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The Reproduction of Neoliberal Urbanism Via an Idealised Cultural Amenity: The Farmers' Market[1]

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The research presented in this article explores a farmers' market's role in downtown redevelopment in a medium-sized post-industrial city located in the Midwest region of the United States. My primary focus is on processes of neoliberal urbanism and the reproduction of socio-spatial inequality via a highly idealised space. I describe the articulation of neoliberal processes and subject formation with a space that is represented and thought of by many as an authentic and fun community amenity that is benevolently offered to give residents the option to 'do the right thing.' This is one example of neoliberalism's capacity to adapt, transform, and merge with a variety of beliefs, values, and lifestyles.
Keywords: Downtown redevelopment, farmers' markets, green creative class, neoliberal subjectivities, neoliberal urbanism.

Introduction

Farmers' markets have grown rapidly in number and popularity in United States cities since the 1990s and are much more than places to buy food (MacLachlan 2012). Contemporary farmers' markets are places where people relax and listen to live music, take part in educational programs for children and adults, and pay a premium for fruits and vegetables marketed as heirloom and organic. They are described by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as 'community centrepieces' (Alonzo 2013: 1) and shopping at them is often understood to be an expression of one's commitment to the community and of one's ethics. In short, spending time and money at farmers' markets, learning about their benefits, and buying locally produced food and crafts are often thought of as both enjoyable and the right thing to do.

Farmers' markets in the United States all but disappeared with the arrival of industrial agriculture and the supermarket. Their rebirth, which began in the late 1990s, gained steam in the 2000s as farmers' markets were implemented in thousands of cities across the United States (United States Department of Agriculture 2019). This revival of farmers' markets occurred alongside and cannot be disentangled from ongoing patterns of urban growth and redevelopment in the neoliberal era. Neoliberal urbanism, in practice, has involved the reorientation and devolution of state functions in ways that privilege and prioritise free-market ideology and unfettered capital accumulation (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Harvey 2005). Responsibility for social services and infrastructure was passed from national to local governments, beginning in the late 1970s, as federal funding declined precipitously in subsequent decades (Harvey 2005). In this context, competition among cash-strapped cities for private investment soared. Tax breaks for corporations, privatisation or elimination of services, and cultural and image building projects, all justified by neoliberal ideology, became widely

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adopted urban development strategies and remain dominant today (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Hackworth 2007, Harvey 2005). In this context, economic inequality has intensified while ideas about the causes of poverty placed the blame squarely on individuals themselves. Inscribed in neoliberal thought is the role of the autonomous, individualised, self-directing subject (Harvey 2005, Rose 1999). This normalises the notion that those impacted by neoliberalisation processes, whether positively or negatively, are in the driver's seat and are simply getting what they deserve.

As highly idealised spaces of community conviviality where shoppers can purchase ethically produced items from small-scale local vendors, farmers' markets do not stand out as bastions of neoliberalism. However, as neoliberalism continues to evolve (Peck et al. 2013, Pinson and Journel 2016), it has extended '[private] market mechanisms, relations, discipline and ethos to an ever-expanding spectrum of spheres of social activities' (Pinson and Journel 2016: 137). Contemporary farmers' markets are complex, but in subtle (and not-so-subtle) ways, they are used as tools to promote neoliberal redevelopment and are spaces that reproduce neoliberal subjectivities. The production and reproduction of new neoliberal subjects, who could also be described as a green creative class, support entrepreneurial urban governance and favour consumption and lifestyle opportunities that allow them, as individuals, to 'do the right thing' to address larger social and environmental issues, thus relieving the government from responsibility and also averting collective action.

The capacity of neoliberalism to penetrate everyday life and converge with seemingly unrelated or contradictory ideas, ideologies, and political rationalities has been crucial to the formation of subjectivities that help sustain it (Harvey 2005, Peck et al. 2013, Ward and England 2007). The farmers' market is one site where this kind of convergence is occurring. The dominant view of farmers' markets as democratic and culturally progressive renders them ideal venues for neoliberal political use. Their popularity and the positive feelings they evoke both lend to and simultaneously obscure their contribution to neoliberal governance, and the inequalities that it reproduces. In other words, a local government's association with this kind of idealised space can influence citizens' perceptions of broader municipal plans and practices, thus helping establish their perceived legitimacy (Pardo and Prato 2019). In this study, I examine the ways in which a large farmers' market in a formerly industrial medium-sized city in the Midwestern United States fits into neoliberal redevelopment plans and interrogate the processes through which farmers' markets may be complicit with the normalisation and legitimisation of neoliberalism via its spread to unexpected spheres and its further entrenchment in everyday life and dominant worldviews.

Neoliberalism, Urban Entrepreneurialism, and the Eco-ethical City
As Brenner and Theodore explain, 'The linchpin of neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development' (2002: 350). However, neoliberalism is rarely, if ever, actualised in accordance to this ideology (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Harvey 2005, Jessop 2002). The state does not withdraw, but instead typically shifts its patterns of

intervention (Harvey 2005). Across the United States, governance has shifted away from addressing human welfare concerns in favour of promoting the interests of capital (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Harvey 2005, MacLeod 2002).

Urban entrepreneurialism emerged in the 1970s as a localised reaction to neoliberal restructuring at the national level, which was itself a response to the sustained global recession of the preceding decade (Harvey 2005). Harvey (1989, 2005) describes urban entrepreneurialism as a strategy developed with the purpose of attracting an economically active population back to the city at a time when funds for services and infrastructure had been drastically reduced, unemployment was rising, and social need was high. As a mode of adaptation, energy and resources were redirected away from social programs and toward pro-growth and pro-business strategies such as tax breaks, privatisation, the creation of public-private ventures, cultural development, and image building (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Hackworth 2007, Harvey 2005). Post-industrial cities have been particularly eager to project an image that is pleasing and pristine (Short 1999). A goal has been and continues to be for cities and neighbourhoods that have experienced disinvestment, decline, and middle-class flight to be perceived as safe and welcoming not only for business investment, but also for middle- and upper-class consumers. DeSena and Krase (2015) chronicle Brooklyn, New York's transformation from an epicentre of extreme disinvestment, decay, and hopelessness in the 1970s to its rebirth as one of the world's most fashionable and exciting destinations. They highlight the role of concerted efforts to attract high-end retailers and developers and re-brand New York as a luxury city that appeals to global élites in this rebranding and revitalisation. More recently, the entrepreneurial approach to urban development has gained dominance in cities of all sizes across the United States (albeit, typically in a toned-down form compared to New York), and is often taken for granted as the best, or only, policy strategy, usually to the detriment of social services and affordable housing (Hackworth 2007).

A particular brand of entrepreneurial governance was popularised in the 2000s by Richard Florida (2000, 2002, 2005, 2014) and remains highly influential. Promoting competitiveness and the type of redevelopment projects thought to attract the young, professional, and high earning demographic that Florida has termed the 'creative class' are prioritised over other urban needs in many municipalities. The results of neoliberal redevelopment catering to business interests and this demographic slice can be observed in cities. Gentrification, upscale shopping districts, and nightlife districts have exploded across downtowns (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Smith 2002, Zimmerman 2008). Downtown areas have become foci for investment as cities struggle to effectively play the game of inter-urban competition by promoting development geared toward attracting and retaining the creative class. For Florida (2000, 2002, 2005, 2014), this population is the saviour of cities, bringing not only their own dollars, but also kinds of companies that want to hire them. Florida has a long list of amenities that make cities attractive to young 'knowledge workers' who are looking for places with what Florida calls the three Ts – technology, talent, and tolerance (Florida 2002). In order to develop these three Ts and attract the creative class, cities are encouraged to create a 'teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros' (Florida 2002: 166). The natural environment also plays an

important role, Florida suggests, and is 'a key component of the total package required to attract talent and in doing so generate economic growth' (Florida 2000: 5).

Florida's ideas have been adopted by many politically powerful individuals and organisations. They continue to operate out of the notion that if they prioritise redevelopment and imaging projects geared toward attracting and retaining this 'creative' population with money to spend, the result will be economic growth and prosperity. Thus, fostering an eco-ethical and community-centred urban identity has become a marketing tool (Kruger 2007, Quastel 2009, Madden 2013). One outcome of this approach has been to allow urban growth and development to continue in the wake of ecological crises and through the rise of popular environmentalism (Hagerman 2007, Kear 2007, Laidley 2007, Quastal 2009, While et al. 2004, Whitehead 2003).

The redevelopment plans, policies, and projects that are associated with the creative class approach are typically framed by a concern with 'quality of life' (McCann 2004). However, the question of 'quality of life for whom?' and the needs of the poor and others who do not fit in the category of the creative class tend to go unaddressed as resources are directed toward creating a good business climate and the types of places that will attract middle- and upper-class creative consumers (MacLeod 2002, Wilson 2006, Zimmerman 2008). The result is an intensely uneven landscape in which members of the creative class spend their time in showcase city centres and vibrant neighbourhoods while the poor continue to be warehoused in increasingly neglected and deprived parts of cities (Wilson 2006). The right to the city, as conceptualised by Lefebvre (1996; see also Mitchell 2003 and Harvey 2008) as the right to access urban life and to cities that meet human needs, is not offered to those who do not meet the criteria for what are seen as desirable urban citizens — for example, the creative class, or more specifically, middle-class and wealthy consumers.

While many urban redevelopment projects confer a new community-focused civic life, the notion of community that is applied is not an inclusive one. Public spaces are now viewed as 'avenues to increased accumulation rather than as having use value in their own right' (Clough and Vanderbeck 2006: 2262). Thus it is with farmers' markets, which have become incorporated into redevelopment plans as a central initiative to promote city liveability and a robust entrepreneurial physical component meant to be attractive to developers and the creative class. The neoliberalised conceptualisation of space privileges profitability of capital investments to the exclusion of meanings and publics that do not fit with this notion of what and whom public space is for. The association of farmers' markets with ethical consumption, authenticity, and community helps mask the exclusivity of what is perceived to be a public space provided for the benefit of all.

Research Site and Methodology
The farmers' market that served as a case study for this project was implemented in 2008 to be a focal point of the downtown redevelopment plan and has become quite a popular and crowded outdoor event. Over 100 vendors sell their wares from tidy stalls to crowds of people who stroll through the aisles of this well-organised and regulated market each Saturday, Spring through

Fall. Educational opportunities for all ages related to food, environment, and well-being and entertainment such as live music and balloon animal vendors are also commonplace and contribute to the market's festival-like atmosphere.

The market is located in a post-industrial city with a population of about 110,000 in the Midwest region of the U.S. The decision to focus on a medium-sized city rather than a large city stems from two things. First, I chose to diverge from the majority of urban research, which focuses on cities characterised as World Cities or Global Cities. Following Robinson (2006) and Pardo and Prato (2018), my research does not rest on hierarchical divisions or generalizing models of cities and recognises cities of all sizes and types as worthy of being studied and included in the development of urban theory. Second, the use of a farmers' market as a redevelopment tool is of more political, economic, cultural, and material consequence in a city with fewer resources and fewer large redevelopment projects happening concurrently than is likely to be the case in a large city. My intention is to provide an in-depth account of a farmers' market's relationship to neoliberal urbanism and subject formation in an 'ordinary city' (Robinson 2006).

The majority of the data for this research comes from participant observation I conduced at the market and from semi-formal interviews with current and previous city officials, the market manager, and farmers' market patrons. Interviews lasted from about five minutes to over one hour, depending on the availability and interest of interviewees. For each interview, I worked from a set of prepared questions (see appendix). However, I occasionally skipped one or two questions and typically added several follow-up questions that varied depending on the direction the interviewee took the conversation.

The interviews I conducted with city officials took place in their workplaces, usually in their personal office space or in a conference room. When I felt it was appropriate to ask and consent was given, interviews were recorded and fully transcribed later, usually on the same day as the interviews. During interviews that I did not record, including those conducted with the market manager, vendors, and shoppers, I took notes and immediately after the interview added to the notes. In general, participants were remarkably eager to help with the research. I approached shoppers randomly and nearly everyone I approached was willing to respond to my questions. Because I felt recording conversations would detract from the feeling of informality and comfort that I hoped to maintain with farmers' market shoppers, many quotations in this article are paraphrased. I took care to maintain interviewees' overall tone and intent. I am also not using names in order to maintain confidentiality.

I also examined strategic planning documents and advertising and media materials. The websites, brochures, and documents analysed deal with downtown redevelopment and/or the farmers' market specifically. I explored discussions about the market and the downtown on websites and social media sites of the chamber of commerce, the convention and visitor's bureau, the downtown business association, city government, and for the market itself. I also read newspaper articles and examined other local media sources for farmers' market coverage. When I examined the websites, documents, and promotional materials, I looked for indications of the kind of image being projected or cultivated and the kind of desired citizen being

forwarded. I also considered how the market was portrayed, the kinds of goals ascribed to it, and how it was suggested the market contributes to urban development.

The Farmers' Market as an Imaging and Redevelopment Tool

Planners and other decision makers that I spoke to who are involved in downtown redevelopment were forthcoming about their use of the farmers' market to help promote the kind of image that will attract tourists and residents downtown while also providing support for local farmers, crafters, and artists. One development director was particularly emphatic about the connection between the farmers' market and redevelopment of the area under his charge:

> 'The City has supported the farmers market as sort of an incubator for redeveloping
> a larger market district. It has been wildly successful and it's a huge draw for people
> downtown and down to the riverfront to see the exciting changes that are
> happening.'

This planner noted he had learned about the successful use of farmers' markets as redevelopment tools in other cities and has acted aggressively to operationalise this connection in his city.

The redevelopment plan document indicates that the farmers' market is to be a focal point for an area of new development, which has been labelled the 'market district.' Beyond the market, the market district will include high rent converted loft apartments and condominiums, retail shops, and a riverfront recreational path that runs through what are described as 'naturalised' green spaces. The farmers' market is slated to help anchor the upgrading of nearby parks, retail, restaurants, housing, and a potential hotel. This plan is an example of new neoliberal redevelopment based on culture, consumption, and recreation, with an element of environmental consciousness running through it. The plan describes the production of an image and a lifestyle offered to middle and upper-class consumers who have the free time and expendable income to spend Saturday mornings leisurely shopping at the farmers' market and afternoons strolling through parks. It also appeals, through the indicated green spaces and conservation efforts as well as the farmers' market, to the ethical sensibility of protecting the environment.

A neighbourhood that adjoins the area slated for upscale redevelopment is low-income, including the census tract with the lowest median household income in the city, and is the home of the highest percentage of African American residents in the city. This neighbourhood and its residents who are clearly not the creative class that is sought, are not addressed in the redevelopment plan. When I asked how the surrounding neighbourhoods are incorporated into the downtown redevelopment, a planner responded, 'the upscaling that's happening will benefit everyone. There are jobs here now and local places to shop and eat.' However, the growth of the service sector in neoliberal cities catering to the creative class has tended to replace industrial-era jobs that have been lost with jobs that do not pay a living wage. As expected, the new downtown businesses the planner was talking about are mostly small retail shops and cafes, that neither offer employment opportunities that pay enough to help employees move out of

poverty, nor provide goods and services oriented to needs of low-income African American populations. In my visits to downtown, the consumers I saw in shops and cafes and at the farmers' market overwhelmingly appeared to be white. Clearly, the benefactors of this new development are not the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Up to this point, redevelopment in this area has been slowly replacing mostly empty buildings from the city's industrial era and vacant lots. However, if this current wave of redevelopment is successful, gentrification may displace poor people from surrounding neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods adjacent to downtown are made up of many large Victorian homes in varying states of repair, many of which had been subdivided into apartments. These historic homes are the kind that could become highly sought after for renovation and made into expensive single-family homes, as has been occurring in post-industrial cities for decades, if redevelopment based on providing urban amenities for the middle- and upper-middle-class continues along this proposed path. The active and ongoing disinvestment negatively impacting these neighbourhoods and their current residents has created potentially lucrative profit opportunities for developers, an outcome of which may be evictions and displacement of the existing low-income population (Smith 1979).

While city officials agreed that farmers' markets are good for cities and good for citizens, the specific benefits for cities seemed somewhat difficult for some interviewees to elucidate beyond the fact that they bring people downtown and are lively places for human enjoyment and healthy food acquisition. Planners frequently expressed that having lively happenings is important. But the answer to the question 'why' diverged. Some conversations were about how farmers' markets are the kind of thing that (certain types of desirable) residents desire. Others emphasised that experts have suggested farmers' markets are good for redevelopment. These experts, identified as fellow planners who had successfully helped transform downtowns in other cities, provided the model for downtown transformation and 'sometimes residents can't see that.' In insinuation, residents were portrayed as lacking the knowledge and expertise to meaningfully contribute to planning their city's redevelopment. Nearly all conversations included mention of the potential for the farmers' market to bring vibrancy and consumers to a part of the city with a lot of potential to become 'a unique destination'.

Quality of Life Discourse and Social Inequality
The creative class approach encourages municipalities to focus their resources on developing places and a quality of life that will attract 'people who add economic value through their creativity' (Florida 2002: 249). It suggests cities must foster the values held by the mobile, young, educated, and 'creative' people they must now attract (Florida 2002). Creative class-centred rhetoric is clearly guiding the redevelopment plans for the case study site. The explicit focus is on providing upscale cultural amenities and upscale housing, suggesting these types of projects will attract residents and visitors with money to spend. The poor are left out of the plans, even though the area where the farmers' market is located that is targeted for redevelopment adjoins low-income neighbourhoods. While a stated goal in the downtown redevelopment plan is to improve quality of life, because of the upscale nature of the projects

encouraged, the implication is that the improved 'quality of life' will only apply to middle- and upper-middle-class residents' and visitors' lives.

Nevertheless, I received some contradictory messages from planners and other city officials about who the market is for. For example, the individual who serves as liaison between the city and the market and was instrumental in implementing the farmers' market stated more than once that, 'the market is for everyone'. He referenced in egalitarian terms a 'public place' and 'a great community space'. However, he also stated unambiguously that it is not actually for *everyone*, explaining that 'it attracts a certain clientele'. While the use of the words 'everyone' and 'the public' and 'the community' seem to imply inclusivity, in practice they don't seem to include the poor in this case. Similar contradictions emerged in my discussion with a planner who explained that the farmers' market is important because,

> 'It's an enriching activity for the whole community where people connect with others and connect with their food. We need more of these types of activities to keep a society healthy.'

During this interview, I was also told that,

> 'Farmers' markets should be considered to be a potential redevelopment approach and a marketing tool because they can be really attractive to yuppies.'

Although public officials are notoriously ambiguous (Eagleton 1991), the particular contradictions described above can be understood as symptomatic of neoliberal redevelopment. Discussions that alternate between extolling farmers markets as benefiting all and casting them as attracting middle/upper-class people highlight a central contradiction of neoliberal governance. Projects and programs developed in the name of improving quality of life for 'the public' or 'the community' create a visage of inclusivity and benevolence, and thus legitimacy, while tending to cater to only a portion of the population. The quality of life and the needs of the rest of the citizenry are neglected, ignored, or even held up as examples of personal irresponsibility or failure. This contradiction is very powerful, yet is easily overlooked when it comes to such highly idealised projects and spaces as farmers' markets. The discourse surrounding farmers' markets has neutralised them as purely benevolent offerings that everyone in the community can enjoy and benefit from. The assumptions embedded in this kind of discourse renders alternative ways of understanding farmers' markets that consider their connections to neoliberal urbanism and the inequalities it produces more difficult to recognise.

Promotional material the market as well as many shoppers I spoke to identify it as akin to a cross between a public square and a community festival — a place for everyone to come together to enjoy. However, these descriptions mask the reality it is less than truly public. Its ability to draw a particular clientele is precisely why the farmers' market is considered to be useful as a redevelopment tool. City officials explained that a purpose of the farmers' market is to further the surrounding area's transition to a more upscale district. Beyond simply their capacity to spend money, the beneficiary group of the redevelopment plan helps to further the downtown's image as a place for middle- and upper-class consumers. Much of this has involved bringing this demographic downtown, where, planners suggested, they had not dared to go for

several decades for fear of crime or simply due to a lack of activity. Downtown is portrayed by city officials as a space that had been 'dead' for decades and now experiences a rebirth as an outcome of redevelopment planning. According to a city official,

> 'People are starting to think of downtown for good restaurants and nightlife. You might go to a museum or see a show and then go out for a cocktail. That wasn't the case before. Downtown was empty. It is coming alive.'

A related narrative surrounding reasons for promoting the farmers' market revolves around the desire to create a sense of place and a sense of community, things that had ostensibly been lacking previously and that would encourage downtown redevelopment. A city official told me, 'the farmers' market fit into that plan to create a vibrant downtown with a sense of place'. Certainly, the downtown had a sense of place before it had a farmers' market. Sense of place is not universal but is experienced differently by different people. Although downtown was described as lacking a sense of place by one official and as dead prior to redevelopment interventions by another, not everyone shares these perceptions. I asked some market shoppers if they were familiar with what the area was like previously. Some, primarily younger shoppers, noted that it had been a scary place. Others explained some of the changes and various pre-existing businesses they were aware of. One woman reminisced in detail about downtown when she worked there:

> 'At lunch time we would go to a big buffet restaurant. You were charged separate for every item, including napkins. There was a big bank on the corner and my girlfriends and I would cash our paychecks there. From there we'd go shopping at the big department store. The old ballpark was downtown too. It's been renovated since then, but it was always a fun place.'

This interviewee talked about the downtown of the past fondly, in contrast to the discourse among planners representing the space prior to its redevelopment as always empty and unused — a blank slate on which to create a new image.

Although the downtown did not previously have planters with colourful flowers that it has now and the restaurants were more utilitarian than today, it did not lack a sense of place and was not considered universally dead as city officials suggest. When planners talk about bringing life to a dead area and creating a sense of place, what they reference is a sense of place that appeals to the creative class. Moreover, those who have cultivated tastes for local and organic food and take part in alternative food practices such as farmers' markets tend to be economically and/or socially middle class, and they tend to be white (Alkon and McCullen 2010, Slocum 2005).

Farmers' Market Shoppers as Neoliberal Subjects

Neoliberalism shapes 'citizens as individual entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives' (Brown 2005: 57; also see Foucault 2008 and Rose 1999), and farmers' markets are spaces where entrepreneurial subjectivities are nurtured and where 'neoliberalism spreads its utopian vision that the market can and should permeate every aspect of human activity and

behavior' (Dean 1999: 57). In this way, power is exercised through the formation of mentalities, desires, and behaviours of individuals in ways that align with neoliberal objectives (Foucault 2008; Rose 1999). McRobbie's (2016) work on the post-industrialised cultural economy details the stealthy ways in which neoliberal subjectivities are being shaped through the normalisation of individualism, entrepreneurialism, and self-exploitation, and the delegitimisation of social critique. My observations and interviews provide evidence for the infiltration of neoliberalism and neoliberal subject formation into unexpected realms, revealing the farmers' market to be not only a place to buy and sell food, but also a place that allows and encourages a set of behaviours and practices that enable buying and selling a specific type of experience, lifestyle, and image or identity.

Individualised consumption choices are often seen as a way of making a statement, supporting certain values, or voting with dollars in this neoliberal era (Adams and Raisborough 2010). Performing and displaying one's beliefs and ethics through shopping at farmers' markets, talking about it, and posting about it online are ways people construct their identities. People use the farmers' market to present themselves as having a certain kind of caring, ethical, community-oriented politics. Interviews suggest people believe that they are enhancing the community by shopping at the farmers' market. Most often, this contribution was framed in terms of supporting local farmers and keeping money in the community, but many respondents mentioned they contributed simply by being at the market and adding to the local vibrancy. As one respondent put it, 'The busier the market is the better it looks from the outside looking in. And if I can be one extra person to help with that, great!'

Farmers' markets are highly idealised, but in certain ways live up to the hype. As interviewees told me, there does seem to be something special about these spaces that draws people to them and makes them feel good. New parents with their babies in slings or strollers smile as they chat with neighbours and friends. People of all ages enjoy the colours and scents and lively outdoor atmosphere. Groups gather around musicians — watching, listening, and sometimes dancing to the music, seeing and being seen doing all of this. People wander and browse through the aisles in search of a certain type of herb or variety of eggplant about which they may have heard or read, or for that perfect peach, picking up a few ears of corn here and a dozen eggs there, admiring piles of heirloom tomatoes. Some chat comfortably with vendors, asking questions about their farms, families, and products. Others purchase a snack or a drink and take some time to relax. The farmers' market is a place to be surrounded by nature's bounty, but just as importantly to see and be seen basking in a lively outdoor atmosphere. As one market patron put it, people go to the farmers' market to 'enjoy the camaraderie of like-minded community members. It's a gathering of kindred spirits. I think that in the farmers' market, people in a sense see a reflection of the kind of community they want to be.'

