it operates, in fact, to establish a new form of inequality. Placing the world under a single standard of measurement, it destroys the possibility of what might be called ‘the effective equality of commensurable’. For if it could be recognised that different cultures really have their own standards of value, which cannot be subsumed into one another or rank-ordered on some supra-cultural scale, it would make sense to give each equal respect and equal choice. The contrary notion, and the prevailing one today, that all the world’s cultures can be measured against a single ‘standard of living’ measure (which implies standardisation of all living) renders all those cultures commensurable, and hence unequal. It dispossesses the world’s peoples of their own indigenous notions of prosperity.”¹⁴⁵

As with Hamdi's practical discourse, here the cultural specificity of place and identity can here be observed as interconnected with a multiplicity of ways to perceive value and success in development.¹⁴⁶ Thus issues of equality can begin to be interpreted as interdependent with the positive potential of otherness as an identity of development, and in direct contrast to the universal

143 Esteva and Prakash, pp. 22–26; Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona and Theo Kolstee, ‘Contemporary Macroeconomic Strategies and Urban Policies in Developing Countries: A Critical Review’, in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997), pp. 22–25; N Harris, *Cities in the 1990s: The Challenge for Developing Countries* (London: UCL Press, 1992).

144 Turner, ‘The Fits and Misfits of People’s Housing’, p. 8; Turner, ‘Uncontrolled Urban Settlements: Problems and Policies’, p. 127; John FC Turner, ‘Future Directions in Housing Policy’, *Habitat International*, 10 (1986), 7–25 (p. 20).

145 Lummis, ‘Equality’, p. 50.

146 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, pp. 44–45.

capitalist image and ascription of exchange value.¹⁴⁷ This analysis reframes the premise of development through outside intervention as not merely a continuation of a global economic equality within a capitalist context, but also as a highly politically motivated coercion of freedom, identity and prosperity.¹⁴⁸ Based upon this critique, the cohesion of capitalism as a vehicle to realise equality through development is implausible,¹⁴⁹ but perhaps more importantly it highlights and reveals an ideological mis-direction that perpetuates the same reflective identity construction of negative difference and otherness that Said observed in orientalism.

This manipulation and projection of an overtly over-simplistic distinction between those who have and those who have not underpins the ideological premise of development and underdevelopment.¹⁵⁰ The perception of equality in a dichotomy with development leads to the simplification that supposes the rejection of diversity for the sake of perceived universal utopian ideals. Thus as Esteva contests:

“But for two-thirds of the people on earth, this positive meaning of the word ‘development’ – profoundly rooted after two centuries of its social construction – is a reminder of what they are not. It is a reminder of an undesirable, undignified condition. To escape from it, they need to be enslaved to others’ experiences and dreams.”¹⁵¹

147 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, pp. 64–72; Esteva and Prakash, p. 126.

148 Glyn Williams, ‘Evaluating Participatory Development: Tyranny, Power and (Re)Politicisation’, *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (2004), 557–78 (pp. 98–99); Benita Parry, ‘Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse’, in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 44.

149 Rahnema, ‘Poverty’, p. 183; Lummis, ‘Equality’, p. 51.

150 Illich, ‘Needs’; Peter Grenell, ‘Planning for Invisible People: Some Consequences of Bureaucratic Values and Practices’, in *Freedom To Build* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1972), pp. 108–109; Turner, ‘Housing as a Verb’, p. 152.

151 Esteva, p. 6.

This conception of identity as the means to development equality thus ignores the underlying truth that the Western existence is built upon the inequality that we propose to reduce.¹⁵² Development's utilisation of universal articulation of concepts of equality, needs, poverty and growth are each used to maintain an ideological “*flexible positional superiority*” so that the structural conditions of capitalist global power-geometries are proliferated as identity.¹⁵³ Thus, Lummis observes the significance of post-development theory in articulating this disjunction between ideological development equality and its systematic construction of negative identity as a projection of abstract value judgements:

*“Equality as justice is a value statement concerning how people ought to be treated; it refers to relations between persons. Equality as sameness, however, is an allegation of fact; it postulates common characteristics in people. A value statement may be derived from it. However if equality as sameness is asserted as a value, it may turn out to allege not a fact that is, but a fact that ought to be, created. When this notion becomes attached to power, the consequences can be frightening.”*¹⁵⁴

The implications of equality as a value statement based upon abstract and universal rights is observed as both theoretically and practically powerful and dangerous. Universal notions of how people ought to be treated such as the declaration of human rights to democracy and freedom from persecution etc are incontestable in their global value. However a post-development analysis of equality as a value of sameness suggests that development had been conflated with an identity produced upon an implausibility of universal equality that exists at the heart of capitalist ideology.¹⁵⁵

152 Rahnema, ‘Poverty’, p. 183.

153 Marianne Gronemeyer, ‘Helping’, in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), p. 55.

154 Lummis, ‘Equality’, p. 38.

155 Lefebvre, pp. 105–111, 205–206.

This chapter's trajectory has sought to contextualisation of the socio-political contestation of identity as a product and project of catching up to the West. This analysis reflects the potential of development to articulated as a product that continues to inherently proliferate inequality through inevitability and universal values. In contrast, Turner and Hamdi's observations and advocacies for distributed and grass-roots development practices are exemplary in the critical self-awareness of the positive potential of the alternative, informal and difference spaces and identities. It is here that both Turner and Hamdi are notable as offering something different in their advocacy for autonomy and heteronomy of progressive and sustainable development. The political implications of development as democratic and participatory practice is thus made interdependent with a grass-roots socio-economic inversion of neoliberal capitalist policies. Such acts articulate an inversion of the application of identity as a product of development to identity as interdependent and contingent upon the practice and process of development.

Hamdi and Identity

Both of Hamdi's key texts, *Small Change*¹⁵⁶ and *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*¹⁵⁷, were written in the wake of both the post-development¹⁵⁸ and the "tyranny of participation"¹⁵⁹ discourses. The explicit re-contextualisation of development as perceived by Hamdi in the introduction to "*The Placemaker's Guide*" is valuable as a reference marker for the various transitions and shifts which methodological practices of development have attempted to transcend. He notes variously the shifting means of political articulation of development

156 Hamdi, *Small Change*.

157 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*.

158 Rahnema and Bawtree; Sachs, *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*.

159 Cooke and Kothari; Hickey and Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*.

success through global macro-economic policy,¹⁶⁰ before confronting and contesting the challenges facing contemporary development practitioners, academics and advocates.¹⁶¹

Highlighting the practical necessity and reality of development practice, Hamdi explicitly recognises the social and material reality of the scale of global urbanisation, poverty and malnutrition,¹⁶² as well as the various means by which to understand and interpret the statistical meaning of development.¹⁶³ Yet it is in this interpretations of the material, social and practical realities of these these policies at grass-roots level that we can appreciate Hamdi's attempts to analyse and communicate the methodological implications of twenty-first century development practice and identity, here quoted at length:

“We note the changing role of the expert, from lead agent to catalyst, from disciplinary to interdisciplinary work, from producing plans to cultivating opportunity. [...] We see more participation – away from sweat equity towards empowerment and power-sharing, towards partnership. [...] The development field is progressively dematerialised from shelter, water [...] to rights, governance, livelihoods. [...] There is more focus on insiders’ priorities, notwithstanding the risk, which still prevails, of co-option. [...] We see a shift from practical to more strategic work in the desire to tackle root causes of poverty and to scale up programmes. [...] We move from a position of providing for the poor to enabling the poor to provide for themselves, recognising their productive capacities, reducing dependency, building resilience to the shocks and stresses of daily life. [...] We see a significant shift to urban, in view of the unprecedented growth of urban population and the strain this places of people, on resources and on the environment. ‘Cities in the

160 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 8.

161 Joke Schrijvers, *The Violence of Development* (Utrecht: International Books, 1993); Stephen Browne, *Aid and Influence: Do Donors Help or Hinder?* (London: Earthscan, 2007).

162 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 8.

163 *Understanding Human Well-Being*, ed. by M McGillivray and M Clarke (New York: UN University Press, 2006).

*developing world will account for 95 percent of urban expansion over the next two decades and by 2030, four billion people will live in cities – 1.4 billion in slums.*¹⁶⁴

Within these observations it is possible to discern clear links to this chapter's premise of the shift towards identity as a practice, with Hamdi exemplifying the practical and theoretical continuation of the premise begun by Turner's exploration of use-value and identity.¹⁶⁵ Amongst others, key phrases in the above statement bear further examination, namely the notion of “*cultivating opportunity*,” “*empowerment, power-sharing and partnership*,” “*insider's priorities*” and the “*progressive dematerialisation*” of development towards “*rights, governance and livelihoods*.”

Each of these various observations might be critically and thematically compared to the identity of actors, agents and agency that engage in the act of promoting, advocating and agitating development.¹⁶⁶ And it is in his exploration of the methodological approach of participation and placemaking that Hamdi isolates the simple model of “*PEAS and the Social Side of Practice*”¹⁶⁷ as a means to inculcate these ideas to both practitioners and communities alike.

PEAS as an acronym for providing, enabling, adaptability and sustainability describes Hamdi's ideals and activities of responsible practice in strategic action planning (SAP).¹⁶⁸ The implications of this simple re-contextualisation of development practice suggest an underlying methodological contestation of the politics of identity, observed firstly in the critical articulation of providing. Hamdi critiques traditional models of providing that are focused on things whilst eschewing the challenges and confrontations of people and the social context of

164 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 16. With various statistics from the report: 'Global Report on Human Shelter. UN-Habitat Settlements Programme. Nairobi, Kenya. 1987.

165 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', pp. 152, 159.

166 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 88–89, 180,

167 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 141.

168 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 139.

communities.¹⁶⁹ Such provision of things denies the necessity of development and place to confront and mediate the political, social and economic relations and the principles of sustainable development.¹⁷⁰ Hamdi cites Marilyn Taylor's observations¹⁷¹ of similar implications before offering an alternative to what he describes as the "*paralysis of the moral and political imagination*"¹⁷² in the social potential of facilitating sustainable livelihoods.

For Hamdi, providing must by necessity be interlinked and interdependent with the other factors of PEAS if it is to facilitate positive social change, and resist the kind of helping that Hamdi and others recognise becomes a drug.¹⁷³ Thus providing only works in connection with enabling as "*the ability and willingness to provide the means to open doors and create opportunities.*"¹⁷⁴ In focusing on the skills of development practitioners to enable and provide interactive rather than representational development, Hamdi focuses on such actions being specifically the small and catalysts to provoke and release the positive identities of development that exist within local entrepreneurship and social relations.¹⁷⁵

Further, the various aspects of adaptability of development as both practice and identity are articulated by Hamdi as being intrinsic with development as social sustainability. Intersecting with discourses from Colin Ward,¹⁷⁶ Simon Nicholson,¹⁷⁷ Peter Kropotkin and Ivan Illich,¹⁷⁸ Hamdi's adaptability is described as integral to the process of design without necessarily producing an architecture of building or "*end state*". Instead adaptability in development

169 Hamdi and Goethert, pp. 20–22; Nabeel Hamdi, 'Training and Education: Inventing a Programme and Getting It to Work', *Habitat International*, 10 (1986), 131–40 (p. 138); Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 142; F Matarasso, 'Common Ground: Cultural Action as a Route to Community Development', *Community Development Journal*, 42 (2007), 449–58.

170 This analysis parallels contemporary Western discussion concerning the political role of the architecture profession, highlighted in 2014 by the ongoing purposefully antagonistic and media seeking contributions of Zaha Hadid and Patrick Schumacher. See: James Reich, 'Zaha Hadid Defends Qatar World Cup Role Following Migrant Worker Deaths', *The Guardian*, 25 February 2014 <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/25/zaha-hadid-qatar-world-cup-migrant-worker-deaths>>; Léopold Lambert, 'Open-Letter to Mr Patrik Schumacher: Yes, Architects Are Legitimised and Competent to Address the Political Debate', *The Funambulist*, 2014 <<http://thefunambulist.net/2012/02/02/architectural-theories-open-letter-to-mr-patrik-schumacher-yes-architects-are-legitimized-and-competents-to-address-the-political-debate/>>.

171 Marilyn Taylor, *Transforming Disadvantaged Places: Effective Strategies for Place and People* (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2008).

172 Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (London: Calders and Boyars, 1973).

practice offers a social architecture of invitation and opportunity that affords the facilitation of providing and enabling an open and discursive identity as a social process. In practical terms this suggest spatial practice which represents “a minimum of organisation that would serve the benefits of planning, while leaving individuals the greatest possible control over their lives.” It aims “... to sustain as many particularities as possible, in the hope that most people will accept, discover, to devise one that fits.”¹⁷⁹

The practical benefits of these methodological principles articulations of social sustainability are summarised by Hamdi's understanding of PEAS as a culture of practice that is intrinsically bound to ideas of growth that is crucially coupled with mutual learning.¹⁸⁰ This interpretation of knowledge and practice as forms of social sustainability infers a recognition of the positive specificity of difference and subsequent identity as an aspiration of development. Yet in being explicitly a reciprocal and dialectic process between both actors and agents of development,¹⁸¹ it is a contestation of the authority, knowledge and identity of developers themselves.

The aspirational results of PEAS as a process of people building sustainable livelihoods are articulated in this interpretation of development as interdependent with facilitating spatial relations that “reduce the dependency-inducing practices of providing as a discrete expert routine.”¹⁸² Hamdi explicitly recognises time and again the various “coercive objectivity of reasoning based

173 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 147; Gronemeyer, 'Helping'; David Brandon, *Zen in the Art of Helping* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

174 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 147. The interdependence of PEAS is also placed as a counter to the critique of Burgess et al (1997), as neoliberal labelling of co-option.

175 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 148.

176 Colin Ward, *Talking to Architects* (London: Freedom Press, 1996).

177 Simon Nicholson, 'The Theory of Loose Parts, An Important Principle for Design Methodology', *Home*, 4 (1972), 5–14.

178 Illich, *Tools for Conviviality*.

179 Peter L Berger and Richard Neuhaus, 'To Empower People; The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy', *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, 1977.

180 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 151.

upon implicit principles of division, hierarchy and exclusion”¹⁸³ that interlink identities of dependency with development as a product, and the “mandated empowerment”¹⁸⁴ of co-option. In contrast to this, Hamdi's provides exemplars of methodological practice and outcomes ranging from a walking school bus that contests social and spatial divisions,¹⁸⁵ cultural centres,¹⁸⁶ bus stops¹⁸⁷ and even community pickling businesses,¹⁸⁸ buffalo and mushroom cooperatives,¹⁸⁹ and entrepreneurial recycling schemes.¹⁹⁰ Each of these examples are dependent on the conception of development as an open and participatory process.

Noting the complicity of development with globalised “tied aid” and the continued implications of global macro-economic policy manifestations,¹⁹¹ Hamdi's advocacy for the building of sustainable livelihoods as the core concern of twenty-first century development is marked in its explicit aspiration to respond to the multi-dimensional experiences of poverty.¹⁹² Livelihoods are the various assets and strategies for first survival and then entrepreneurship that families and communities can utilise to articulate their own identities of difference through a narrative process of development.¹⁹³

181 Hamdi and Goethert, pp. 22–24; Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 125–128; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 169.

182 Carlos Mohan and Mark Waddington, 'Falling Forward: Going Beyond PRA and Imposed Forms of Participation', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2007); Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 179.

183 Schrijvers; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 179.

184 Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, *Mandated Empowerment: Handing Anti-Poverty Policy Back to the Poor?* (New York: New York Academy of Science, 2008).

185 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 113–114.

186 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 82–83, 105–106.

187 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 73–76.

188 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 85.

189 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 108–109.

Identity as Critical Participatory Practice

In contrast to conceptions of development and identity as negative products of global ideologies, Turner's "*progressive development*"¹⁹⁴ and Hamdi's "*sustainable livelihood's*"¹⁹⁵ suggest far richer contestations of identity through resourceful and efficient organisation of people in social and democratic participation and empowerment. Such methodological contestation of identity disrupt the dis-valuing of other forms of social existence and the passive productions of development identities that are implicit within hierarchical development models.¹⁹⁶ It equally facilitates and invokes social, relational and material practices that are based upon the strength, resilience and adaptability of autonomous networks and non-hierarchical organisations of power, and identities of material and economic difference and choice.

By engaging in such contestations of identity, alternative development practices are implicated with a radical pluralism and subjectivity as a critical alternative to Western hegemony.¹⁹⁷ This reflects a recognition and contestation of the concept of what is right not as a prescription of identity, but instead as a relational and momentary condition of material practice. This implies that such ideas of development are not based upon the desire for stationary and static constructions of socio-spatial relations and identity,¹⁹⁸ but must be presupposed on the inevitability of change and the necessity to reframe and question the

190 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 81–82.

191 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 180–183; OECD, 'Development Co-Operation Report', 7 (2006).

192 Jo Beall and Nanzeen Kanjii, 'Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty' (ESCOR, Commissioned Research on Urban Development, Urban Governance, Partnerships and Poverty, 1999).

193 C.A Grown and J Sebstad, 'Introduction: Towards a Wider Perspective on Women's Employment', *World Development*, 17 (1989), 937–52.

194 Turner, 'Future Directions in Housing Policy', p. 12.

195 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 16.

196 Esteva, p. 15.

197 Esteva and Prakash, p. 36.

198 Massey, *For Space*, p. 23.

relationships and constructed realities of such change.¹⁹⁹ As such Hamdi's practices and methodologies reflect an intersubjective and dialectical model of development and identity,²⁰⁰ and intersects with the post-modern anthropological advocacies of Andrew Long:

“The search for inner meaning (right interpretation) only obscures or actually prevents description taking place. To seek many interventions is important in that there are always a multiplicity of meanings. By definition, a description of discourse allows for a multiplicity of truths (interpretations) that can only be revealed as they are played out in an active context.”²⁰¹

Concurrent with post-development discourse, the anthropological and sociological critique of development outlined by *“The Tyranny of Participation”*²⁰² can offer a similarly valuable contextualisation of the issues of identity and the politically *“active context”* of participatory development practice.²⁰³ This critical contestation of the assumed political neutrality of such practical participation offers similar critiques to that of post-development.²⁰⁴ Yet unlike the passive theoretical critique of post-development,²⁰⁵ this discourse pursues the positive potential for participation at a grass roots level in themes of radical democracy²⁰⁶ and transformation through social agency.²⁰⁷

199 Bhabha, 'Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences', p. 156.

200 A Gillespie and F Cornish, 'Intersubjectivity: Towards a Dialogical Analysis', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 40 (2010), 19–46.

201 Andrew Long, 'Goods, Knowledge and Beer: The Methodological Significance of Situational Analysis and Discourse', in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 163.