For some farmers' market shoppers, the experience of being at the market is often more important than the products that they purchase there. When asked what they like about the market, people talk about the act of going there, what they do there, and who they see in addition to what they purchase. The market has clearly become a beloved downtown institution and a trip to the market has become a Saturday morning ritual for many people. In comparing her

experiences at the farmers' market with shopping at a supermarket, one woman stated, 'Physically I can taste the difference; spiritually I can taste the difference. It's really a special experience to get food that way and I think it's more respectful of the work that they [farmers] do'.

There is a belief among many that the farmers' market is where they can have an 'authentic' (if not spiritual) experience. A planner shared the view that this is a big part of the draw to farmers' markets:

> 'The interest in farmers' markets has to do with authenticity. Farmers' markets allow people to connect their food to the people who produce it. How often does that happen with any other product? Do you know who made your couch or your TV or your jeans or your blender? At a farmers' market you at least know who grew your squash. And I think that as a society, we are seeking that authenticity whether we realise it or not.'

Shoppers ensure that the market's authenticity meets their expectations by probing vendors to be certain their food is chemical-free. They ask questions about the nutritional value of different varieties of produce and swap recipes for their farmers' market finds. Farmers' market vendors are expected not only to sell produce but to play a role in producing what shoppers are seeking as an authentic farmers' market experience. Vendors have become skilled in playing to the nostalgic ideas about who and what farmers and farming are. Some actively construct their own identities in ways that support the desire of shoppers for consumptive knowledge and opportunities for ethical consumption through which market shoppers construct their own identities. The imagery of cows and goats happily grazing in peaceful pastoral settings and of chickens being loved as pets by the children of farming families is deployed frequently in stall signage. Pleasant representations of happy animals and cheerful, knowledgeable, hardworking farmers appeal to consumers concerned about conventional farming practices that provide a miserable life for livestock. They also appeal to those who are not actively concerned about animal, environmental, or social welfare and do not see themselves as necessarily 'voting with their dollars', but simply as enjoying the pleasant atmosphere of the market. These shoppers explained that as consumers they pay a premium for an enjoyable experience. For example, I was told, 'It's got a fun atmosphere. It costs more, but it's an experience. You don't get the music and the smiles at Hy-Vee'.

The association of farmers' markets with authenticity and with an enjoyable friendly atmosphere as well as with an ethical politics helps to obscure their articulation with unequal social relations. This is a 'both/and' situation in which multiple truths exist simultaneously rather than a straightforward example of neoliberal cooptation of ethical impulses. The joy that is felt, and the community connection, are real and are important. Based on my interviews and observations, I believe the farmers' market to be a place where people truly do derive a sense of contentment through their weekly ritual in which they share time and space and practices with others such as perusing stalls of fresh fruits and vegetables, listening to live music, purchasing a bouquet of fresh flowers, and wiping fresh berry juice off of their little ones' faces.

However, this space that creates these opportunities for joy and connection is not created for all segments of the population and this can be a difficult reality to recognise.

Through mentalities that identify shopping at the farmers' market as the result of a rational free choice to do the right thing, social exclusion and inequality are subtly reproduced. The notion that we all have the same choices available to us was prevalent in my discussions with farmers' market shoppers, and many interviewees explained that shopping at the farmers' market is simply 'the right thing to do', implying that it's the right thing to do not only for them but for everyone. When asked who benefits from the market, again and again I was given various iterations of, 'It benefits all of us!' The understanding that these markets are filled primarily with people of a particular social class and race, or of the significance of the demographic makeup of farmers' market shoppers, seemed to be nearly non-existent.

Some people did notice and acknowledge that despite the rhetoric of the farmers' market being a place for everyone not everyone was shopping there. The main way in which this was revealed was through an identification of 'others', set up in opposition to the self-responsible subject described above. At the core of this were constructions of irresponsibility and imprudence. For example, I was told, 'Some people subsist on processed junk because they just don't know any better, but a lot of people are choosing to ignore the information that's everywhere nowadays'. This interviewee did not note affordability or the class-related reasons for differences in diets. Choosing not to purchase fresh local and organic produce was seen very simply as a bad choice while the farmers' market, on the other hand, represents and offers opportunities for individuals to make good choices.

As described previously, the farmers' market is being used to construct a commodified eco-ethical cultural image. This kind of image is deployed to improve competitiveness to attract and retain a certain segment of the population that is seen as most desirable for redevelopment — the creative class. When we take a look at the micro-scale and examine everyday conduct and perspectives of shoppers at the market, a similarly competitive mentality can be identified. The focus on choice and self-maximisation helps produce cultural capital for market shoppers. It also naturalises the identities of others (in this case, those who do not shop at farmers' markets) as irresponsible. Both types of subjects are construed as active, free choice-makers. Making the right individualised choices becomes a moral task.

Once the correct self-maximizing choices are made, in the neoliberal perspective, the free market will presumably take care of the rest. What this view overlooks are the persistent structural inequalities and the inability of individualised solutions to have the desired impact on problems as they occur at scales beyond the individual. A focus on self-responsibility and civic duty serve to divert attention from deeper causes of the myriad distresses individuals who do not meet these expectations face. Broader social conditions and political economies can more easily be disregarded when all responsibility is placed on choices made by individuals. This is a contradiction inherent to the new neoliberal subjectivities farmers' markets help create and reproduce.

Discussion

Farmers' markets offer a green urban spectacle as an urban entrepreneurial imaging tool. They are also highly idealised by the people who use them. To a greater degree than most urban spaces, farmers' markets are revered as beneficial venues, both socially and environmentally. The market I studied is considered to be an authentic community space and to have been benevolently created and supported by the municipal government to make the world, or at least downtown, a better place. Whether or not planners and other redevelopment decision makers personally ascribe to the idealised assessment of farmers' markets, they make use of these representations by incorporating the markets into urban imaging strategies and redevelopment plans. This can contribute to the perceived legitimacy of broader redevelopment plans and practices among residents and mask their complicity with the reproduction of poverty and inequality.

Farmers' markets are being constructed in ways that fit well with neoliberal redevelopment strategies. Moreover, these weekly markets are relatively inexpensive to create compared to conventional government-driven redevelopment initiatives (for example, urban renewal, CDBG, tax abatement initiatives). For this reason, farmers' markets can be particularly attractive to smaller cities with fewer financial resources where they can be packaged as lively, eco-ethical, community spaces. Mobilizing vendors and the community in a kind of public-private partnership that pivots around the aestheticisation of a local food space and green consumption opportunities has become an important urban development tactic.

The market is promoted as an egalitarian space for all while simultaneously being used to promote a type of redevelopment that targets one part of the population, likely at the expense of other groups. The positive, enjoyable experience of shopping at the farmers' market presents a façade of benevolence that helps to conceal neoliberal motivations behind its production. The rhetoric of enhanced quality of life and opportunities to make ethical green lifestyle and consumption choices at the farmers' market legitimises the privileging of urban redevelopment in particular micro-spaces and helps normalise the focus on economic interests over public services and the needs and desires of residents who are not part of the creative class, particularly low-income and racialised residents. Furthermore, the understanding that farmers' markets provide opportunities for citizens to solve environmental and social problems through their own individualised choices erases obligations of government and allows for socially and environmentally harmful development practices to continue. Yet, it should not be completely discounted that city governments are being encouraged to think and act more sustainably and with an eye toward creating community spaces, even if the motivations are neoliberal. Farmers' markets may be influential in opening up new and important ways of thinking about food and about how we can live and interact with each other.

The research presented here suggests farmers' markets and sustainability, localism, and greening do not necessarily challenge neoliberal logic at a fundamental level, but rather can be and are being used to reinforce it. This study describes how a farmers' market has been turned into profitable grounds for production of capital and its reinvestment in the surrounding deindustrialised and formerly disinvested area.

Social and environmental values have become incorporated into the present phase of capitalism in which quality of life is a commodity and consumerism, culture, and creative industries have become key characteristics of the political economy (Harvey 2005). As strategic green amenities are increasingly used to market and produce cities for the creative class in order to encourage urban growth and development, the role farmers' markets play in helping support neoliberal urbanism should be recognised. This study reveals farmers' markets to be complex sites that are highly idealised as benevolent public spaces offering opportunities for individuals to do that right thing and at the same time are implicated in neoliberal processes that create highly uneven urban landscapes and reinforce socio-spatial inequality.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

Farmers' Market Shopper Interview Questions

- How often do you go to the farmers' market and what motivates you to go?
- What does the farmers' market mean to you?
- What do you think are the most important benefits that the market provides?
- Do you see yourself as making a contribution to the welfare of the community by shopping at the farmers' market? Please explain.
- Is there anything about the market that could be improved? If so, what and why?

City Official Interview Questions

- Please describe the city's development strategy. What are the main goals for the city?
- How does the farmers' market fit in?
- What role does City government play in supporting the market? What roles did it play previously? Do you see its role changing in the future?
- What benefits has the City anticipated from participation with the market? What has the outcome been? Any surprises?

Urban Regeneration: Understanding and Evaluating Bottom-up Projects[1]

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Popular participation in defining the urban environment has been an important topic since the 1960s. The evolution of planning theory shows the growing importance of citizens as urban actors, with practitioners and citizens playing almost equal roles in modern practices (co-design). Nowadays citizens' initiative in urban projects is not only welcome but frequently required by public authorities and governments. This trend is especially important in urban regeneration, which involves, by definition, social aspects and a variety of actors and skills. Recent urban regeneration projects define innovative relations between private social entrepreneurs, professionals and other citizens. This article presents the preliminary results of an ongoing study of small-scale, privately-led, non-speculative urban regeneration projects, which aims to identify the various actors and skills involved and their contribution to the design process. The discussion considers the concepts of 'diffuse design' and 'expert design' developed by Ezio Manzini. This theoretical framework focuses on the design process in terms of actors and activities and on the fundamental contribution of non-experts. Three preliminary findings are presented. The first is an application of Manzini's framework to a case of urban regeneration. The second draws on a documentary analysis to assesses the Farm Cultural Park in Favara (Italy) as a case of urban regeneration. Then, I illustrate the involvement of 'expert' and 'diffuse design' in the 'bottom-up' approach looking at the relationship between a professional architect and the promoters of this project.
Key words: Urban regeneration, citizens' action, urban design, Italy.

Introduction

The paper discusses an ongoing doctoral research that focuses on the role of private citizens in the modification of the urban environment; more precisely, in the regeneration of urban areas. The research attempts to demonstrate that the initiatives developed by private citizens cannot only achieve the goals of more structured interventions but can succeed in overcoming the issues that are typically faced by participative practices. The research will use a case study methodology. Two or more case studies of urban regeneration (UR) in Europe will be chosen, according to criteria that will be specified in the second section. For several reasons, the time frame chosen is the period after the 2000s. First, the project belongs to the period identified by Roberts (2017:7) as 'regeneration in recession', where it is possible to identify a predominance of local initiatives, a smaller scale and a greater emphasis on private-sector funding and voluntary efforts. Second, a twenty-year period appears to be appropriate because it allows us to understand both how UR projects have developed in the early years and their goals, long-term social impact and sustainability over a relatively long period.

After this introductory section, the discussion develops through six more sections. The second offers a contextualisation of bottom-up UR. The third introduces discourses on citizens' participation in urban design. The fourth argues a theoretical framework for understanding UR projects. The fifth presents some preliminary studies conducted in the Farm Cultural Park of Favara (Italy). The sixth section looks at the relationship between the architect, the promoters and the project.

Bottom-up Urban Regeneration?

The topic of urban regeneration seems to be one of the most current and relevant in urban studies. In fact, European Institutions (the Urbact Programme), National governments (the French 'Urban Renewal Programme', the Italian 'Bando Periferie') and agencies (the Brussels Planning Agency and the Homes and Communities Agency in the United Kingdom), are dealing with this topic, making efforts to encourage processes of urban regeneration. First developed in the UK as a 'response to market failures contributing to economic and social problems within inner city areas' (Wilson 2012), urban regeneration found a base to grow and develop amidst the economic difficulties of the years following the 2008 Great Recession: the period that Jamie Peck (2012) defined as 'austerity urbanism'.

Some changes in UR practice have been observed by Roberts (2017), who traced its development and modification in its means and goals, from the 1950s, marked by 'reconstruction', to the 2000s, typified by 'regeneration in recession'.

As different interpretations of the terms still exist, due to a more or less extensible meaning, here it is useful to recall some definitions. UR distinguishes between urban renewal, considered as the substitution of physical elements (Attoe and Logan 1989: xii; Couch 1990) and revitalisation, seen as a less powerful instrument (Attoe and Logan 1989: xii) without a precise method of approach (Roberts 2017).

Even though, recently, the term UR has taken a wide meaning, including 'a lot of various interventions in the city related to urban design and planning, social and economic renewal or cultural planning' (Acierno 2017: 7), the present discussion will take as reference the widely accepted definition given by Roberts (2017: 18), of 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring out a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement'.

Because of its characteristics of comprehensiveness and integration, UR has often taken the form of a large-scale intervention, policy or programme; or of huge urban projects developed by public administrations, possibly in partnership with private actors (Porter and Shaw 2009). This could naturally result from the fact that the government is the traditional agent involved in improving the conditions of the citizens, as a democratic evolution of the role of the Lord, who was supposed to ensure the general wellbeing of citizens (Bentley 1995: 155).

As I have mentioned, Roberts (2017) identified some peculiar characteristics in the post-2000s UR projects, including the rising importance of private initiative. Furthermore, Tonkiss (2014) has noted that some projects that have been implemented in recent years are innovative because they not only deal with physical improvements, but are also based on innovative forms of social relations, ownership models and resource funding strategies. These urban practices, developed spontaneously by private citizens, have attracted the attention of academics, who define the phenomenon in different ways but identify the same tendency; the enhancement, that is, of the urban environment through private-led projects with a non-speculative purpose. These projects recall the concept of regeneration 'from the bottom up', defined as 'heterogeneous initiatives based on the principles of progressive redistribution, ecological sustainability and

social responsibility' (Rabbiosi 2016: 832). However, this definition is not exhaustive of the complexity of the phenomenon. With reference to the existing literature, this article attempts to address the diffusion of projects that:

- deal not only with physical improvements, but also with social relations, models of ownership and resource funding strategies (Tonkiss 2014);
- use low-budget strategies (Bialski et al. 2015, Müller et al. 2008, Venturini and Riva 2017);
- include the active participation of the community in the design process (Venturini and Riva 2017);
- face the changing role of the professional (Manzini 2015);
- involve urban activists and social entrepreneurs that catalyse social forces (Mitrašinović 2016), also defined as 'social heroes' (Manzini 2015);
- involve citizens as real actors in the process of self-organisation of the city (Portugali 1999);
- bring benefits to the local community (Rabbiosi 2016);
- consider the urban 'space' as a 'place', with a specific meaning for the residents' identity (Prato and Pardo 2012, Project for Public Spaces 2018).

Projects of this kind are particularly relevant because they also respond to some of the instances of planning theory and urban regeneration literature. Namely, they involve the real participation of people beyond the traditional model 'that sets the framework for the activities and that works through a decision hierarchy and structures of formal influence' (Boonstra and Boelens 2011: 106)*,* and are tailored to the local needs of the communities (Roberts, Sykes, and Granger 2017).

However, interventions in the urban environment thus defined fail to have a direct impact on a wider urban area. In other words, we need to ask whether they can be defined as UR projects. These practices are often linked to the urban dimension by academics and promoters. Regarding, for instance, the NDSM wharf project, developed in Amsterdam by a group of activists, Eva de Klerk, one of the promoters, is convinced that it has had direct consequences in regenerating the urban environment. In particular, this project is supposed to have contributed to transforming 'a deserted and decrepit industrial area into a tough part of the city with high cultural value' (Klerk, Feldbrugge and Zonneveld 2017: 177).

Also, in the case of Farm Cultural Park in Favara (Italy), more extensively described in later sections, Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018: 40), two academics, state that the 'project has created spill-over effects, inspiring other members of the community, individually or in new associations, to create their own businesses … to start other urban regeneration projects'.

However, despite the conviction among the stakeholders and academics, the effect of bottom-up practices on urban regeneration is still not evident. In this light, the present research evaluates these bottom-up projects, and their urban dimension and impact, from a physical, economic and social points of view. Specifically, it evaluates their capacity to affect an urban area whose borders are larger than those of the physical renewal. I refer to this effect as 'catalytic', defined as the possibility offered by 'the introduction of a new element (the catalyst)' to cause 'a reaction that modifies existing elements in the area', and where the goal

is 'a product better than the sum of ingredients' (Attoe and Logan 1989:46-47). The area influenced by the catalyst could be a neighbourhood or the entire town, depending on their dimensions. The guidelines provided by European Commission (2018: 15) are a relevant. Referring to the choice of the area of influence for an evaluation of CLLD programmes, they state that the bottom-up approach should be based on the needs of the local actors in deciding 'the most appropriate boundaries for achieving their goals'.

In the framework outlined above, citizens' engagement appears to have assumed other meanings, and UR appears to be a favourite practice to analyse the newly established importance of citizens' participation. This derives from the fact that UR involves, by definition, social aspects and, traditionally, collaboration (Healey 1997). Furthermore, the urban environment is in itself an interesting field, if considered as a 'highly spatial density of social interaction' and not only a place with specific demographic or physical characteristics (Prato and Pardo 2013: 87; Southall's 1983).

Towards Self-initiated Urban Projects
The role of citizens in urban design is a complex and widely debated topic. Far from giving a complete analytical framework of the evolution of the role of citizens in urban planning, here I contextualise citizens' mobilisation in regeneration projects, and more generally in urban planning, and its increasing importance in case studies across Europe.

The idea of collaboration in city-making first appeared in the early 1950s, developed by TEAM X as an interest in the social experiences, daily routines and existing urban patterns (Kaliski 1999). Later, since the 1960s, different authors (Davidoff 1965, Friedmann 1992, Innes 1995, Healey 1997) contributed to enrich the literature on participative practices in urban regeneration processes (Hurtado 2015), making the evolution from an analytical approach of rational, comprehensive planning to a more deliberative and collaborative model (Coaffee and Healey 2003).

The literature on urban processes often refers to the concept of the ladder to demonstrate the levels of citizens' participation that are possible. In the famous Arnstein's ladder (1969), the author describes the different levels of experimentation in citizens' participation in urban renovation programmes in the US. The ladder goes from the upper step of citizens' control, where residents can govern a programme, to the lower, more extreme form of non-participation, marked by manipulation by powerholders. Comparing this ladder with the later one developed by Pretty (1995), it is relevant to note that the two upper steps of Pretty's ladder are defined as 'interactive participation' and 'self-mobilisation'. Both these steps represent an increase in the importance of citizens' initiative compared with Arnstein's 'citizens' control', which focused more on people's decision-making role than on a truly proactive activity in the design process. Pretty (1995: 1252) describes self-mobilisation as the possibility to 'participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems' and to 'develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice', but retaining 'control over how resources are used'

Self-mobilisation can develop in a more or less spontaneous and organised way, in what Mitrašinović (2016: 182) would define as the 'insurgent' or 'emergent' domains. The first

characterises projects where most of the activities are defined by local conditions; the second, 'where modalities of self-organisation begin to emerge as patterns of fairly regular tactical activity'.

The importance of self-mobilisation has hugely increased in recent years. As Margit Mayer (2013: 12) observed, citizens' self-organisation 'has become not only easily feasible, but a generative force in today's neo-liberalizing cities'. This tendency is also backed by more general theories on the development of cities, that are based on the inability to understand the city's dynamics and on the recognition of the importance of practices that are spontaneous and non-regulated (Portugali 1999, Tan 2014). As suggested by Portugali (1999), the city could be understood as an open and complex system. He describes comprehensively today's cities as 'chaotic and unpredictable and they self-organise themselves independently of our scientific predictions and planning rules' (Portugali 1999: 46). As a direct consequence of his theory, it is suggested that urban practitioners' role is 'to sit and watch, or at best become participants in this huge self-organizing process' (Portugali 1999: 46). Even if this position is seen as radical, the success of the model lies in giving an equal role to all the actors in designing the urban environment.

Case studies in Europe show that there have been several experiences of self-managed projects, where citizens have organised in order to change the space where they live or pass through. It is the case, for instance, of 'Ésta es una plaza', a project for the Fourquet square in Madrid, developed by a group of citizens called 'Operarios del espacio público'. The project developed an orchard, a sports area, a market and an open-air theatre in an abandoned and inaccessible area of Madrid. Another case is given by the 'Manifatture Knos' in Lecce, Italy. 'Manifatture' was an abandoned school for technicians, covering 4,000 square metres. In 2007, a group of 40 people decided to regenerate the building using basic equipment, such as paint, brooms and a crane. Today, 'Manifatture Knos' is one of the most active cultural centres in Italy and is a member of Trans Europe Halles (TEH), a network of European cultural centres. The TEH network testifies to the importance given to the bottom-up project in the current debate. It brings together cultural projects across Europe that are 'independent and not-for-profit' and arise 'from a citizen's initiative' 'based in a repurposed building' and involve 'an autonomous, multidisciplinary social, artistic & cultural program' (Trans Europe Halles n.d.).

How to Understand and Evaluate Self-initiated Urban Regeneration Projects
In the framework that I have described, the traditional role of the professional is questioned. In these complex bottom-up projects, citizens charge professionals with solving technical problems but not with the general conception of the plan, which remains instead the purview of the private promoters. The design, hence, embraces more actors, involving not only professionals but also ordinary citizens, radicalising the questions posed by Friedmann (1998) on who are the professionals in charge of the urban design. This multi-actor and interdisciplinary design process should be understood considering all its components, taking into account the 'urban' both as a 'cultural phenomenon' and 'way of life' and 'in terms of its physical structure, architecture, infrastructure' (Channa 2013: 123).

A relevant contribution on the theory of the design practice is Manzini's *Design, When*

Everybody Designs: An introduction to Design for Social Innovation (2015), where he explains 'the directions of change in the culture of design and of the project at the present time and in the near future' (Angelucci 2017: 360). Manzini's work is particularly enlightening in relation to UR projects. In fact, even if Manzini intends design as an autonomous discipline, some of his concepts particularly fit UR. The first of such concepts includes the definitions of design 'initiative' and 'process', distinguishing between 'the overall design process (which is an open-ended process) and the multiplicity of design initiatives that enable the overall process to proceed' (Manzini 2015: 91). In urban projects with special reference to regeneration, it is clear that the complexity of the activities, involving different actors and skills, could easily be seen as a plurality of design initiatives, part of a more comprehensive design process, the project itself, that has its own overall goals.

The second concept that could be borrowed from Manzini is the distinction between 'expert' and 'diffuse' design. 'Diffuse design', in his definition 'is put into play by 'nonexperts,' with their natural designing capacity, while design experts are people trained to operate professionally as designers, and who put themselves forward as design professionals' (Manzini 2015: 37). From this framework comes the possibility of both actors having design capacity, a quality that, at first sight, could be seen as exclusive to the professionals. This is particularly relevant, also, regarding recent 'co-design' experiences, that suggest that the categories of actors, practitioners and citizens, are on the same level, and their roles could be exchanged (Rosa and Weiland 2017).

The application of Manzini's framework helps us to understand and describe the process and the actors involved, and is particularly useful regarding self-initiated projects in which the borders between competencies and professions are not rigid and the design expertise is de-professionalised and distributed (Tonkiss 2014). Continuing to follow Manzini, a further distinction could be made, separating actors whose activities concern 'sense-making' from those that refer to 'problem solving'. This distinction includes four categories (Manzini 2015):
- design and technology agencies (expert design, problem-solving);
- design and communication agencies (expert design, sense-making);
- grassroots organisation (diffuse design, problem-solving);
- cultural activists (diffuse design, sense-making).

Using this framework in a preliminary recognition of the activities completed by actors in order to develop the FARM project over the years, it becomes clear that this categorisation offers a complete explanation of the various design initiatives that are implemented. The classification (Table 1) shows the relevant role played by private citizens in the overall project, in accordance with the importance of 'diffuse design' in contemporary urban regeneration projects.

Expert Design	Design and Technology agencies	Renewal of 18000 m² (Di Carlentini and Liotta 2016)
Expert Design	Design and Communication Agencies	Website and communication materials
Diffuse Design	Grassroots Organisation and Cultural Activists	Purchase of 'Palazzo Miccichè' Purchase of 'Sette Cortili' Setup of Sicily Foundation Setup of Farm Cultural Park association Activities for managing 'FARM XL' (art gallery) Activities for managing 'SOU' (school of architecture for children) Setup of 'Farmidabile' (social cooperative) Activities for managing the Sunday Market Participation and/or organisation and/or promotion of 560 events and happenings (Farm Cultural Park 2010a)

Table 1. Activities and design categories regarding the regeneration of Favara. Created by the author.

Manzini's framework has been used in the initial analysis of the Farm Cultural Park as a method of categorisation and analysis of the initiatives and the actors. I have then prepared interviews for the 'diffuse design' figures and the 'expert design' ones. This theoretical framework will also support the analytical part and hypothetically will lead to a complete description of how these initiatives develop, stressing the contribution of each actor.

Farm Cultural Park: A Project of Urban Regeneration?
The first case study selected for the research is the project Farm Cultural Park, developed in Favara, a town of around 33,000 inhabitants in the south of Sicily, Italy. In 2010, Andrea Bartoli, a notary, and his wife Florinda Saieva, a lawyer, started to think about a project to change the situation of the historic centre of Favara, that was semi-abandoned. The whole town had an enormous rate of unemployment and thousands of buildings had been built without permits (Faraci 2017). Moreover, the town did not have touristic or industrial settlements. In 2010, Favara experienced the tragic death of two young girls, the sisters Bellavia, due to the collapse of a historic building in the town centre (*Corriere della Sera* Redazione Online 2010). Consequently, the municipality decided to demolish several buildings in the inner centre (Consiglio and Riitano 2015).

In this context, Andrea Bartoli and Florinda Saieva took the opportunity to buy two buildings, Palazzo Giglia and Palazzo Micchiché, at a very low price. After this first purchase, the Bartolis also bought a group of buildings organised around courtyards in the centre of Favara. Called 'Sette Cortili' (Seven Courtyards), they would become the core of the FARM XL, the art gallery of the FARM project (Di Carlentini and Liotta 2016).

The Bartolis charged some professionals with developing a project that would lead to the opening of new spaces linked to each other and achieve the refurbishment and renewal of about 10 buildings and 18,000 square metres of urban fabric (Di Carlentini and Liotta 2016). The project aimed at revaluing the buildings that, for their urban structures, courtyards and positioning, embedded strong social values.

FARM has become a symbol of having a long-term view, investing in future generations in a place where, in the best case, also public funds have been used for instrumental and short-term goals and assistance (Pardo 2012). It meets outstanding critiques of the stereotype that Southern Italy lacks civil society (Pardo 2012); to stay in Sicily, one thinks, for example, of the astute argument developed by Jones with specific reference on Danilo Dolci's action in Partinico (Jones 2016). Today, thanks to the activities of the Farm Cultural Park, the economy of the city appears rejuvenated, attracting tourists and stimulating the opening of structures to welcome them, such as B&Bs, hotels, restaurants and cafes (Consiglio and Riitano 2015, Della Lucia and Trunfio 2018), but also encouraging youngsters to remain.

In order to understand if there is a basis for an evaluation of the project from the perspective of urban regeneration, a content analysis of discourses on the Farm Cultural Park project has been developed, based on the existing literature and documents (Duriau et al. 2007). This method has been chosen for its capacity to identify the prevailing topics in the discourses of different categories of actors (Namenwirth and Weber 1987). The documents have been divided into several categories, including scientific works (Camasso and Suraci 2017, Della Lucia and Trunfio 2018, Faraci 2017, Woldarsky Meneses 2013), Italian online magazines of the architecture and art fields (Palumbo 2016, Pierro and Scarpinato 2012, Puglisi 2018), generic web blogs (Anon 2013, Anon 2018b, Anon 2018a, Anon n.d.; Watson n.d.) and FARM official communication (Anon n.d., Daniele Inzinna n.d., FARM Cultural Park 23:30:10 UTC, FARM Cultural Park 2010a, TEDx Talks 2017).

ACADEMIC DOCUMENTS		ARCHITECTURE AND ART MAGAZINES			ONLINE GENERIC BLOGS			FARM OFFICAL COMMUNICATION	
Word	%	Word	%		Word	%		Word	%
Urban	1.31	Bartoli	1.15		Favara	1.65		Favara	0.66
City	1.15	Favara	1.04		art	1.26		progetto (project)	0.43
cultural	1.05	Sicilia	0.86		town	1.26		mondo (world)	0.35
Favara	0.87	Progetto (project)	0.69		world	0.78		anni (years)	0.32
regeneration	0.73	Andrea	0.63		cultural	0.68		persone (people)	0.31
Creative	0.70	centro (centre)	0.52		square	0.68		città (city)	0.29
Social	0.59	architetti (architects)	0.46		Bartoli	0.58		luogo (place)	0.29
Centre	0.40	architettura (architecture)	0.46		future	0.58		centro (centre)	0.26
development	0.37	bambini (children)	0.46		project	0.58		cultura (culture)	0.25
People	0.37	culturale (cultural)	0.35		Agrigento	0.49		culturale (cultural)	0.25

Table 2. Farm Cultural Park: List of the ten most cited words. Created by the author.

The documents that have been considered are both in English (the academic documents and the online blogs) and in Italian (the online magazines and the FARM's official communications). Most of the documents are written, with the exception of two videos registered as FARM official communications. A word frequency analysis was conducted in order to compare the list of the ten most cited words in the four categories of documents. In order to provide meaningful results, two different 'stop lists' were used, one for the English and one for the Italian documents. The list of the ten most cited words thus obtained (Table 2) shows that:

- the academic papers recognise the project as an urban one, capable of a relationship with the city of Favara and its overall presumed regeneration ('urban' is the most cited word, followed by 'city');
- the online articles and the official communication recognise the relationship with the city of Favara but also a worldwide openness ('world');
- the promoters, the 'Bartoli' family, are in the list regarding the online magazines and blog posts, testifying to the relevance of the concept of the 'social hero', as a promoter that acts in the community interest (Manzini 2015);
- the professional figures, the 'architects', are cited only by the magazines;
- the word regeneration is used mostly by academics, though it is present four times in the official Farm presentation document (FARM Cultural Park 23:30:10 UTC) and is cited in an oral presentation by Andrea Bartoli (TEDx Talks 2017).

Based on the results of this preliminary activity, the analysis will take into account Farm Cultural Park as a case study, due to the evident conviction among academics that the Farm Cultural Park is an UR project.

'Diffuse' and 'Expert Design' in a Farm Cultural Park
In this section, I argue through literature research and interviews that the design process of the Farm has been deeply affected by its 'bottom-up' dimension based on the principles of 'progressive redistribution' and 'social responsibility' (Rabbiosi 2016). I shall analyse the initiatives of physical renewal, developed by Salvator-John A. Liotta as an architect in charge of the design, as well as the contribution of Andrea Bartoli and Florinda Saieva to the final design.

It is useful to recall briefly the terms of Liotta's involvement in the project as an 'expert designer'. In 2011, Liotta was engaged by Andrea Bartoli for work to be done on the Chiaramonte castle, in the framework of the F.U.N. (Favara Urban Network), specifically the ticket office and some exhibition spaces. After this experience, Liotta started a collaboration on the Farm Cultural Park project. As analysed in Table 1, the project was based on a lot of initiatives of different nature. The architect was engaged sometimes in collaboration with colleagues like Vincenzo Castelli and Vidà group, as a 'design and technology agency'. In chronological order, Liotta was responsible for the design of (Liotta 2019a):

- the art gallery Farm XL;
- some external spaces;
- the 'SOU', school of architecture for children;

- the children's museum.

Liotta closely collaborated with the two promoters of the FARM, Andrea Bartoli and Florinda Saieva, who made the initial financial investment. They are private citizens who could be defined as 'social heroes', using the definition given by Manzini (2015). They are people with strong personalities, who invested much energy in the project, with a strategic vision that reconnects the local and global scale of the project and succeeded in encouraging people to join the project (Savatteri 2017). This aspect is underlined by Salvator-John A. Liotta, who considered the personal commitment of the promoters fundamental not only for financial support but also for the energy and passion they put into the project, which he regarded as a 'non-replicable' driving element of the project (Liotta 2019b).

Furthermore, the Bartolis played a relevant role also as 'diffuse designer', through their active participation in the design process. As Liotta states, 'it never happened to me, like in this case, that there were two people that already have their own vision' and 'an idea of where they want to arrive' (Liotta 2019b). This is due also to the cultural background of the Bartolis, underlined by Liotta (2019b) but also evident when they present their project making references to the Palais de Tokyo in Paris, the Moroccan Place Jemaa el-Fnaa and Camden Town in London (Farm Cultural Park 2010b). As Liotta (2019b) pointed out, the promoters of this project seem 'architect in nuce' (nascent architects), with a high impact on the final design. Liotta, in fact, asserts that the Bartolis had an 'impact of four or five', on a scale from one to five, on the final design (2019b).

Also, the literature review acknowledges the Bartolis' fundamental role in the design of the FARM: Andrea Bartoli is described by Puglisi as a 'notary-architect' (2018). If the role of the client/promoter in this initiative is peculiar, also the 'expert designer' has found himself in a context that demanded a change in its approach. In Liotta's view, participating in the FARM project required exercising his profession in a totally different way, less focused on the technical aspects and more on an emotional involvement, and a consequent desire to use his expertise as a service to the community (2019b). In his words, 'competences and intelligence have been made available to realise a project that has a zero degree of architectural ego' (Liotta 2019b).

As a witness to this specificity, Liotta also points out the evident difference in aesthetic between Farm's project and other projects managed by his Parisian office, Laps architecture: 'at the beginning of conferences, I show what Laps does, then I show our participation in Farm Cultural Park. Ours has been a contribution to a collective work that puts aside the subjective personality' in order to 'permit most people to find themselves in this language' (Liotta 2019b). This statement brings out the specificity of the approach of the architect, which recognises his activity as a contribution in designing a 'place' with a special meaning for the inhabitants and with influence on their identity (Pardo and Prato 2012).

The architect personal commitment is another element that helps us to understand the different role that he played in the FARM project. Liotta describes the evolution of his relationship with the Bartolis and with the project, from an initially limited involvement to a complete adherence to its 'bottom-up' principles and its social regeneration instances. This emerges from (Liotta 2019b):

- the evolving relationship with the Bartolis, from a professional to a more friendly and intimate one;
- the collaboration in the communication of the project in the first person, with activities like the production of articles and papers and the organisation of international exhibitions, with the intention of permitting the FARM project to reach a vast public (Di Carlentini and Liotta 2016, Liotta 2018 n.d.);
- the organisation of international workshops in the field of architecture (Liotta is also an associate professor of architecture at the Université Libre de Bruxelles), animating the FARM with students the universities of Palermo, Milano, Tokyo and Brussels;
- participating in some meetings of 'Farmidabile', the first community cooperative of Sicily and one of the social projects linked to the Farm (Consiglio and Riitano 2015);
- the contribution to building an international network of contacts to involve people in the Farm project.

From this commitment and emotional involvement arises a different way to deal with the project itself that differs from standard projects in the real estate field for different reasons (Liotta 2019b):

- the lack of purely economic considerations in the project in favour of the acknowledgement of a 'spiritual enrichment', rather than a 'material enrichment';
- the absence of a managerial organisation in favour of a more flexible time schedule and more informal ways of communicating the project.

The project's non-speculative dimension is one more aspect that influenced the design and people's involvement. As we know, at first the project was financed only by the Bartolis and was free for the public (Savatteri 2017). Later, the promoters attempted to reach financial sustainability by introducing an entry fee to the exhibition (Liotta 2019b). This financial setup — including relying only on private finances and not being speculative — has become a distinguishing element also of the design.

Theoretically meeting other experiences in Europe (Lerner et al. 2014, Müller et al. 2008), Liotta states that using strategies that could be defined as respectful of pre-existence, if not even low-cost, has been a theoretical approach more than a need. As he put it, 'there are two ways of producing beautiful things: using a lot of resources or using a lot of intelligence'(Liotta 2019b). The design philosophy has become 'to do very much with very little' (Liotta 2019b). Liotta's involvement was on a volunteer basis for some activities, based on the 'refund of expenses' for others, while only for the more important initiatives there was a standard invoice (Liotta 2019b). This stresses the specificity of the project and the general tendency of 'bottom-up' projects to involve volunteer efforts (Tonkiss 2014). Considering the abovementioned aspects, it is difficult to categorise Liotta as an architect only, because sometimes he acted as a true activist. Also, the Bartolis transcend the category of the private client or promoter, for they are also truly involved in design decisions.

From this analysis of some aspects of the activities of Liotta and the Bartolis, based on the framework of 'expert' and 'diffuse design', it is possible to conclude that:

- the Bartolis have an extraordinary capacity for building networks and joining people together, are the motor of all the initiatives and could be considered as 'social heroes';

- the promoters had a strong involvement in all the design solutions, including those completed by professionals, thus behaving like people with a proper design role, which justifies defining them as 'diffuse design' figures;
- the professional, that is the architect, was involved in a context of collaboration and he used his expertise as a service to the community and to the project, acting as an 'expert designer';
- Liotta committed himself to the project for the sake of its success, becoming himself an activist;
- experts and non-experts collaborated to achieve the success of the initiative in a spirit of collaboration often based on volunteer efforts.

Conclusion

This article has presented the first insights into the design process of a bottom-up project based on the application of Manzini's theoretical framework. An evaluation of the results of this process are the subject of continuing research, which I will discuss in further works.

The methodology used is the case study for its potential to investigate 'a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 1994). I will proceed to investigate Farm Cultural Park and select other bottom-up urban regeneration projects developed in Europe since the 2000s that are supposed to have had a significant influence in regenerating urban areas and that meet the characteristics listed in section 2.

An interesting insight into urban complexity could come from 'urban anthropology', as defined by Prato and Pardo, that considers as central topics city planning and the legitimacy of grassroots organisations (Prato and Pardo 2013). Finally, I plan to carry out an evaluation of the aforementioned projects in order to clarify if such bottom-up approach can achieve regeneration, and through which strategies.

This research will inform public authorities, academics and citizens on the importance of private-led projects in the regeneration of cities. Being far from the unconditional romantic exaltation of private initiative, it will provide a complete framework and evaluation method. An informed understanding of how these projects develop could shed light on issues faced by promoters, generating debate on the methods through which public authorities could sustain these initiatives.

Bottom-up practices, for their spontaneous and self-sustained character, are not commonly subjected to evaluation. The evaluation and assessment phase is, in fact, mainly linked to the need for public actors to understand the efficiency of the initial investment (Wilson 2012).

An attempt to focus on bottom-up practices can be found in the Community Led Local Development instrument proposed by the European Commission (European Commission 2017). This is a policy instrument that focuses on financing and supporting bottom-up initiatives in the EU countries. However, the legislative framework in which these initiatives have to be developed in order to obtain funds — namely the mandatory formation of a partnership with local authorities, the submission of a proposal in order to participate in a call

by the Local Action Group and other mandatory implementations (Servillo 2017) — questions whether the development of such initiatives follows the same path as those that are self-initiated.

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Spectral Cities:
Death and Living Memories in the Dark Tourism of British Ghost Walks[1]

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This article explores the role played by ghost walks in imparting and enlivening the histories of cities for tourists. Drawing upon research in York, London, Brighton and Edinburgh the article explores the manner in which the uncanny nature of the topic allows ghost walks to behave differently to other forms of dark tourism or thanatourism (Lennon and Foley 2000, Seaton 1996). Despite dealing with death and tragedy like other forms of dark tourism, the existence of ghosts within narratives allows for tragic history to be narrativised and performed by tour guides in a way that transforms the experience and embeds it within the cityscape anchoring memories and history to particular spaces, even long after a city has changed. Through tales of death the city's history is brought to life, but in a manner that is more entertaining than mournful due to the facilitation of the uncanny nature of ghosts.
Keywords: Ghost walks, ghosts, dark tourism, tourism.

This research came about due to a drip by drip exposure of one of the researchers on his regular walk to and from the train station in York. The town has various ghost walks and any resident will see them as they move through the centre of the city. On each walk past the tours the breadth of the history being discussed became clearer until it became hard to ignore. Going past one walk, you would see a man in a top hat standing up a step ladder telling the story of an Airman in the 1940s, on another day in the same place you would hear a story of anti-Catholic violence from Tudor times. Within a stone's throw of the Minster (see Fig. 1) you could hear stories covering Roman soldiers, Victorian industrialists and Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot. Within York's central city walls tourists were being exposed not only to tales of ghosts but the historical context that invested the ghosts with meaning, giving the tourists a sense of the city throughout its history in a way that residents rarely had reinforced While York claims that it hosts the original city ghost walk, established in 1973 ('The Original Ghost Walk of York' Website, 14/9/2018), over time similar tours spread to other towns and cities and it became clear that ghosts and urban landscapes were entangled with tourism and memory in a way that demanded further attention.

The article draws upon participation by four anthropologists across fourteen ghost walks in London, Brighton, Edinburgh and York between 2015 and 2017. These walks are part of a growing phenomenon of ghost walks or ghost tours that appear in towns and cities across the UK. In 2018, ghost walks were advertised across 89 towns and cities across the UK, with over thirty in Greater London alone. The UK is not alone in hosting such tours, as Hanks notes 'Prague, Singapore, Venice, Amsterdam, Melbourne, and Montreal' (2015: 16) all feature similar tours — but their ubiquity in the UK is noteworthy nonetheless. The related activity of ghost hunting saw an equally sharp uptake of ghost hunting groups in the UK having risen

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[1] We are very grateful to our anonymous reviewers and the editorial team of *Urbanities* for their constructive feedback and helpful suggestions, all of which contributed greatly to this final article. We would also like to acknowledge the guides of the walks who graciously allowed us to research their ghost walks. This article would not be possible without the invisible labour of these other contributors and we would like to thank them for their work.

Figures 1 & 2. Two ghost walks outside York Minster

from 150 to 2500 in the space of a decade (Hill 2010: 9). While ghost hunting groups have a diverse make-up, the ghost walks and tours explored in this article are primarily, although not exclusively, aimed at tourists. As a result, they are more frequent in Spring and Summer, with a seasonal spike at Halloween — a traditionally favoured time for stories anticipating spectral appearances. Ghost walks include a diverse set of practices where content and delivery are shaped by the knowledge and performative skills of the guide. They can be conducted by local historians, paranormal 'experts', or actors, and some are scripted while others are largely improvised. Walks can involve large amounts of theatrical acting, crowd participation (see Fig. 1 & 2), props and costumes (see Fig. 3 & 4) or be relatively scholarly in their approach. Some tours use buses instead of walking, while audio recorded tours and ghost walk book (see Jones 2009) offer self-directed trails that bypass the physical presence of a guide.

Figures 3 & 4. Two costumed guides from York ghost walks.

The boundaries of what constitutes a 'ghost tour' are blurred by significant overlap with walks that focus on murders or historical deaths that recount hauntings. In York for example both 'Mad Alice's Bloody Tour of York' and 'The Bloody Walk of York' take death and murder as their central themes but include ghost stories where ghosts and murders intersect. The Arthur Machen themed walks in London, organised by Minimum Labyrinth, further distort definitional boundaries by blending fictional characters and events into real physical locations. These draw upon Machen's supernatural fiction to replicate his mystical vision of London through interactions between participants and characters (played by actors) from Machen's stories. The walks emphasise the interpenetration of fictive and real universes in ways that are simultaneously grounded in real locations and fictive events, inviting the 'visionary to step through the veil of illusion into another world; a magical world' (Minimum Labyrinth 2018). Similarly, other less explicitly literary ghost walks sometimes mention literary sources to emphasise how spectral events and locales have been worked into fiction — as was the case with Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* in two London ghost walks — one of which (the 'Bankside Ghosts and Monsters Walk') also visited the Rose Theatre in Bankside, where participants were informed that a production of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* led to the appearance of the Devil to actor Richard Alleyne. Ghost tours and their related phenomenon therefore offer rich ground for exploring the relationship between people, history and landscape that is at once both physically real and imagined.

In this article we focus on the triumvirate relationship between the guide, the city and the participants, as it manifests in guided walks explicitly describing themselves as a 'ghost' walks or tours. Ghost walks take the (often traumatic) histories of particular cities and embed them in the landscape in a way that is simultaneously accessible and engaging by subverting some of the tropes otherwise encountered in dark tourism. Such ghost walks are simultaneously both the product of the city's histories and the embodied, spatial practice through which the histories of these cities are experienced.

The towns we focus on are all noteworthy tourist hubs, and without this flow of tourists these ghost tours would be extremely limited. Prato and Pardo have noted how migration leads to continuous transformations in the experience of urban life. Ghost tourism adds to these 'new historical conditions that determine the emergence of new meanings of "being urban", influencing our conception of the common good and of associated life in a shared "urban space" as a whole' (Pardo and Prato 2018: 17). Here we show how ghost tales feed the cultural needs of domestic and international tourists, but in turn how the resulting tours feed a richer appreciation of the histories that make cities distinct. The ghosts recounted, though fleeting and ephemeral, act as uncanny nodes around which historical moments, movements and characters are anchored to the built city landscape. We have tried to capture some of this in the text and through accompanying photos to give a sense of the 'social spatial semiotics' (Krase 2012: 22) of the cities — and while we hope this approach is evocative, these are multisensory walks alive with sounds, smells and things to touch and stare at.

We take up three primary factors that follow through the ambiguities of ghost walks in urban landscapes, first testing the limits of thanatourism through the explicit humour and

entertainment that is often related to otherwise tragic ghost tales in specific places; followed by an exploration of the peculiar tensions between ghosts, reality and scepticism, played out through the facts of storytelling and the suspension of disbelief; and finally how these elements are played out through being and remembering in cities walking through haunted landscapes. Across these three sections we demonstrate how these hauntings are relayed to tourists and how this embeds multiple histories in their experience of the cities through which they walk.

Ghost Walks as Entertainment and the Distancing of Dark Histories
The relationship between traumatic historical events and contemporary tourism can be understood in relation to the growing literature on dark tourism (Lennon and Foley 2000), or thanatourism (Seaton 1996). Most of the stories told on ghost walks relate trauma — murder, starvation, imprisoning, torture and abuse — and the grislier the death, the more details will be provided. While the tour guide on a ghost walk might stop to invest the landscape with a story about the industrial revolution, you can feel assured that any industrialist appearing in a ghost walk will either have been the victim or perpetrator of something quite heinous. The sedimented landscape of memory (Connerton 1989) we hear related somehow misses stories of expressions of love, engagements, marriage, births, birthday parties, feasts and other celebrations that would also mark these sites. Aside from claims around the supernatural, ghost walks are simply part of a growing pattern of dark tourism.

A burgeoning literature describes a growing propensity for tourism that centrally focuses on death and tragedy, and can incorporate ghost walks amongst its examples. However, ghost walks operate differently to other forms of thanatourism as they embed memories, places and events through recounting spectral tales in narrative and experiential spaces that allow for tragedy to be dealt with in a less problematic way, and often explicit aims to entertain participants. These factors stand in contrast to claims that dark tourist sites work as modern forms of pilgrimage (Lennon and Foley 2000: 3). For example, Robb notes in relation to dark tourism in Rwanda, Argentina, United States and Brazil:

> 'Part of what is intriguing about dark tourism is the tension between what is conventionally conceived of as recreational travel and the interest in witnessing the hard realities of life. Leisure and violence are practices that traditionally have been seen as antithetical.' (Robb 2009: 58)

The entertainment value often apparent in ghost walks lightens any tension between these categories of violence and leisure.

During ghost walks, humour can be deployed in ways that are contrary to the earnest tone of other thanatourism, even while ghosts are mostly attached to tragic and traumatic stories relating to 'bad deaths' (Pardo 1989: 113). To avoid voyeurism, tours evoke participants' experiences as witnesses to the past. This sense of gravity or graveness is most distinct on ghost walks in regard to those who were executed or died through military violence; for example, several of the London walks noted ghosts relating to the prior existence of gallows in Lincoln's Inn Fields and made significant mention of civil unrest in English history through the reformation. Comedy, however, often pushes back against such supposed limitations on ghost

walks. The middle ground between comic provocations and the sense that humour is part of the process of coping with tragedy means that no area is truly immune to becoming a joke — even if only within niche circles.