202 Cooke and Kothari.

203 Hickey and Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, p. 10.

204 See: Majid Rahnema, 'Participation', in *The Development Dictionary* (Zed Books, 2010).

205 Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan, 'Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 62.

206 Williams, p. 98; Hickey and Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, p. 12; Hickey and Mohan, 'Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice', p. 59.

Contextualising the political challenges facing participatory development in the late twentieth century, Glyn Williams notes the obscurity and complexity of global policy and external agency in the development process.²⁰⁸ He critically suggests that participatory practices have largely become an institutionalised process concurrent with Ferguson's "*Anti-Politics Machine*."²⁰⁹ Echoing this chapter's previous comparative critique of development identity, for Williams such co-opted participatory practices came to exist as a Foucauldian exercise of power that can be interpreted as rewriting the identity of the developing world through encounters of participation, performance and economic discipline.²¹⁰ For Williams and Rahnema, participation has been institutionally articulated to legitimise power and reify beneficiaries of development as objective and abstract identities of macro-economic policies.²¹¹

As a counter to this predicament, Williams advocates a radical re-politicisation of positive and agonistic participation and a methodological contestation of democracy as the cornerstone of development practice.²¹² Citing Whitehead and Gray Molina,²¹³ Williams advocates the need to empower communities with political and spatial practices that articulate "*movements and moments*" of participation which have the potential to articulate spaces which engage communities in their rights to democracy.²¹⁴ Hickey and Mohan further this in the call for participation that goes beyond the individual and local, becoming multi-

207 Andrea Cornwall, 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development', in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), p. 82.

208 Williams, p. 93.

209 James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticisation, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

210 E Mawdsley and others, *Knowledge, Power and Development Agendas: NGOs North and South* (Oxford: INTRAC, 2001).

211 Rahnema, 'Participation', pp. 130–131.

212 Williams, p. 102.

213 L Whitehead and G Gray Molina, 'The Long-Term Politics of Pro-Poor Policies' (The World Bank Publications, 1999), p. 6.

214 Andrea Cornwall, 'Making Spaces, Changing Places: Situating Participation in Development' (Brighton Institute of Development Studies: IDS Working Paper, 2002), CLXX, p. 22.

scaled and strategic, thus offering a radicalised interdependence of citizenship and participation that disrupts the co-option and dependency of participation and inscribes development as a practice and identity.²¹⁵

In ascribing post-structural plurality of identity as a fundamental and dynamic condition within a post-development participatory framework suggests an implicit confrontation of inequality as an inevitable context of development.²¹⁶ In confronting this the discourse and agency of truly plural, political and participatory development practice acts to empower the contestation of identity as a continually evolving idea. Subsequently Turner and Hamdi's participatory practice can be recognised as a process of facilitating social, economic and spatial relations that disrupt and contest the geometries of power²¹⁷ and seek to transform them:

“Intervention is an ongoing transformational process that is constantly reshaped by its own internal organisations and political dynamic and by the specific conditions it encounters and or itself creates, including the responses and strategies to local and regional groups who may struggle to define and defend their own social spaces, cultural boundaries and positions within the wider power field.”²¹⁸

Both the strategic and heteronomous practices of Turner and the reflexive learning participatory practices of Hamdi reflect acutely comparable political and spatial articulations of the critiques levelled at participatory co-option.

215 Hickey and Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, p. 12.

216 Hickey and Mohan, 'Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice', pp. 166–168; Esteva and Prakash, pp. 159–160; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 34–35.

217 Massey, *For Space*, p. 83.

218 Norman Long, 'From Paradise Lost to Paradigm Regained?; The Case for an Actor-Oriented Sociology of Development', in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 37.

Respectively, both works are intimately concerned with development as a process as noted by the progressive and open-ended nature of their empowerment toward economic and social sustainability.²¹⁹

For Turner, participation was always a question of “*whose participation in whose decisions?*”²²⁰ and his practice sought to strategically provide as many choices and opportunities for individuals to identify their own path towards development.²²¹ The autonomy and heteronomy offered by open and non-hierarchical models of planning offered a complexity and mixture of development patterns that exploited Geddes systems theory²²² and Ashby's law requisite variety.²²³ The richness and multiplicity of identity is both found and practiced by facilitating a similarly rich multiplicity of freedom, choice and options that reflect the economical, material and social complexities of real space.²²⁴

The more local and grass-roots approach advocated by Hamdi is anchored by a process of targeted and agonistic agitation of local contexts and conditions.²²⁵ His articulation of identity is far closer aligned to an anthropological or ethnographic human and spatial approach than Turner's systematic approach. This specific focus upon the contestation of identities of vulnerability as a catalyst for ethical grass-roots development is exemplified by the human scale interactions that cast Hamdi as an interface and partner in acts of small sustainable social (and scaleable) change. Hamdi's practice reinforces the practical and theoretical implications of notional identities of vulnerability and

219 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 11; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 154.

220 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 127.

221 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 174.

222 Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, ed. by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt (London: Williams and Norgate, 1949); Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (Thomson Learning, 1970).

223 WR Ashby, *An Introduction to Cybernetics* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1956), pp. 202–208.

224 Turner, 'Housing as a Verb', p. 164.

225 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 70.

superiority as key elements of a spatial practice based upon situated analysis and relational intervention.²²⁶ In comparison with the post-modern anthropology, Gardner and Lewis raise this issue explicitly with the notion of targeting a:

“...‘relational’ view of social and economic life, which stresses the interdependent but conflictual sets of relations which make up communities. [...] What holds the targeting idea together is the objective of including people who have been ‘left out’ of the development process.”²²⁷

In targeting identities of vulnerability that exists within informal communities and sites of peripheral development, Hamdi seeks to expose the spatial, social and political dynamics of poverty. His focus upon tackling the implications of intergenerational transmission of identities of inequity as *“often rooted in cast, clan and engendered cultural norms”²²⁸* advocates a confrontation with the questions of *“mutuality and identity”* at a practical grass-roots level.²²⁹ Thus Hamdi expressly acknowledges the complexity and specificity of vulnerability, noting that:

“Vulnerability, however, particularly when targeting its root causes is problematic in various ways. [...] First how do we draw boundaries around a condition that is constantly changing where people go in and out of being vulnerable – and in a globalised world, where risk may be induced in one place and vulnerability experienced in another?”²³⁰

This critical and unceasing awareness of the relationality of vulnerability, target groups, identity and the *“right questions”* are merely the surface of the true complexity that faces post-development and *“transformative participatory”*

226 Cornwall, pp. 78–79.

227 Katy Gardner and David Lewis, *Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), p. 106.

228 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 53.

229 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 154.

230 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 52.

practice. Yet ultimately, discourses of post-development and critical participatory practice reframes development identity at the central disjunction of action and practice, authority and identity. Thus the expectation that development can ever be right, or can ever work for the right people or target the right issues as a means to solve the assumed problems of inequality is in itself a crucial characteristic of the subjective narrative facing development:

“Patterns of social differentiation then are only made meaningful when situated in terms of everyday social practices and situations. In other words, it is necessary to show how relationships, resources and values are contextualised (actualised) through specific action contexts, and the focus on action is central to the endeavor.”²³¹

Such inequity of identity as a construct of geometries of power is globally prevalent irrespective of economic or political context. Yet in facing the structural and subjective implausibility of identities of mutual equality, both Turner and Hamdi are able to propose methodologies that advocate the specificity and plurality of space, and contestations of mutuality in the practice of development and identity.

Identity and Development as Interdependent Practices

This chapter has sought to explore a critical comparison to identity as a historical, political and theoretical and physical product in identities of “otherness”²³² and “under-development”.²³³ In comparing Turner and Hamdi's discourses against interdisciplinary intersections with post-structural politics, economics and identity this research provides a new way to interpret their respective works and the broader surrounding discourses of development, post-

231 Andrew Long, p. 164.

232 Steven Robbins, Andrea Cornwall and Bettina Von Lieres, ‘Rethinking “Citizenship” in the Postcolony’, *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (2008), 1069–86 (p. 1077).

233 Esteva, p. 5.

colonialism and participation.²³⁴ Their respective advocacy for practical, cultural and materially contextual approaches to development reveal the positive potential and necessity of multiplicity and (sub)alterity of identity.

The interdisciplinary contextualisation against Edward Said's critique of orientalism provides a comparable intersection of identity and "*flexible position authority*" in historical empire and colonialism. The post-colonial context in which both Turner and Hamdi are engaged is implicitly a contestation of the continued implications of negative differentiations of identity outlined by Said. This critical analysis of identity as a means of producing change and controlling space allowed an insight into global patterns of historical intervention. Such an analysis provides an interpretation of political methodologies as successively seeking the control and manipulation the economic and cultural peripheral other from the authority of the centre as a coercive, political and economical purposes.

The subsequent implications of post-colonial and post-development discourse suggests a re-contextualisation of identity that articulates a theoretical deconstruction of semantically and politically prescriptive authority towards a pluralism and multiplicity of development. This chapter's contention remains that in facilitating the positive potential of alternative development methodologies, Turner and Hamdi each offer practical examples of the implications of post-structural and post-colonial plural identities and social trajectories.

In re-articulating an open and non-prescribed notion of identity, the values and needs of specific local communities agendas become the bedrock of the empowerment of participatory democracy. This re-contextualisation allows us to look at such development as truly plural and built upon an open multiplicity of identity as interdependent with socio-cultural specificity and relations that encompass more than abstract economic criteria. The interwoven social and spatial relations of production, exchange and consumption are understood and valued for their interdependence with the complex network of local social,

234 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 16.

political and cultural contexts.²³⁵ This alternative articulation of what development *means* and *does* intersects the inherent complexity, richness and agonism of activities with competing representations and interpretations concerning ideology, identity, power and knowledge that transcend any static representation of space as merely an economic product.²³⁶

The notion of both development and concurrently identity as practice suggests an explicit social democratic and grass-roots engagement with political empowerment, self-narration and identity. The potential for such empowerment is richly evidenced in Hamdi's encounters with enterprising and insightful community protagonists and social actors that are left disrupted, inspired and provoked to pursue their own community identity and development trajectory:

“Development, he said, happens when people, however poor in money, get together, get organised, become sophisticated and go to scale. It happens when they are savvy and able to influence and change the course of events or the order of things locally, nationally or even globally – or are themselves able to become that order or part of it. Development, he said, is that stage you reach when you are secure enough in yourself, individually or collectively, to become interdependent; when ‘I’ can emerge as ‘we’, and also when ‘we’ is inclusive of ‘them’.”²³⁷

Both Turner and Hamdi's contributions to development and cultural identity theory are yet to be critically compared in academic discourse outside of this thesis. Yet within the disarmingly simplistic texts of both protagonists this chapter has highlighted unconscious appropriations of post-structural concepts of identity and development theory that offer new hope and potential for development practitioners.²³⁸ And consequently, just as in the reflective identity

235 Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*, p. 17.

236 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 2001), p. 183.

237 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. v.

238 Katharine Islay McKinnon, 'An Orthodoxy of "The Local": Post-Colonialism, Participation and Professionalism in Northern Thailand', *The Geographical Journal*, 172 (2006), 22–34 (p. 22).

of orientalism, they provide a provocative challenge to Western ideological notions of ontological authority and stability that transcend the humble origins of post-development practice:

“In so doing, we enable people to find new ways of doing, thinking and relating in response to everyday problems which one takes for granted – breaking down barriers; optimising not maximising. These are the qualities of leadership in practice and for development – a new openness the dialogue and learning.”²³⁹

This chapter's comparisons provide a framework from which to re-assess and re-contextualise both the theoretical discourses of orientalism and post-colonialism etc, and the practical discourses of Turner and Hamdi. The inherently negative and critical discourse of orientalism and post-colonial studies are provided with alternative positive contextualisations when compared with the positive practical methodologies of Turner and Hamdi.

Reflexively, Turner and Hamdi's respective discourses are contextualised and read anew as contestations of contemporary discourses of identity that are suffused within a broad interdisciplinary academia. This provocative comparison allows a renewed advocacy for the need to materially and practically contest theoretical discourse in order to avoid the dramatic implications of spatial, academic and political abstraction. This chapter's interdisciplinary contextualisation of Turner and Hamdi is a small step towards seeking truly interdependent identities of practice. In seeking to critically compare the full positive potential of a comparison with the development methodologies of Turner and Hamdi, this thesis provides exemplars of socially and economically sustainable spatial relations and practices; examples of the interdependence of identity and practice as crucial in any notional definition of architecture as a verb for the global South or North.

²³⁹ Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xiv.

Chapter Six – Textual Value(s)

As this thesis has already explored, the post-colonial global South and contemporary development practice offers a critical context from which to confront the complexity and ambiguity of the social and spatial conception of value. This critical questioning of value intersects with the thesis implicit analysis of architectural values as a projection of authority, and the alternative possibility of an open and positive articulation of space, social agency and participatory practice.

Having explored the interdependence of disruption and social change in chapter four's comparison of Hamdi and Massey, and the notion of identity as a practice in chapter five, this thesis' final trajectory seeks to further re-contextualise Hamdi's methodologies of development spatial practice against questions of post-structural and textual value. It will do so by offering a critical re-reading and comparison of such methodologies against notions of multiplicity, coevalness and interpretations of spatial hybridity drawn from post-structural theory. It pursues this enquiry through a discussion of Hamdi's critiques of the "*forwards reasoning*" of institutionalised contemporary development and his alternative advocacy for "*backwards reasoning*", posing speculative connections to the post-structural and post-colonial observations of Doreen Massey, Johannes Fabian, Homi K Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak.

In response to chapter five's reading of contemporary post-development critiques,¹ this chapter's comparative analysis of Hamdi's methodologies and post-colonial theory is initially contended against both theoretical and practical post-modern anthropological advocacy for field-work and ethnography as practices of coevalness.² Massey's spatial re-contextualisation of Johannes

1 See variously: Wolfgang Sachs, *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, 2nd edn (London: Zed Books, 2010); *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, ed. by Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001); *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, ed. by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (London: Zed Books, 2004); Markus Miessen and Shumon Basar, *Did Someone Say Participate? An Atlas of Spatial Practice* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2006).

2 Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 79–80.

Fabian's advocacy for "*the coevalness of time*"³ in anthropological theory and practice posits the comparable post-modern anthropological notions of "*situated analysis*"⁴ and "*embedded material practices*"⁵ as a foundation for the critical comparison of Hamdi's development methodologies. This chapter proposes that key aspects of Hamdi's methodologies such as "*backwards reasoning*" and "*open learning*" can be recognised as a realisation of coevalness in a spatial practice and that in doing so they also reflects Massey's advocacy for the political specificity and relationality of space.⁶

This comparison of Hamdi's methodological foundation of spatial proximity is further analysed in its advocacy of alternative perceptions of communication in comparison with post-structural notions of dialogue and negotiation. Here Hamdi's articulation and methodological insight into the spatial implications of practice as a monologue or dialogue confronts the implications of post-colonial, coevalness, and textual values in the pursuit of positive multiplicity of space. These methodological tropes of mutual and open coeval communication are seen as a practical and vital means to contest, challenge and empower community participation and can thus be compared first to Homi K Bhabha's theoretical discourse on the creation of a hybrid "*third-space*" in which difference is negotiated through the "*enunciations of meaning*."⁷

Bhabha's concepts of third-space and enunciation provide theoretical connections to the implicit negotiation of alternative and hybrid identities and values explored implicitly in Hamdi's methodologies. This intersection of theoretical and practical engagements with the enunciation of identity and

3 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 69.

4 Katy Gardner and David Lewis, *Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), p. 158; *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*, ed. by Norman Long and Ann Long (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 164.

5 Massey, *For Space*, p. 10.

6 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 100–103.

7 Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 254.

alternative values as a key condition of alternative development allows for the final comparison of this research thesis between Spivak's discourse of subaltern theory and development practice.

Both Bhabha and Spivak's advocacy⁸ for the inherent instability and ambiguity of value and meaning in interactions with subaltern identities allows direct comparison to Hamdi's advocacy for methodologies of open-ended practice and spontaneity⁹ as a reflexive act of learning through dialogue.¹⁰ This advocacy for reflexive practice of mutual learning co-implicates development practice with informal communities being engaged in defining their own values and controlling their own specific spatial trajectories and social relations of development. This analysis proposes the grass-roots development practice methodologies of Nabeel Hamdi as realisations of the textualised and enunciated values, advocated by Spivak as "... *an ethical kind of reading attentive to the aporetic structure of 'knowing' in the encounter with the other*".¹¹

When critically compared with Bhabha's notion of the ambiguity of enunciation and textual values and Spivak's Derridean deconstruction of Marx "*materialist subject*" values,¹² this analysis of Hamdi's methodologies offer realised contemporary examples of pluralist, post-colonial spaces and values. Paradoxically, the achievement of such spaces perhaps suggests an inversion of many meta-narratives of Western spatial practices and their underlying economic models. Spivak offers a glimpse of these dialectic implications in a disruption to Marx's notions of labour theory and value against global "*shifting lines*" and "*dark presence of the third world*".¹³ This chapter contends that the

8 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Postcoloniality and Value', in *Literary Theory Today*, ed. by P Collier and H Gaya Ryan (Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press, 1990), pp. 225, 227, 228.

9 Nabeel Hamdi, *Small Change* (London: Earthscan, 2004), p. 98.

10 Nabeel Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (London: Earthscan, 2010), p. 175.

11 Rosalind C Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 9.

12 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Marx after Derrida', in *Spivak, Philosophical Approaches to Literature: New essays on nineteenth and twentieth century texts*, ed. by William Cain (Cranbury NJ: Bucknell University Press, 1984), p. 232.

13 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value', *Diacritics*, Marx after Derrida, 15 (1985), 73–95 (p. 84).

potential of an enunciated re-articulation of development as an exemplar of informal dialectic and materialist practice thus suggests a re-articulation of our narrow understanding of the relationship between the enunciation and realisation of value.

Multiplicity

Massey's groundbreaking text *For Space*¹⁴ is a broad and layered critical analysis of the implications of the positive interdependence of space, time and multiplicity.¹⁵ In response to the complexity of Massey's alternative and positive theoretical advocacy for space, this thesis returns once again to the thematic implications of the theory of multiplicity in comparison to the concrete practical realisations of Hamdi's development methodologies.

This thesis has shown that the notion of multiplicity in space can be intimately connected to the conception and practice of development. The implications of space as a multiplicity confronts the inherent political, economic and spatial relations that define the historical and contemporary context of development practices in contexts of necessity, scarcity and absence. Through an analysis of various theoretical misconceptions of space demonstrated in both structuralism¹⁶ and post-structuralism¹⁷, Massey provides a series of profound re-contextualisations of the positive potential of space providing a foundation for a re-imagining of alternative development and values:

“First, that we recognise space as the product of interrelations: as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny. Second, that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of

14 Massey, *For Space*.

15 Building on previous arguments raised in: Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

16 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 36–42.