The tragic story of Margaret Clitherow (St Margaret of York) illustrates this well, her ghost is said to haunt the Black Swan pub in York. As a convert to Catholicism in the late 1500s, she became a key point of refuge for priests in the North of England. The priest hole in her house was disclosed by a frightened young boy and she was arrested and tried. Upon refusing to plead guilty: The common-law sanction for such refusal was that the refuser should be crushed alive (*peine forte et dure*) and this is what happened, in the Tollbooth in York, on 25 March 1586 where, in Mush's narrative, she is first stripped naked, in an obscene, virtually pornographic, shaming ritual, and then put to a slow and agonizing death (Lake and Questier 2004: 44). We also learn that 'A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, put under her back and upon her was laid to the quantity of seven or eight hundredweights [about 900 pounds], which breaking her ribs caused them to burst forth of the skin' (Abbot 2012: 305)

Her suffering was such that Queen Elizabeth I is said to have apologised for the execution. While some details vary in walks and wider historical accounts (for example her nakedness is either by choice to show her piety or an act of degradation by the executioner), her martyrdom was clearly borne from extreme suffering. Yet in one walk in York the execution was re-enacted through crowd participation, and the haunting was used as a starting point for a historical story and theatrical re-enactment far from mournful in tone. While there was no evident intention for voyeurism or offence, the act of martyrdom was recreated by getting a number of teenaged European girls (representing rocks) to lie on top of another girl (representing Clitherow) in a re-enactment that quickly became giggly with almost everyone watching laughing at the spectacle. This was the intention, a humorous re-enactment at the end of the tour, and likely generated out of the specific dynamics of the participants as the guide had a clear sense of what was entertaining the group. Bearing in mind this specific story, in this case this re-enactment clearly falls outside the ordinarily grave genre motifs of dark tourism.

While all four walks in York discussed the haunting by murdered Clitherow and the story behind it, only this one took this particular approach to making it more entertaining. The same guide who used the crowd to dramatize Clitherow's death encouraged walkers to pretend to be the headless ghost of Thomas Percy (from the gunpowder plot, whose ghost haunts a York cemetery) and later in the tour to perform parts of the story of the Grey lady of St Leonards, a nun who was bricked into a room by her order following an affair with a nobleman. In each re-enactment, tourists were used to draw humour from the stories.

An absence of mournfulness and a leaning towards entertainment was found in other tours. In another story on different walk in York, the ghost of a grave robber who had committed murder by chopping off the hand of a victim to steal a bracelet was recreated with a fake knife magic prop and a theatrical wrist cutting trick. The same guide turned the death of a Victorian child into an opportunity for a 'boo' moment and a magic trick. A feature of that particular walk is that the group (on this occasion more than 80 people) are encouraged to collectively engage in scaring the occupants of an Italian restaurant by suddenly rushing towards its window. A tour

guide in Edinburgh persuaded the group to re-enact the execution of an accused witch as a comedic event despite its traumatic implications. In all these examples the use of humour, crowd participation, acting and tricks is unambiguously aimed at entertaining the audience. The success of these re-enactments pivots on the dynamics of the group; we all experienced the extremes of this taking part in tours where theatricalities were taken up with gusto, while others saw an embarrassed shuffling amongst participants.

Even the less theatrical guides in York used jovial banter with the crowd to engage the audience. One guide reflected that 'only the guilty hear the bells' for a big laugh in the middle of a more serious ghost story at the former execution site near the river as bells chimed in the distance. The theatrical tour in Brighton used several props including a severed head to illustrate one story, and a rolled-up carpet for another. Such props were used to add theatricality, shock and entertainment value to the walking tours.

Each isolated incident could be taken as a one off, but collectively they demonstrate a clear pattern that despite the presence of tragedy ghost walks are different from other forms of dark tourism. While histories and violent acts are mostly taken seriously, the ghostly accounts used to provide levity help transform them into something more akin to a fairy tale, or at least a less rational history. While this was not always the case, the Brighton Kreepy Kemptown paranormal tour guide emphasised the empirical truth of each account, such humorous approaches resonated across tours and sites and emphasised the particularities of ghost walks within wider body of dark tourism. The uncanny nature, the potential for scepticism regarding their existence and the ready theatricalization lend ghost walks as a genre an ability to deal with tragedy in a way that is somewhat removed from the harsher realities that inherently limit the humour of other forms of dark tourism.

It is perhaps a little too obvious to apply Derrida's (2006) hauntology here. His use of hauntology as a joking Francophone and Anglophone portmanteau/homophone of haunting and ontology respectively stems from the image of the spectre of Marx haunting Europe. An idea that is simultaneously a joke and a critique of Marx, and uses ghosts as a metaphor, should be handled with care in relation to this particular article, but there is an aspect that can help disentangle the unusual nature of ghost walks. Derrida stresses the double nature of ghosts as simultaneously existing and not existing and of being from the past, yet in the present. The deaths recounted in these ghost walks may be real, yet there is an inherent ambiguity as to whether ghosts are real; even on the 'Unbelievers Ghost Walk', uncertainty creeps in, which allows a shift from conventionally mournful dispositions towards death. In much the same way that comedy, stand-up comedy in particular, provide safe but cathartic spaces for otherwise taboo speech acts (Westwood 2004), the uncanny nature of ghosts transforms social spaces in ways that other forms of dark tourism do not.

Ghost walks are not the only social spaces in which ghosts allow for an increased potential for certain kinds of otherwise taboo speech acts. Patricia Lawrence (2000) discusses how oracles, a form of spirit medium, were able to discuss otherwise taboo topics related to the war against a backdrop of silence in Eastern Sri Lanka during conflict. In such instances, talk of ghosts is therapeutic through its facilitative nature. Here, fear removed the military men's

ability to act censoriously in this one social space and, in turn, the talk of ghosts indirectly facilitated discussion of events relating to the war and of kin, who through violent deaths had become entangled in the culture of silence. The British spirits of ghost walks seem to be similarly facilitative in talking about death and tragedy. The manner in which fatal violence against Catholics and Protestants ('Sceptics of London Halloween Ghost Walk'), the massacre of Jews at Clifford's Tower in York ('The Original Ghost Walk') and anti-Catholic violence under the Tudors (various) was discussed bears echoes of this social facilitation.

Even if the deaths being discussed are historically verifiable, the lens of ghosts adds an unreal, uncanny or paranormally ambiguous façade to the death that creates distance. As stories are recounted to tourists, a second layer of distancing expands potential for narrative and performance. As such the role ghosts play in the dialectic of memory landscape production and reproduction can be more transgressive than other histories.

Suspending Disbelief: Reality, Verification and 'Facts'
Belief in ghosts is not a prerequisite for participating in ghost tours, however most tours present ghosts as a 'real' phenomenon, providing provocative examples or theories that encouraged participants to judge for themselves (Thompson 2010). The very first walk around the City of London, which the researchers attended together, began with an appeal to the cross-cultural ubiquity of belief in ghosts and the fact that more than half the people in the world believe in them. The actress, new to the route and consequently reading from a script she was still learning, used the ubiquity of this credence to make the case that ghosts ought to be a concern, even for non-believers.[2] Only two tours we attended included a degree of scepticism. One was promoted as the 'Unbelievers Ghost Walk', while another ('Bankside Ghosts and Monsters') incorporated a 'sceptical' perspective; the tour leader claimed that many stories of ghosts arose out of misperception and misidentification, citing the case of a headless woman and a skeleton which supposedly haunted a house (no longer standing) in Blackfriars and suggesting instead that this may have disguised its use as a brothel. Later in the same tour, the guide joked about ghost hunters who, a few years earlier, had searched for Elizabethan ghosts at the Globe Theatre, despite its having only been built in the 1990s. In this instance, these attempts at disenchantment encouraged discussion amongst the participants regarding the veracity of the supernatural; at least half of them expressed a belief in ghosts.

There is an inherent ambiguity that is fundamental to ghost walks: 'By hearing a ghost story on a ghost walk, is a ghost tourist learning about an episode from the past or the nature of life after death? At the heart of this knowledge is a dialectical tension between knowledge of the past and knowledge of the occult' (Hanks 2015: 14). As is noted by Hanks in her

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[2] Castro, Burrows and Woofit (2009) note that 37% of the UK population have reported a paranormal experience, including experiences of telepathy, precognition, extrasensory perception and contact with the dead. Similarly, Annette Hill reports that in the early decades of the 21st Century paranormal beliefs are 'on the rise in contemporary Western societies. Almost half of the British population, and two thirds of American people, claim to believe in some form of the paranormal, such as extrasensory perception, hauntings and witchcraft' (2013: 65).

ethnography on ghost walks 'when I spoke with participants about their belief, many expressed a high degree of uncertainty. However, that uncertainty was marked by a desire to believe' (2015: 84). The 'Bankside' tour guide later revealed to the researcher who participated on this walk that they were not so much sceptical about the existence of spectral or paranormal phenomena, but rather felt that it was important to legitimise such claims on a strong, evidential basis.

In York, a local historian tour leader finished most of his stories with the subsequent finding of corroborating archaeological or historical 'evidence' as proof of an empirically verifiable reality behind the hauntings. For example, a popular story retells the multiple sights of distinctly 'short' Roman soldiers near York Minster, whose apparitions seemed to emerge from the ground from their knees. According to the tour guide, the perception of soldiers wading through the street was accounted for by the subsequent archaeological 'discovery' of a sunken Roman road, around a foot in depth below the current cobbles.

The primary source of 'evidence' for hauntings drew on well documented historical sightings; however, personal accounts and more immediate sightings brought the 'reality' of these cases up to date. A familiar trope was the 'rationality' of the tour guide as credible narrator of both their own personal experiences and the accounts of others. The 'Kreepy Kemptown Ghost Walk' guide stated that all possible rational explanations were explored before accepting the supernatural as the only possible explanation. During this tour, his claims were further supported by another attendee, a psychic, who described the physical and unseen experiences she had encountered during the walk that corroborated the accounts given about the supernatural nature of the sites and their invisible inhabitants.

Tour guides also recalled the experiences of previous participants to bring a degree of temporal proximity and sense of fraternal possibility that 'normal' participants, just like them,

Figure 5. Small window in York where a 'ghostly apparition' is sometimes reported.

could potentially see a ghost at these sites. The verifiable existence of ghosts was diffused via these 'credible' witnesses, and offered as 'truthful' accounts on subsequent walks. The guide on 'The Ghost Trail of York' mentioned a couple who had been on the tour the previous week who got in touch to say they had seen a ghostly apparition at a window of one of the walk's stops a few nights later (See Fig. 5). Another guide told the audience that three people had seen a ghostly hand at a particular graveyard on his tours in that week alone.

A guide on an Edinburgh walk (relating to the sunken road/plague trap) explained that sightings were more convincing if it was a child, assuming that they lacked the guile to deceive. Other 'reliable' sources included those traditionally in professions known for 'veracity', such as vicars, priests, doctors and police officers. Even renowned academics and somewhat counter intuitively, politicians, were recalled as trustworthy witnesses of supernatural incidents. The latter possibly being unlikely to make such an outlandish claim at the risk of a political career if untrue.

These types of accounts encourage walkers to suspend disbelief, but whether they believe in ghosts or not does not detract from the way in which ghost tours embed these types of stories or historical 'realities' into the material landscape. When a participant is encouraged to reach out and touch a wall through which a ghost walked through, or attention is drawn to an otherwise unremarkable window, they are being made aware of the physicality of the city as both real and imaged space, they are being taught how to be 'present' in the haunted city.

Being and Remembering in the Haunted City

Anthropological literature has provided many examples of how societies use ghosts to 'remember', specifically in relation to ancestors and kinship lineages (Kendall 1989, Carsten et al. 2008, Bell 1997). But ghosts also serve a function as a collective means of 'remembering' the city. As McEvoy describes it, the 'metanarrative of the ghost walk is that of the town itself' (McEvoy 2016: 123).

Ghost walks unambiguously engage with local iterations of public history across conventional periodisations. 'The Original Ghost Walk of York' features ghosts derived from Roman, Tudor, Stuart, Georgian, Victorian and WWII history as well as discussing local urban Viking geography for context (although no ghost walks featured any Viking ghosts). This span of 2000 years is shaped by York's historical particularities, but across ghost walks the histories deployed are typically broad, albeit locally specific. The descriptions of these historical eras often make a physical appearance in ghost tales as palimpsests of buildings overlaid on top of each other where use and even appearance has since changed (Basu 2007). On our walks, ghost tales made reference to cellars or building works that dug down or uncovered long abandoned Victorian tunnels or Roman roads, narratively signposting a descent into history at that particular location (Bender 2006).

Ghost stories consequently reflect the most popular historical stories of a city or town, or how a city 'sees itself'. In Brighton for example, two tours have very different intentions, one theatrical and one a paranormal expert, but both highlight the city's connections with royalty, military and gangs to describe a rowdy and murderous past that echoes its contemporary raucous reputation. In York, the claim to be one of the most haunted cities in Europe is iterated

through ghost stories that take in those events and eras where the city was a 'notable', if somewhat rebellious powerful place, the bustling fortified Roman Town of Eboracum, the 'Jorvic' Viking strong hold of the north, the battle ground of William the Conqueror, as self-governing medieval city and so on. Telling these public histories in ghost walks provides the opportunities to present historical moments such as the Industrial Revolution, the English Civil War, or the dissolution of the monasteries as violent disruption of the social order, but also as markers of significant cultural, political economic and epistemic transformation and disjuncture through a local and consequently more accessible, familiar lens (Hanks 2011, Harte 2013). As one amateur historian guiding a London walk explained, relating public histories through ghost stories was educational, a way to re-envision different versions of the city. He went on to elaborate that participants wanted to be entertained, so they signed up for ghost tours instead of history tours, but they still gained knowledge, whether it be political, religious, or about the continuation of gas lamps in London's streets through the disconcerting and uncanny tales of haunting rooted to a particular time and place (Samuel 1994).

Fig. 6. Actor from Edinburgh ghost walk recounting story of plague pits.

However, the ghosts that haunt cityscapes also reinforce a sense of the city as anonymous, dangerous, densely populated and chaotic. Ghost stories narrate broad historical events and significant moments in a city's past, but the details describe a space where human relationships unfold at a time when people were poorer, sicker, gender relations more uneven, class dynamics more unfair, child health and education less reliable (see Fig. 6). In their narration, tales of ghosts and hauntings subtly call for social redress and express a history of social injustice even if it is little remarked upon. The battered wife in the Brighton pub, abandoned children in small attic rooms, bigamous marriages and secret relationships unveiled; through such accounts, cities are framed as sites full of domestic outrage and builds a sense of urban life that resonate with stereotypes about atomised individuals and decentralised lifestyles.

It is not only in the *narration* of its selected histories that the city lives and imagines itself. It is the situated presence of people living and being in the city that gives life to cities and in turn enables cities to remember and be remembered. From a relational point of view, or from a

non-representative, phenomenological geographies perspective, the person and the landscape, in this case, the city, are not so separate: who we are, how we experience the world, and what we remember, emerge through our relationships with(in) the world (Merleau-Ponty 2013, Ingold and Vergunst 2008, Deleuze and Guattari 2013, Bender 2006). People shape landscapes through the 'porous location of bodies and objects within and through spaces', inscribing them with the social and collective histories of daily life (Djohari et al. 2018: 352). Through the act of walking in the city (De Certeau 2011, Ingold and Vergunst 2008), walkers become part of the city, turning spaces into 'places' (Low and Zuniga 2008) by investing meaning and practice in each footfall.

> 'Walking contributes to the culture of local places. In some places, such as the USA, there is a "car culture"; in others, such as Denmark, there is a distinct walking culture […]. People choose to walk as a part of their experience of the city, often intentionally, but also habitually. Public transportation is also related to the mobility culture of places. Some choose to avoid public transportation in order to escape the necessity of sharing space with strangers and others choose it for this very reason' (Shortell 2018: 134).

When walking is combined with talking and acts designed to anchor particular histories to locations, the city as place is inscribed with a very physical and embodied sense of the past.

Memory is important to sense of place because it is one of the means through which people are 'in' places; as Jones explains 'Most people live and work in landscapes familiar to them and thus their immersion in them is temporal and memorial as well as performative/embodied and spatia' (2011: 5). Memory making and remembering are consequently physical, sensorial activities in which smells, sounds, feelings and tastes become part of the fabric of our memories and how we experience the places we inhabit. How bodies remember (Kleinman and Kleinman 1994), 'how societies remember' (Connerton 1989) and, as we propose here, how cities remember, is through this deeply interpenetrating, embodied process co-created between people and the landscape. Ghost walks exemplify this, demonstrating how tours create avenues for 'lived' experiences that make history a 'felt' sensation, something 'real', tangible and present in the landscape.

Ghost walks thus constitute 'ostensive' activities in which spectral narratives are not merely recounted by the guide, but re-enacted and experienced by participants through direct, co-participatory interaction with specific locations. The performative memorialising we encountered in some of the ghost walks through stories and historical moments is particularly significant in relation to their commemorative role. According to French and Wilson, framing narratives around ghostly and paranormal experiences is crucial to informing and affirming the legitimacy of their psycho-cultural construction. People recount feeling or experiencing ghosts rather than seeing them, and attribute this to interactive responses with the physical environment (French and Wilson 2007).[3] Although visual phenomena and reporting sightings of ghosts were

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[3] According to Richard Wiseman, visual apparitions only account for approximately 1% of reported ghostly encounters (Wiseman 2011).

reported in the many of the walks we participated in, it was more common to hear non-visual effects and sensations described. Where visual accounts were used, they were often accompanied by descriptions of feelings typically reported as affective 'perception of a sense of presence' (Holt et al. 2012: 128). We heard tales of a sudden drop in temperature in a haunted locale, a smell associated with the deceased, or aural phenomena such as apparent whisperings, knockings or rappings, occasionally materialising in the odd poke in the ribs. Thomas Metzinger (2010) suggests that the often-embodied nature of such experiences evidence the phenomenological construction and reconstruction of our sense of self via our interactions with our environment, offering a (neurological) model of how place memorialises itself in us through affective interactions.

Pascal Boyer and Ramble (2010) suggest that encounters with the supernatural are memorable due to their 'counterintuitive' nature in contrast to 'everyday' ontological expectations about our environment: the attachment of the ghostly to historical sites may be understood as a strategy of social memorialisation. Associations between ghosts and landscapes (whether rural or urban) are central to ghost walk experiences, and may be facilitated by modes of thinking similar to those explored by Alfred Gell (1998) in his discussions of human agency and works of art, where 'the creative products of a person or people become their "distributed mind" which turns their agency into their effects, as influences upon the minds of others' (Miller 2005: 13). As Adam Reed (2002) notes in his discussion of London walking tours, the personification of place was typically employed by participants as a means of engaging with the city's collective and social history. He describes how the past can be experienced affectively via acts of self-identification with historically significant locales framed as (non-human) persons. In the context of ghost walks, social interaction with a personified environment was enacted in more explicitly 'human' (albeit supernatural) terms in the form of the ghosts themselves. In this respect, the spectral narratives encoded within sites of historical significance which we encountered in our research were sometimes made manifest via participants' ostensive performance in those narratives by explicit identification with the historical figures, and at times re-enactment of events, as well as by their collective physical co-presence to the social spaces and locations in which history and memory were (spectrally) personified and encoded.

Cityscapes can be thought of as co-creators of memories and remembering because there is an affective quality to being in the city. If we evoke the city as actor, we see that what is remembered, the *narrative,* is chosen by the tour guide, but what can be remembered through the *performance* is dictated partly by the cityscape itself. For example, the decision on where to stop and recount a story is shaped by the availability of visual and sensory cues within the environment as well as how many people can be accommodated. Guides from the 'Brighton Lanes walk', the 'Unbelievers walk' and two of the York walks all describe having to choose different locations during peak season that would accommodate large crowds and keep them out of the roads. Likewise, sensorial features were often identified that could be used to evoke an 'atmosphere', such as narrow alley ways or cobbled streets, or opportunities for tactile engagement with crumbling walls or visible markers of where old and new building overlapped.

The routes are carefully planned to allow the guide to draw attention to features of the city that add a specificity and an evocative richness to their narrative. In the 'Unbelievers walk' for example, the guide led us through a narrow, oppressive alley to a dark graveyard where he explained the working practices of graverobbers and their fears of spectres and hauntings, while pointing out its juxtaposition to the lit pub in the next street where they had notoriously waited for the burial.

As expected, hauntings are anchored to built spaces in the cities rather than open spaces. In London, the only ghosts that did not belong to buildings were in outdoor places that were now gardens but once were gallows or graveyards. In Edinburgh and Brighton, ghosts occupied buildings, streets, bridges and parks; even the ghost-Romans in York walked upon a road built of stone. While in rural areas ghosts are associated with liminal spaces between the human-made landscape and nature, the spaces between forests and clearings or else 'the places occupied by evil spirits are nonhuman territories like swamps, jungles, and bodies of water' (Ong 1988: 33), in a built up urbanised context ghosts are tied to a built landscape.

In picking out the feature of the cityscape, the storyteller brings the history of the city to life, and audiences are invited to co-imagine and co-experience it. They are asked to become aware of the narrow walkways, of the cobbles underfoot, to imagine the sound of footsteps, or walking in a foggy winter's day. In York, one tour guide loudly tapped his walking cane on the cobbles as the group passed through the narrow streets of the Shambles, the echoing taps made those following him profoundly aware of the narrow space being occupied. In other walks, participants were encouraged to pay attention to the details of moss patterns on gravestones, or changes in brickwork that revealed the transition between old and new structures. Where the trappings of modernity have led to new or reconstructed buildings, the storytellers ask audiences to imagine the houses in former states. They evoke the cold or the dark by asking crowds to imagine houses without electricity, heating or running water. They point out the remnants of walls that no longer exist. They emphasise the passing of time through houses that have become shops, or churches that have become museums, or reminders that central London was once fields.

As Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (1982) note, historically and cross-culturally death, dying and the spilling of blood are often seen as necessary to social renewal. Thus sites of narrated spectral activity which form the focus of ghost walks not only signify moments of historical significance through the lens of violent events, but they invest the social and architectural changes of city's built landscapes with a sense of wonder through the lives that were given that provide each city with stories that shape their histories. Through the combination of immersion into a physical, sensorial cityscape and deft storytelling, audiences are taught how to read and feel the gravitas of the landscape through ghostly tales. As ghosts become more 'real' to the walker, the city also becomes hyper 'real': we stop to really see it, to feel it, it becomes more alive.

Populating the Haunted City: Conclusions

While it is possible to view the deviation from the mournful conventions of dark tourism as in some way exploitative or disrespectful, here we hope to have shown that instead this is a profoundly generative process that invests the city and its former inhabitants with continued meaning. Ghost stories narrate histories that simultaneously distance the tragic and horrific events of the past while expressing the 'character' of the city and its people through the selective recounting of its past. In the recounting of stories ghosts are conjured, made real and corporeal, through tales that encourage anticipation of the uncanny, and the prickly sensation or tactile encounters that come from immersion into a spectral cityscape. The heightened emotional state achieved by invoking ghosts makes histories more vivid for audiences being inducted into death-based narratives of the city. It is the materiality of the streets and built spaces alongside the narrative guidance that make the experience of walking in the haunted city an act of making and remaking the city itself. Through the sensory, visual and performative experiences evoked from immersion into a suddenly hyper real cityscape, the city and its history become something far more real, immediate and tangible. While similar ghost-free storied walks through urban spaces might assist engagement with the city, the introduction of the spectral and uncanny in these walks leads to a heightened sense of being in the place, while the attention to the deaths inherent in hauntings lend a sense of gravity to the stories. The result is a particularly affective induction to the histories of the cities.

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How to Edit a Building: Fieldnotes from the North American Brasilia[1]

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This article reports on my recent ethnographic interactions in Columbus, Indiana, a unique Midwestern American city that has been ranked sixth in the nation 'for architectural innovation and design' by the American Institute of Architects, just after New York, Boston, Washington D.C., Chicago and San Francisco. After briefly outlining my methods, discussing the history of Columbus and contextualizing the design-oriented Exhibit Columbus event, I focus on interview, archival, digital and participant observation data around one Columbus site: *Entry Portal*. An interactive exhibit designed by Daniel Luis Martinez and Etien Santiago of Columbus's own J. Irwin Miller Architecture Program, *Entry Portal* plays with the concepts of architectural durability, monumentality and approachability. Through its subtle modifications, the interactive exhibit seeks to improve on the accessibility of a canonical mid-century modern design. *Entry Portal*, I argue, offers an insightful case study into more egalitarian, accessible and anti-monumental design — what my ethnographic informants describe under the rubric of 'new civilities'.
Keywords: Urban anthropology; ethnography; anthropology of architecture; Columbus, Indiana; new civilities.