17 Doreen Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18 (p. 9); Massey, *For Space*, p. 158.

contemporaneous plurality: as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist: as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity. Without space, no multiplicity: without multiplicity, no space. If space is indeed this product of interrelations, it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space as co-constitutive. Third, that we recognise space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations—between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far.”¹⁸

Whilst the first two themes have sought to be explored in chapters four and five respectively,¹⁹ Massey's third observation and advocacy for spatial relations as “*embedded material practice*” and the recognition that such practices are “*never finished*” and “*never closed*” marks the origin of this final chapters comparison of multiplicity and development practice. The interdependent notions of spatial proximity and open-ended practice can be clearly traced throughout this thesis based upon the thematic foundation of dialectical materialism as explored in chapter two, and are explored further in Massey's analogy of “*space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far*”, and Hamdi's participatory practices of disruption and social catalysis.²⁰

Massey's analysis of the theoretical re-contextualisations implicated by an engagement with multiplicity leads to the recognition of the relationality and specificity of spatial and political practices.²¹ Thus, if space is an open and rich multiplicity it must be recognised as both constructed of interdependent specificity and relationality, or in other words, place is both locally unique but

18 Massey, *For Space*.

19 The interdependent relationality of space in comparison with disruption, change and scale in chapter four, and the plurality and co-constitutive nature of space in the discussion of spatial authority and identity as a practice in chapter five.

20 Doreen Massey, David Featherstone and Joe Painter, ‘Stories So Far: A Conversation with Doreen Massey’, in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 266.

21 Massey, *For Space*, p. 100.

that local specificity is produced through its socio-spatial relations to other places both local and global. Crucially therefore the positive and rich multiplicity of places is realised through practices in space which connect, react and change the political, economic and cultural relations that are infused in local and global spatial relations:

“If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place.”²²

However, the practical and methodological implications of relational specificity remain undisclosed in Massey’s theoretical explication of space as the sphere of political potential and multiplicity.²³ Massey’s intention is never to pursue a precise solution or process by which the implications of political and spatial multiplicity might be stabilised and resolved, as any such simplification would be counter to the embedded specificity and open-endedness of such practices. However in having not provided tangible and positive applications of multiplicity, Massey leaves a series of questions regarding the implications and potential of her positive re-articulation of space. It is in this regard that this chapter posits Hamdi’s development practice as a novel interpretation of space as a practical multiplicity, subsequently intersecting with this thesis’ critique of how the projection of Western values that can accompany institutional development might be challenged by the concept of multiplicity.²⁴ It is here that Massey’s interdisciplinary critique of Johannes Fabian’s notion of coevalness becomes valuable, offering tangible practical methodological insights into multiplicity

22 Massey, *For Space*, p. 130.

23 Massey, *For Space*, p. 4; Doreen Massey, ‘Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice’, *Doc. Anàl. Geogr*, 55 (2009), 15–26.

24 *Freedom to Build*, ed. by Robert Fichter and John FC Turner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 133; Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, ‘The Support Paradigm for Housing and Its Impact on Practice: The Case in Sri Lanka’, *Habitat International*, 13 (1989), 19–28 (pp. 23–24).

through post-modern anthropology, and the implications of development practice as an engagement with negotiations of value and textual questions of space.

Coevalness

Reflecting many of the observations of Said's critique of *Orientalism*,²⁵ Fabian notes the implications of placing “*those who are observed*” in a different time from “*the Time of the observer*”,²⁶ as a system of structural Western abstraction which “*sanctioned an ideological process by which relations between the West and its Other, between anthropology and its object, were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space and time*²⁷ [thus] “... time is used to create distance in contemporary anthropology.”²⁸

The concept of coevalness articulates the explicit realisation that whilst interactions of architects and development practitioners with “*other*” communities can never be neutral, any positive and open dialogue between communities must be understood and practiced on an even playing field; practices between partners of mutual respect and equality. This contestation of the coevalness of encounters with multiplicity leads Massey to the eventual summation that “[c]oevalness concerns a stance of recognition and respect in situations of mutual implication. It is an imaginative space of engagement: It speaks of an attitude.”²⁹ And it is this contestation of the attitude of engagement that provides a mechanism for positive, concrete and critical comparison of multiplicity with the development practice methodologies of Nabeel Hamdi.

25 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin classics, 2003).

26 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 25.

27 Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, p. 147.

28 Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, p. 25.

29 Massey, *For Space*, p. 69.

Crucially for this chapter, Fabian draws a distinction between the practical and theoretical aspects of anthropological discourse in critical observations of the “*temporal distancing*” that is implied, created and reinforced by the denial of coevalness.³⁰ This observation of coevalness as a relation of time provides an analytical critique of the geometries of power at play in the dialogue between anthropology and its object of study. It implicates the global and local alike in the problematic questions of interactions between different identities as representations of development, progress and in contemporary contexts, the ideological cohesion of neoliberal capitalism.³¹

Fabian's analysis describes a great variety of “*distancing devices*” each contributing towards a global result which he terms “*the denial of coevalness*”.³² This historical observation and analysis implicates anthropology in a far wider systematic academic and political tendency to abstract and isolate others and otherness “*in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*.”³³ It is here that a comparison to Hamdi's methodologies begins to offer suggest practical methodological insights into the potential of spatial practice to be an articulation of coeval space and textual values. Thus Fabian's advocacy for a post-modern anthropology as a confrontation of coevalness as a reflexive social praxis provides an opportunity to re-evaluate the implications of communication, dialogue and “*confrontation with the time of the Other*,”³⁴ with the values and spatial relations found in places of difference and alterity:

*“I also believe that the substance of a theory of coevalness, and certainly coevalness as praxis, will have to be the result of actual confrontation with the Time of the Other.”*³⁵

30 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 82.

31 Morris, p. 110; Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

32 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 31.

33 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 31.

34 This notion of 'confrontation' can also be seen to relate to earlier discussions about the significance of disruption as part of development methodologies.

35 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 153.

By re-reading this distancing as an aspect of both time and space, Massey's critical interdisciplinary comparison of this analysis of the negative affects of anthropological and spatial abstraction resonates with the practice and material dialectic based trajectory of this thesis' premise. What remains is to transcend the use of coevalness as a concept for the negative critique of space, and instead to articulate a potentially positive re-interpretation of coevalness.

Massey's utilisation of Fabian's notion of coevalness is built upon a critique of his analysis of time as the pre-eminent distancing factor in anthropological discourse and practice. Instead, she observes that time and space are interdependent and that space is intrinsic to the notion of coevalness, reflected globally by her own critique of the hegemonic inevitability of development and by locally Fabian's advocacy for it being practice and praxis.³⁶ Taking precedent from Said's recognition of the epistemological distancing of Orientalism³⁷ Fabian's concept of the implications of time as a device for subordinating "*the Other*" similarly becomes a methodology of introspection into the space and spatial practices of anthropology and ethnography:

"Through the distancing and objectifying depiction of a seemingly unaffected Other, anthropologists forgo a critical self-reflection that would render them a constitutive part of a hermeneutic (and thus 'coeval') dialogue."³⁸

In this critique of "*the distancing and objectifying depiction of a seemingly unaffected Other*" this chapter suggests there is an explicit recognitions of the interdependence of space, time and language in Fabian's critique of anthropological praxis. Furthermore, the concept of "*coeval dialogue*" is of particular interest in comparison with development practice given Fabian's

36 Massey, *For Space*, p. 18; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 2–5.

37 Herbert. S Lewis, 'The Influence of Edward Said and Orientalism on Anthropology, or: Can the Anthropologist Speak?', *Israel Affairs*, 13 (2007), 774–85 (p. 67); Lewis.

38 Matti Bunzl, 'Foreward / Synthesis of a Critical Anthropology', in *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. xiii.

recognition that the denial of coevalness is an overtly political act, suggesting further implications for the contestation of global development ideologies and practices.

Forward Reasoning

Forward reasoning is a term used by Hamdi to describe a political perception of development that he suggests remains overly dominant in development practice in the global South and informal settlements.³⁹ In essence it describes a system of development that is overtly formal and always appears to originate centrally and structurally from within global and regional planning dictates.⁴⁰ Based upon this hierarchical structure the forthcoming analysis, projects and solutions of such development are described by Hamdi as exemplifying a model of “*forward reasoning*”. Such development is thus contingently based upon abstract analysis drawn from global policy and national government issues, and quantifiable policies and politics.⁴¹ These solutions are then attempted to be localised with varying degrees of success.

This way of planning by forward reasoning is governed by global policy, risk assessment and management and structural measurement of achievement at all stages.⁴² The specific objectives and steps designed to achieve such policy goals are projected upon local contexts along with quantifiable structures for measuring success. Examples of the potential damage ensued by this approach

39 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 155.

40 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 12.

41 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 4–12; Jeni Burnell, ‘Small Change: Understanding Cultural Action as a Resource for Unlocking Assets and Building Resilience in Communities’, *Community Development Journal*, 48 (2012), 134–50 (p. 135); Hamdi and Goethert, p. 25.

42 Richard F Elmore, ‘Backward Mapping: Implementation Research and Policy Decisions’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 94, pp. 602–605; David Brown, ‘Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: Democracy Strengthened or Democracy Undermined?’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), pp. 238, 249; Anthony Bebbington, ‘Theorising Participation and Institutional Change: Ethnography and Political Economy’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), pp. 278–281; Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan, ‘Relocating Participation Within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Practice’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004), pp. 161–162.

can be found throughout both Turner and Hamdi's discourse including the implications of oppressive houses in 1950s Peru,⁴³ ill-conceived housing projects that overlook cultural conventions in Thawra,⁴⁴ state immigrant camps with cartels controlling services with fear and violence,⁴⁵ and Betty the buffalo donated by an NGO.⁴⁶ These exemplify a predominant development process of abstraction and isolation from the social and material reality of specificity and relational place. They produce the space and spatial relations that oppress, homogenise and reject the rich multiplicity of space that tends to be expressed by informal and alternative communities of practice. They provide development as policy and without a clear sense of a coeval consideration of the necessity of dialectic change towards socially sustainable development.

The broader implication of such largely well-intentioned yet abstracted development aid reflects precisely the impetus of Hamdi's contestation of forward reasoning.⁴⁷ Hamdi observes that such examples remain a prevalent presence in contemporary development countries, observable in the prescriptive spatial realisations of western values that are complicit with projecting aspirations of implausible and abstracted notions of how other people should live.⁴⁸ This deterministic approach to development is realised in idealistic and ideological notions of space that are subsequently concretised and expressed in architectural and cultural spatial forms and relations, and as affirmations of singular and universal models of what being developed actually means.⁴⁹

43 Fichter and Turner, p. 56.

44 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 23.

45 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 45–49.

46 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 107.

47 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 16; Gustavo Esteva, 'Development', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010); Marianne Gronemeyer, 'Helping', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010).

48 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 11.

49 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 13.

This is not to suggest that large scale development planning and systematic governance is inherently damaging and detrimental. Indeed Hamdi is quick to highlight that his discourse does not advocate a rejection of such systems,⁵⁰ and would agree in principle with much of the work of Jennifer Brinkerhoff⁵¹ and Gaby Ramia⁵² etc, who continue to discuss and pursue the potential of global development policies and ideas such as “*the millennium development goals*”.

However, Hamdi advocates the necessity to challenge, balance, connect and correct such forward reasoning with grass-roots observations and participatory practices and “*backwards reasoning*”.⁵³ This is the first suggestion of Hamdi’s advocacy for the necessity of what could be interpreted as coevalness in reaction to the distancing and abstraction of formal, centralised and hierarchical planning by forward reasoning. In essence he advocates for a reversal of the trajectory of projecting global ideas down, describing instead a reciprocal and dialectic process of scaling local ideas up. In doing so he is explicitly seeking to generate an interdependent dialogue and learning process between policy and the streets. This is in direct challenge to forward reasoning’s logic of coherence which is constantly renewed and reinforced by:

“... the myth that practice can be controlled from the top, because that is where it starts, driven by experts whose business it is to ensure compliance with national and international norms and standards, agreed globally. It assumes that policymakers are adequately equipped or even well enough informed about the appropriateness of policy in the mess of practice. Its tendency is to

50 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 157.

51 Jennifer M Brinkerhoff, Stephen C Smith and Hildy Teegen, *NGOs and the Millennium Development Goals: Citizen Action to Reduce Poverty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Jennifer M Brinkerhoff, *Partnerships for International Development: Rhetoric or Results?* (Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2002).

52 Gaby Ramia, ‘INGOs and the Importance of Strategic Management’, *Global Social Policy*, 3 (2003), 79–101.

53 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 183.

*assume normative standards of correctness of success. It is the logic and reasoning of providers, top down in bias, working often from the outside in.*⁵⁴

The power and authority that global institutions and NGOs etc possess are built upon inherently structural and hierarchal concepts of scale and influence.⁵⁵ The benefits and aspirations of such projects are found in the concept of impacting upon the most people by creating international policies and programs of development. Such abstracted and quantifiable “*forward reasoning*” planning values have inevitably become the institutional core of development policy.⁵⁶

Within Hamdi's reflective observations a profound contestation of the importance of values can be seen in the aspiration and idealistic conviction of inevitable prosperity being realised through development so long as we all “*shared similar objectives, values and beliefs*”.⁵⁷ Hamdi's critique of this model of ideological development reflects a practical awareness of the material, economic and social reality of such informal places, and of the reality of coeval confrontations with difference and otherness. Here Hamdi's advocacy reflects an awareness of the disparity between abstract idealist and material subjective values at the raw and un-sanitised edges of development.⁵⁸

As observed theoretically by Fabian and Massey, distancing and abstraction generates an inability to engage with the spatial relations, interactions and the material reality of such different and informal contexts, and ultimately brings into question the appropriateness of the outcomes of development. Thus, Hamdi's observations provide rich evidence of the implications of approaching the practical complexity of the reality of the everyday and the values of the “*Other*” through the fixidity of an administrative, abstract and academic monologue:

54 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 156.

55 Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development*, 3rd edn (London: Zed Books, 2006), p. 6.

56 Elmore, p. 606.

57 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 13.

58 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 224; See also; Frederick Jameson, *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 117.

“The expert comes to be seen as a special kind of person, rather than that every person is a special kind of expert. Power relations are reinforced. All of which reflects in the behaviour and relationships to people who become beneficiaries rather than partners to our work. We wind up diagnosing people and their condition of poverty, as if it were some form of avoidable malignancy. [...] We contradict others who may not share our view of right or wrong, good or bad. We judge and stereotype those whose views and habits we find odd, but which may be entrenched in cultural norms and practices about which we may have, at best, a partial understanding. We will often label as troublemakers the loud or the pushy in community and so exclude the very people who can get things done. And because we are experts, we wind up lecturing rather than dialoguing. When dialogue becomes monologue, we seed the beginnings of all kinds of social injustice.”⁵⁹

Significantly, this distinction between dialogue and monologue can be understood as part of the practical methodological distinction between forward and backwards reasoning. Resonating with Fabian's articulation of coevalness as a praxis,⁶⁰ Hamdi's methodologies bring into question the physical, linguistic and symbolic relationships that are played out within grass-roots participation. Building upon this, Hamdi is able to frame the implications of such interventionist prescriptions of value through the documentation of multiple subaltern experiences of forward reasoning development:

“In the end we got a building, a centre, he said. We went along with their ideas, nodded our way through endless meetings, talk shops and flip-chart presentations because, as always, getting something, we thought, is better than nothing and, besides, they had good

59 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 145.

60 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 153.

intentions. It would have been impolite to question their wisdom and judgement, to challenge their authority. They were, after all, well educated. They had come a long way and were here to help."⁶¹

Such experiences as this reflect the social, spatial and material implications of forward reasoning as experienced at grass-roots level. The impacts on social identity, empowerment and equality that structural and hierarchal development models are crystallised by a mis-conception and projection of values expressed through a spatial practice of monologue authority and social expediency. Such practices of forward reasoning inherently believe and rely upon the assumption that they can see the whole picture at the start. This logic assumes that end-results can be formalised, planned and executed as a means to achieve success and value as a universal assumption of what development means and represents.⁶² Yet the expectations of trickle-down economics from top-down planning are not only felt in their un-sustainable economic inefficiency but also in the continuation of development as a denial of coevalness:

*"They had been treated as beneficiaries. It was, they said, a process without dignity, despite the generosity of donors. It lacked 'social intelligence' or caring. It was insulting and wasteful. It was all about charity and not about development."*⁶³

In light of these observations, Hamdi's use of a disarmingly simplistic and apparently self-evident distinction between dialogue and monologue in development practice methodologies⁶⁴ offers an incisive critique of the values that such practices suggest. It begins to contest the implications of both prescribed and negotiated values within post-colonial development. In this

61 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 62.

62 Rod Burgess, Marisa Carmona and Theo Kolstee, 'Contemporary Spatial Strategies and Urban Policies in Developing Countries: A Critical Review', in *The Challenge of Sustainable Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997), p. 119; Fichter and Turner, p. 61.

63 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 30.

64 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 145.

critique the monologue is thus symptomatic of structural and deterministic Western notions of “*modernisation*” that preclude a singular inevitable constitution of what development means and the values it instills.⁶⁵

In the context of this comparison and taken to its full theoretical extents, forward reasoning as a monologue can be interpreted as synonymous with value prescriptions based upon the continued contemporary effects of globalised inequality.⁶⁶ This re-reading of forward reasoning development provides a practical interdisciplinary exemplar of Fabian's anthropological denial and distancing of coevalness. It represents a denial of the material and social implications of the true proximity and engagement with the multiplicity, difference and otherness of people existing at the informal peripheries of the world.⁶⁷ In this comparative re-reading the cultural monologue of planning by forward reasoning highlights a social distancing of the true multiplicity necessitated by the coeval confrontation with difference and otherness, and what Massey would describe as the “*throwntogetherness*” of space.⁶⁸

Such observations and comparisons are not intended as an explicitly derisory or retrospective criticism of genuinely well intentioned aid based development.⁶⁹ Instead they are offered as a means to positively contextualise Hamdi's methodological distinction between the forward and backward reasoning, and between singular or plural interpretation of values.⁷⁰ Hamdi exposes the methodological and practical implications of forward reasoning as a monologue of broadly idealistic yet inherently prescriptive values, but crucially also

65 This is not to refute the potential of universal ideas such as democracy which have historically been the positive foundations of global development aid, but to bring into question the notion of Western democracy as being the only vision of how democracy is lived and enacted. See: Massey, *For Space*, pp. 66–70; Esteva, p. 15; David Brandon, *Zen in the Art of Helping* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

66 Bauman; C. Douglas Lummis, 'Equality', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 38–54; Saskia Sassen, 'Inequality? We Need a New Word', 2012 <<http://occupiedmedia.us/2012/02/inequality-we-need-a-new-word/>>.

67 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 118; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 164, 224.

68 Massey, *For Space*, p. 141.

diagnoses the pattern of such practice in the spatial, cultural and practical inability of development practitioners to engage and interpret values through listening to the voices of others:

“Their compassion, she often found, was degrading not comforting, their good intentions made matters worse because they raised hopes and expectation in ways which could never be achieved.”⁷¹

And again similarly:

“Mistakes abounded. Some were technical, others reflecting ignorance misunderstanding or distain of culture and habit.”⁷²

In comparison with Massey and Fabian's observations and advocacy for coevalness in encounters with difference and otherness and the implications of temporal and spatial distancing, this chapters trajectory offers a theoretical reinforcement of Hamdi's critique of such forward reasoning. The practical implications of multiplicity and coevalness in explicit connection with developing sustainable economic, social and political values can now be interpreted as an explicit critique of forward reasoning and global policy abstraction and structural hierarchies, as experienced by practitioners at grass-roots levels and felt by *“the known”* receivers of such aid. As such, this remains a gravely inaccurate proposition for the sustainable development of the rising global informal population, however well intentioned they may or may not be.⁷³

69 Which must be appreciated and critiqued as laudable reactions to the pressures of a violently growing and urbanising population as discussed in this thesis introduction and the statistical horror of 840 million people globally malnourished or 1.1 billion people without access to safe drinking water, etc. See: Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 8; Similarly see: Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey and Michael Rustin, 'After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 2013, 8–22; The World Bank, 'Inclusion Matters; The Foundation for Shared Prosperity' (The World Bank Publications, 2013).

70 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 33, 54; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 249.

71 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 23.

72 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 25.

In being explicitly framed by the need to see space from different perspectives, the connection of multiplicity, spatial proximity and dialogue with sustainable and coeval development practice now offers an opportunity to explore the theoretical implications and potential of Hamdi's "*backwards reasoning*".

Spatial and Textual Distancing

Fabian's alternative notion of "*confronting the Other*" poses a revelatory spatial process in comparison to development, particularly when facing the inevitable contradictions inequalities of economic and political hegemonic relations and the material reality of informal settlements. Fabian offers a critique of the relation between the spatial, visual and linguistic as a methodology for questioning the complex relations of inequality between the apparent "*knower*" and "*the known*" of development:

*"From detaching concepts (abstraction) to overlaying interpretive schemes (imposition), from linking together (correlation) to matching (isomorphism) – a plethora of visually-spatially derived notions dominate a discourse founded on contemplative theories of knowledge. As we have seen, hegemony of the visual-spatial had its price which was, first, to detemporalise the process of knowledge and, second, to promote ideological temporisation of relations between the Knower and the Known."*⁷⁴

In this link drawn between the visual-spatial and the relationship between the interlocutors, actors and agency ("*the knower and the known*") in any spatial practice, we find the theoretical suggestion of alternative spatial development

73 Fichter and Turner, p. 61; Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World*, New Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006); Robert Neuwirth, *Stealth of Nations: The Global Rise of the Informal Economy*, Reprint (New York: Anchor Books, 2012).

74 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 61.

practice as a coeval act.⁷⁵ Building upon the potential of post-modern ethnographic field work, Fabian is here focused on a critique of the disparity between such practices and their academic representation.⁷⁶

The critique observed by Fabian of “*distancing*” and “*the denial of coevalness*” in theoretical discourse is overtly proposed to be an expression of time as interdependent with development. Yet Massey's geographical and global application of this concept makes far more explicit the spatial contingency of “*distancing*”.⁷⁷ This extension of Fabian's alternative interpretation and construction of anthropological practice towards an explicitly spatio-temporal critique provides insight into the challenges, implications and political necessity of coevalness as a criteria for alternative spatial interactions.⁷⁸

The identification and utilisation of coevalness as a methodological lens with which to compare and critique spatial interactions allows this thesis to highlight in the work of Hamdi a clear shift from traditional models and methodologies of interaction with other people and places. This distinction and transition in his work and discourse implicates questions of authority, ideology and value in explicit interdependence with the practical methodologies of engaging with openness, respect and responsibility to those receiving development as aid,⁷⁹ and also in an epistemological significance of what a coeval spatial and temporal condition of practice entails. Thus in a comparable comment, Bunzl notes the practical implications of Fabian's discourse in the realignment of the anthropological self and ethnographic other in the “*moment*” of field-work itself.

75 Bunzl, p. xxii.

76 A similar observation to Said's philological critique of Orientalism and its political and economic interdependence; Said, pp. 52, 98.

77 Massey, *For Space*, p. 70.

78 The alterneity of such approaches is made explicit by the contestation of authority and control of meaning and intent that is implied by coevalness. Discussion of this question of authority in a comparison to a Western context can be found in: Stuart Hall, ‘Globalization from Below’, in *Connecting Flights: New Cultures of the Diaspora*, ed. by Richard Ings (Arts Council/British Council, 2003), pp. 6–14; *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till (London: Spon Press, 2005); Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 2009); Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency* (London: Routledge, 2011); Murray Fraser, ‘The Future Is Unwritten: Global Culture, Identity and Economy’, *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), 60–65.

79 Gronemeyer, p. 68.

“Praxis as an epistemological alternative to the allochronic rhetoric of vision [...] demands the conceptual extension of the notion of praxis to the ethnographic moment of fieldwork itself. In this sense, he not only propagates the critical textual reflection of fieldwork as an intersubjective – and thus inherently dialogical – activity, but paves the way to a coevally grounded conceptual realignment of anthropological Self and ethnographic Other.”⁸⁰

By pursuing a comparative analysis of these notions against recognised development practice methodologies we might offer some more concrete and observations on the real implications of such a politically provocative notion as coevalness as a practice. The implications of this comparison in a the context of broader post-structural discourse is implied in Buntzl's implementation of the notion of *“textual production”*:

“Much like Orientalism, Time and the Other represented the synthesis of a politically progressive and radically reflexive epistemology with a critical analysis of the rhetorical elements of textual production.”⁸¹

The premise of considering such methodologies and practices as textual reinforces an inherent self-reflective questioning of the presumptions and conditions of *“the outsider”* and its interactions with *“otherness”*. This self-criticality is most clearly contested through the power balance and inequality of communication in practice, where the intersubjective relations of spatial agency are played out through the authority and assumptions that are held within language and values.⁸² This interdependent relationship between presumptions, language and values can be seen as a clear indictment of old-paradigm notions

80 Bunzl, p. xiv.

81 Bunzl, p. xxii.

82 An issue explored in the listening and non verbal communication in Hamdi's discourse that we will be discussing later.

of colonialism and development,⁸³ but crucially also suggests the potential for alternative dialectical negotiations of difference, meaning and values that define development itself and development practice:

“I advocated a turn to language and a conception of ethnographic objectivity as communicative, intersubjective objectivity. Perhaps I failed to make it clear that I wanted language and communication to be understood as a kind of praxis in which the Knower cannot claim ascendancy over the Known (nor, for that matter, one Knower over another). As I see it now, the anthropologist and his interlocutors only “know” then they meet each other in one and the same contemporality. [...] If ascendancy – rising to a hierarchical position – is precluded, their relationships must be on the same plane: they will be frontal. Anthropology is the study of cultural difference can be productive only if difference is drawn into the arena of dialectical contradiction.”⁸⁴

The Backwards Reasoning of Buffalo Mozzarella

As a means of elaborating on the comparison of forwards and backwards reasoning it is useful to briefly explore an example drawn from his participatory development practices. For this discussion this chapter highlights the project instigated by Hamdi that began with the observation of Betty's buffalo as a starting point from which to work backwards towards a scaleable model for socially sustainable development that was relationally specific to that place at that time.⁸⁵

83 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 118.

84 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 163.

85 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 106.

Betty was named after a woman working for an NGO that had previously been active in the village Hamdi was found himself working with. After finding themselves unable to dispense with a substantial amount of development money quickly and visibly,⁸⁶ the buffalo project had been reasoned by this NGO as the most viable means to rebuild livelihoods:⁸⁷

“Sino and Tiba had nodded their way through endless monologues from Betty (the woman) on livelihoods, sustainability, self-realisation, cooperation and trust building, which the buffalo project was to inspire. They nodded more out of politeness than understanding. She was, after all, well intentioned and had come a long way. In any case, they had accepted the gift of the buffalo, as had others.”⁸⁸

Whilst listening and talking to Sino and Tiba, Hamdi recognised that whilst there were great benefits of these buffalos gifted to the community,⁸⁹ the NGO's projection of these animals upon individuals in a complex community had allowed their true potential to be overlooked. The potential to grow, breed and take this opportunity to scale had been missed because the buffalo were being treated as isolated resources and objects for individual families and not for the potential of their communal value. Yet if the animals were bred carefully and thoughtfully, the interconnection of a community could be instigated around this simple idea. Thus, Hamdi's approach is framed around these seemingly small and simplistic observations which are explored freely and organically without presumptions of values or outcomes:

86 This in itself acts as a representation of the mentality that can be fostered by 'forward reasoning' development, and encountered by both those genuinely seeking to engage in positive development and those seeking quick fix political gains.

87 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 107.

88 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 108.

89 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 108.

“We had stumbled upon the beginnings of a narrative that would serve to discipline the design of their community facility. Later that day, we extend and enriched this narrative with other community groups, building on the aspirations of people and all their resources of talent and skill and speculating on outcome.”⁹⁰

This opportunity had been recognised by listening and learning from the material and practical realities of people and place.⁹¹ Building upon this initial observation using the same practices of dialogue, learning and open-ended ambiguity of practice,⁹² Hamdi soon began to generate a viable program for a purposeful and sustainable community-centre building:

“They would need a place to for making ceramic pots to pack the curd – a pottery, which might itself extend to making pots for other markets. There would be a place to weave and embroider cotton patches that are typically used to cover the curd pots. Much of this activity would be home-based. The centre would offer opportunities to socialise around work and for training. Someone had the idea of turning buffalo dung into smaller ‘mosquito coil’ type pellets, easily scented with herbs and then marketed as organic mosquito repellent, crude but effective. Then there would be cheese-making, their own brand of mozzarella, their own label. There would be training in book keeping and marketing, offered through the Women’s Bank, and later on a shop and cafe. This would be the start to a number of urban farms or enterprise centres nationwide. One would dream, in time, of a federation, a networked organisation joining the Fair Trade Alliance and competing for markets.”⁹³

90 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 109.

91 Hamdi and Goethert, p. 10; Burnell, pp. 137–138; Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 25.

92 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 156.

93 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 109.

Here forward reasoning is exemplified in the traditional approach of providing abstract things (in this case buffalo) without valuing the material and social reality of such complex and alternative communities. In contrast the same buffalo actually had the potential to be a scaleable catalyst for an interconnected economic, social and spatial enterprise.⁹⁴ Thus, whilst it soon became apparent that not everyone has a buffalo and can benefit directly from this first idea, by applying the same backwards and lateral reasoning to the social and material context Hamdi documents the creation of interconnected spatial relations that would validate and give sustainable purpose to a new community centre.⁹⁵

Hamdi makes explicitly clear that rather than having to create a community out of thin air and minimal resources, this process is simply actively looking to connect with existing enterprises and act as a catalysts of critical mass.⁹⁶ This would eventually see connections and projects with existing local enterprises and community groups including mushroom-growing cooperatives, local self-building programs, recycling, education and social buses:⁹⁷

“It would be like a laboratory, locally owned and managed and, in time, self-financing. It was all about partnerships, enterprise and livelihoods an importantly about building community and all kinds of assets.”⁹⁸

Underpinning all of these connected projects was sustainable local finance⁹⁹ and social relations, and the dissemination of education and skills allow the project to spread in a network of grass-roots initiatives that could not yet be perceived, but were waiting to be utilised by the entrepreneurial locals.¹⁰⁰ Backwards reasoning had engaged and learnt from the practical, material and

94 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 12.

95 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 118.

96 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 110.

97 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 110–118.

98 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 112.

99 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 73; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 42.

100 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 81–90; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. xviii.

social reality of the settlement and had allowed global agendas of governance and livelihood to be localised and made specific.¹⁰¹ Reciprocally the interdependence and independence of the sustainable enterprise had allowed a scaleable project that had global potential for development change and resilience.¹⁰²

In the context of this chapter's comparison, what is clear from this example of the contrast between backwards and forwards reasoning is a perceptual gap between the values and ideology of development as global policy initiatives, and the practical and material reality of the informal and subaltern communities and identities. Whilst the practical challenge of backwards reasoning is highlighted in the development discourse that is critiqued by Hamdi and cited in this chapter, the theoretical implications of backwards reasoning are found in the comparisons of the open-ended ambiguity of such practices and the negotiation of textual and hybrid socio-spatial relations and values that they imply.¹⁰³ Who, when working with an abstracted outside perspective of value and meaning could perceive the potential challenges and opportunities of such a simple project?

In the act of abstraction not only are mistakes made that undermine sustainability and efficiency of the global development process, but by not engaging in textual and material dialectics of practice they also continue to project identities of development hegemony that Massey would decry as temporal conveining and the homogenisation of "*catching up to the West*."¹⁰⁴

101 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 140; Massey, *For Space*, p. 103.

102 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 118.

103 Massey, *For Space*, p. 85.

104 Massey, *For Space*, pp. 82, 124.

Backwards Reasoning

The comparison to Fabian's theoretical discourse of "*coevalness as practice*"¹⁰⁵ provides a critical foundation for a further interrogation of the implications for perceptions of value and meaning offered by such alternative spatial practices. Building upon this, Hamdi's observation and practical valuing of other peoples narratives and perspectives highlights the inherent potential of dialogue and learning¹⁰⁶ in his advocacy for development framed by the grass-roots knowledge exchange of textual places and backwards reasoning:¹⁰⁷

*"Backwards (reasoning) assumes essentially the opposite: the closer one is to the source of the problem, the greater is one's ability to influence it; and the problem-solving ability of complex systems depends not on hierarchical control but on maximising discretion at the point where the problem is most immediate."*¹⁰⁸

Returning briefly to a critical reflection with post-modern anthropology, perhaps the simplest practical interpretation of coevalness for Fabian begins with the idea of the self-aware practitioner.¹⁰⁹ This recognition of the impossibility of neutral and abstracted interactions with "*others*" in anthropology and ethnography is countered instead by an advocacy for active engagement with the inherent political, economic and cultural relations that are carried by actors and agency into development spaces.¹¹⁰ This recognition of the necessity of self-reflection as a means to critically discuss the asymmetric power inherent in

105 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 35.

106 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 175; Nabeel Hamdi, 'Training and Education: Inventing a Programme and Getting It to Work', *Habitat International*, 10 (1986), 131–40.

107 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 130.

108 Elmore, p. 606.

109 See Fabian's comments on 'participant observation' and 'field research': Fabian, *Time and the Other*, pp. 60, 66; Gardner and Lewis, p. 113.

110 Norman Long, 'From Paradise Lost to Paradigm Regained?; The Case for an Actor-Oriented Sociology of Development', in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 20.

the discourse and dialogue of practice again demonstrates a potentially valuable comparison with post or alternative development practice,¹¹¹ as advocated by Gardner and Lewis:

“... anthropology promotes an attitude and an outlook: a stance which encourages those working in development to listen to other people’s stories, to pay attention to alternative points of view and to new ways of seeing and doing. This outlook continually questions generalised assumptions that we might draw from our own culture and seek to apply elsewhere, and calls attention to the varied alternatives that exist in other culture. Such a perspective helps to highlight the richness and diversity of human existence as expressed through different languages, beliefs and other aspects of culture.”¹¹²

This awareness of the observer as actor in post-modern anthropology is recognised in contemporary notions of “*situated analysis*” and “*standpoint theory*”.¹¹³ Such approaches advocate both discourse and action as a field in which cultural and anthropological interpretations and interactions with “*otherness*” are related to the observers own subjectivity and political, cultural and economic contextual relation. This relational self-awareness of actor-oriented spatial practice suggests a critical emphasis on the interaction of differences and values between actors and cultures, raising broad questions of how to define what development means and whose values it reflect.¹¹⁴

Building on Foucault's discourse on the plurality of knowledge,¹¹⁵ Gardner and Lewis recognised that anthropological knowledge must always be understood as inherently political; thus “*the criteria of what constitutes knowledge, what is*

111 It similarly implies a relation to Said's critique of abstract orientalist philology and its implicit reflective self-criticism of Western value structures. See: Said, p. xii.

112 Gardner and Lewis, p. 167.

113 Gardner and Lewis, pp. 22–23.

114 Robert Chambers, *Whose Reality Counts?: Putting The First Last* (ITDG Publishing, 1997); Esteva; Lummis.

115 See: Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge Classics, 2001).

to be excluded, and who is qualified to know involves acts of power."¹¹⁶ Here, Said's critical historical analysis of ideologies being built upon assumed ontological stability and supremacy¹¹⁷ can be seen to resonate with post-modern anthropological practice and the confrontation of coevalness. Subsequently the interdependence of political, ontological and linguistic post-structural theory is only truly understood through socio-spatial practices:

*"The ontological presuppositions of the researcher are therefore not considered to be more complex than the ones ascribed to the local actors themselves. This means that the researcher does not occupy a privileged position; he or she can no longer choose between the attitude of the observer and a performative attitude, but places his or her own interpretations on the same level as the actions and expressions of the actors."*¹¹⁸

In this context, this chapter's comparative analysis once again suggests that this critical self-awareness is equally comparable to Hamdi's backward reasoning approach to development practice as a process of dialogue. In this comparison, the importance of development as a spatial practice is reinforced in the recognition that such alternative practices cannot be reduced to the instigation of concrete architectural solutions physical as per top-down interventionist development. Instead they are explicitly frames as dialogues, processes and practices that question, challenge and produce values. By listening and learning from the social and material reality of places, Hamdi's methodologies are a dialogue with the economic, socio-cultural and political values and the spatial relations that might be infused in such alternative spaces. Consequently they inherently articulate evolving and continuous spatial practices of coevalness seeking to find and learn from the value and potential in the complexity of plural and relational identities:

116 Gardner and Lewis, p. 71.

117 Said, p. xii.

118 Han Seur, 'The Engagement of Researcher and Local Actors in the Construction of Case Studies and Research Themes', in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 139.