Introduction

This article reports on my recent ethnographic interactions in Columbus, Indiana, a unique Midwestern American city that has been ranked sixth in the nation 'for architectural innovation and design' by the American Institute of Architects, just after New York, Boston, Washington D.C., Chicago and San Francisco (Vinnitskaya 2012). After briefly outlining my methods, discussing the history of Columbus and contextualizing the design-oriented Exhibit Columbus event, I focus on interview, archival, digital, and participant observation data around one Columbus site: *Entry Portal*. An interactive exhibit designed by Daniel Luis Martinez and Etien Santiago of Columbus's own J. Irwin Miller Architecture Program, *Entry Portal* plays with the concepts of architectural durability, monumentality and approachability. Through its subtle modifications, the interactive exhibit seeks to improve on the accessibility of a canonical mid-century modern design. *Entry Portal*, I argue, offers an insightful case study into more egalitarian, accessible and anti-monumental design — what my ethnographic informants describe under the rubric of 'new civilities'.

I am currently working on a book project titled *Synecdoche, Columbus: An Anthropology of an Urban Architectural Experiment.*[2] My interlocuters are architects and designers, city officials and professors. Informants include Columbus natives, transplants and exiles. Collaborators range from educators, architectural students and preservationists, to city personnel, archivists, tourists and tour guides. As an urban anthropologist, participant

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[2] This book project emerges, methodologically, out of the overlapping subfield domains of *urban anthropology* (Pardo and Prato 2018), the *anthropology of architecture* (Buchli 2013) and the *anthropology of design* (Clarke 2018).

observation in this context means studying alongside fellow design pilgrims in the architourist networks of this city that has been described in the national press as the 'Athens of the Prairie'. Sitting in coffee shops or walking through modernist buildings, parts of my ethnographic research program include conversing with architects, architectural historians and theorists, and discussing buildings, public art, urban planning and the design of everyday life.

Although research is still in progress, I am making use of a flexible array of multi-modal methods in conducting an anthropological study of a city. Since last spring, I have been making ethnographic excursions to Columbus to do participant observation among the architourist networks that are vital to the city's local economy, a practice that involves observing interactions between tour guides — the city's own applied architectural historians, myth-keepers, and walking compendiums of architectural facts (MacCannell 1976) — and the architecture aficionados who pilgrimage to visit this destination for progressive design. My research, beyond participant observation in the tourist circuits, and in addition to interviews with Columbus inhabitants, makes central use of extended observations at public city spaces, spaces that include plazas, gardens, parks, greenspaces, National Historic Landmark sites, public sculptures and interactive exhibits and installations.

Drawing on theories of *walking* and *the street* (de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 2003: 18-21; Benjamin 2002), I take seriously the embodied, emplaced practice of walking as an effective and productive form of participant observation.[3] According to Young-Jin Kim (2018: 3), walking as an ethnographic method 'makes it possible to observe, describe and take photographs of the details, the rhythm and the flow of urban landscapes'. The human body, as Harvey Molotch (2018: 19) argues, is (among other things) a 'tool-being' and thus research instrument. Attending through walking to those spaces, urban theorist Kevin Lynch (1964: 47-48) categorises as the *nodes*, *paths* and *landmarks* of a city are a form of participative occupying of physical urban space. Walking allows for the gleaning of 'multisensory data' and direct participation in the everyday rhythms and movements of city life (Kim 2018: 6). As an applied method, walking encourages emplaced listening and the observation of nearby social interactions as they occur in their 'natural' urban settings.

In addition to in-depth interviews and participant observation via walking, dwelling in, and moving through public city spaces, I am also doing historical research in several relevant archives and have experimented with digital anthropological methods in observing how people interact with geolocation apps and contribute place-oriented auto-documentations of buildings, public artworks and other city structures to online media forums. The discipline of architecture, after all, has historically centred around the concept of imagery, modelling and two- and three-dimensional representation (Cache 1995; Osborne 2018: 49-77), a practice that extends into but reconfigures in the age of Instagram. But before getting to the content of some of these conversations and observations, be they digital, in-person, or archival, how did a small midwestern town come into its identity as an exemplary urban design showcase?

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[3] For a global comparison of this Midwestern modernist city with contrasting modernist philosophies of the street in Brazil, see Holston 1989: 101-144.

A Short History of Athens of the Prairie

Columbus has over the years cultivated a reputation as a design 'mecca' or 'utopia' given the high concentration of mid-century modern and contemporary structures built in the city. Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Charles Eames, Alexander Girard, Robert Venturi, Richard Meier, Kevin Roche, I.M. Pei, Harry Weese, Deborah Berke, Cesar Pelli, Dan Kiley, Henry Moore, Jean Tinguely, Dale Chihuly and many other high-profile architects, designers and avantgarde artists have contributed works in Columbus. Flagship architectural firms such as Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) and The Architects Collaborative (TAC) have developed projects in the city. Walter Gropius, the founder of the Bauhaus, oversaw TAC in the United States after he fled Nazi Germany (MacCarthy 2019: 423-440; Hurley 2019: 91-112). Columbus has over time come to be known as an experimental architectural showcase for modern design, linking back indirectly to the Bauhaus through the work of protégées of Gropius and even Mies van der Rohe, a later Bauhaus director who also immigrated to the United States. Columbus has even more direct links to what some consider the American Bauhaus, Cranbrook Academy, an early hotbed for modernist design in the United States. Eliel Saarinen both designed campus buildings as well as served as the director of the school for some time in Bloomfield Hills, near Detroit. His son Eero, with Charles Eames and Harry Weese, also spent formational years at Cranbrook (Bruegmann 2010: 20-23) and went on to apply their experimental design methods in Columbus. With both striking similarities and differences to the modernist urban project in Brazil (Holston 1989), this North American Brasília has, given the above connections, developed as a vital node in the network of American modern design. Contemporary architects have vied for the privilege of contributing buildings in the area. 'To this day', writes architect James Polshek (2014: 89), 'architects covet the opportunity to build in Columbus'.

Behind the city's architectural pedigree is the story of one influential family's dedicated patronisation to the arts that worked together with their progressive values along the parameters of race, ethics, labour, gender and religion. Of considerable wealth, the Millers owned and developed the burgeoning Cummins Engines Company. Under J. Irwin and Xenia Miller's leadership, this corporate producer of industrial-grade, diesel engines grew to its current Fortune 500 status. J. Irwin, with his Oxford and Cambridge credentials, love for travel and cosmopolitan interests, introduced the town to names such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. At his encouragement, the family's home congregation invited Finnish-American architect, Eliel Saarinen, to build what has been considered by architectural historians to be perhaps the earliest example of mid-century modern church architecture in North America. After First Christian Church, co-designed by father-son team Eliel and Eero Saarinen along with their Cranbrook associate Charles Eames, Cummins Engines initiated a novel program that linked architecture and industry from the beginning. The corporation covered the architectural fees for additional public building projects in the city, provided those projects chose from a pre-determined list of architects working in the modern idiom. With this urban design policy in place, Columbus began quickly after the 1940s to earn its reputation as the North American

Brasilia. Over time, mid-century modern and contemporary architecture developed into an acknowledged consensus, at least in downtown, public spaces.[4]

Columbus is indeed a city of architectural 'firsts'. Eliel Saarinen's First Christian, which set the town on its modern track, at the time of its completion in 1942 was considered 'the most modern church building in the world' (Gordon 1953). Architectural historians identify Eero Saarinen's Irwin Union Bank (now Conference Center) as the first iteration of a glass-walled, open-plan structure to reject the concept of American banks as defensive, gated-and-barred fortresses. James Polshek's Mental Health Center is perhaps the earliest example of a bridge building in America. Intended to symbolise a 'bridge' to psychological health, literally and figuratively, the building spans Haw Creek, a tributary of the White River, connecting the hospital campus with an idyllic park setting.

Mid-century modern and contemporary architecture is the most visible layer of this urban narrative. But these progressive architectural dispositions map onto ideological and political commitments. J. Irwin and Xenia Miller pushed for progressive labour policies within Cummins, some of the only industrial capitalists of their day to support unionisation within their workforce. They were outspoken advocates for Civil Rights, implementing racial equity at Cummins but also working to organise the March on Washington and other political demonstrations. Local folklore has it that when Martin Luther King Jr was imprisoned during the protests, it was the Millers who paid his bond fees. At one point, due to his political activism, President Nixon placed Miller on his blacklist of political enemies. The family shut down large industrial plants in South Africa to protest apartheid. Back in Columbus, they spearheaded a church plant, Eero Saarinen's futuristic North Christian, to afford women more leadership opportunities and promote equality among congregants. Not least among their progressive social, educational and political activities, Miller also served as the first lay president of the liberal, ecumenical and social justice-oriented National Council of Churches (O'Toole 2019: 313-319; Rentschler 2014).

My overarching ethnographic project, *Synecdoche, Columbus*, traces the development of this interlaced history of diesel engines, ethical capitalism, activist religion, political dissent, avant-garde public art and high modern architectural structures into the present. In this article, however, I focus on an ongoing chapter of the city's history, a biannual, design-oriented event central to the city's ethos and identity building called Exhibit Columbus.

Fieldwork Overview: Exhibit Columbus 2019

Historically and symbolically, cities have symbolised negativity and vice. Drawing on Niccolò Caldararo's (2017: 4) description, the urban, as a compromised social-spatial form, is 'detrimental to morals and spiritual ideals'. From another direction, recent studies of urban design and city planning in the United States have focused on the implicit racist and classist tenors of capitalist-driven urbanist policies (Stein 2019). Although not without its own

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[4] For overviews of Columbus's progressive architectural heritage and the formational role the Miller family played in that heritage, see Korab 1989; Rentschler 2014; Leukart 2016: 51-52; and Wissing 2016: 52-59.

problems, Columbus is aware of and works actively against such negative understandings of the urban, either as symbolically caricatured or applied in the real world. City movers and shakers are engaged in searching for, identifying and employing experimental ways of fostering virtue, inclusiveness and thick social bonds. Urban design and architecture, for Columbus, are applied tools through which moral ideals might be realised or at least aspired to.

Fieldwork for this chapter involved participant observation at public city events over this past summer, most notably the recent Exhibit Columbus 2019, which had its opening weekend at the end of August (and runs until early December). Exhibit Columbus aims to carry on Columbus's tradition as an experimental, socially progressive, design-centred town. An initiative of the city's Landmark Columbus organisation, founded and directed by Richard McCoy — who has conservation experience with MoMA (The Museum of Modern Art) and The MET (Metropolitan Museum of art) — Exhibit Columbus began in 2017 with a series of temporary installations set up all around the city in public locations. Landmark Columbus organises the exhibitions on an every-other-year basis. On non-exhibit years (2018, 2020, etc.), Landmark invites panels of architects, scholars, designers and curators to speak in a public symposium forum (Exhibit Columbus 2019).

Exhibit themes vary thematically. This most recent round of installations took inspiration from a 1986 exhibit in Washington at the National Building Museum: *Good Design and the Community: Columbus, Indiana*. At this event, officials inducted J. Irwin Miller into the museum's hall of fame, the first person to hold the honour. According to the Exhibit's brochure, 'Mr. Miller chose to emphasise the community's process and involvement in building, rather than the architecture itself, as a source of his hometown pride'. 'Architecture is something you can see', Miller said in an interview with *The Washington Post*. 'You cannot see a spirit of a temperament or a character, though, and there is an invisible part of this community of which I am very proud because, in a democracy, I think that the process is more important than the product' (Exhibit Columbus 2019).

This quote, originating from the city's Medici of the Midwest, as he has been called, became the organizing theme of the 2019 exhibition, the concept around which every design firm involved was tasked with reflecting on and responding to. As the exhibition booklet encapsulated,

> 'Exhibit Columbus explores the idea of "good design and the community" and what it means today. The 2019 exhibition expands on these ideas in a tangible way by inviting architects, artists, and designers to create public, site-responsible installations and experiences that use Columbus' built heritage as inspiration and context, while highlighting the intangible role that a visionary community plays in growing a vibrant, sustainable, and equitable city.' (Exhibit Columbus 2019)

This self-description sets the table for the events, introducing some of the exhibit's key concerns: *design*, *community*, *tangibility of values*, *built heritage*, *sustainability* and *equitability*.

In order to study this event ethnographically, I attended Exhibit Columbus's opening weekend events, sitting in and taking notes on panel discussions that introduced each of the

exhibit design teams, and then making several follow-up research trips to the city to do observations of the site-specific installations and exhibits at public spaces around the city, as well as to meet with designers in person. In the following pages, I draw on both fieldnotes as well as interview data with one of the exhibit's designers. I also make sense of additional archival, historical, and digital data genres. Although as an urban anthropologist my work is 'inextricably ethnographic' and directly centred on fieldwork, I do not fetishize participant observation (on this debate see Pardo and Prato 2018: 2). Augmenting direct, in-person observation, I draw on multi-modal, supplementary methods to gain a more thorough picture of the local urban worlds I study. Walking the city streets, as I've mentioned, is an efficient way of experiencing urban settings as the city's everyday inhabitants experience them. Furthermore, digital media, and especially geolocational social media such as Instagram, do not replace first-hand research but cannot be ignored as they are an increasingly integrated, habitual media in the lives of everyday Columbus locals, be those locals white-collar design professionals or blue-collar industrial workers.

During opening weekend, I attended multiple panels over the two-day period. Four total panels, described as 'conversations', organised several exhibit teams under a common topic or subject. 'Conversation One: Heritage Interactions', for instance, introduced Borderless Studio, People for Urban Progress, Thirst, and the University Design Research Fellows. This conversation occurred on a Friday evening and took place at North Christian Church, a National Historic Landmark site and one of the city's most iconic architectural features. As another example, 'Conversation Three: New Civilities', took place the following Saturday morning at First Christian Church, another landmark situated on the city's central plaza and Avenue of the Architects, just across from I.M. Pei's Cleo Rogers Memorial Library.

In short, high-profile, international design firms such as LA-Más, Borderless Studio, Agency Landscape+Planning, People for Urban Progress, Extrapolation Factory, Bryony Roberts Studio, SO-IL, Frida Escobedo Studio, PienZa Sostenible, MASS Design Group, among others, contributed installations and presented their exhibits during opening weekend. Each of the panel discussions took up and ran with a different subject (such as, 'Heritage Interactions', 'Future Forward', 'New Civilities', and 'Living Systems'), but I was struck, from an anthropological perspective, by the shared rhetoric, terminologies and discourses that circulated in common among the four separate conversations. Discussants debated the construct of *community* and implored designers and city planners to think seriously about what the term encompasses. 'When we say community, what do we mean?' Daniel Luis Martinez, from the Miller School of Architecture, provoked. 'Who do we leave in and who do we leave out?' Sean Anderson, a discussion moderator and associate curator of architecture and design at MoMA in New York, urged conversants to think about the binaries of *inside* vs. *outside*, *permanent* and *impermanent*. 'American cities are falling apart', Anderson narrated, touching on the social, political, economic, and racial inequalities present, by definition, in the complex urban spaces we define as cities. 'We need to rethink the ways that we see', he expressed, urging new ways of viewing urban space and interacting in diverse urban domains. The groups discussed the contested fabrics of cities in terms of politics, internal divisions, inequalities, and borders.

Conversations returned again and again to the unique context of Columbus. Design teams as well as those locals involved in the proceedings agreed that Columbus was exemplary, even exceptional, in architectural terms. I found most interesting the ways the people speaking on the panels theorised Columbus as an experimental cite in terms of civics and civil interactions, a place that has historically done well in so many regards but which still, like any city, has a lot to improve on. Rick Valicenti, from the Thirst design group, for instance, tried to get at the essence and function of the Exhibit Columbus event itself. 'Exhibit Columbus is like a science fair', he concluded. The various public exhibits, for Valicenti, were 'prototypes for thought and thinking' about civic interactions. Anderson agreed with this designer's metaphor, arguing that the exhibits 'are a lesson in civics'. Other metaphors for Columbus's experimentalism also circulate. Daniel Luis Martinez discussed, during opening weekend, Columbus 'as a laboratory for architecture and design'. Journalist Douglas Wissing (2016: 55) has characterised the city as 'a Petrie dish, where the idea that good architecture can improve the human condition is still being tested', and even Richard McCoy, the head of Exhibit Columbus, draws on the experiment metaphor when commenting on what it is he hopes Exhibit Columbus does in and for the city.

By the end of opening weekend, it was clear to me that the goal of Exhibit Columbus is to help people think about the politics of public urban space and to propose new visions of inclusive civility and more accessible, non-monumental built forms. This idea of the *non-monumental* in architecture stems from the work of architects and theorists Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (1997) as well as Deborah Berke, the first woman dean of the Yale School of Architecture. Both Venturi and Berke, notably, have designed in Columbus. Berke (1997), for instance, has championed the concept of *everyday architecture*, a philosophy of building and constructing space that aims to defy monumentality and be more attuned to the rituals and movements of everyday life. I shall mention, very briefly, several exhibits that aimed to express these sorts of progressive civic agendas, both in the physical structure of the exhibits themselves as well as in the commentary and discourse produced during the conversations about those exhibits.

During opening weekend, the design duo of LA-Más, Elizabeth Timme and Helen Leung, discussed their firm's 'drive toward social justice' as the modus operandi of their architectural and infrastructural design projects. The purpose of their *Thank U, Next* exhibit, with its colourful hybridity of modular outdoor meeting tables and chairs, is to soften the monumental hardscape of Columbus's downtown modernism and experiment with democratic and flexible ways of interacting in civic space. This conversation's moderator, curator and critic Mimi Zeiger, asked again about how to better theorise *community* as a civic category. Leung mentioned that their firm, having been accepted as an exhibition team for the competition, did their own social reconnaissance in the area by listening to and meeting with community locals. One theme that stood out to them as a concern of local Columbus residents was that 'downtown Columbus is wonderful but catered to the well-to-do'. Their goal for *Thank U, Next*, then, was to 'bring in community members who wouldn't normally come to downtown'.

During this discussion, Timme also brought up the ideas of 'civic responsibility' and the 'multiplicity' of public spaces. In her group's quasi-ethnographic background research leading

up to the design of their exhibit, it occurred to them that many of Columbus's structures downtown were 'monumental' and 'heroic', and that perhaps residents not up with design and architecture history as well as contemporary built trends might feel 'intimidated', even 'judged by these heroic, brilliant buildings'. Timme discussed how she and Leung wanted to engage in 'taking that conversation' about civic responsibilities via 'new civilities' by 'putting it on the street'. *Thank U, Next* sits literally between main street and a contemporary parking garage. The reconfigurable, bright outdoor furniture sets have served many different functions for the community. I have observed as people use the space to eat lunch, read a book during a work break, or meet with friends to laugh and talk. The exhibit has partnered with the local community by including public bulletin boards where businesses, clubs, and other groups can schedule events at the exhibit. Digital observations show groups using the space to hold yoga classes, crafting events, cooking classes, or as a stage for public talks, concerts, and many other planned and impromptu events. When the exhibit is not serving as a city meeting space, children run across the colourful plastic tabletops and hop from one pedestal seat to another like it is a jungle gym.[5]

Likewise, whereas *Thank U, Next* envisions new civilities in terms of everyday, non-monumental, soft-scape types of architecture, other design firms address additional issues with built urban hardscapes. Agency Landscape + Planning, a Cambridge-based, woman-ran firm, approaches design through decidedly feminist frames. In their *XX* exhibit located next to Paul Kennon's *AT&T Facility* — a striking building with a bluish glass façade — the firm used the lens of gender to address civic inequality. This exhibit team also did quasi-ethnographic research leading up to installing the physical exhibit, interviewing Columbus locals and asking them about notable women in their lives. According to the designers, *XX* 'connects and uncovers hidden stories, particularly those of women'. The exhibit's location is strategic: the AT&T Facility employed women in the switching centre. This exhibit joins other sources in promoting the role that women such as Xenia Miller played in shaping the city over time. *XX* showcases audio snippets of oral recordings of Columbus inhabitants discussing formational women who have too often gone under the radar of public visibility and recognition.

The list goes on. Sean Ahlquist's *Playscape* offers a flexible jungle-gym, of sorts, intended to engage 'neuro-diverse individuals' and those 'with autism spectrum disorder'. Other exhibits, such as Viola Ago and Hans Tursack's *Understory*, MASS Design Group's *Corn / Meal*, Marshall Prado's *UTK Filament Tower*, Frida Escobedo Studio's *Untitled*, PienZa Sostenible's *Las Abejas*, and Sean Lally and Matthew Wizinsky's *The Long Now* drew attention in various ways to nature, the natural environment, and to environmental concerns, speaking to Pardo and Prato's (2018: 3) point that urban contestations are simultaneously political and environmental.[6] Alongside LA-Más's *Thank U, Next*, Bryony Roberts Studio's *Soft Civic*

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[5] See https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17888369494399093/
and https://www.instagram.com/p/B29qsqKp_lU/ for imagery related to *Thank U, Next* gatherings (mas4LA 2019, exhibitcolumbus 2019).
[6] As a group, the exhibits were very much engaged with environmental concerns and the influence of their installations on both the urban and natural environment. The *Love Letter to The Crump* exhibit

envisioned new, more democratic, 'softer' forms of civil interaction. SO-IL's *Into the Hedge* critiqued the exclusive structural landscaping of the Miller House and Gardens, and in so doing dealt explicitly with the idea of arbour hedges serving as exclusive, elite boundaries, rejecting, in short, 'the hedge as a divider' concept by inviting people to participate in 'a responsive and playful environment'. The Extrapolation Factory's *What If Columbus* 'explores free speech and the public sphere in our digital age', encouraging participants to 'contemplate, articulate, and share their visions for Columbus' and the city's infrastructures via a tablet that blends into the city's hardscape.

If Exhibit Columbus is a science fair for progressive civics and a laboratory for inclusive, new civilities and pluralistic modes of social interaction, each of these exhibits gets at civility in a slightly different way. These exhibits and installations aim, each in their own manner, to carry on the progressive Miller family tradition and embody the Exhibit Columbus motto wherein investing in architecture, art and design serve to 'improve people's lives and make cities better places to live' (Exhibit Columbus 2019).

How to Edit A Building

In the remainder of this article, I want to focus on one exhibit. Although following ground-breaking urban studies work that observes and analyses the 'social lives' of urban spaces by documenting, quantitatively, uses and experiences of those spaces (Whyte 1980), I am also fascinated by the behind-the-scenes development of the installation, that is, in the discourses, rhetoric and ideologies that surround and map onto the creation and use of the physical structure. One local design team associated with the recently established J. Irwin Miller Architecture Program was tasked with creating an installation at the site of their own campus.

A student of Mies van der Rohe and long-time architect at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, Myron Goldsmith designed The Republic Building. Goldsmith's building, originally a printing plant and headquarters for Columbus's local newspaper, *The Evening Republican* (now *The Republic*), was completed in 1971. 'Conceptually, the building was meant to expose the inner workings of the paper', writes one architectural preservation scholar (Leukart 2016: 55), emphasizing the building's intended evocation of transparency via its sheer glass walls and minimisation of symbolic barriers between inside and outside. The mechanics of the press were to be a kinetic sculpture, of a sort, the industrial operations observable through the transparent walls. The Republic Building is a well-respected local specimen of Miesian glass-walled, light-filled rectilinearism. Since the 1970s, Columbus locals have viewed the building as an iconic point of pride, especially given the structure's high visibility when first entering the city by highway.

(https://exhibitcolumbus.org/2019-exhibition/washington-street/borderless-studio), for instance, plans to recycle the massive tapestry into handbags to be sold in local stores, therefore making dual use of the materials as well as returning capital back into the local environment and economy. *Entry Portal*, which I discuss in detail below, originally planned to recycle the iron parts of their structure after the exhibit and turn the plastic façade pieces into a wall mural. As Etien Santiago confided, however, they received an offer from an upstate outdoor sculpture park that plans to move the exhibit to a permanent location after the Columbus exhibit ends.

So how to edit a near-perfect icon of mid-century modern design? Thinking about the single building as part of a complex urban fabric, the team started by asking how a seemingly perfect Miesian structure might be improved upon. After several months of brainstorming, Daniel Luis Martinez and Etien Santiago, together with three graduate student collaborators, landed on the idea of the *Entry Portal*. The project underwent several iterations, but the final product is a life-sized, angular walkway, of sorts, a rectangular kaleidoscope of steel and plastic that stretches from a main sidewalk and street to an entrance in the side of the glass façade. To reduce the structure to its primary function, the portal is an entryway.