“Patterns of social differentiation then are only made meaningful when situated in terms of everyday social practices and situations. In other words, it is necessary to show how relationships, resources and values are contextualised (actualised) through specific action in contexts, and the focus on action is central to the endeavor.”¹¹⁹

Perhaps the clearest and most provocative analysis of the implications and potential of coevalness and backwards reasoning is found in Andrew Long’s advocacy for understanding such practices as *“where a joint construction of meaning takes place at the interface with ‘outsiders.’”¹²⁰* This intersection of development and anthropological theory represents an inversion of any surviving imperial sense of moral, political or cultural authority; a radical reinterpretation of the traditional relational equality of development relationships. Long, Fabian, Massey and Hamdi each in their own way describe practices of situated analysis and coevalness as a process of open, reflexive and continuous learning through interaction. The intersection observed here proposes a reinterpretation of social and spatial context as a dynamic, interdependent and emergent interface:

“... defining a situation (or appropriate context) is an achievement made by actors themselves. The definition of the situation emerges from the interaction itself, and cannot be given merely by the structure of a wider arena.”¹²¹

The imperative of spatial proximity and coeval dialogue as inherent to Hamdi's methodologies of backwards reasoning and participatory practice are thus critically comparable to post-modern anthropology's contestation of the equality of interface between differences. Thus, if Hamdi's development interventions are *“continuously being modified by the negotiations and strategies that emerge*

119 Andrew Long, ‘Goods, Knowledge and Beer; The Methodological Significance of Situational Analysis and Discourse’, in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 164.

120 Magdalena Villarreal, ‘The Poverty of Practice’, in *Battlefields of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 265.

121 Andrew Long, p. 164.

between the various parties involved”,¹²² and confronting a mutual process of value negotiation, what are the ethical and methodological implications for development practice? And what might such a critical inversion of the coeval agency of producing space suggest in reflection of Western spatial relations and practices?

A positive discussion of these issues is perhaps best understood in the recognition of the alternative, situated and textual value offered by Hamdi's advocacies for *“listening to other people’s stories”*¹²³ and paying *“attention to alternative points of view and to new ways of seeing and doing”*.¹²⁴

In contrast with top-down forward reasoning, Hamdi advocates methodologies that actually revel and thrive upon the confrontation, interaction and negotiation of differences and in the reality of inequality and economies of absence.¹²⁵ He recognises that by actively engaging in this spatial proximity, the material reality of informal settlements conversely becomes the very foundation for creating innovative, realistic spatial relations of sustainable development:

*“... many of the constraints we confront in the mess of practice are a context for work rather than a barrier to it.”*¹²⁶

In accepting and embracing the necessity, opportunity and value of untidy answers¹²⁷ and open-ended practices,¹²⁸ Hamdi's methodologies for observation, interaction and facilitation of such traditionally unexplainable relationships¹²⁹ become a vital point of critical analysis and validation for this chapter's theoretical contextualisation of his practices of dialogue. However, for

122 Villarreal, p. 264.

123 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 18, 62, 169, 174.

124 Gardner and Lewis, p. 167.

125 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 12.

126 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 164.

127 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 144.

128 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 98–99.

129 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 12.

Hamdi what is clear is that the connection between practices of spatial proximity and alternative forms of interactions between various interlocutors, actor and agency implies a fundamental challenge to the conventional identity and model of development practice. Here the profound theoretical, practical and ideological implications of the distinction between forward and backward, monologue and dialogue are made clear:

“In all these respects, we are not good listeners because talking, not listening, is how you prove yourself – how you silence the opposition. It then follows, because we are not good listeners, we cannot be good learners – that sociable side of ‘knowledge transfer’ rather than knowledge hoarding’.”¹³⁰

Simply put, if you allow yourself to get right in the deep end of all the mess and difference of other people you are confronted with alternative values and ways of living, alternative needs and realities.¹³¹ The need to listen and be comfortable listening¹³² to these differences is imperative for creating positive and meaningful dialogue.¹³³ Hamdi repeatedly outlines, documents and explains his methodologies of analysis in informal settlements through the very simple yet profound practice of listening.¹³⁴

In this disarmingly simple advocacy for listening there is a provocative methodological insight and complexity that is easy to overlook. In the context of this chapters premise, the implications of Hamdi's recognition of the act of *“Listening, and importantly, being understood as one who wants to listen”*,¹³⁵ can

130 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 12.

131 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 4–6.

132 Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 177.

133 In further exploring this notion of listening as an instrumental part of practice, Hamdi provides again somewhat disarmingly simple observations regarding the importance of body language and cultural respect in cultivating valuable communication between differences. See: Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 19–20, 60.

134 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 58; Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 156.

135 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 18.

be critically compared to Massey and Fabian as a contestation of the values of development that can only be achieved through a spatial practice of humility and coevalness.

The theoretical implications of practices that listen for and subsequently find opportunities for development is explicitly valuable in comparison with Massey's advocacy for the multiplicity of space being interdependent with the coevalness of encounters with difference. In exploring this idea of a re-valuation of the act of listening when engaging with differences and otherness, the practical reality and methodological implications of these implications are discussed by Hamdi in the interdependence he inscribes between practice and learning,¹³⁶ noting how:

“Open learning is about cultivating mutual respect, about building each other’s capacity to learn and influence practice – to be catalyst for change in each others world, not just our own.”¹³⁷

This practical realisation of dialogue as a reciprocal act of mutual learning and coevalness articulates a new positive notion of place-making as a situated material practice. Hamdi's practices offer a concrete realisation of coevalness, connecting practice to learning, mutual respect to creativity, negotiation to sustainability and value to freedom:

“The mutual impingement of relations of power and difference within and across different arenas, conditions possibilities for agency and voice, as it does the value and purpose of learning.”¹³⁸

It is important here to build upon the notion of learning as intrinsic to the idea of practice. Hamdi observes this distinction that in field work, learning is self-ordered and that coevalness as a practice is a process in which *“you learn what*

136 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 169–175; Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 125–128; Hamdi, 'Training and Education: Inventing a Programme and Getting It to Work'.

137 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 128.

138 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 171.

you need as you go along and do what you need to do to learn".¹³⁹ Building upon this he observes the broader implications of such suggestions for reciprocal global development management and social learning as a process of mutuality in global and local relations.¹⁴⁰

This notion of experimental, adaptive and open learning practice connects with the importance of development as a dialectical practice; a spatial practice, but also a continuous practice. Hamdi observes "*Change (however) only sticks when we understand why it happened. Continuous change is, therefore, contingent on progressive learning.*"¹⁴¹ Here we can observe an alternative elaboration of Lefebvre's analysis of "*the social production of space*", but crucially, does so through a methodology criticality of difference and positive heterogenous multiplicity:

*"In so doing, we enable people to find new ways of doing, thinking and relating in response to everyday problems which one takes for granted – breaking down barriers; optimising not maximising. These are all the qualities of leadership in practice and for development – a new openness for dialogue and learning."*¹⁴²

Hamdi's backwards reasoning and dialogues of coevalness evolve into the notion of open and continuous learning for both sides of encounters of difference. The connections between listening, respect and learning link to an alternative vision and methodology for development practice that revels in the mess and contingency that coevalness requires. In so doing they are able to foster relationships of mutual respect and partnership; the inception of a notion that space is a social process, not product.

139 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 125.

140 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 115.

141 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 138.

142 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. xxiv.

These practices can be seen to provide distinct concrete realisations of the interdependence and dialectical nature of political, economic and socio-cultural spatial relations. Yet whilst these concrete achievements should not be overlooked, they also raise questions of negotiation, language and value which in the context of this thesis remain the most provocative theoretical progression of Hamdi's observations:

*"... the need to achieve that base of interdependence 'when we no longer have to assert our individuality and independence against the world, because we are secure in ourselves and can achieve recognition of ourselves as separate, coupled simultaneously with our inevitable dependence on others'. In this way, we move from a position of 'us and them' to one of 'we'."*¹⁴³

This observation of the necessary shift from the position of "us and them to one of we" is the focus of the theoretical foundations observed already, and the subject of the next steps of this chapter's critical comparison. Yet instead of the negative critical questions of identity and authority outlined by Said,¹⁴⁴ further comparison of Hamdi with key post-structural theories of Bhabha and Spivak will seek to suggest the positive potential of development confrontation, negotiation and production of textual value through listening and learning. Once again, Hamdi's practical observations will continue to provide the practical realisations of the theoretical critique of value and reality:

*"All of this gets you involved, very often, in things you don't normally do or intend to do but have to, and other things you know you shouldn't do but do anyway to get jobs started. It gets you focused on pursuing ideals, not just project objectives."*¹⁴⁵

143 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 138.

144 See discussions of 'identity as a product' in chapter five.

145 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 164.

The principles of backwards reasoning offer a provocative practical and spatial engagement with the material reality of informal contexts. It invokes the necessity of practices that seek to engage in dialogues that reveal, contest and negotiate the power relations of informal space in order to generate interdependence and mutual respect. As an alternative to the inevitable hierarchical power structure of a policy based and abstract reading of informal space, this chapter contests that such alternative development practices are based upon the social and political value of “*enunciation*”¹⁴⁶ and a “*negotiation of meaning*”.¹⁴⁷ They are based on the realisation that only through active participation and negotiation derived from physical and interpretative proximity with places where problems exist can the value of development truly be explored.

Third-Spaces of Open and Reflexive Learning

By contesting the concept of coevalness against Hamdi's material development practice of backwards reasoning, listening and negotiation now prompts a re-reading and re-contextualisation in comparison against Bhabha and Spivak post-colonial discourses. This analysis of Hamdi's open participatory practice as realisations of coevalness here provides the foundation for a comparative trajectory to contest and confront articulations of what a grass-roots dialogue of development might mean.¹⁴⁸

When critically compared to wider discussions of value in post-colonial theory and post-structural discourse, Hamdi's disarmingly simple observations of the social and spatial value of dialogue and negotiations¹⁴⁹ suggest provocative theoretical implications for methodological “*backwards reasoning*”. Such methodological observation, practice and advocacy for dialogue and the negotiations of value in informal spaces offers an intriguing connection to

146 Homi K Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 312.

147 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 254.

148 Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 164.

149 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 127.

Bhabha's observations that "*all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation*"¹⁵⁰ and the inherent creation of "*third spaces*" of cultural hybridity in acts of negotiations and enunciation of meaning.¹⁵¹

For Bhabha, "[t]he importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity [...] is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge".¹⁵² Third space, as introduced and developed by Bhabha, is interpreted here as articulating an in-between space where the assumptions and inevitability of social relations and practices are challenged and subaltern identities are confronted, practiced, produced by identities outside of the assumptions cultural hegemony.¹⁵³ In this way, the third space represents an enunciative site that encourages "*inclusion rather than exclusion*"¹⁵⁴ through an interrogative negotiation of heterogeneous cultural forms that blur hegemonic boundaries of polarisation. It can also be intriguingly compared to the logic and processes of dialectical materialism.

Bhabha advocates political significance for the act and space of enunciation as a counter to the structural and ideological necessity to control and authorise the physical and theoretical inscription and transcription of value to signs and signifiers,¹⁵⁵ noting "[t]he wider significance of the postmodern condition lies in

150 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 54.

151 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 53–56.

152 J Rutherford, 'The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha', in *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by J Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), p. 211.

153 Here it is also necessary to note the connection to Edward Soja's articulation of hybridity and third-space as a projection of a Lefebvorean interrogation of space. Whilst this connection is intriguing it remains outside of this thesis remit and subject to further post-doctoral research. Edward W Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996).

154 P Meredith, 'Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bio-Cultural Politics' (presented at the Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference, University of Waikato, 1998).

155 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 2, 9.

the awareness that the epistemological 'limits' of those enunciative boundaries of a ethnocentric ideas are also the enunciative boundaries of a range of other dissonant, even dissident histories and voices."¹⁵⁶

Resonating with chapter four's discussion of positive practices of catalytic disruption, the third spaces of negotiation, enunciation and plurality articulated by Hamdi's participatory practices exposes the abstractions of structuralism to the ambivalence of material subjectivity and the spatial trajectories of a truly post-colonial context.¹⁵⁷ Such interactions generate a textual questioning and answers to practical problems, explored from within the social, material and quotidian reality that exist inherently within the multiplicity of informal space. The negotiations and cultural enunciations of third-space hybridity are a theoretical articulation of the spatial practices of listening and dialogue that Hamdi's methodologies provide. Both sides of this comparison revel in the irrevocable ambiguity of positive cultural difference and cultural definitions of value.¹⁵⁸

It is important to reflect upon concern surrounding such postcolonial theories of cultural hybridity and the critique of it being a discourse that exists only as a "first-world" discourse, and the subsequent misrepresentation of the subaltern voice. Spivak is known for her rejection of "hegemonic nativist or reverse ethnocentric narrativisation" that accompanies any attempts to "give speaking parts to the colonised".¹⁵⁹ This critique relates Foucault's poststructural description of the dissemination of truth as a constitution of power through accepted knowledge and thus the "types of discourse which [a society] accepts and makes function as true".¹⁶⁰ Thus for Spivak, the term "epistemic violence"¹⁶¹ becomes applicable in this sense, where western academia attempts to speak

156 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 6.

157 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 35.

158 Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, p. 312.

159 Benita Parry, 'Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 37.

160 *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by M Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), p. 73.

161 S Morton, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 90.

for/as the subaltern and in turn appropriates their voice, rendering them mute.¹⁶² Hybridity, could and has been discredited in this way as exclusively for the “*new cosmopolitan elite*”¹⁶³ and rather less consistent with the reality of migrant diasporas. What is perhaps missing from Bhabha’s theory of hybridisation therefore is the “*pedagogy of men engaged in the fight for their own liberation*”¹⁶⁴ and the potential of processes or practices of a critical consciousness that is illuminated by their own daily cultural, political and material contexts.

Further critique is assigned to the “*hype of hybridity*”¹⁶⁵ and the enthusiastic acceptance of third space as a valid strategical alternative to the overwhelming dominance of hegemonic power structures. This supposed “*fetishisation*”¹⁶⁶ of postcolonial terminology has been critiqued as engendering such an array of translations and reinterpretations that it resultantly reduces any potential authenticity in its abstraction from the everyday. However, in response to these critiques, this chapters comparison highlights the theoretical proposition that meaning and value are forever in a state of being produced and re-produced, tested and negotiated. It observes that this proposition reflects a similar material dialectic to more practical negotiation of value described by Hamdi through the act of listening and open learning.¹⁶⁷ This re-reading and comparison suggests a potential response to the need for a pedagogy for liberation and the importance of backwards reasoning in order to facilitate Hamdi’s methodologies of “*finding answers to questions you didn’t ask*”.¹⁶⁸ In response to the reality and implications of subjective value, Hamdi provides a passionate advocacy and

162 Notable that Spivak even includes herself in this critique.

163 P Sayegh, ‘Cultural Hybridity and Modern Binaries: Overcoming the Opposition Between Identity and Otherness?’ (presented at the Cultures in Transit, Liverpool University, 2008), p. 6.

164 Paulo Friere, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 2nd edn (Penguin, 1996), p. 39.

165 Katharyne Mitchell, ‘Different Diasporas and the Hype of Hybridity’, *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 15 (1997), 533–53 (p. 534).

166 Mitchell, p. 534.

167 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 128.

168 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, p. 64.

compelling observational evidence for a “*reflective practice*” that allow for interaction and interdependence with valuable and ambiguous explorations of value:

*“Reflective practice qualifies or disqualifies the assumptions we make and the value we apply when defining problems, setting priorities or evaluating alternatives before we intervene. It tells us about the appropriateness of the norms and standards we apply and take for granted, the process we adopt, patterns of behaviour we assume to be current or acceptable, or otherwise, about our attitudes and judgement. Reflection nurtures wisdom and is a corrective to over-learning in schools.”*¹⁶⁹

The methodological simplicity of Hamdi’s approach deconstructs the professional abstractions of forward reasoning and hierarchical problem solving, and instead seeks to ground development practice in the ambiguity of working in real spaces, with real people and real problems.¹⁷⁰ Thus whilst the language and implementation of enunciated values differ greatly from Bhabha to Hamdi, the underlying comparison remains a compelling comparison. Hamdi repeatedly documents and values the following sort of observations,¹⁷¹ recognising that in such simple practical moments, the illusory simplicity of universal values is shattered:

*“The pop into any one of the houses you will pass. Look at the priority that people attach to income rather than comfort. How much of the house will be devoted to home-based enterprise, how and where do people cook, eat and sleep?”*¹⁷²

169 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 135.

170 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 40.

171 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 5–9.

172 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 5.

This type of material and cultural confrontation with the material reality of difference forms the context for the negotiation of meaning and values in the development of informal settlements. Practical and physical interaction within such contexts of difference provides a direct confrontation with the multiplicity of interpretations of value, be it living standards, needs, desires or necessities etc.¹⁷³ The significance of Hamdi's advocating the necessity of empathetic spatial and cultural interrogation of such informal spaces is the acceptance of value as not being a universal object of knowledge, but as something that can only be achieved through a participatory and agonistic process.¹⁷⁴ Here Hamdi's methodologies and practices of negotiation and difference begin to suggest a legitimate critical comparison to Bhabha theoretical concept of cultural hybridity and enunciation.¹⁷⁵ The term enunciation is used in this context as the social differences articulated in the translation and re-articulation of meaning across cultural divides. Exploring this comparison further Bhabha discusses the ambiguous location of culture and seeks to articulate the implications of a distinction between cultural diversity and cultural difference in comparison with language and value signification:

“Cultural diversity is an epistemological object – culture as an object of empirical knowledge – whereas cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of culture as 'knowledgeable', authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification. If cultural diversity is a category of comparative ethics, aesthetics or ethnology, cultural difference is a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate and authorise the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity.”¹⁷⁶

173 See: Ivan Illich, 'Needs', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010); *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. by Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (London: Zed Books, 1997), pp. 10–14; Majid Rahnema, 'Poverty', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010).

174 Comparable to the plurality of knowledge advocated in Gardner and Lewis: Gardner and Lewis, p. 71.

175 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 38.

176 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 49.

Here Bhabha's advocacy for cultural difference resonated with Massey's multiplicity of space. Tracing a trajectory throughout this thesis from Lefebvre to Massey and beyond, the dialectical materialism of spatial multiplicity here intersects with Bhabha's cultural difference as a process in which cultural meaning is realised through the agonistic contestation of politics and values and through active practice and community participation.¹⁷⁷ Hamdi's advocacy for methodological practices that engage, disrupt and contest spaces¹⁷⁸ through negotiation can be read as an evocation of the same politicalisation of space that Bhabha confronts through the process of enunciation and cultural signification.¹⁷⁹ Yet in Hamdi we are offered the documented reality of such a provocative cultural process of negotiation in the participatory development of informal settlement communities. By looking past the humility of examples such as buffalos, mushrooms and pickles, the implicit potential for achieving positive alternative spatial relations are revealed in the comparison of such spatial methodologies to the complex theoretical discourses explored in this thesis.

Thus the practical realities and implications of coeval dialogue and practice as a reflexive learning process are once again described by Hamdi in disarmingly simplistic terms and yet can be read as a practice of negotiation of cultural hybridity through the agency of coevalness, backwards reasoning and negotiations of third spaces.¹⁸⁰ These practical, performative and anthropological observations of methodology compared in this chapter intersect with Bhabha's advocacy for cultural difference as a process of enunciation.¹⁸¹ Subsequently, Hamdi's discourse can now be observed as offering a remarkably practical translation of post-colonial ethics within development practice and suggests a pronounced renunciation of political, economic or moral authority, replacing it with the far more tangible reality of engagements of mutual respect.

177 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 34.

178 As discussed more thoroughly in chapter four of this thesis.

179 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 256, 264.

180 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 18.

181 Homi K Bhabha, 'Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by B Ashcroft, G Griffiths, and H Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 155–57 (p. 156).

Enunciation and Negotiation

Socio-spatial development practices and methodologies of coevalness, learning and hybridity suggest a process. Dialogue and negotiations of spatial and cultural relations begin to question and negate the presumptions and prescriptions that typically accompany the power-geometries and social relations inherent within development interventions.¹⁸² Hamdi's methodological propositions generate a socio-cultural space of enunciatory ontology, where different values and ideas are negotiated, inscribed and must be continually re-inscribed in the practice and production of spatial relations, and values that express the multiplicity of materially subjective trajectories.¹⁸³ In comparison with Hamdi, Bhabha's articulations of cultural hybridity as a dialogue and enunciation can here begin to be described as a process of engaging with and asking "*textual questions*"¹⁸⁴ in order to produce "*textual answers*" to cultural and spatial relations:

*"It is that third space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew."*¹⁸⁵

The articulation of third spaces in Hamdi's participatory development methodologies is as both a physical space of translation and enunciation and also the notional socio-cultural space of value ambiguity.¹⁸⁶ The mutual and coeval participation of listening and negotiation through dialogue is framed around the necessity of agonistic contestation of both power relations and

182 For more see: Gardner and Lewis, p. 16; and: Lummis.

183 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 72, 179.

184 Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, p. 3.

185 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 55.

186 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 69.

spatial organisations, generating a methodology in which the lack of fixidity and predetermined outcomes of projects allows for the emergence of textual answers and values enunciated in social hybridity.¹⁸⁷

This chapter's comparisons between Hamdi and Bhabha validate and reinforce the theoretical contextualisation of development as a coeval practice of dialogue and negotiation, values and learning. Practices of enunciation and signification of value reinforce the comparison of Hamdi's backwards reasoning methodologies to Bhabha's advocacy for cultural difference and suggest the provocative notion that to find true expressions of textual value we might look to the informal peripheries of space.

Hamdi's use of what might now confidently call post-structural practices implies his methodologies operate as an inversion of professional and post-colonial inequality that accompanies notions of the design and resolution of space as the meaning or definition of development.¹⁸⁸ Thus whilst in Hamdi the profound philosophical implications of these notions are not made explicit, this chapter's comparison suggest that his observations can be re-read as positive practical realisations of the inter-subjective contestation of post-structural values. These are explicit methodologies that not only reveal the need to approach spatial practice openly and without prescription, but also the need for reflection and reflexive responses to the inevitable incompleteness and failures such a process entails:

“Learning in action at first demands that we evaluate what we did, and with others. What went well and what did not go so well, to whom and why. It is a participatory learning process in which those to whom the impact of intervention is greatest have a dominant say about its value. From these assessments and narratives we draw lessons and discuss to whom the lessons apply. Importantly we

187 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 98.

188 R. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 186.

reflect on what impact the lessons have on the way we may have to reorganize, or in the attitudes, tools, methods of practice, or on relationships between actors."¹⁸⁹

This built-in methodological self-criticism and open learning within such methodologies inscribes the interdependence and mutual relativity of all actors within such developmental practice.¹⁹⁰ All interlocutors (internal or external, knower or known) are performing within a negotiated space and time – a third space – generating a process of auto-didactic learning and continuous value enunciation.¹⁹¹ The broader political implications of such a process are made explicit when the enunciation of values are compared against the power relations inherent in the representation of space. Thus when the ambivalence of textual space is considered as an inevitable part of such processes:

*"The textual process of political antagonism initiates a contradictory process of reading between the lines; the agent of the discourse becomes, in the same utterance, the inverted, projected object of the argument. [...] Reading [John Stuart] Mill against the grain, suggests that politics can only become representative, a truly public disclosure, through a splitting in the signification of the subject of representation; through an ambivalence at the point of the enunciation of a politics."*¹⁹²

Re-contextualised against the idea of textual value, the inherent power relations and suggestive inequality of political representation and traditional development practices are inverted by the street level negotiations that Hamdi advocates.¹⁹³ Fracturing the ideological cohesion and structural abstraction of top-down development values, focus is placed upon active observation, interaction and communication. Thus contrary to first impressions of what appears to be simple

189 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 171.

190 Long and Long, pp. 38–39.

191 Debora Di Dio, 'The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community - Book Review', *Community Development journal*, 47 (2012), 159–61 (p. 160).

192 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 35.

193 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, pp. 9, 56, 87.

humility and humble human interaction, Hamdi's practices suggests a re-valuation of development practice and communication, revealing the hidden opportunities and potentials of informal communities.

If so, Hamdi's practical, documented and realised methodologies of interaction, interrogation and intervention within these spaces of development practice exist as a relatively unique documentation of negotiated and realised value and can be seen as a practicable counter-narrative to Western hegemonic formal architectural resolutions.¹⁹⁴ Comparative analysis with the theoretical discourse trajectory of Massey, Fabian and Bhabha suggests that Hamdi's practices and advocacy for backwards reasoning must also read as an implicit rejection of prescriptive and structural ontologies of meaning.¹⁹⁵ In contrast it advocates to engage with and learn from the material reality of informal contexts and to aspire to offer a practicable realisation of textual value signification.

Learning, growth, discovery; the translation, signification and enunciation of materialist and subjective values is here clearly defined as the fundamental principle of Hamdi's methodological approach. It requires an active and open participation, not only from the local population but also from outside practitioners seeking to advocate change and intervention. The inevitable disenfranchisement of prescribing and projecting the values of change upon the already charged context of informal settlements has to be overcome. Instead Hamdi notes:

“What we need, in this complex environment, is a kind of professional artistry which enables us to improvise and be informed, working somewhere between order and chaos, making what we can

194 Broadly: the social and economic implications of mass developer housing in the UK (see Owen Hatherley, *Militant Modernism* [New York: Zero Books, 2009]); the privatisation of space (Anna Minton, *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the Twenty-First-Century City* [London: Penguin, 2012]) Specific examples might also include: Le Corbusier's housing at Pessac; Pruitt-Igoe by Minoru Yamasaki; Torre David in Caracas; Westfield's Stratford East Olympic Park shopping centre; BDP's 'Liverpool One' city centre development.

195 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 246.

out of what we can get, making place without too much planning, making most of it up as we go along, a creative process of trial and error informed with experience and theory.”¹⁹⁶

Thus backwards reasoning is inherently more politically agonistic and yet potentially far less disruptive to the values and spaces that define informal settlements, and spaces that already exist on the peripheral edge of necessity, scarcity and survival. Yet it is for precisely these reasons that the free and textual enunciation of values and identities becomes so fundamental to the process of development. The enunciation of space and value creates the opportunity for truly plausible development, but in doing so has to re-contextualise the inequality of power relations both physically, economically and culturally, as Bhabha notes:

“This emphasis on the disjunctive present of utterances enables the historian to get away from defining subaltern consciousness as binary, as having positive or negative dimensions. It allows the articulation of subaltern agency to emerge as relocation and reinscription. On the seizure of the sign, as I’ve argued, there is neither the dialectical sublation nor the empty signified: there is a contestation of the given symbols of authority that shift the terrains of antagonism. [...] This is the historical movement of hybridity as camouflage, as a contesting, antagonistic agency functioning in the time-lag of sign / symbol, which is a space in-between the rules of engagement.”¹⁹⁷

These processes of open and reflexive learning are inherently provocative to the broader notion of abstract professional expertise and suggest an inversion of the structural model of architecture, development and space.¹⁹⁸ Yet if the object of development is to generate a plausible path for sustainable economic livelihoods these documented examples reinforce the necessity to fracture any

196 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 116.

197 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 277.

198 Hamdi, *The Placemaker’s Guide to Building Community*, pp. xvii, 16, 143.

prescriptions of value that arrive from western contexts.¹⁹⁹ Instead Hamdi's methodological enunciation and communication of material specificity and reality suggests simply a pragmatic rejection of top-down, hierarchical and abstract policy projected values for the pursuit of practicable and sustainable realities of multiplicity.

Textual Value

For Bhabha, the connection between notions of subaltern identities and the necessary ambiguity of informal development space is played out in the contestation of value signification.²⁰⁰ Hybridity and textual responses to the questioning of the material reality and subjectivity of space occur through action. Re-contextualising Hamdi against such theoretical discourse we are offered practicable, realised and open-ended observations and methodological possibilities that further suggest the political possibilities and inevitable necessities of subaltern values in development practice, articulated with a disarming simplicity:

*"When we add the variable here and then for you, when we contextualise the question, it gives us a chance to ensure the answer itself is tailor-made to the specifics of place and people. The answer, in other words, will be different every time – it is open and even less certain."*²⁰¹

Uncertainty and ambiguity and the participatory empowerment of signifying your own values are perhaps thought of as obvious pre-requisites of democratic space. Yet when approaching development with top-down forward reasoning the inability to prescribe outcomes in advance of instigating development might inevitably be considered inefficient against the potential of rapid intervention

199 Wolfgang Sachs, 'One World', in *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 2010), pp. 111–26.

200 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 85.

201 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 131.

solutions based upon strategic and structural approved models.²⁰² Yet this statement of apparent logical cohesion reveals the same continued potential for contemporary hegemonic ideology and authority to reproduce inequality. It is wonderfully rebuked in the above quote from Hamdi's recognition of the massive implications of identity as a textual context.

The desire to fix the world and the moral and ethical resolution to do so overshadow the potential of socially and economically sustainable developments of spatial multiplicity. Resonating throughout this thesis is the social necessity to define what your own future looks like and the values that underpin it in order for space to be realised to the full richness, diversity and democratic pluralism of multiplicity. This chapter's comparative analysis suggests that long-term strategic value is found not in abstract ideology but in practices of uncertainty and the specificity of textual responses to spatial practice.

The political and post-colonial significance of this analysis of Hamdi's discourse is revealed in his attempts to navigate the narrative complexity of global and local power relations and inequalities in ways that seek to empower those who are not being heard or even have no voice.²⁰³ In comparison to Spivak's discussion of the inherent dangers of seeking to give voice to the subaltern we can see both the potential opportunities and implications of backwards reasoning:

“Subalternity is not that which could, if given a ventriloquist, speak the truth of its oppression or disclose the plenitude of its being. The hundreds of shelves of well-intentioned books claiming to speak for or give voice to the subaltern cannot ultimately escape the problem of translation in its full sense. Subalternity is less an identity than what we might call a predicament, but this is true in a very odd sense. For, in Spivak's definition, it is the structured place from which

202 Gardner and Lewis, p. 154.

203 Hamdi, *Small Change*, pp. 94–95, 110–115.

*the capacity to access power is radically obstructed. To the extent that anyone escapes the muting of subalternity, she ceases to be a subaltern.*²⁰⁴

Based upon this notion of the fractious identity of those who might “*escape from subalternity*”, Hamdi’s methodologies offer a potential spatial practice to navigate this escape. Practice, dialogue and participation in the negotiation and enunciation of values in informal space explicitly seeks to reveal such “*obstructions to access power*”²⁰⁵ and through disruption and agonistic negotiation of value empower the subaltern to escape their “*political and cultural muting*”.²⁰⁶

The political implications of a comparison of Hamdi and subaltern theory confronts the fundamental political questions that exists at the core of interventionist development practice. However this thesis analysis of identity, values and socio-spatial practice in the global South also offers an implicit critique of the same political questions at the heart of architecture, space and social relations in the global North. The critical interplay of dialogue, empowerment and political advocacy for “*others*”, and the equally complex “*right to speak for others*”²⁰⁷ suggest the fundamental political implications of such contestations for people existing at the peripheral edges of informality, difference and alternative space. Here the balance of coevalness and development practices that empower and facilitate local people’s ability to contest their own space is confronted by a further theoretical intersection.

In her analysis of Spivak’s discourse on identity Rosalind Morris observes that an inexorable question persists at the heart of post-colonial theory and subaltern identities. The critical question of if it is possible or historically correct

204 Morris, p. 8.

205 Morris, p. 4.

206 Morris, p. 104.

207 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by L Grossberg and C Nelson (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1998), pp. 271–313 (pp. 310–312); Gardner and Lewis, pp. 22–23.

to empower²⁰⁸ the subaltern to define their own freedom remains forever open and unresolved.²⁰⁹ The danger remains for social relations that produce subaltern identities to become normalised and acceptable as part of existence and the timeline of development. Here Spivak's subaltern theory offers comparison with Massey's critique of passive space and global inevitability of cultural hegemony.²¹⁰

Thus, and notwithstanding the necessity to tread carefully amongst the endlessly complicated narratives of identity pertained to in subalterneity, there is potential in alternative development practice to see moments of comparative values. As we have observed, inherent in Hamdi's backwards reasoning is the need for informal communities to be politically and culturally active as a means to empower themselves through agonistic yet socially sustainable spatial practices.²¹¹ The more complex implications implied by subaltern theory are critically evidenced by observations of the socio-cultural implications of negotiation and enunciation for articulating mutual respect, humility and coevalness in the confrontation of cultural difference as positive articulation of the multiplicity of space.

This comparison of Hamdi's discourse and practices offers a reinterpretation and much overlooked realisation of value negotiations and post-structural identities. Here negotiations based upon advocacy for subjective freedom of choice, autonomy and control, are comparable against the materialist and textual realities of the structural inequalities of power relations within informal space:

"In this respect, the cultivation of choice when it comes to identity is one principal responsibility for all development practitioners, a central theme in participatory work, because the ability to choose, to adapt according to one's values, beliefs and aspirations, builds resilience

208 To empower or give power inherently implies control and authority in and of itself.

209 Morris, p. 8.

210 Massey, *For Space*, p. 110.

211 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 34.

*and reduces vulnerability. It is a defence against having our identity coopted by systems, by planning ideals or single vision thinking. It builds resilience to exclusion and to violence.*²¹²

The interdependence of learning and practice are advocated by Hamdi's methodological open-endedness, ambiguity and unknowing as a positive and requisite implication of reflexive practice.²¹³ This dialectical engagement with identity relieves the identity of authority and the control of knowing all the answers by creating the space for negotiation and learning. Backwards reasoning provides the most clear and succinct explication of such an approach, yet it is only by re-reading the simplicity of Hamdi against the complexity of Bhabha and Spivak that the implications of a post-structural comparisons of such methodologies become clear:

*“... the ‘negotiation’ of the postcolonial position ‘in terms of reversing, displacing and seizing the apparatus of value-coding’, constituting a catachrestic space: words or concepts wrested from their proper meaning, ‘a concept-metaphor without an adequate referent’ that perverts its embedded context.*²¹⁴

Hamdi's practical, cultural and political distinction between forward and backward reasoning begins to connect to the global political implications of Spivak's conception of subalterneity and inequality.²¹⁵ For Spivak, the question of value is a necessarily interminably complicated, loaded and layered term, noting that “... if and when we ask and answer the question of value, there seems to be no alternative to declaring one's ‘interest’ in the text of the production of value.”²¹⁶ Yet as Massey observes²¹⁷ the true spatial and political

212 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 54.

213 Hamdi, *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community*, p. 156.

214 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 263.

215 Spivak, ‘Postcoloniality and Value’, pp. 225, 227, 228 with similar deconstructive analysis found in; Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 150.

216 Spivak, ‘Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value’, p. 90.

217 Massey, *For Space*, p. 110.

value of Spivak's proposition is only ever experienced in the negative²¹⁸ and as a counter-hegemonic narrative critique instead of a practicable opportunity. In comparison with Hamdi, this chapter offers a re-contextualisation of Spivak's post-colonial interrogations of value against concrete and realised and documented socio-spatial methodologies of development. Thus the discussion of subaltern identity as a critique of authority and socio-cultural inequality can be brought to bear in comparisons to the development practice methodologies advocated by Hamdi that this chapter has explored.

Firstly, by advocating backwards reasoning approach to development that seeks a textualised response to socio-spatial relations and a negotiation of cultural hybridity and value. Secondly, Spivak's notion that "*revolutionary practice must remain persistent*"²¹⁹ is suggestive of Hamdi's advocacy for grass-roots participatory practice (interpreted in this thesis as a model of dialectical materialism) as a means to generate social interdependence and change, and the suggestion that subjective and material value as only ever truly being constructed through an open ended practice that is built open agonistic political process.²²⁰ And thirdly Spivak's suggestion of the necessity of a textualised answer inevitably suggests the notion of a textualised question,²²¹ comparing directly to Hamdi's methodological advocacy for human scale interaction and negotiation of value and the specificity of relations, necessities and opportunities.²²²

This chapter contends that Hamdi's methodology of backwards reasoning can be critiqued as a practical demonstration of approaching the production and practice of spatial relations and social value textually. Significantly it can be seen to offer a methodology for the practical negotiation of value multiplicity and a methodology that compares provocatively with Spivak textual reading of

218 Morris, pp. 88–89.

219 Spivak, 'Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value', p. 77.

220 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 34.