In addition to conducting participant observation among tourist groups who visited the building and interacting with the exhibition site, I recently talked with Santiago one-on-one. The built structure itself is simple enough aesthetically and structurally, but while conversing with one half of the design team lead, I was fascinating by the level of deliberation about symbolism, intent and interpretation of built forms that informed the process leading up to the construction of the physical exhibit.[7]

Santiago told me that one of the most productive parts of the process was scrutinizing The Republic as a team through the grid of Exhibit Columbus's theme: 'Good Design and the Community'. Analysing the building in which you teach and inhabit daily, according to this architect, designer, theorist and professor, was a telling experience. They decided that The Republic 'doesn't engage the street in any way. It doesn't have any little courtyards or urban plazas that welcome people to nestle up close to the building. It's kind of an imposing building in this way'. Santiago expressed that they classified the building after their analysis as more *suburban* than *urban* because of the way it was set off from the street and the connective fabric of the downtown area in what might be interpreted as a standoffish sort of way.

My interactions with visitors at the site corroborate this public impression of inaccessible, distant beauty. 'It's true, it's not really inviting', one woman in my tour group whispered, observing our own images projected back at us through the reflective north wall of Goldsmith's building. In my walking though Columbus, I took care to note how other people interact with the building when they pass by it. Because of its current function as an architecture school and campus building, the edifice is not necessarily open to the public beyond students and professors. I observed frequently how people walked by the building, stopping to take it in from the sidewalk, sometimes crossing the wide lawn to inspect the building's exterior glass up close. Sometimes interactions included photographing the structure at different angles. But human-building interactions, for the most part, end there.

Co-designer Daniel Luis Martinez picked up on these interpretive tensions regarding the built structure and at one point during opening weekend described the building as perhaps 'the most egalitarian in the city', on the one hand, but then characterised the structure's transparency as thinly symbolic rather than an objective reality. In its research and deliberations leading up to the exhibit's installation, the exhibit team looked for and noted these sorts of interactive

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[7] For images of the portal in various production stages, see https://www.instagram.com/p/B07MQ7GJvrS/, https://www.instagram.com/p/BzLCT_5Jz7o/ and https://www.instagram.com/p/B0CQZj2pJTE/ (daniel_iu_arch 2019).

limitations, noting that even if a person intended on entering the building, confusion would ensue. 'To make matters worse', Santiago narrated, 'we knew exactly where the entrance was, because we use it every day, but we realised that outsiders don't really know'. 'All of the entrances', he continued, 'look exactly the same'. For the general public, 'it's not really clear whether you're supposed to enter there or not'. The goal, for this design team, was what urban anthropologists describe as the 'production of pluralist spaces' (Pardo and Prato 2018: 9) that counteract entrenched social hierarchies of various sorts, in this case being campus insiders and outsiders, usual building inhabitants and visitors.

The Exhibit Columbus *Family Activity Guide* (Woo 2019) also speaks to these issues, at the same time accentuating the ways that Columbus seeks to cultivate design-minded inhabitants. Los Angeles artist, designer and writer Rosten Woo's illustrated activity booklet for the 2019 exhibition engages young people and children, helping them to think architecturally about the urban environment in Columbus. 'What makes a good hello?' the two-page section designated to *Entry Portal* inquires (Woo 2019: 10-11). 'Architecture can make us feel things. When you look at The Republic Building do you feel like you can enter? Why or why not? How does it make you feel?' The backdrop for the two-page spread is a black-and-white image of the side of Goldsmith's Miesian building. No exhibit is yet present. The guide goes on: 'ACTIVITY: What would you add to The Republic Building to make it feel a little more . . . friendly?' it asks. 'Draw it in below'. Woo's guide is a lesson in architectural feeling and seeing, reflecting the MoMA curator's comment during opening weekend on the need for new ways of seeing, visualizing and experiencing urban settings. The guidebook invites children to participate in the process of design, interacting with the *Entry Portal* (and its potentialities) in both two and three dimensions. The guide assumes and encourages the reader to see the structure in person.

What I find most interesting is the way the guide's subtle commentary on the exhibit gently or suggestively leads children to think of the pre-exhibit building as less than inviting but also leaves room for interpretive ambiguity ('[D]o you feel like you can enter? Why or why not?'). Beyond *Entry Portal* itself, the activity book welcomes children to think in terms of affect and the emotive aspects of the built environment in everyday lives. 'What is the most friendly building you know?' it inquires. 'What is the LEAST friendly building?' it counters. An information bar on the far right of the spread offers further commentary on the exhibit: 'While the Republic Building is set back from the street and has hidden entrances, this installation is a bold new portal — an embodiment of the school's desire to extend a welcoming hand to the local community and visitors alike' (Woo 2019: 10-11). This booklet encourages children to think like designers and to share, to some degree, in the brainstorming process that the *Entry Portal* itself underwent in working up to the creating of the entryway.

In Santiago's words, and as we observe in the language of the *Family Activity Guide*, one way to improve on the existing design of this 'understated glass box' was to accentuate and modify the public entrance in some way, making the building more inviting and welcoming to the community. 'We have to make an entrance', the team decided. Thus, *Entry Portal*, as an interactive marker, inviting passageway, or three-dimensional sign, came into being.

In my observations during the opening weekend talks as well as in conversations with the designers themselves, I picked up on a thread of taboo entertained in the ways the designers

theorised and conceptualised their exhibit. Martinez, at one point during the proceedings, wondered whether 'Myron would be rolling in his grave' if he could see *Entry Portal* jutting out from the side of his perfect glass rectangle. Another visiting exhibit designer, Paola Aguirre of Borderless, also expressed wonder at Martinez and Santiago's deft balance between respect and experimentation: 'It's a Skidmore, Owings & Merrill building', she exclaimed at one point. 'You don't touch those things!' Aguirre was thrilled with how well the team did with their project given the pressure and status of the building as an icon. These sorts of discourses seem to get at the designers' cognizance of the high esteem the building has both in terms of mid-century modern architectural history as well as local pride of place.

Conclusions: Toward the Possibility of New Civilities

Through the lenses of urban ethnography and the anthropology of design, I find it helpful to think of *Entry Portal* as a body modification, technological edit, or built extension. The exhibition team sought to balance between respect for a semi-permanent, canonical structure and wanting to improve upon that edifice's functional limitations in subtle, layered, non-permanent, creative ways. *Entry Portal* is a lesson in inclusive space-making, demonstrating what Alison Clarke (2018: xvii) describes as 'the mutuality of people and things, the confluence of the material and the social'. In my interlocuters' own words, the exhibit is a productive case study in 'new civilities', a fascinating glimpse into the complex relationships between built 'non-human agents' (Pardo and Prato 2018: 5) and those agents' creators, inhabitants and interactants. The designers sought to take a symbolically egalitarian building and make it even more practically so.

During my latest research trips to the city and digital ethnographic observations, I am paying close attention to how people interact with these new temporary exhibits. It remains to be seen how 'successful' the exhibit will be, at least in an empirical, observable sense. From one direction, *Entry Portal* is less interactive than, say, *Thank U, Next*, with its modular, interchangeable outdoor furniture arrangements. What do people *do* with *Entry Portal*? My observations confirm that people, indeed, utilise the exhibit for its primary function as an entryway. They progress through the structure's panels and then pass into The Republic building itself. But aside from this task, I have observed other interactions. People photograph or video the exhibit at key time periods throughout the day, capturing the way the sun filters through the materials, throwing shadows like a kaleidoscope. People, singly or in small groups, gather around the portal, observing its width and heights, touching the panelled sides and running hands along steel frames. Interactions with the exhibit include both the visual as well as the tactile. There are also more dynamic uses: Children run and around and around the structure, peeking around the frame, playing tag or hide-and-seek. Most recently, a contemporary dance team from nearby Indianapolis chose the *Entry Portal* as the grounds for one of several site-specific, interpretive group dances (dance kaleidoscope in 2019).

Built structures, though, inevitably contain a symbolic dimension. *Entry Portal* serves as a bridge-portal between the street and the building, the city and the architecture school, the urban and the suburban. As an Exhibit Columbus project, *Entry Portal* is a case study in 'new civilities' in that its aim is to span the symbolic and physical gap between the environment of

the city of Columbus and the presence of a new architectural school. The exhibit intends to attend to the inequalities of hierarchical, canonical built space and bespeak inclusivity and welcome.

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The Gambiarra City: International Migrants' Subjectivity and the Making of a Multi-Dimensional Urban Space in São Paulo[1]

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São Paulo has been studied extensively as a divided city in which inequality has torn apart the urban space between centre and periphery. Following the specific connections between the local and the global in the lives of international migrants, I suggest that São Paulo can be a 'gambiarra' city. A 'gambiarra' city accommodates all kinds of life journeys, becoming a multi-dimensional space inhabited, activated and explored as a resource in the transformations of subjectivity. An approach that takes into account migrants' trajectories of mobility in the city and their understandings of belonging brings out the ways in which people's selfhood develops in the urban environment. The analysis shows that Latin American urban centres such as São Paulo are complex and heterogeneous spaces, in which migrants' presence can stand beyond the confines of ethnic territories.
Keywords: Migrants, mobility, São Paulo, subjectivity, urban space.

> When I arrived in São Paulo, I was surprised because I saw such a big city. The first times I went out to the streets I felt like an ant. Around me there were high-rises and it was like I was wiped out. Now I can walk across the city and appreciate it a lot, because I can remember many good things about this city and [the neighbourhood of] Bom Retiro. I like the squares, stores, sports courts and everything in Bom Retiro. I feel that Brazil-São Paulo-Bom Retiro is part of my life history. (Corina, 2014)[2]

Born in Cochabamba, Bolivia, Corina was in her twenties when I met her in the Portuguese classes that I was teaching in Bom Retiro. Like most Spanish-speaking migrants living in this area, Corina worked as a seamstress in one of the many outsourced sewing units attached to the garment industry. Corina's words, quoted from a class assignment, draw attention to the way people can activate or de-activate personal and urban resources to make a city something of their own.

For Corina, São Paulo first evoked disorientation and impressions of being irrelevant within a huge urban conurbation: she 'felt like an ant' and 'was wiped out' in the presence of numerous high-rises when she first arrived. Corina's feelings were not atypical as São Paulo has often been described as not being 'a humane city' (Amaral 2001). Convergent with this picture of a disheartening metropolis, urban studies on São Paulo have constructed a portrait of a 'divided city', split between the poles of 'centre' and 'periphery'. These studies, as I argue in the next section, are based largely on macro-structural analyses, which take São Paulo as a case for discussing, among other issues, inequality, segregation, violence and precarious ways of

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[2] Excerpt from a Portuguese class assignment of October 2014. My translation from Portuguese and Spanish. The name Corina is a pseudonym, to protect anonymity.

living. This notion of a divided city, however, suggest that understandings of belonging and living in the city are defined by the spatial area in which the individual is placed. Therefore, discussions generally revolve around the dichotomy between the 'privileged', placed in the social and symbolic space of the 'centre', and the 'marginals', consigned to the social and symbolic space of the 'periphery.' Such formulation tends to reinforce a framework of 'static' positions in the urban scenario of São Paulo, whereby each subject becomes the expression of the divide, or area, within which their life is circumscribed.

Accounts such as Corina's problematise this vision of fixed identities in a 'divided city.' Her understanding of living in São Paulo highlights that she is both a mobile being (she is a migrant and walks 'all over the city') and a subject in transformation effected in and through the city. In this article, I focus on the life trajectories of international migrants in São Paulo to suggest that, in taking into account their understandings of belonging and mobility in the urban space, cities can be deemed multi-dimensional places that embrace the life-in-the-making of their inhabitants. By taking seriously the perceptions of leading different lives in an urban setting, I propose to describe São Paulo as a 'gambiarra city'. 'Gambiarra' is a colloquial word in Portuguese**,** usually referring to a solution improvised with existing scarce resources. By calling São Paulo a 'gambiarra city,' I want to approach it as a city experienced with different points of arrival and departure that allows different sorts of lives exist in their own processes of subjective transformation.

São Paulo and its Complexities: Beyond the 'Divided City' and its Migrants' Neighbourhoods
In 2010, a United Nations Human Settlements report (UN-HABITAT) launched a series called 'Cities and Citizens — Bridging the Urban Divide,' which presented São Paulo as 'a tale of two cities.'[3] The divide that led to this characterisation referred to the appalling inequalities of income, health, water, sanitation, education and other categories that were produced by urban processes of social exclusion. São Paulo's specific inequalities became an oft-explored dynamic that disclosed, for instance: the misadjusted modernity of a country that produced a problematic city caught between the poles of 'the archaic' and 'the postmodern' (Maricato 1999); or the social and territorial segregation in which different urban classes existed spatially and socially separate from one another, with the upper-middle classes living in enclaves of gated condominiums while the lower classes subsisted in precarious settlements near these enclosed complexes or in the suburbs (Caldeira 2000). Within this dichotomist framework, some studies focused on one side of the divide, specifically on the peripheral and precarious areas, such as the 'auto-constructed' lots (Holston 2008) or 'slums' (Davies 2006).

Accordingly, an extensive tradition of urban studies attempted to understand São Paulo as a 'divided city' within the universe of the disenfranchised. Scholars' attention to urban populations was directed both to the peripheries and the city centre. Apropos the peripheries, some studies highlighted working-class groups organised around issues of urban infrastructure and housing (Bonduki and Rolnik 1979) and influence networks drawn along the lines of party

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[3] For an example of a critical analysis of 'dual cities' in Albania, see Prato (2017).

politics (Caldeira 1984). Also, they portrayed other forms of socialisation such as leisure activities (Magnani 1984) and claims of a periphery identity via hip-hop music and culture (Pardue 2010). Conversely, some accounts focused on the city centre and recounted how this part of São Paulo lost its prominence as a vital reference for the city's dynamics, being re-appropriated by lower-class workers in precarious housing situations (Kowarick 2011) or by 'unwanted' individuals, such as crack users (Frúgoli and Spaggiari 2010; Rui 2012). Therefore, the representation of São Paulo as a 'divided city' was closely accompanied by the portrayal of numerous 'marginal' subjectivities.

At the same time, specific areas and neighbourhoods in São Paulo have been associated with specific groups of international migrants throughout the twentieth century. For instance, Japanese nationals were likely to be concentrated in the neighbourhood of Liberdade (Cardoso 1972), while Italians were spread across Brás, Bexiga and Barra Funda (Machado 1983 [1927]). Migrants of Syrian and Lebanese origin could be found in the area around 25 de Março Street (Truzzi 1996) and the district of Bom Retiro was said to be one of the few that hosted successive migrant groups, where Jewish migrants replaced the Italians, and subsequently the Koreans succeeded the Jews (Truzzi 2001). All these accounts shape international migrants' presence in São Paulo as ethnic groups, in which a national or ethnic qualifier comes to be commensurable with a specific culture and attached to a particular territory in the urban space.

Both formulations of 'migrant's neighbourhoods' and the 'divided city' tie certain spaces to certain groups of people. They inscribe marks of difference onto particular places and simultaneously circumscribe certain subjectivities within specific urban boundaries. Eventually, they promote the characterisation of places and subjects by attributing a certain degree of alterity (peripheral, marginal, or foreigner) and, consequently, essentialise them in some way. In this framework, actors in the city become closely identified with the spaces to which they are assumed to belong, thus generating a sense of 'static' positionalities.

Based on the evidence provided by the physical mobility of international migrants within and beyond the city, this paper enquires into Latin American cities such as São Paulo by taking into account migrants' own understandings of self and belonging and observing how these impact the way they circulate in the city. As mobile actors, migrants can develop various life trajectories that disclose different aspects of the urban space, thereby revealing how cities are complex and multi-layered environments. I intend to show this without recourse to exoticizing urban areas via the alterity of specific subjects or socio-economic conditions — the very features which the narratives of 'migrants' neighbourhoods' and a 'divided city' usually emphasise. Instead, I want to advance an understanding of São Paulo's urban complexity which resonates with previous analyses that not only have revealed the ambiguous forms of urban processes in São Paulo, (Telles 2006, Feltran 2011) but have considered the city as a heterogeneous place (Marques 2016). I will highlight this complexity by showing the presence of international migrants in ways which Veronica Gago (2017) identifies as 'mottled'. I also mobilise Abdoumalik Simone's (2016) conceptualisations of the 'mutant' and the 'opaque' (2016) nature of urban cities in the Global South. The 'mottled', 'mutant' and 'opaque' will be galvanised in this article by the notion of 'gambiarra.'

I adopt an approach developed by Pardo (1996) on the relationships between the individual and 'the system' in order to bring out individual international migrants' understandings of life in the city and indicate how complex and multifaceted an immense city like São Paulo can be by accommodating disparate personal trajectories within its urban space. I follow my interlocutors throughout the city and beyond so as to identify the intricate entanglements in they are involved while making a living in São Paulo. In this way, I optimise the possibilities for applying participant observation as a resourceful method that helps to expand the reaches of urban research in a global context (Prato and Pardo 2013). I also want to show 'that individual lives are uniquely shaped in the city' (Pardo and Prato 2018: 7) because a city is not just a scenario: a city becomes constitutive of these lives, at the same time that these lives constitute the city.

International Migrants as Urban Subjectivities in São Paulo: Singular Mobilities and Life Journeys

Following on from studies that treat the mobility of certain migrant groups by defining migrants' ways of being as 'patterns' in the city (Rolnik 2012, Souchaud 2012), I opt instead for developing an approach that privileges the apprehension of singular mobilities within the city, that is, I concentrate on following the personal courses of particular migrants in order to reach a comprehension of the urban environment via certain individuals' own understandings of their trajectories within the city.

In this endeavour, I do not limit the analytical gaze by considering just one nationality and/or ethnicity, an approach which is frequently adopted in migration studies. Here, I present the personal trajectories of migrants from countries such as Bolivia, South Korea and Paraguay, for fieldwork in São Paulo offered rich opportunities for meeting such a diverse set of people.[4] Corina, introduced earlier, is from Bolivia. Helen, Mr Kwon and Kitty[5] are the other interlocutors whose senses of belonging and courses in the city are depicted in the following sections. Whereas Helen and Mr Kwon were born in South Korea, Kitty was born in Paraguay. While Helen can be considered a 'foreign resident' because of her status as a middle-class housewife, all the others can be said to be 'economic migrants' (Prato 2016), as their main motivation was to work in Brazil.

Each of them adopted different strategies for living in São Paulo, as each nationality can acquire a different status according to Brazil's legal framework and international treaties (Silva 2018). For instance, both Helen and Mr Kwon held permanent residency permits while Kitty lived and worked without legal documents. Helen and Mr Kwon developed different attitudes in relation to their ethnic community. Whereas the former distanced herself from the

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[4] I spent 16 months of fieldwork in São Paulo and a couple of cities in Bolivia and South Korea between 2013 and 2015. During fieldwork, I had the opportunity to be in contact with men and women, working and middle-class people, some were born in Paraguay or South Korea, others in China or Bolivia. The only reference that united them all was the fact that I met each of them directly or indirectly in the district of Bom Retiro.

[5] These are pseudonyms.

community, the latter strongly based his existence on it. Ciubrinskas (2018) observed a similar phenomenon in Chicago and referred to it as 'transnational fragmentation'.

The ethnographic cases for this article chosen for specific reasons. Corina's perception of São Paulo was the one which raised my awareness of the importance of the urban environment to people's subjectivity, so I use her case in the introduction as inspiring example**.** However, as I could not gather sufficient material concerning her experiences, the other three life journeys were selected in order to develop my argument. Helen's and Mr Kwon's trajectories are significant because they show how individuals from the same country of origin can develop very different senses of belonging and, consequently, dissimilar life courses in the city. At the same time, Kitty's trajectory in São Paulo typifies the unsuspected relations that flourish in the informal environment of the city, as her course crossed Mr Kwon's, even though they came from different countries. In this sense, Kitty's and Mr Kwon's connections can be seen as exemplary of São Paulo's 'superdiverse' configurations of the kind analysed by Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong (2018).

Therefore, I use the expression 'life journey' to refer to the courses that mark the singularity of a person's existence. In what follows, these individuals are taken as the central focus of an analysis in which their idiosyncrasies about ways of living and thinking gain pre-eminence (Rapport 2012b). The concept of life journey also recognises life as a 'struggle for being' and an experiment in which people live the world in their own terms (Jackson 2005). By giving pre-eminence to the ways in which a migrant's life proceeds in space and time, acknowledging it as a manifestation of a valid experimentation in the world, the concept of life journey substantiates a migrant's sense of existence in unique configurations. These configurations are capable of expressing the intersections among multiple categories, such as nationality, class, ethnicity, gender and citizenship. The present analysis thus recognises the dynamic capacity of an individual's agency to move within the configuration in which they belong and influence it (Pardo 1996).

At the beginning of this article, Corina's own impressions of São Paulo offered a glimpse into her trajectory as a migrant. In her progress through the city, she found the resources to create a personal and intimate journey that both transformed her and made São Paulo become part of her life history. From now on, I will refer to migrants' trajectories in São Paulo as 'life journeys.' By adopting such an approach, migrants' mobilities in São Paulo will be recognised as existential processes in which the city permeates people's subjectivity. In people's efforts to make life keep going, these subjectivities enliven the city in such a way that their individual trajectories contribute to the process of 'making' São Paulo too. In order to demonstrate that a trajectory within a city is singular and that a person constitutes and is simultaneously constituted by the urban environment, I now turn to the ethnographic cases of Helen, Mr Kwon and Kitty within São Paulo.

Helen and the Open City

Helen and I met in the public school in Bom Retiro where I volunteered to teach Basic Portuguese for Non-Brazilians. She had recently arrived in São Paulo with her husband, a postdoctoral fellow at the University of São Paulo. Living in the west part of the city, she used

to commute by subway to attend the classes every Sunday. She was born in South Korea and the reasons and conditions for her move to Brazil were not related to joining Korean kin or exploring business opportunities, as is frequently the case (Choi 2009, Kim and Lee 2016). Before moving to Brazil, Helen already had an extensive record of domestic and transnational mobility as she had moved between cities in South Korea and Japan. She was born in the 1970s in a small town in the southwest region of South Korea. After finishing secondary school, she moved to Busan to study Japanese. When she earned her degree, she looked for work and moved to Seoul. Later she moved to a small town in Japan, where she taught Korean to Japanese city council officials. In this town, she met her husband, who was born in Brazil but had been in Japan since his undergraduate studies. Going against her parents' expectations, Helen married this non-Korean and, while the couple was living in Japan, she gave birth to a baby girl in Seoul. São Paulo became part of her trajectory because her husband held a fixed-term academic post at the University of São Paulo. Arriving in the city with such a history of international mobility, Helen had a particular way of conceiving belonging. She had never felt that being 'Korean' was the only defining aspect of her person. After living for eleven years in Japan, she observed that she was Japanese too. 'My sister and friends in Korea say that I've changed and now I'm Japanese, but I didn't expect to feel Japanese', she once jokingly remarked. Although Helen acknowledged characteristics she identified as being Japanese, she was aware that she was not Japanese. By Japanese, she meant, for example, a disposition to appreciate quieter behaviour, in contrast to Koreans, who she thought were not very courteous, 'Oh, Koreans are very noisy!' Because she did not identify herself as entirely Korean, she was not very enthusiastic about attending most of the events organised by Korean families in São Paulo. 'There is a wall between me and them. Koreans here frequently cast a look of disapproval when I speak in Japanese to my husband.' Brazilian-ness was not yet an attribute Helen recognised in herself, but she was keen to achieve a command of Portuguese and to take the Brazilian proficiency test for foreigners.[6] Once a week she visited Bom Retiro to attend the Portuguese classes in the above-mentioned public school.

The transnational space she created by way of her life journey did not follow the usual circuit of countries through which Koreans in Latin America traditionally circulate (Park 2014). She deliberately opted for not attaching herself completely to a Korean community in Brazil. Similarly, Prato (2009) found that contemporary Albanian migrants avoided interaction with co-nationals in Italy because they did not identify with the pre-established Albanian communities. Helen's international trajectory did not conform to the usual accounts of ethnic groups in Latin America which assume that international migrants identify themselves with the nationality of their country of origin. Helen's case challenges this presupposition since she did not believe she was only Korean: she declined invitations to attend events organised by other Koreans in São Paulo and preferred, for instance, to travel to other spaces in the city, such as public parks and open markets where she could have quality time with her family, 'I like to go to the open market. There's *pastel*[7] and sugarcane juice. There is a kind stall-owner who always

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[6] Celpe-Bras is the official test for assessing a foreigner's proficiency of Portuguese in Brazil.
[7] Common snack in Brazil, consisting of rectangle-shaped thin-crust pies with assorted fillings.

gives us more juice.' Likewise, Helen travelled across São Paulo to the public school in the city centre to learn Portuguese, considering this a positive experience, 'In the Portuguese class, all students speak Spanish, except me. I didn't speak Portuguese well, but this class is good for me.'[8]

In order to cope with the events of her life journey beyond a sense of national-cum-ethnic categorisation, Helen developed a reflexive approach about herself. She called it a 'way of thinking' and told me: 'When someone leaves one's own country of origin, one acquires another way of thinking. One can think about everything in different ways.' Helen's way of thinking incorporated the unexpected events of her life journey, and also expressed an ability to go beyond categorical features of national classification (Rapport 2010). Thinking beyond this convention engendered a life journey that required a reflexivity which questioned usual values and allowed her to develop novel understandings of being in the world, such as in her notion of a way of thinking. Helen's refusal to be fully identified by ethnic-cum-national fixities was combined with an extremely mobile life journey worldwide. As such, she explored São Paulo based on her way of thinking, acknowledging that the city contributed to changing her: 'I am learning a new language and getting to know São Paulo.' She then praised the city as an 'open place', where she was able to come and go according to her family needs, recognizing that she incorporated something of it in herself.