221 Spivak, 'Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value', pp. 74, 82.

222 Hamdi, *Small Change*, p. 66.

linguistics and space.²²³ Thus whilst attempting to maintain the pluralism and freedom suggested by the notion of subaltern identities, it is crucial to note how Spivak seeks to extract from the inevitable multiplicity of conjecture and ambiguity the political potential of the materialist subjectivity. Provocatively, whilst intentionally rebuking the idea of pursuing a finite definition of subaltern values, Spivak arrives at the notion of materialist “*narratives of value formation*”, providing a tantalising connection to the notion of subjective value negotiation through dialogue and participatory practice:

*“The consideration of the textuality of value in Marx, predicated upon the subject as labor-power, does not answer the onto-phenomenological question ‘What is Value?’ although it gives us a sense of the complexity of the mechanics of evaluation and value-formation.”*²²⁴

In relinquishing the structural simplicity and abstraction of a monologue of Western universality Spivak is able to suggest that the question of post-colonial identity and value must be considered as necessitating a textualised answer, and what this thesis would describe as the multiplicity of textualised spatial practices:

*“It is our task also to suggest that, however avant-gardist it may sound, in this uncovering, value is seen to escape the onto-phenomenological question. ... if the subject has a ‘materialist’ predication, the question of value necessarily receives a textualised answer.”*²²⁵

In this context, Spivak advocates the ability to “*force*” a post-structural textual reading of both universal and Marxist notions of value in order to contextualise a post-structural interpretation in the wake of the international division of labour.²²⁶

223 Spivak, ‘Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value’, pp. 88–90.

224 Spivak, ‘Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value’, p. 82.

225 Spivak, ‘Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value’, p. 74.

226 Spivak, ‘Marx after Derrida’, p. 244.

Here Spivak's articulation "*that the moment of deconstruction of 'philosophical' justice is the minute foothold of practice*, crucially intersects this thesis comparisons connections between the deconstruction of universal values, meaning and identity and Spivak's aspiration to make Marx "*practicable*".²²⁷

In this reflection on the interdependence of practice, identity and social justice, Spivak's subjectivity of subaltern and post-colonial theory explicitly confronts issues of value and identity in an open-ended and ongoing dialectical process. Subaltern identities and values are crucial here because they are not able to be expressed without losing their inherent criticality. As such they reflect the same positive opportunities that Turner and Hamdi observe in the informal spaces and communities that are out of necessity outside and different to cultural hegemonic structures.

Yet the comparison of Hamdi's open-ended and reflexive practice to the inevitable intransigent and un-practicable quality to subaltern discourse (a quality that is necessary in order to maintain the subjective implications of uncovering, interpreting and discussing the subaltern other²²⁸) remains open to further critical examination. This chapter has provided a foundation of such a trajectory of critical interdisciplinary comparison, suggesting alternative practical realisations of the supposedly theoretical project of subaltern theories of identity and value in the methodologies of participation advocated by Hamdi. Here Hamdi's observations of the political necessity of open-endedness and ambiguity can potentially begin to be interpreted and critique as an (un-conscious) attempt to navigate the practical reality and complexity of Spivak various propositions for a textualised dialogue with subalterneity.

227 Spivak, 'Marx after Derrida', p. 244.

228 Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', p. 84.

Developing Values and Textual Learning from Others

This chapter has sought a trajectory of interdisciplinary comparison that connects and contests Hamdi's development practice methodologies against a far broader and more complex range of spatial and cultural discourse. The underlying methodology built upon the intimacy and integrity of spatial proximity and coevalness reveals Hamdi's discourse and development work as a viable practical comparison to complicated spatial theory critiques. In these comparisons against the post-structural spatial theory of Massey et al, such alternative development practices based upon dialogue instead of monologue, or backwards instead of forward reasoning must subsequently be re-read as generating alternative spaces and values through negotiation, enunciation and signification.²²⁹

This critical exploration of the practical and theoretical implications of coevalness and dialogue generates a subsequent re-contextualisation against both Spivak and Bhabha, offering a re-reading of Hamdi's methodologies. The comparisons observed here allows grass-roots participatory development practice methodologies to be re-considered as a method of negotiating the multiplicity of post-colonial spaces and of value translation and subjective inscription. These are spaces that offer the potential to transcend the problematic prescriptions of empirical, patriarchal or hierarchical participation and suggest a truly reflexive, discursive and reflective form of practice.

Such practicable methodologies are a clear engagement with the complex multiplicity of post-colonial space and the potential for the participatory negotiation of meaning and enunciated trajectories of alternative development. Each of these interdisciplinary comparisons of coevalness, embedded material practices, enunciation and subalterneity are drawn against examples of community development in the unexpected and unlikely examples of development practice as continued and evolving practices:

229 Villarreal, p. 251.

“... planned intervention cannot be adequately comprehended in terms of a model based upon step-by-step linear or cyclical progression. Rather, it must be seen for what it is – an ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated process with unintended consequences and side effects. Applying this insight to the understanding of development projects and the differential responses they provoke, requires the deconstruction of orthodox views of policy and planning and of their capacity for steering change. We need alternative, more open and less presumptuous (hence less ‘totalising’) ways of thinking and acting.”²³⁰

Hamdi’s methodological simplicity belies a far more profound expression of the potential of people and space to generate textualised answers to the reality of life at the turbulent periphery of development. This chapter offers a comparison of these methodological insights in relation to key post-colonial concepts outlined by Bhabha and Spivak. It posits a reinterpretation of informal settlements based upon textual notions of value, and advocating value ambiguity as perhaps the greatest opportunity to engage with the true multiplicity of a post-colonial world.

Notions of networks of social actors, grass-roots self-governance and development agency propose a methodological excavation of the complexity of community constructions of value. The implications of such an approach are the promotion of a never ending engagement and community discussion with their own economic, political and cultural relations.²³¹ It is this discussion that provides the potential for a sustainable future, not any individual intervention, but as a symbol of what development could be, and the potential of empowerment and a counter to the notion of a Western authority to “*solve the problems of Others*”:

230 Long and Long, p. 270.

231 Massey, *For Space*, p. 103.

“Such a view does not eliminate an impetus to forward movement, but it does enrich it with a recognition that that movement be itself produced through attention to configurations; it is out of them that new heterogeneities, and new configurations, will be conjured. [...] It is a politics which pays attention to the fact that entities and identities (be they places, or political constituencies, or mountains) are collectively produced through practices which form relations; and it is on those practices and relations that politics must be focused. But this also means on insisting on space as the sphere of relations, of contemporaneous multiplicity, and as always under construction.”²³²

As articulated in the comparisons proposed in this chapter, the achievement of Hamdi's spatial methodologists suggests an inversion of the assumptions of Western development inevitability, freedom and value. The reflected implications of this upon Western articulations of architecture, development and socio-spatial relations are left implicit within this analysis and open to further research and ongoing speculative questioning.

232 Massey, *For Space*, p. 187.

Chapter Seven – Thesis Conclusion

This research thesis has built upon the original contention that the critical theory of Western socio-spatial discourse could be valuably and provocatively compared against the practical realisations of pro-poor participatory development practitioners working in the global South.

In essence, this thesis has explored aspects of Henri Lefebvre's and Doreen Massey's urban and spatial theory using a close textual reading of texts from their respective discourses. This methodology has provided a layered analysis of post-Marxist urban space, and an exploration of the explicit connections between Lefebvre and Massey in terms of the social production and multiplicity of space. Subsequently, this examination has developed a theoretical framework from which to reinterpret and revalue the approaches to participatory development practice found in the writings and projects of John Turner and Nabeel Hamdi. Through this process the research has interrogated the positive theoretical implications of alternative spatial practices of the global South in order to implicitly speculate on the reflective potential for their appropriation to the global North.

In looking to development practices in alternative social, political and economic contexts this thesis sought to highlight alternative viable spatial and social practices that reflect certain critical perspectives and theoretical aspirations of Western spatial theory. This thesis has offered a re-reading and re-contextualisation of previously under-explored examples drawn from development practice. The positive thematic achievements observed in these examples of participatory development practice can thus begin to be seen to provide an implicit theoretical critique of Western spatial practices and conventional Architecture. Such examples provide a rich new vein of alternative socio-spatial practices and possibilities with which to contest the seeming inevitability of Westernised space.

The original four cornerstones of this premise – Turner, Lefebvre, Hamdi and Massey – have provided the foundations for the thesis' underlying critique of structuralist approaches and interpretations of space. In exploring these key protagonists, various unforeseen research trajectories have emerged from this core critique of structuralist perceptions of space. These thematic connections have provided opportunities to explore and critique connections to a broader socio-cultural and political discourses. These connections range from agonistic political theory and post-modern anthropology, through to post-colonial and subaltern studies discourses. Yet ultimately each strand of research has sought to retain a line of critical comparison drawn between abstract theoretical discourse and concrete spatial practices.

The following discussion will provide a summation of the thematic strands and trajectories of comparisons and critical observations drawn from each chapter. This critical summation of the research trajectories provides a synthesis of the theoretical and practical implications of the comparisons drawn in this thesis. It also seeks to highlight further potential research questions which can utilise the methodology and analytical achievements of this thesis in order to explicitly question narrow aspects Westernised space and architecture.

Trajectories, Intersections and Implications

Materialism, Choice and Autogestion

Chapter two introduced and contextualised the premise that the development practice of Turner could be compared to the works of Lefebvre. It generated a critical lens through which to reveal and interrogate this critical comparison between disparate practical and theoretical discourses, and thus create a reciprocal re-contextualisation of both discourses.

When considered in comparison with Lefebvre's observations of dialectical materialism and the social relations of production, Turner's observations demonstrate the economic and social value of progressive grass-roots development. By re-reading of Turner against Lefebvre, his work in informal settlements can be re-valued. His social and economic justification of the user-

choice housing becomes significant. It provides a plausible mechanism for development in contexts of economic impoverishment. Furthermore, it suggests a concrete realisation of Lefebvrian dialectical materialism. Turner utilises a Lefebvrian turn of space. He inverts the assumptions of development, challenging top-down dogma with grass-roots material reality. Instead of development as a product, Turner advocated socio-spatial praxis to develop sustainable communities.

In comparison with Turner, dialectical materialism provides a framework with which to interpret the logical methodology for generating alternative spaces and social relations in the context of economic and material absence. Thus, Turner's provocative notions of "*user choice*" and "*progressive development*" can begin to be understood as examples of what Marx and Lefebvre would recognise as dialectical materialism. Placed in critical comparison with Lefebvre's articulation of dialectical materialism in the social production of space, this thesis suggests Turner's development practices can thus be considered as realised concrete exemplars of the positive socio-economic potential of alternative spatial practices.

The implications of this begin to suggest Turner's development methodologies in informal settlements are an unexplored and un-critiqued realisation of Lefebvre's advocacy for the politics of space and the social implications of the relations of production. Whilst these observations are specifically aimed at informal settlements, their explicit realisations of Lefebvre's positive aspirations for materialist and dialectic approach to space also suggests they exemplify something missing and lost from contemporary Westernised space.

When placed in critical reflection against conventional Western architecture and spatial practices the economic and social efficiency of Turner's user-defined housing based provides a provocative critical lens to consider the disjunction of use-values and exchange-values offered by informal and formal models.¹ These

1 Here it notable the lack of traction gained by Western protagonists of alternative housing such as Colin Ward, John Habraken, Giancarlo de Carlo, Ralph Erskine and even Nabeel Hamdi's work with the GLC. Notwithstanding various alternative housing models that have been pioneered in certain Western contexts (notably Holland and wider Scandinavia, where the political and economic models have afforded some successful largely middle class attempts at alternatives), these examples pale in comparison to the vast majority of debt fuelled housing

differences are articulated and experienced in the differing political and economic contexts of global North and South. Whilst there are notable reasons why user-defined housing works, or has to work, in the context of pro-poor development, it is also important to note the economic, political and social impediments that would suggest it an impossibility to implement such practices in the West. Yet against this critical comparative lens, the structural and quantifiable housing models offered in large-scale corporate and capitalistic dominated Westernised cities and suburbs must also be critiqued as representations of an ill-conceived faith in the economic models of neoliberal capitalism.²

This thesis contends that Turner's development practice must be considered as a post-structural reinterpretation of authority, identity and values by engaging in grassroots community participation. This comparison is reinforced by the further intersection with the theoretical discourse of Lefebvre's autogestion and self-management. Turner's progressive housing and community development is here observed as offering a practical realisation of the social and political implications Lefebvre advocates through autogestion. This intersection and comparison of autogestion and grass-roots participatory practice thus provides a foundation methodology for alternative spatial practice and agency, built upon the logic of dialectical materialism.

The implications of this for both this thesis and the wider conception of development practice is significant. Primarily it suggests the necessity of a re-reading and re-evaluation of Turner's work. Yet significantly it also implicates a need to examine and contest the further potential of user-choice, autonomy, progressive development and participatory practices as positive socio-spatial alternatives beyond the global South. In connection with the material and dialectical logic of Lefebvre's aspirations for positive socially produced space, participatory practices can be re-read as exemplifying the political and social potential of alternative spatial agency and architecture.

that has dominated the past decades of Western housing models and continues to prevail in spite of the economy crisis of the 'sub-prime' housing markets.

2 Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey and Michael Rustin, 'After Neoliberalism: Analysing the Present', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 2013, 8–22 (pp. 8–11); David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 71.

In re-reading Turner we can discern the necessity of user-choice and freedom in developing a socially and economically sustainable model of progressive housing and development. This analysis, in comparison with Lefebvre, articulates the importance of understanding space both for its material reality and as an ongoing process. The articulation of architecture of a verb is thus an on-going practice based in the social and material reality of the everyday. It re-directs architecture as a social agency directed towards the self-management and autogestion of space through sustainable social relations and practices.

This comparison grounds the overall implications of this thesis in the contestation of not only cities, but more importantly in notions of identity, authority and social relations of production. As such it provides the foundations for the trajectory into the theoretical discussions of chapter three.

Space and Multiplicity

Chapter three provided an opportunity to connect and compare Lefebvre's legacy and theoretical lineage concerning cities and space through to the contemporary spatial theory of Doreen Massey. In contrast to previous examination of Massey's spatial interpretation of Marxism emerging only from Althusser,³ this thesis provided an alternative comparison founded on the observation that both Lefebvre and Massey propose positive political potential of the social relations of space as a medium for difference and multiplicity.

These positive articulations of space connected aspirations of both Lefebvre and Massey are fundamentally built upon their political foundations with Marxist and socialist conceptions of space and the fundamentals of dialectical reasoning and process. This comparison provided a wider constellation of connections to the political works of David Harvey,⁴ Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto

3 David Featherstone and Joe Painter, 'There Is No Point of Departure: The Many Trajectories of Doreen Massey', in *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 4.

4 David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *Harvey, David. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (2003), 939–41; Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; David Harvey, *Rebel Cities* (London: Verso, 2012).

Laclau,⁵ as well as links to the provocative participatory development discourses of Andrea Cornwall et al.⁶ Thus, this chapter provides an explicit connection between Lefebvre's concept of differential space and Massey's advocacy for the multiplicity of space, and a contribution to the ongoing re-contextualisation of Lefebvre's ideals in a global and post-colonial context.⁷

This trajectory of analysis utilised Lefebvre's articulation of differential space as a projection of “*the right to the city*” and connected to the spatial differences implied in Massey's conception of relational space as a multiplicity.

As with Lefebvre, Massey offers a rich critical lens through which to perceive the structural limitations of interpreting space as mere representation of time and change. Massey's critiques of this “*taming of the spatial*”⁸ provides an alternative interpretation of the interdependence of space and time as co-existing in the relational construction of societies. This new proposition suggests a continuity with the spatial aspirations advocated by Lefebvre, whilst also allowing for its contextualisation and grounding within a contemporary global context of inequality and geometries of power.⁹ This critical examination of structuralism's spatial fetishisation also provided a further foundational meta-narrative for this thesis' positive critical comparison of the alternative development and socio-spatial practices in the global South. For Massey, time and space cannot exist as dichotomy but must be understood as parts of the continually evolving dialectic process of the construction of social, political and economic relations and values.

5 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 2001); Anna Marie Smith, *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 1998).

6 Andrea Cornwall, ‘Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development’, in *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2004); *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation*, ed. by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (London: Zed Books, 2004).

7 *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. by Kanisha Goonewardena and others (New York: Routledge, 2008).

8 Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 20.

9 Doreen Massey, ‘Politics and Space/Time’, *New Left Review*, 196 (1992).

This thesis' confrontation of a comparison between practical and theoretical space and the associated global inequality of development is thus observed through the comparisons of Lefebvre's and Massey's engagements with space, difference and power. The spatial concepts of appropriation and differential space exemplify Lefebvre advocacy for the positive political potential of spontaneity and everyday life to transcend oppression and hegemonic space. Similarly, Massey's multiplicity is the recognition of other and alternative interpretations of the world as part of the relations that exist within space (and time).

For Lefebvre space is social and emergent and real. For Massey space is coeval, relational, specific. The intersection of these conceptions of positive space and difference provided this research with comparisons to the development practices of Turner and Hamdi, but also to expand the theoretical context of this research into further theoretical trajectories of post-colonialism and subalterneity.

Thus, by critically comparing these intersections of Lefebvre to Massey's spatial advocacies this chapter provided a critical foundation for a post-colonial and globalised contestation of the social relations of space as a positive potential counterfoil to the global inequality and power-geometries of post-colonial development. This has been pivotal in that it validates the comparison of development practices and informal settlements against Western spatial theories of the right to the city, to difference and to multiplicity.

From this new contextualisation and comparison, the articulation of space and positive multiplicity in participatory development practice is implicated as a potentially invaluable new strand of spatial discourse. This new trajectory reimagines Lefebvre and Massey's spatial aspirations in a new global and post-colonial context, and crucially, not in abstract theoretical isolation but in participation and grassroots social practices.

The significance of spatial difference and multiplicity for the articulation of architecture as a verb cannot be underestimated. To conceive of space as a practice and architecture as an agency of change requires engaging with difference and pluralism as integral to the viability of culturally and politically

active space. The challenges of such open and positive difference confront conventional Westernised architecture and space with issues of uncertainty and humility that are predominately cleansed from a profession built on certainty and authority. Architecture as a verb is an inversion of inevitability and homogeneity and remains a challenge confronted by only a few who recognise architecture as a positive advocate of difference, multiplicity and open social change.

This thesis' comparison of Lefebvre's "*right to difference*" with Massey's "*spatial multiplicity*" provides a re-reading and re-contextualisation of both their works. Here Lefebvre's appropriation and differential space is re-read against a global context and further reinforces the comparison with autogestion and participatory practices outlined in chapter two. Similarly, Massey's multiplicity and relational space is re-examined and re-read which allows the further comparisons with Massey explored later in thesis to be contested as projections in the context of a Lefebvrian and Marxist spatial critique.

Geometries of Power, Spatial Disruption and Scale

Chapter four offered renewed comparisons and confrontations of critiques raised in the previous two chapter trajectories, contrasting notions of participation and hierarchy, authority and choice, practice and product. Building on Massey's analysis of Mouffe and Laclau, the concepts of hegemony and geometries of power were introduced into the thesis in order to expand the comparison with contemporary development practice. This renewed interdisciplinary intersection contested Hamdi as an exemplar of alternative and positive methodologies, utilising practices of disruption, catalysis and small socio-spatial changes to deliver sustainable and scaleable social space.