Mr Kwon and the Precarious City

I now turn to Mr Kwon, who, like Helen, was born in South Korea. I do this to demonstrate that even when people have the same nationality, they can follow very different paths in São Paulo because each migrant develops a unique sense of self in the city which may or may not be based on matters of national belonging. Mr Kwon had arrived in São Paulo in the 1990s spurred on by his brother-in-law's enthusiasm for new opportunities, as South Korean migrants were often attracted by the circumstances available in some Latin American cities (Choi 2009). At that time, Brazil seemed to be a 'new Eldorado' (Silva 2013) but things did not go as expected. Mr Kwon ended up no longer married and his two daughters had grown up away from him in Seoul. I met him when I applied for a part-time position in his flower shop in Bom Retiro. He also owned a restaurant on the same block, where he employed other staff.

Unlike Helen's life journey, Mr Kwon's trajectory in São Paulo was definitely led by a powerful sense of being Korean. In his late fifties, he frequently affirmed, 'I will soon go back to my homeland', namely South Korea. However, he had been postponing his return for more than twenty years. Besides his desire to return to the place he considered as home, his businesses in São Paulo also capitalised on his Korean identity: his restaurant and flower shop catered for Korean customers, and non-Koreans always came accompanied by Koreans. However, Mr Kwon's way of being Korean in São Paulo was rather peculiar when compared to descriptions of other Koreans living in the city (Sampaio 2011). He dedicated himself to two activities usually ascribed to women — cooking and arranging flowers. By dedicating his time exclusively to running his businesses, he did not have the opportunity to enjoy leisure time on

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[8] My translation from an excerpt of Helen's Portuguese class assignment of August 2014.

golf courses, as other local Korean men did, and could not develop religious bonds in any of the Korean Christian churches of Bom Retiro. Again, one sees how the details of individual life courses in São Paulo do not match standard descriptions of collective ethnic performance. Nevertheless, Mr Kwon's sense of being Korean provided him with a certain level of personal certainty and integrity. It asserted Korean-ness during a provisional period in a country he did not feel was his whilst simultaneously providing for a future life as a Korean in his own homeland. His way of being Korean surely demonstrates that ethnic-cum-national affiliation is 'an emic category of ascription' (Eriksen 2010:16), but Mr Kwon enlivened it in very unusual ways, as pointed out above.

This strong sense of belonging, which was firmly attached to a national identity, strongly directed Mr Kwon's activities in São Paulo — something which did not happen to Helen. Once, having learned that I had a Brazilian boyfriend, he very disparagingly said, 'Brazilians are all reprobates: they get married, make babies and leave you.' Regarding Paraguayans, who were frequently employed in his businesses, he confided, showing a certain trust in me, that 'here [in the restaurant], there are Paraguayans working, it's no good, but don't say anything to them.' Whereas non-Koreans would be generally deemed untrustworthy, São Paulo was said to be 'dangerous' and 'unsafe', as it was 'full of crooks.' For this reason, Mr Kwon undertook a very limited amount of circulation in the city. Generally, he would confine himself to the weekly trips to purchase wholesale goods in distribution centres located in the west zone. In seeing his stay in São Paulo as temporary, he also preferred not to have a secure and comfortable house of his own. His routine in Bom Retiro largely consisted of work in the restaurant and the flower shop. He lived very modestly, using a bed, cooker, sink and bathroom at the back of his flower shop. He worked long hours, usually going to bed around 2 am, saying that he worked so hard in order 'to have the money to retire in South Korea.' He did not invest either in formal or long-term employment relations in Brazil, but organised his businesses around precarious practices. The jobs in the flower shop and the restaurant did not follow formal procedures: there were no written contracts and everything was agreed orally and in general terms. While the first month was considered a trial period, no job duration was defined and there was no mention of social security benefits. Under these conditions, innumerable instabilities affected both employer and staff. Due to the combination of a lack of formal commitments tying them to work and the low wage offered, many employees worked for only a few weeks, quitting as soon as they could find better-paid jobs. As mentioned above, Mr Kwon's employees were usually from Paraguay, confirming a history of involvement between generations of Koreans and nationals of Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America (Buechler 2004), however, mentions of past Brazilian staff were sporadically made. While Mr Kwon contributed to the making of a precarious environment within São Paulo, at the same time he was also deeply affected by precariousness. The sense of being Korean expressed by Mr Kwon asserted an ethnic specificity that insulated him within a 'Korean world' in São Paulo and restricted his mobility within a 'dangerous' city. His experiences as an international migrant in São Paulo initiated practices that reinforced the precarious environment in the city while this same environment impacted his way of conceiving an unstable life in the city.

Kitty and the Rough City

Moving now to Kitty's life journey, I aim to show how certain urban spaces in São Paulo are not exclusive to specific ethnic groups as the academic approach on 'migrants' neighbourhoods' tends to stress, since Mr Kwon's life journey intersected with Kitty's at a specific moment in the district of Bom Retiro. Kitty's mobility was largely driven by a widespread network of Paraguayan nationals who directed her towards the informal labour setting where Mr Kwon's businesses existed. I met Kitty when I was rushing around Mr Kwon's restaurant on a Friday night as other employees had gone to Paraguay for the Christmas holiday. Kitty and her partner Jimmy had come to replace them. Before working for Mr Kwon, they had been employees of an outsourced business in the local garment industry, as Kitty explained, 'I used to iron clothes and he folded them.' Kitty was 26 and Jimmy was 21. Both were born in Paraguay and their presence in Brazil reflected a recent trend of young Paraguayans going to São Paulo after 2000 (Profit 2014). Kitty also had a ten-year-old son living with her mother in Paraguay.

In participating in an informal network of Paraguayans living in São Paulo, Kitty could find casual work at outsourced businesses and places such as Mr Kwon's restaurant, as well as boyfriends or partners of Paraguayan origin. The informality of such a universe, which some characterise as a sort of 'invisibility' (Maldonado 2016), imparted a highly unstable and uncertain trajectory for Kitty in São Paulo. For instance, some time after I met her in Mr Kwon's restaurant kitchen, she became pregnant. Jimmy decided not to take responsibility and left her to make the difficult decision of having a child without a father in Brazil or risking her life in an illegal abortion. She decided to have the baby, but the pregnancy disrupted Kitty's ability to work and send remittances to her mother and ten-year-old son in Paraguay. As Kitty did not have official documents, her pregnancy reinforced the precariousness of her life in São Paulo. She continued working informally at Mr Kwon's restaurant and flower shop for some months but, when her pregnancy became apparent, she was dismissed. She tried to stay with Jimmy, now in a painful relationship with him, as he preferred to find another girlfriend. Later, Kitty found a new Paraguayan partner, Juan, who she said 'had more brains' than Jimmy. Kitty and Juan worked for two months in a Paraguayan-owned business ironing and folding clothes. However, the owner fled to Paraguay without paying any of the employees and Juan had to work in another clothing business. Because of her pregnancy, Kitty could not find work easily so she was embroidering women's tops for a low piece rate. Kitty's 'varoncito'[9] came into the world in October 2014 in a public hospital in the eastern zone of São Paulo. By the end of that month, both Juan and Kitty left São Paulo for Paraguay, as they could not find work anymore. She lamented, 'now I have a Brazilian child, but no means to stay in Brazil.'

After resorting to an informal network of Paraguayans in São Paulo, Kitty experienced a very unstable trajectory in the city. The Paraguayan network she encountered there disappointed her, as her former partner did not take responsibility for the child and the Paraguayan business owner did not pay her for two months' work. But equally, this same network provided her with solutions when, for example, her new Paraguayan partner, Juan, was willing to embrace her

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[9] Spanish for baby boy.

and her child and to become a family. Kitty relied on the resourcefulness of a network of Paraguayans in São Paulo which directed her circulation in the city by providing informal work and love relationships. However, there was a point at which this network could not offer solutions for her life journey anymore and she had to leave the city. Nevertheless, the city gave her work, partners and a new baby, changing her life profoundly.

The life journeys of Helen, Mr Kwon, and Kitty demonstrate that, in following some migrants' singular life journeys in a city such as São Paulo, a personal course does not adhere completely to the depictions given in accounts which claim that international migrants follow regular patterns or become part of consistent ethnic collectives. Helen's, Mr Kwon's, and Kitty's lives contained contradictory senses of belonging that could give them something to rely on but they also led to situations that did not contribute to or reinforce ethnic or collective attachments, as many approaches in migration studies generally assume. The ethnographic cases make evident that, in the life journeys of Mr Kwon, Helen and Kitty, ethnicity or national affiliation acquired ambiguous features during the making of their trajectories in São Paulo. Other aspects such as class, employment status, gender and citizenship were also intricately intertwined with the way each of them led a life in the city. This life journey approach meets the debate on intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991, Davis 2008) for it takes into account that different aspects that constitute a human life and tries to move beyond certain essentialisms. However, the life journey approach also emphasises the *combination* of characteristics inherent in each case, taking into account that every individual develops a position in the world involving unique sets of categories. Accordingly, the individuals whom I portray hold unique positions, even though they are gathered under the same classification as 'international migrants.' In contrast to certain assumptions in migration studies that privilege depictions of migrants under generic ascriptions of nationality, the life journey approach shows that other categories of differentiation also affect the way people can live in São Paulo. As I have argued, class and gender defined very different trajectories in the city for Helen and Mr Kwon, even though both were born in the same country. As a middle-class housewife, accompanying her husband, Helen had time to go to parks and open markets with her daughter, and commute to other neighbourhoods to learn Portuguese. Conversely, Mr Kwon, as a small businesses owner in Bom Retiro, worked extremely long hours in the informal employment environment he fostered and had no time to enjoy other spaces in the city. Concurrently, class and citizenship status also defined different positionalities for Helen and Kitty, though they shared the same gender category. Helen had official status as a permanent resident and could access formal public services in the city. Kitty did not have the papers to stay in the country and moved in informal and precarious settings. Therefore, the different position of each person affected her or his chances to venture within and beyond the city precisely because the city offered opportunities according to the specificity of each individual's situation.

Towards the 'Gambiarra City'
As demonstrated, approaching people's lives through the notion of life journeys — their circulation within and beyond São Paulo with a corresponding singular sense of self — affords a different understanding of the city. The district of Bom Retiro was the starting point where I

met all the participants in my research, but the neighbourhood was only one point among many others involved in each life journey. Corina's, Helen's, Mr Kwon's and Kitty's presences in Bom Retiro could be misconstrued if taken as expressions of general ethnic occurrences based on relations circumscribed by the territorial limits of a neighbourhood, as the 'migrants' neighbourhoods' approach usually suggests. The focus on life journeys reveals that senses of belonging can be individually authored and can hold contradictory and open outlooks (Cohen 1996, Rapport 2012a), aspects that are usually overlooked by approaches concerned with general categorisations of ethnicity and nationality that privilege generalisation and collective representations.

Besides, Bom Retiro had varying levels of significance in the overall dynamics of each life journey. Bom Retiro only makes sense when it enables these same life journeys to be connected to other parts of the city of São Paulo and beyond. Bringing to mind Varshaver and Rocheva's (2018) questioning of the presence of ethnic neighbourhood for some migrants communities in Moscow, the life journeys methodologically prevented me from taking the neighbourhood as the unit of study and led me to a dense city that embraced all these different life journeys at once. In following each life journey, different aspects of the city were inhabited, activated and explored, thus making the place manifold, and a resource available for the development of each trajectory. Consider São Paulo.

If São Paulo has been portrayed as a city divided between centre and periphery, and a city of migrants' neighbourhoods, the focus on the singular mobility of migrants' lives reveals a multi-dimensional city. The approaches that stress São Paulo as a divided city rely heavily on political and economic frameworks that analyse the city through structural accounts of inequalities and historical imbalance. My approach, which underlines São Paulo as a multi-dimensional city and considers people's mobilities in São Paulo and beyond, does not view peoples' movements as patterns determined by certain structural conditions. Instead, it emphasises people's mobilities as existential processes that imbue the city with singular and open subjectivities. In following people's movement to fulfil senses of belonging, dreams, hopes or projects, one can see how they face daily struggles and predicaments and how these individual trajectories contribute to different

Hence, the life journeys delineated in this paper disclose São Paulo as a plastic place where people circulate within very different scenarios. Despite the unequal distribution of urban resources and rights, São Paulo enables connections of different sorts according to the particular life goals and experiences that propel people's mobilities. In this multi-dimensional city, norms of ethnicity and kinship, laws of nationality and conditions of social and economic inequality inform the singular positionality each individual. In response to existing expedients and conditions, individuals are compelled to devise solutions for continuing a life trajectory in the city and beyond. In this sense, social, economic or political restrictions can be regarded as cues for setting people's resourcefulness and potentialities in motion. This leads to the evolution of very different urban journeys, since each person holds a very particular position in the world. Here agency is intimately coupled with questions of positionality and becomes manifested through people's efforts to combine the multiple aspects each of them is entangled with. In this way, very singular and dynamic forms of existence are engendered. Therefore, in line with

Pardo's argument (1996) on the dynamic relationship between individual agency and the entanglements each situated life confronts in its daily existence, even people with restricted access to formal resources are not rigidly 'structurally' determined, but are instead able to move within — and to effect changes — in the wider urban fabric.

In the lives depicted here, the trajectories of Mr Kwon and Kitty were tied into the precarity and informality of work relations in Bom Retiro, while Helen followed routes that did not intersect with the others during my fieldwork. The city that was lived through these life journeys is one that is materialised when prompted and challenged by people's agency and resourcefulness. In this way, São Paulo can be seen as a boundless city that is discovered and re-discovered at every enactment experienced in it. It is a city that can be abandoned when solutions are exhausted, as exemplified by Kitty's return to Paraguay. And it is a city that can inspire very different hopes and attitudes, such as Mr Kwon's desire to return to South Korea or Helen's openness about living in São Paulo or any other place in the world.

Referring to recent transformations in Latin American cities like São Paulo and Lima, Peixoto (2009) and Gandolfo (2013) propose the idea of Latin American megacities as urban 'formlessnesses' associated with processes of globalisation. According to Peixoto, the volume of heterogeneous processes of megacities require new ways for capturing their realities. Megacities in Latin America can no longer be comprehended by their physical form, or by their objects (streets, monuments, sanitation structures, etc.). Here is 'foremost a field of moving forces and continuous organisation' (Peixoto 2009:244). The city is, therefore, to be considered formless because its nature and character rely on events that continually induce new configurations rather than on the collection of fixed urban objects. For Gandolfo (2013), these new configurations also involve an attention to the resourcefulness of informal arrangements largely existent in popular economies, which Gago (2017) also highlights as fundamental but paradoxical elements for understanding the making of contemporary Latin American cities. In recognising Peixoto's and Gandolfo's propositions of urban formlessness as an invitation to appreciate the Latin American city with its contradictory aspects of instability and openness — which Gago identifies as being 'mottled' — I suggest that from the urban experiences revealed through the life journeys briefly portrayed here, some Latin American metropolises can be understood as 'gambiarra' cities.

The term 'gambiarra' emerged during my fieldwork when an employee from the corporation responsible for the communication infrastructures in São Paulo visited my flat to activate my internet connection. In order to link my flat's internet point, he had to climb the closest street post which supported a messy bundle of wires and carefully find, in the mesh of electricity, landlines, cable TV cords, the right cable to make me be part of the world wide web. While he was testing if he had been successful, he observed, 'Madam, this net is an entire gambiarra,' as he was foreseeing that he would have to come back to reinforce my internet point with other cables to make it 'stable.' I asked if that situation was exclusive of older neighbourhoods like Bom Retiro, which required infrastructure renovation, and he remarked, 'No, madam, the whole city is like this in varying degrees.'

Figure 1. A street post in the neighbourhood of Bom Retiro, São Paulo — Simone Toji, 2014.

Encouraged by this statement, I found the expression 'gambiarra' extremely inspiring for considering the urban phenomena I was experiencing in São Paulo not as a localised matter but rather as a widespread kind of question. This idea of 'gambiarra' that I provide here closely coincides with Lévi-Strauss's notion of 'bricolage'. For Lévi-Strauss (1966), 'bricolage' is a mode of knowledge that, like science, possesses a speculative frame to explore reality, providing forms of classification and understandings of the world. However, bricolage, unlike science, finds answers for the tasks it is confronted with by working with the limited repertoire of 'remains and debris of events' which are at hand (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 22). The idea of 'gambiarra' benefits from this notion of 'bricolage' for its 'make it up as one goes along' aspect. It is a proposition for understanding cities through the awareness that a life might be composed of multiple attempts to exist within the available resources of the world, an awareness that also understands the world not through a well-defined concept, but through the process of life making in itself — which according to the life journeys portrayed here is highly impermanent and unsteady.

Hence, I place the emphasis of the expression 'gambiarra'[10] on its active and malleable sense in my discussion of São Paulo. This plasticity of the city, as Peixoto's and Gandolfo's 'formlessness' suggests, is not given by the availability of urban objects, but by the occurrence of multiple events, such as those that each life journey was compelled to enact. The life journeys of Corina, Helen, Mr Kwon and Kitty become human (and humane) documents since they express the way each of them found it possible to live in São Paulo in their own terms so as to face their struggles. Through their life journeys, Corina, Kitty, Mr Kwon and Helen revealed a highly challenging city that affected the accomplishment of very different life journeys. In this way, São Paulo can be seen as a city of potentialities (Simone 2016). As a never resolved city and, in its incompleteness and failure to be completely coherent and intelligible, a 'gambiarra' city offers itself as potentiality. Potentiality to allow people from all walks of life and all parts

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[10] The illegal aspect of the expression 'gambiarra' is more often stressed.

of the globe to find their ways in the city. Potentiality to intermittently exceed lawfulness and become highly unstable. In a 'gambiarra' city, there will be always a dimension that may be unreachable and inconceivable until one risks trying it. In the porousness and ambiguity of the 'gambiarra' city, one can glimpse the unstable space shaped by the life journeys of Mr Kwon and Kitty, or the hint of an open city brought to life by Helen's and Corina's life journeys.

Although malleability is a key aspect of the 'gambiarra' city, it is not always 'soft' as Raban (1998) describes it. For Raban, a city has a softness manifested by the heterogeneous lives that its inhabitants inscribe on the textures and soundings of an urban setting. The nature and character of the city come to be expressed through the creative engagement its numerous inhabitants have with it. In contrast, the malleability of the 'gambiarra' city can at times be 'rough', as expectations and imagined solutions can be upset by unexpected interferences, such as when Corina first arrived in São Paulo and felt diminished by so many gigantic buildings; or when Kitty went back to Paraguay because neither she nor her new partner could find jobs after the birth of her child. Sometimes the malleability of the 'gambiarra' city is not exactly as it was once conceived. So, this city is not 'soft' in the sense that the situatedness of each life journey does not allow ideal propositions to be easily accomplished. As previously discussed, there are specificities and positionalities grounding each specific existence. Still, the 'gambiarra' city is plastic in a 'rough' way, because individuals are challenged to be creative in their life journeys and to activate agency so as to find ways to live in the city. This is the reason why the 'gambiarra' city is animated through a continuous process of engagement and, in this sense, is not a finished object. No one lives a city in general, because it is not possible to be a general presence in attendance at all points at once. A city is made alive through the multiple and specific engagements its inhabitants are able to establish with it, sometimes in unanticipated ways. The unpredictability of the 'gambiarra' city further emphasises the significance of the minute and singular elements involved in the making of the city. As Agier (2009) proposes, 'faire ville', the making-of-the-city is not an object: it is a situated and minute process. An analysis of the city does justice to this making by embracing its fluidity (as against 'softness'), de-centring analysis from a focus on essences to one on lived situations. The making-of-the-city, then, necessarily comprises a myriad of ways of making-the-city.

In this sense, a 'gambiarra' city requires persistent agency and creativity from its inhabitants, because its inconstancy and precarity make the urban environment 'rough'. However, the solutions created by each life journey in the city are testimonies that there will be startling ways to make life keep going in or beyond it. São Paulo as a 'gambiarra' city, revealed by the life journeys portrayed here, is not the expression of an urban model: it is a city-in-action.

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Making Sociology Accessible in an Ohio Urban Prison: Facilitating a Deeper Sociological Imagination Through 'Ethnographic Seeing'[1]

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When prisoners become students in the undergraduate sociology classroom behind bars, they often lack sufficient academic literacy to discuss collectively sociology's focus on inequalities in social life by social class, gender and race during class discussions. Further, objectives of control in the urban prison prohibit doing sociology, which significantly impacts sociology's pedagogical aim to promote a sociological imagination. Inspired by calls from urban ethnographers for ethnographic seeing in social science, this article draws upon the legacy of documentary to explore reflectively how David Apted's *Up* documentary film series provides a useful ethnographic model of an openly class-stratified society. Recognizing its rich potential to unveil and illuminate often obscure social forces, the aim is to demonstrate the possibilities for instructors to fashion transformative dialogue and deeper sociological imaginations through the visual dimensions supplied by the *Up* documentary film series as a medium in the prison classroom.
Keywords: Ethnographic seeing, gender, race, social class, *Up* films.

Introduction

Students in the sociology classroom behind bars often apprehend that over-representation of minorities and the poor in urban prisons across America is related to a long history of inequalities generated by social stratification and related racism. It is rare, however, for a student to bring a sufficient level of social theory and vocabulary during initial class discussions to share coherently and collectively their lived observations of these wider abstract social forces. In their article on teaching sociology 'behind bars' Parrotta and Thompson lamented some of the 'obstacles' instructors and students face in many U.S. prisons — the biggest being incarceration itself with strict rules driven by objectives of control that 'prohibited' students doing sociology (2011: 168, 176). In her ethnographic exploration of ways to overcome these obstacles to teaching sociology behind bars, Kallman observed 'that classroom discussion and seminar-style teaching is the most effective' (2018: 306). Herring et al have argued this deep reading type of instruction is 'ethnographic' (2016). This article suggests, however, that hewing to intensive readings and classroom discussion in seminar-style teaching without 'seeing' is less than 'ethnographic' (MacDougall 2006: 254). Might there be possibilities that are truly ethnographic to overcome these obstacles?

Krase invites us to consider the possibilities from drawing upon an approach of 'ethnographic seeing in social science' (2012: 25). To understand how the innumerable interactions between people reflect the (re)production of culture and larger structures of society, Manzo reminds us that 'ethnographic seeing' illuminates 'conflict, competition and dominance at a level not usually noticed and which can easily be related to the theories' (Manzo 2013: 100). Central to this endeavour in the urban prison classroom is the development of a 'sociological imagination', which helps students to apprehend social

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processes and inequities generated by social class, gender and race/ethnicity (Mills1959).

Drawing encouragement from academic calls to employ the cinematic space-opera trilogies *Star Wars* and the cartoon animated TV situational comedy *The Simpsons* in taught lessons of the sciences, this article suggests that a documentary teaching aid can similarly improve ethnographic seeing in sociology and contribute to student cultivation of a sociological imagination (Johnson 2017, Woodcock 2006). Manzo pointed out that 'we could treat observations and photographs as we do other information, such as interviews or demographic data' (2013: 100). Doing so audio-visually through the medium of Michael Apted's *Up* ethnographic documentaries is a project well-suited to teaching sociology in prisons and other total institutions.

Pedagogical Possibilities

This article is informed by seven semesters of teaching 15-week undergraduate sociology courses condensed to 5 weeks from Autumn 2016 to Autumn 2018 in an Ohio urban single-story community-based correctional facility. To reduce the potential for bullying and manipulation, prison authorities implemented strict prohibitions for student exchange of personal information, including ethnographic research or other types of qualitative study. Based on the author's experiences of teaching sociology to a morning class of males and an afternoon class of females meeting thrice weekly, this article describes how the *Up* documentary films provide a useful model of a class-conscious society for prison educators and teachers of sociology in total institutions to bring students audio-visually face-to-face with sociological concepts and discourse. The discussions are ethnographically rich as the students observe both a cross-cultural and a class-conscious society that has similarities to their own environment but with differences that are less personal for classroom discussion.