This chapter built a theoretical foundation from Gramsci's interpretation of cultural hegemony,¹⁰ through Mouffe and Laclau's positive political agonism,¹¹ before intersecting with Massey's overtly spatial contextualisation of the power-geometries of space. Massey's theoretical trajectory connects these concepts to

10 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971).

11 Laclau and Mouffe.

a geographical and spatial critique of the inevitability of development under the political influence of capitalism and the economic implications of neoliberalism. It is this inevitability that allowed an overt comparison to the alternative development practices advocated by Hamdi in informal settlements of the global South.

This thesis' critical reflection and comparison of Hamdi articulated practices of participation built upon social agonism, disruption and catalysis as exemplars of positive alternative space. In this comparison, Massey's political and social implications of the relational specificity of space are explored in the agency and implications of Hamdi's methodologies as contestations of post-colonial and globalised contexts of multiplicity.

Subsequently Hamdi's practices have been critically contested in this thesis as implicitly designed to reveal existing hegemonies and power-geometries that (re)produce the social and spatial relations of informal community. Hamdi's alternative methodologies of grass-roots participation explicitly confront, contest and agonise these geometries of power in order to reveal the potential for catalytic projects of social and economic change. The social and political disruptions generated by Hamdi's practices in contexts at the periphery of economic instability are thusly recognised in this chapter's comparative analysis as realisations of dialectical social change through the interrogation, disruption and production of alternative sustainable social relationships.

The implications of Hamdi's disruption in empowering social, political and spatial changes is comparable to Mouffe and Laclau's contestation of capitalist ideologies of "*hegemonic logical cohesion*"¹² and Massey's inevitability of neoliberal social relations of Westernised space. Based upon the validity of this element of the thesis' critique, the predominantly Western context of Massey's discourse can thus be reconsidered in the context of informal settlements. Hamdi's practices of "*small change*" reveal and challenges spatial hegemonies, and in doing so, creates the opportunity to empower and provoke change and alternative social practices and relations. This comparison reinforced this thesis'

12 Laclau and Mouffe, p. 3.

premise of participatory development practices and the social relations of informal settlements as offering practical realisations of counter-hegemonic trajectories of development.

This critical connection of practices of disruption and change in comparison with the potential of counter-hegemonic space and spatial relations provides validity to the premise of the thesis' broader strands of comparison. Similarly, the implications of such practical relations of positive counter-hegemony to Massey's post-structural discourse of space prompts a re-reading and re-contextualisation of her discourse as a theoretical framework within which to actively contest the practice and social relations of space. The potential of this analysis thus suggested a further extension of the comparison of Hamdi and Massey through the critical lens of spatial scales.

In the context of this theoretical comparison Hamdi's explicit engagement in spatial methodologies that seek sustainable growth and transition from the small social and political disruptions provided a crucial link to the political and social relationality Massey conceives in the interdependence of global and local space. Hamdi's notion of the "*scaleability*" of a social project or practice is thus observed in this research as crucial in combating the perennial problem of losing the necessary social and economic momentum that truly sustainable social change requires.¹³ Here the social sustainability of alternative development is perceived in Hamdi's practices not as a rejection of capitalist economics, but a re-alignment of the purpose of capital and a confrontation, contestation and diversification of the social relations that capitalism produces.¹⁴

Thus in summary, the introduction of Gramsci's hegemony and Mouffe and Laclau's agonistic space as political foundations of Massey's critique reframes participatory development practice as positive realisations of counter-

13 Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, trans. by Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 84.

14 Thus suggesting a clear and distinct comparative connection with the similar economic and political engagements made by Turner in his alternative housing models in Peru. These practices are not a rejection of growth or a call for a socialist revolution, but instead are a contestation of inevitability and a re-politicalisation of the social relations and practice that produce space.

hegemonic social relations. The economic and political disruption, contestation and scalability of Hamdi's practices suggest an engagement with political and social change that must be re-read in the context of Marx, Lefebvre and Massey's critical spatial discourses. Notions of conflict and the contestation of space as crucial element in the spatial practices of Hamdi in informal settlements reflects the political and spatial need and necessity to challenge prevailing ideologies in order to see socially sustainable relations of production and change.

The importance of connecting concrete practices of disruption and small change against the cultural hegemony of Westernised space are integral to the re-articulation of architecture as a verb. Instead of limiting the potential for change, this chapter's comparisons have revealed the inherent instability of space and its openness to positive change and counter-hegemony. By learning from the humble small change practices of Hamdi this thesis contends an articulation of architecture as a verb and practice can contest hegemony and in doing so can reveal space as the medium for spatial agency and social change. By engaging in such alternative spatial agency, responsible architects can regain the same positive ethical agenda seen in Hamdi's development practices.

Considered in the context of global inequality and development the implications of specificity and relationality re-frame Massey's positive conceptions of space as a critical lens and theoretical framework in which to review the challenges facing counter hegemonic practices in the global North and increasingly prevalent Westernised space. Yet it also provides the basis for the next step of this thesis in the recognition of identity as integral to the generation of positive social patterns and social relations, and especially those that might engage in positive counter hegemonies.

Identity and Practice

Pursuing the questions of authority, identity and practice raised in chapter four, chapter five offered a comparison and contextualisation of the historical and critical trajectory of development practice from Turner to Hamdi. This analysis intersected with important discourses and historical influences on the evolution of development practice in comparison with theoretical discussions of post-

colonial identity and values. Subsequently, this chapter's critical comparison observed the methodological evolution of development practice from Turner to Hamdi as mirroring several key notions from post-colonial and post-development theory. This critical contextualisation provided opportunity to re-connect the practical protagonists of Turner and Hamdi with the thesis' underlying question of the values within the evolution of development practice and discourse from intervention to interaction, participation to empowerment, and housing to sustainable enterprise.

Firstly, this chapter's comparison offers a re-reading of the material and contextual practicalities examined in the work of Turner and Hamdi against the theoretical context of Said's philological and historical contestation of identity, authority and colonialism. This comparison successfully suggests that these alternative approaches to space, identity and development are also revelatory in comparison with the predominant forms of centralised and hierarchical development. This disjunction is overtly marked in the contrast between the formal centrality that Said theoretically observed in colonialism, and Turner and Hamdi's counter engagement with informal and grassroots practices. In contrast to conventional hegemonic projections and impositions of identity, here Turner and Hamdi's offer invaluable concrete realisations of space and identity as practices which engage with the positive political potential of difference, informality and choice.

Secondly, this chapter contests the implications of political identification and distinction between the developed and the developing worlds through critical comparisons with contemporary post-development discourse. This comparison is critically observed in connection with Massey's critique of the inevitability of development and space, and allowed a critical contestation of Westernised identity as the pinnacle aspiration of development. Thus, the implications of the global South and informal settlements as being "*under-developed*" relates to Massey's contestation of spatial convening and the necessity of other cultures, places and identities to "*catch up to the West*".¹⁵

15 Massey, *For Space*, p. 124.

Alternative contemporary post-development discourse is thus positively compared in this chapter to examples of participatory practices of from both Turner and Hamdi. This thesis positively contests such practices as exemplars of attempts to sublimate the restrictive implications of development identity as a product and mere reflection of Western and capitalist ideologies. Thus, this critical comparison and contestation of identity as a practice offers a re-reading of participatory and open-ended practice that seeks to define positive multiplicities of space and identity through social and community participation in the politics and practice of space.

The notion of identity as interdependent with the practice and production of social space once again provides provocative reflection on the state of contemporary Westernised space. Taking the premise that space is thus a reflection of interdependent socio-political, economic and cultural identities, this would appear to express a rather apt yet highly critical reflective analysis of contemporary Westernised public and private space. This notion that identity is a practice is a contemporary return to Lefebvre's conception of "*space as a social product*". Yet in still seeking the full positive potential of a comparison with the development methodologies of Hamdi, this thesis provides exemplars of socially and economically sustainable spatial relations and practices that might reframe the potential of Western spatial practice towards a notional definition architecture as a verb.

Thus in comparing and critiquing the transition in development practice from Turner to Hamdi this thesis has been contextualised within key theoretical discourse concerning the political and social contestation that development practices are inherently engaged within. By interrogating these practices against key post-colonial and post-development theory this thesis provides a re-reading and re-contextualisation of the social capacities and necessities of development practice as comparable to Lefebvre's social production of space and Massey's relationality and multiplicity of space, inequality and global spatial relations.

The question of identity as a product or practice implicitly intersects with the professional identity of architects in the global North. Identity as a practice is equally as valuable as a means to help frame and articulate architecture as a verb in the global North. The notion of engaging with and learning from the

public, clients and the people architects serve as equals is a fundamental imperative learnt from post-development and post-colonial theory. It frames the final necessary exploration of value as a subject of textual and coeval practice.

Textual Value(s)

Building upon this post-structural analysis of development practice, chapter six pursued various further interdisciplinary comparisons of Hamdi's methodologies of practice as contestations of post-colonial identity and values, revealing theoretical and practical connections to the work of post-modern anthropology as well as the cultural theory of Bhabha and Spivak. Critical comparisons utilised leverage from the post-modern anthropological advocacy for ethnographic spatial praxis of coevalness, mutuality and equality when interacting with the multiplicity and difference of *other* communities. Here once again Massey's advocacy for the positivity, equality and relationality of space as interdependent with time were contested as an intersection with Fabian's pioneering advocacy for coevalness.

This chapter provided critical comparison and analysis of Hamdi's development methodologies as exemplars of Fabian's coevalness and the similar post-modern anthropological notions of "*situated analysis*" and "*embedded spatial practices*". In this context, Hamdi's notion of engaging with people and space without prescribing the values or end results to his practices is a post-structural contestation of the necessary open-ended socio-spatial practices that development without authority and ideology entails.

Subsequently, this thesis critically compares examples of Hamdi's practices of dialogue and negotiation to the discourse of Homi K Bhabha's notions of "*enunciation of meaning*" and the hybridity of cultural "*third-space*", and later to the deconstruction of values and authority proposed by Gayatri Spivak. This critical comparison contests a re-reading of Hamdi's methodologies as a far more politically, socially and anthropologically nuanced articulation of sustainable social change as an expression of values and identity.

The connection to Bhabha's concepts of enunciation and third-space provided a contextualisation of both Hamdi's practices and Massey's spatial advocacy as potentially interdependent engagements with positive negotiations of cultural hybridity and difference. Hamdi's methodologies of listening and reflective learning as participatory practice are here contested as exemplars of the emergence of textual identity as interdependent with the social production of space. Here the open-ended and coeval nature of Hamdi's practices are thus further critically compared to a post-structural undecidability of meaning, and Spivak's advocacies for the textual value of otherness.¹⁶

This multi-threaded advocacy for inherent instability allows direct comparison to Hamdi's methodologies of open-ended practice and of informal communities being engaged in the practices of defining their own meaning and values, and articulating their own (potentially alternative) development. The necessary challenge to the expected conceptions of the spatial expertise of architectural and development practice further highlights Hamdi's critical advocacy for the necessity of "*backwards reasoning*" as integral to the contextual material engagement with process.

This chapter's provocative critical comparisons provide the perhaps most speculative contestation of development practices against the post-structural theories of third-space, textual value and otherness.

As such the situated practices of listening, learning and backwards reasoning in informal settlements as practices with which to engage and generate textual and subjective values are considered by this thesis as a post-structural achievement of previously unrecognised theoretical importance. Ultimately, Hamdi's (and by extension Turner's) practices must be re-read as offering a unique contestation and critique the inability of hierarchical, formal and conventional Westernised spatial practices to contest and explore values above mere formal and economic hegemonies.

16 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value', *Diacritics*, Marx after Derrida, 15 (1985), 73–95.

This final critical comparison of Hamdi's work to the social and participatory enunciation of values supports the premise that sustainable social and economic development provides a fitting end to the trajectory of this thesis' research. The emphasise placed upon the concept of textual value reflects perhaps best exemplifies the many themes explored, examined and critically compared in this thesis. The contestation of meaning and textual values in space and practice provides perhaps the most provocative and challenging final reflected comparison to conventional Westernised architectural development and neoliberal spatial relations. Here, this thesis' critical comparisons begin to suggest a positive articulation of architectural agency and spatial practice that implicitly and explicitly explores and empowers discussion of textual values as interdependent with the social relations and spatial practices that produce space.

Considered in the context of architecture as a verb in the global North notions of coevalness, enunciation, textual value can be considered as fundamental concerns of any socially responsible and sustainable spatial practice. The need to engage with people – be they clients, the public, developers, planners or politicians – on an open and even playing space of discussion defines the foundation of a positive articulation of space and architectural agency. Re-framing Western architecture as a verb inevitably re-frames the profession as part of a newly open discursive landscape of coeval practice. By understanding the theoretical implications of enunciation and textual value to questions of social identity, and seeing in Hamdi methodologies with which to responsibly engage in such spaces with self-awareness, we can begin to articulate a plausible framework for architecture as a verb.

These propositions are based upon a thesis trajectory that draws layers of practical and theoretical observations into critical comparison, generating a logical path of reason between previously disparate discourses. This interdisciplinary reasoning between practice and theory provides a critical framework within which to conceive positive alternative social spatial practices of development as realisations of the counter-hegemonic spatial critiques of Lefebvre and Massey et al. Thus, applying practices of listening and learning, negotiation and enunciation of meaning as socio-spatial practices to inform textual values is not a rejection of the importance of architects and development

practitioners. Quite the contrary. It provides a vast new framework of critical political and social engagement and empowerment to disillusioned communities and individuals who still pursue positive alternative spaces and social relations.

Speculations and Further Research

This thesis has provided an exploration and examination of relationships, connections and thematic resonances between examples of development practice methodologies and aspects of critical spatial discourse. Discovered using a methodology of close textual reading, these connections have validated the premise of exploring the alternative economic, political and social contexts of the global South in comparison with key aspects of Western spatial theory. In highlighting and examining such thematic connections and resonances, this thesis provides new links between explicit issues of spatial theory and practice, the global North and global South, formal and informal, top-down and grass-roots socio-spatial practices. In the context of this research, alternative spatial relations and practices from informal settlements and peripheral space can now be perceived, valued and utilised as practical realisations of key critiques and aspirations of Western spatial theory.

This thesis has provided specific examples drawn from the critical textual re-reading of Turner's, Lefebvre's, Hamdi's and Massey' respective discourses. It has also provided a wider framework of critical discourse and thematic exploration within which to value these examples within interconnected spatial disciplines.

The examples and connections explored in this thesis provide concrete realisations and practical methodologies with which to begin to frame the wider project of contending assumptions and the inevitability of Westernised space. In light of this thesis, examples of alternative socio-spatial practice drawn from global economic peripheries begin to provide a framework from which to explore the critiques of neoliberal capitalism and Western ideology articulated by Lefebvre and Massey etc.

This research provides a framework and entry point from which to explore this critique of Western spatial/architectural practice. More specifically, this thesis' provides a methodology of comparison which can be used to examine the potential opportunities to learn reciprocally from development practice and Western spatial theory. This methodology remains a valuable mechanism from which to explore examine the socio-spatial context and conditions within which conventional Westernised space and architecture exists.

Possibilities for further research include the exploration of other contemporary pro-poor development practice using the methodology of comparison utilised in this thesis. This suggests possible engagement with alternative practitioners such as Elemental architecture in Chile,¹⁷ or the work of UTT (Urban Think Tank) in South Africa, etc, in order to contest their spatial practices against aspects of Western spatial theory.

This same examination of contemporary spatial practices is equally able to be directed towards examples drawn from the context of explicitly Westernised space. The opportunity exists for the critical comparison and engagement with alternative, participatory or grass-roots practices in the UK. Such research could seek to integrate an explicitly critical and reflective platform of collaboration with which to engage with architects, people and places who are attempting to contest the type of spatial aspirations and themes advocated by this thesis. Such an engagement with alternative spatial practices might intersect with the work being outlined by Till et al, Hyde, Hickey etc.¹⁸ The methodology of textual and comparative reading to critical spatial theory offers the potential to complement, extend and challenge the existing academic discourse on this area of spatial agency and practice.

17 Alejandro Aravena and Andres Lacobelli, *Alejandro Aravena : Elemental: Incremental Housing and Participatory Design Manual* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2012).

18 Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency* (London: Routledge, 2011); Rory Hyde, *Future Practice: Conversations from the Edge of Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2012); Amber A Hickey, *A Guidebook of Alternative Nows* (The Journal of Aesthetics and Protest Press, 2012).

The opportunity and necessity exists to question the social, political and economic contexts in which non-traditional projects succeed or fail, and attempt to learn from them. Placing such examples in comparison with methodologies of grass-roots and participatory development has the potential to radically improve the potential of such projects in Western space, and help them to achieve socially sustainable change. It also has the potential to question economic assumptions and implications that alternative spatial practice in Western space imposes on those willing to pursue grass-roots and participatory projects and positive spatial agency.

Many such questions remain. What might concepts of dialectical materialism, counter-hegemonic practices, disruptive participation and textual value imply in the context of Westernised space, social relations, economics and politics? How will informal spaces and architectures affect the hierarchical planning of the global North in the near future? And how can we begin to teach and educate our future architectural students, politicians, and the public about the positive potential of such controversial spatial relations? Questions like these remain outstanding from the outcomes of this thesis, but are perhaps able to be framed, critiqued and reinforced more positively and pro-actively in the context of the positive comparisons articulated in this thesis.

The observations outlined by this research stand in contradiction to the accepted ideological values – economic, social and political – that tend to predominate and prevail in Westernised space and architecture. The articulation of architecture as a verb is reliant upon an agency of unknowing, undecideability and open-edged practices, as exemplified in the works of Hamdi and Turner. Yet challenges to the certainty, cohesion and authority of the architectural profession as observed in this thesis' comparisons offer an inversion to conventional interpretations that are likely to greatly resist change. The challenge therefore remains to confront and contest the social relations of Westernised space, recognising the immense challenge this poses without relinquishing the social agency of architecture to the current state of economic, social and political neoliberalism. It is hoped that ideas such as the social agency of small change practices of disruption and the humility of user-choice housing are here sufficiently and robustly reinforced in a theoretical framework so as to give potential to a renewed contestation of Westernised space.

What does this offer as a reflection of the excepted working practices of Westernised architecture and other spatial and political practices? In response to the comparisons and conclusions drawn in this thesis it is clear that by looking to grass-roots participatory development practices we can begin to articulate the positive potential and political re-imagining of space as a practice and architecture as a verb.

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