The following, therefore, is not 'an in-depth study of' the sociology classroom in the urban prison 'and attendant complex dynamics' of its setting (Pardo and Prato 2018: 1), nor does it explore the dichotomy between the pedagogical aims of teaching sociology and the social control objectives of the urban prison. These social dynamics have already caught the radar of ethnographers and sociologists of education (Squirrel 1995, Pallotti and Thompson 2011, Kalmar 2018). Rather, what follows is an ethnographic reflection on the possibilities for sociology instructors to employ this documentary film series as a medium in teaching sociological concepts and theory.

Believing audio-visual media to be detrimental to literacy, some academics are not keen to supplement instruction based upon printed textbooks with audio-visual media (Sanders 1995). In this regard, it is helpful to countenance film as 'a medium initially called "animated photography"' to consider the ethnographic power of documentary film for seeing (Baetens 2009: 143). To support this discussion, I will refer to my experiences with these students behind bars and their performative presentations of armchair ethnography through the medium of the *Up* documentary series.

This British documentary series provides a cross-cultural model of class stratification, which illuminates sociological links between power, space and social life. The interviewees in the *Up* films provide useful ethnographic examples of inequalities in social life generated by

social class stratification and other factors. The films encourage students to apply individually-acquired textbook sociological knowledge to collective analysis of the documentary's visual animation of unfolding primary, secondary and adult socialisation of a social cross-section of British children from working-class, middle-class and upper-class backgrounds. This opens the door for students to consider interactively class stratification in America and to ponder to what extent they, too, are 'creatures, and even prisoners' of their social class and culture (Commager 1966 [1965]: 53). For students struggling to overcome drug or alcohol addiction, this question is particularly apt.

The Prison Setting and Participants
With its longstanding socio-cultural repercussions, the geographic location of the community based correctional facility in Ohio's struggling manufacturing region influenced its founding in 1997. Over a decade earlier, the U.S. struggled with a severe economic downturn. The early 1980s recession resulted in a metaphoric rust belt in Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania — a diagonal line running eastward from Milwaukee to Detroit through Cleveland to Pittsburgh in which manufacturing nearly stopped for several years. Especially hard-hit were factories with unionised work forces that have since halved wages or re-opened with non-union employees working for wages at or close to the national and state minimum wage. Many families in Ohio's ninth largest populated county today continue to struggle with income levels below the national average. Exacerbated by the normalisation of trade with China in 1997 and the ensuing 21st century exodus of numerous Ohio manufacturers to relocate there for free facilities and other incentives, empty factory buildings abound. An accompanying exodus of merchants from shopping malls continues to shutter many. In addition to widespread poverty, other related urban problems are alcoholism and a rising epidemic of opioids abuse.

Over a three-year period beginning in January 2018, teaching of sociology was conducted by the author during Autumn, Spring, and Summer semesters for a total of seven semesters to a morning class of incarcerated undergraduate students in the male wing and an afternoon class in the female wing. Offered through a partnership between a local community college and the minimum-security community-based correctional facility, these federally grant-funded sociology classes averaged fourteen students in the male wing and seven students in the female wing. Classes met for 3 hours three times a week, which made for a seminar-styled discussion learning format. Students were graded on two class presentations in addition to midterm and final exams. Whilst sometimes absent from sociology classes in the female wing, African Americans and/or Hispanics were steady minorities in the male wing sociology classes and also in the total institution, whose relatively low numbers did not reflect the higher incarceration rates of non-Whites generally in Ohio or the nation.

Up **Films and Social Stratification**
'Stop it at once!' commanded seven-year-old John Brisby at one and half minutes into the first episode. Provoked by a fellow seven-year old from London's impoverished East End for ignoring a sign at the zoo not to feed the bear, Brisby's upper-middle class outburst was

spiced with condescending disdain. Spared Brisby's on-camera ire for also feeding the bear was fellow upper-middle class student Andrew Brackfield, who stated 'I know there's no feeding but it doesn't really matter'. London working-class Jackie Bassett later reported that '[t]hey threw a party for all the kids chosen for the series, took us to the zoo [. . .] [as] part of a social experiment to see how differently working-class children behaved compared to other kids' (Adams 2009). To a significant number of students in the Ohio correctional setting, however, it was the differences in the unfamiliar attitudes and mannerisms of the upper and upper-middle classes in the *Up* series compared to the more familiar lower-middle and working classes that were most striking.

Brisby's frustration seems not to have arisen so much from the sign being ignored but more from the discomfort he seemingly experienced from having to share space with individuals from the 'rather dirty' working class, as he complained later in the episode. Saying he loathed their accents, Brisby likely found their speech to be an assault upon the Queen's elocution of the English language, which is often coveted by England's upper-middle and upper classes. Such interpersonal tensions generated by social class stratification were animated by these British children to a significant degree. This article suggests that the *Up* films provide a unique audio-visual window through which to see ethnographically major components of social dynamics generated by social inequality.

Beginning in 1964 with narration by Douglas Keay under Canadian director Paul Almond, with Michael Apted as his research assistant, these films under the subsequent sole direction and narration by Apted are popular not only with the British viewing public but internationally as well. By chronicling 'the entrenched class system that really organises what people do, who they think they are and where they end up', these documentaries are pioneering in showing how class and culture, together with gender and race, impinge upon human agency (Willis 2009: 348). The first film introduced one child of mixed African Caribbean and British heritage, another of undisclosed mixed Bulgarian and British heritage, and eighteen British children — all extroverted 'good interviewees' at age seven years (Almond 1964; Willis 2009: 352). Subsequent episodes revisited fourteen of the children at age fourteen years (Apted 1970) and again at twenty-one years (Apted 1977), then revisited no more than thirteen and often less every seven years thereafter (Apted 1984, 1991, 1998, 2005, 2012). The most recent and ninth episode in which these children-*cum*-adults are revisited at age sixty-three years was produced after the termination of the Ohio urban prison sociology classes (Apted 2019).

Unlike the occasionally uninterested single male student in the child-free urban prison classroom, all female students responded well to the interviewees. These children easily captured the attention of students who were also parents. The novelty of this ethnographically flavoured series has inspired many copycat documentaries in countries around the globe — one in America by Apted himself. The global impact of the original British *Up* films was noted after the production of *49 Up* when the American Sociological Association honoured Apted in 2008 'for Excellence in the Reporting of Public Issues' (Burawoy 2009: 317). California sociologist Barrie Thorne noted these documentaries 'can easily be mined for sociological insights, most obviously related to social class, a theme flagged at the opening

and closing of each film' (2009: 329).

Students sometimes point out that the films' narrator Michael Apted was also at times disrespectful towards the working-class children he interviewed. Apted's less than positive attitude towards working-class children in the early episodes introduced viewers to a manner of social class hostility generally foreign to many Americans. Although Ghanaian sociologist Kwaku Obosu-Menah suggested 'that Americans tend to have a poor level of class consciousness' (2014: 227), such snobbery was perceived by most students as not only condescending but habitually rude. They noted that it continued even after the working-class children reached adulthood.

Confusing Paul Kligerman of the orphanage with Tony Walker of London's East End, Thorne observed that '[t]he working-class subjects seem to be fending off imputed shame [. . .] Paul [actually Tony Walker] [. . .] says a bit defensively at 21, "I'm as good or better than most of them, especially in this program"' (2014: 333). Infused with an entrepreneurial attitude generated by a desire to follow in the footsteps of an older sibling driving his own taxi and a younger one also aiming to do so, Walker staunchly saw himself as morally equal to his contemporaries in the documentary series and became indignant when Apted suggested otherwise. Fellow London East Ender Jackie Bassett in *Twenty One Up* was also perturbed by Apted's sniff attitude, admitting later 'I took offence at a lot of things Michael Apted asked me that day' (Adams 2009: N/A). In short, social class tensions and conflict were well animated by the series' third episode between the interviewer and interviewees.

Apted is indeed upper-middle class and public-schooled, which in Britain means he attended a private preparatory boarding school. What Americans refer to as public schools is known in Britain as comprehensive schools or state schools. This documentary occasion provides an opportunistic teaching moment on culture and its ability to generate distinct and sometimes opposite meanings for words of the same spoken language. American and British speakers employ the same English language but, due to an ocean of cultural differences, do so in distinct ways. Likewise, the upper-middle and upper classes in the *Up* films generated a different cultural language from that of the working and lower-middle classes.

Apted may not even have been consciously aware that he might have found Walker's self-perception to be almost audacious for believing he was morally equal to middle-class participants in the documentaries. This ethnographic documentary animation of class tensions offers a valuable opportunity in the prison classroom to consult British social critic George Orwell's 1937 autoethnographic *The Road to Wigan Pier* for his insightful critique of social stratification in British society. Having attended the most prestigious public school in England, Orwell explained this cultural programming as 'contempt' for working-class accents and mannerisms by Britain's upper-middle and upper classes (Orwell 1958: 128).

The historical roots in Britain for class stratification and bias are deep and rooted in centuries of monarchy and aristocracy, something many colonial revolutionaries in America found repugnant. It was not until two years after African American males won universal suffrage in 1865 that the average white British male householder was permitted to vote for a Member of Parliament (MP). Until the Reform Bill of 1867, voting in Britain was largely limited to the upper-middle and upper classes. Although the Reform Bill of 1867 extended the

vote to a significant portion of the working class, universal suffrage was not extended to farm labourers and other non-house holding white males until women's suffrage was also achieved in 1918 (Willson and Prall 1984: 530). When colonial Americans and other colonists complained about British Empire, they were reacting mostly to a mere three percent in England who voted and constructed laws that the other ninety-seven percent generally suffered along with empire's colonial subjects. This cultural legacy of social inequality is most pronounced among the *Up* series children in the mannerisms exhibited by Brisby, whose maternal ancestor viewers learnt in *28 Up* was an aristocratic duke (Apted 1991). As one student observed, upper-middle class children were groomed to sniff at others.

Whether conscious or unconscious, the exhibition of negative attitudes and disapproval from the upper-middle class production team against working-class children was not limited to Apted. Introducing working-class Walker to viewers at three minutes into the first episode, initial narrator Douglas Keahy never asked what he thought about girlfriends at his age or even if he had one. Instead, Keahy spoke for him — 'and this is Tony, his girlfriend calls him a monkey'. Ensuing discussion in the prison classroom over whether Walker actually had a girlfriend or if she was a fabrication by Keahy often leads to consideration of the potential for interviewer intrusion.

Querying the potential for interviewer bias reveals further dynamics of upper-middle class attitudes towards the working class. At seven minutes plus nineteen seconds, Keahy is observed to have misinterpreted the bottom-up cooperative play of working-class children with a 'world of the seven-year old [that] can be primitive, even violent'. The camera footage in the background simultaneously shows a playful sparring match that quickly descends into a fistfight between a bully and his victim, which unfolded on the playground of Walker's school apparently behind the teacher's back. Although film footage also captures Walker acting fearlessly as a school yard diplomat in his attempt to halt the fleeing bully and then talking to him immediately after the altercation, this was ignored by the narrator. Instead, Keahy took liberties to paint all the working-class children, including Walker, as primitive and violent.

Rural one-room schooled Nicholas Hitchon failed to demonstrate that he even knew what a fight is let alone how to win one. Hitchon stated 'you better watch out for me because as soon as you're not looking I like to dash up and put my hands up [palms out, he demonstrated] and hit them against your back'. Male students like to point out that Hitchon's approach would have ill-served him if he had to contend with the fisticuffs of Walker's schoolyard bully.

'[T]he difference between freedom and discipline was meant to be key to the children's futures', noted Duneier (2009: 343). A recurrent theme in the series, it did not end until working-class children reached adulthood and began voicing their objections to Apted. The disparity in interpretations by the upper-middle class makers of the series and predominately working-class students in the Ohio prison presented the opportunity for students to discuss sociology's notions of class stratification, symbolic interaction and deviance, and to consider to what extent class-based views influence interpretations.

Socialisation and Social Change

The *Up* films' treatment of primary socialisation at age seven years in the first film, followed by secondary socialisation at age fourteen years in the second film, leads classroom viewers of the third film to reflect upon the sometimes frightening prospect for these British children at 'becoming persons' as autonomous and questioning adults (Ingold 1991: 317). As each film unfolds and builds upon those that preceded it, a growing wealth of sociological examples provide a rich depository of ethnographic material to potentially illuminate social dynamics and social theory. I suggest, therefore, that the *Up* films provide a useful audio-visual window to permit students new to sociology to see ethnographically the 'process of socialisation' that trains individuals to employ differentiated social class uses of status symbols and ritual 'in expected ways' (Baylor 2014: 27).

In her article on visual approaches to urban ethnography, Manzo asked 'How do we visually build stereotypes? In the process of constructing reality, how can visual methods allow us to understand the social constructions of meaning?' (2013: 102). At nearly two minutes into the first film, a Jesuit-inspired maxim 'Give me a child until he is seven and I will show you the man' (Almond 1964) reinforces sociology's concept of primary socialisation as 'the initial socialisation experiences that individuals commonly encounter within the context of their family' (Brown 2014: 101). A child's family is the primary apparatus of socialisation to the dominant norms, values and practices they hold in relationship to their position in social class stratification. As a result of their primary socialisation, the children's attitudes and mannerisms in the first film largely echoed the socio-cultural norms of their parents and families.

Primary socialisation can become warped, however, by life strictly sequestered from family in a total institution. Studying the negative life-long effects generated by socialisation in total institutions, psychologists found as early as 1937 that institutionalised children suffered significant developmental disabilities. These included lower intelligence quotient (IQ) scores and less self-confidence (Gunnar 2001). For Basterfield in the *Up* films, whose parents had never married, and Kligerman, whose parents were divorced, the orphanage as a total institution became their primary apparatus of socialisation. The total institution for Balden, whose biological parents were also divorced, was a military-styled pre-preparatory school where he seemed to be always beaten without knowing why. Although Balden's self-confidence increased during adult socialisation, students argued that all three boys subsequently exhibited a discernible lifelong lack of confidence that kept them from getting or holding a job that fully reflected their personal aptitudes and abilities. Basterfield explained this in the third film as not letting his hopes up in order to protect his heart from the prospect of having them dashed.

Subsequent class discussion often encourages students to compare the schooling experience of Balden at the military-styled boarding school with the non-military styled boarding school experiences of Brisby, Brackfield and Furneaux. This distinction usually leads to further discussion on the democratic nature of house captains and the developmental importance of opportunities for self-governance. Students speculate that institutionalisation was less than total in the non-military boarding school, and therefore did not proceed to arrest

the self-confidence of Brisby, Brackfield or Furneaux. The self-governing experiences under democratically elected house captains were seen to have empowered Brisby, Brackfield and Furneaux's self-confidence for life after boarding school.

In the ensuing films, however, families or total institutions as their substitute were not the only apparatuses for socialisation. In *Seven Plus Seven*, the children at fourteen not only echoed their families but also their school mates and other friends (Apted 1970). Since much of this socialisation takes place beyond the family, especially at school, sociology labels this as secondary socialisation. School, therefore, is the major apparatus for secondary socialisation. As a formal organisation and social system comprised of peer groups and student sub-cultures with an overt curriculum and a hidden curriculum, school not only inculcates society's values but also reproduces social class inequalities. Packard averred that 'students from the lower social classes learn how to avoid drawing attention to themselves' (2014: 336).

From the outset of the *Up* series' first film, it was clear to most undergraduate students that upper-middle class and upper-class children were receiving superior schooling experiences. Working-class and lower-middle class children were at a considerable academic and social disadvantage compared to upper-middle and upper-class children. Students observed that whether a British child went to a state comprehensive school, a state-maintained grammar school, or a private public school, played a significant role in educational success.

The lower-middle class parents of Neil Hughes were both teachers. Although they instilled in him a desire to go to Oxford University, they did not enrol Hughes in a private preparatory school or grammar school. Instead, he attended a secondary comprehensive school. Subsequently, Hughes was not accepted to Oxford. Charles Furneaux's parents did put him on the pre-preparatory and preparatory route leading to higher education at either Oxford or Cambridge University, but he too was not accepted by either. Although Hughes later went to Scotland's third oldest university at Aberdeen, he soon dropped out to become a homeless traveller. Furneaux, however, did not drop out but studied at what is known today as a Russell Group or 'British Ivy League' university at Durham. After complaining in *21 Up* about the 'Oxbridge conveyor belt shoved out at the end' (Apted 1977), Furneaux successfully read a Master's degree at Oxford after completion of his undergraduate study at Durham. Subsequently he refused to continue future participation in the *Up* series.

Brisby proposed in *21 Up* that 'someone who works on an assembly line in some of these car factories earning a huge wage can well afford to send their children to private school if they wanted to' (Apted 1977). He added 'an awful lot of people can afford to send their sons to a fee-paying school but they don't choose to. I mean that's their choice' (Apted 1977). In the U.S., autoworkers have long enrolled and continue to send their children or grandchildren to private parochial day schools. Unlike British boarding schools, students argued that Ohio's parochial schools do not encourage the cultural deprivation exhibited by Britain's upper and upper-middle classes in their social interactions with working-class children.

When Apted asked Brisby in *Seven Plus Seven* about boarding school cultural deprivation stemming from a lack of 'many boys from very different backgrounds', his reply

was 'I don't feel any lack' (Apted 1970). Brisby then asked Apted 'what does backgrounds have to with it?' (Apted 1970). Students pointed out that Thanksgiving dinner would become an awkward family mealtime of clashing cultural attitudes grounded in social class if Ohio autoworkers sent their children to British-type boarding schools to become 'pricks'. Nonetheless, rarely did a student question how the British case might also reduce overall competition from working-class jobseekers for a finite number of upper-middle class professional, government and high-level management jobs.

Apted's pursuit of Kligerman after his emigration at 8 years old to Australia in *Seven Plus Seven* and subsequent films put unfolding secondary and adult socialisation into cross-cultural comparison. Acculturated to Australian society, Kligerman's participation in the *Up* films offered an alternative point of view on Britain in addition to a cross-cultural comparison for viewers between his socialisation in Australia and the socialisation of British participants. Asked at age fourteen what he remembered of England, Kligerman replied 'It seemed to be raining all the time, I wouldn't stake my life on it because I can't remember very much' (Apted 1970). Turning his attention to Australia in *28 Up*, Kligerman opined 'I love the place you know [. . .] you can do more or less anything you want' (1984).

Socio-cultural environments influence people's behaviour, shape their values and institutions, and help define their identity. Whereas society is the organisational and structural scaffolding that surrounds individuals, culture refers to dynamically generated meanings within a social environment in flux. To understand society and culture is to comprehend a complex web of tradition and change. As environments change, so do people and vice versa. This dynamic interaction between people and their environments produces a fascinating array of diversity. Student apprehension of some of these complexities was a classroom goal of undergraduate sociology in the prison setting.

Farm-raised and former working-class Hitchon, who eventually secured a prestigious rung on the upper-middle class social ladder as a physics professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, shared a similar sentiment for American culture in *28 Up* as Kligerman held for Australian culture. Hitchon observed that an American university was 'substantially different from an English university' in that it 'takes many more people and gets a huge section of the population to a level where they're really technically very competent and go out and make Silicon Valley work' (1984). Nonetheless, the differences between American and British culture made symbolic interaction difficult for Hitchon. 'It's really hard going to a different country' he said in *42 Up*; 'people don't send out the same signals' (1998).

Ensuing class discussion often sees students not only query whether there are class differences in America as there are in Britain, but also assess to what extent middle-class children are at a significant advantage academically compared with working-class children. One of the class's sociology textbook authors noted that 'diplomas from elite private schools and universities signal to others a myriad of things regarding a person's social class and cultural background and status' (Packard 2014: 337). Many students were able to judge that 'there are important status distinctions, which operate as hidden selectors, so that the American system is in fact less open than it appears' (Banks 1968: 64). Sociologists have long researched this phenomenon in the U.S., which presents an excellent opportunity for students

to discuss the relationship of schooling to political economy and society. Invoking students' memories of high school, I ask them to discuss by what criteria the current Secretary of the U.S. Department of Education was appointed when she was never a teacher or even high school principal?

Social class concepts of endogamy and exogamy are also well illustrated by the openly class-divided British society in the *Up* series and therefore demonstrate the challenges to social class mobility. Apart from farm-born Hitchon, whose father intervened on his behalf with a successful application to a preparatory school, all children remained within their social class into adulthood. Although Hughes stumbled into a period of homelessness and suspected drug abuse after only two months at Aberdeen University in northern Scotland, he eventually reclaimed his lower-middle class membership when he won election to council for the London borough of Hackney and returned to university as a non-traditional student. With two arguable exceptions, all marriages were also endogamous. In *35 Up*, students saw upper-middle class Brackfield married to Jane, a fulltime London secretary from Yorkshire (Apted 1991). I also ask students whether a case might be made that the marriage of Hitchon to his first wife Jackie was more exogamous than endogamous. Jackie's Oxford-educated elocution of English suggests her parents were likely not working class like her in-laws, nor was it likely she had ever been raised on a farm.

After viewing and discussing the fourth *Up* film, students in every semester cohort were required at midterm to write a short outline and present orally in class in answer to the question: To what extent does social class affect an individual's ability to get a job that reflects her or his personal aptitudes and abilities? In this assignment students followed a simplified British A-Level PEEL (point, evidence, elaboration, link) outline to answer the topic question. Evidence was required to be sourced from their textbook. Elaboration of the evidence was required to come from an example in the *Up* films. Performative presentations of students' PEEL outlines were used as assessments every semester in both sociology classrooms to ensure students grasped a variety of sociological concepts and terms that touch upon unfolding socialisation in the *Up* films.

Gender and Race in Apted's *Up* Series

Although social class stratification and socialisation generate inequality in the *Up* films, they are not the only sources of social inequality. Gendered inequality is extensive and modestly illustrated. As a male conceived and constructed project, the *Up* films' early focus was trained on the socio-cultural reproduction of masculinities at the expense of equal attention to women. Thorne remarked that '[i]ssues related to gender call out for feminist analysis, since only four girls were among the 14 seven-year-olds who ended up as the long-run cast of the series' (2009: 329). Here I invite students to discuss sociology's concept of patriarchy as an explanation for the long-standing cultural system of gendered social relations bounded by male power. In America, for example, most people living in poverty are not men but 'women' (Obosu-Mensah 2014: 218).

Four examples of women experiencing differentiated schooling experiences as children were presented in the early films. For example, working-class but grammar schooled Johnson

embarked upon a lifetime career as a school librarian and married mother of two children. When Apted asked her how she managed 'to keep a career going and bring up a family and hold a marriage together', Johnson credited her husband Russ — 'I couldn't do it without him' (Apted 1998). A postal worker, Russ did the cooking during the week and Johnson took her turn on weekends.

Upper-class Lusk, however, stopped her boarding school education at age sixteen to attend a secretarial college in Paris. When students discuss the resulting disadvantages for women to compete with men in the workforce for management positions, their sociological imaginations often blossom. Many note that upper-middle class males became the barristers, judges and solicitors that govern British society whilst women as secretaries carried little chance for career mobility.

When the children faced adulthood in *21 Up*, students use this film and subsequent films together as an ethnographic window through which they explore the life course prospects of adult socialisation as an ongoing and dynamic learning process of 'culturally defined expectations' (Brown 2014: 110). As males married, however, their wives entered the *Up* films. Together, spouses brought an increasing women's perspective into focus. For example, Davies' first wife Rachel asserted in *28 Up* that '[t]here's no such thing as mobility in any sense of the world — it's very difficult to move up' (Apted 1984).

Although all four girls of the original cast of the *Up* films did not pursue an undergraduate education, farm-raised Hitchon's first wife Jackie had a degree from Oxford University and lower-middle class Davies' first wife Rachel had one from a teachers college as did Balden's eventual wife Penelope. When Apted asked Rachel in *28 Up* about juggling a career and family life, she explained: 'There are two risks — one to follow the other around therefore perhaps become frustrated and dissatisfied that you didn't initially follow your own line and individual wants; or there's the risk that you take that you do have to part sometimes for [. . .] what you particularly want to do' (Apted 1984). Hitchon's first wife Jackie shared a similar sentiment in *28 Up*: 'I don't want to be the person left behind while Nick flies in and shares an adult life with his children at college and working; I want to be there too' (Apted 1984). After Hitchon divorced, he eventually married Professor Cryss Brunner at the University of Minnesota.

Working-class Walker's wife Debbie, a mother of three children in *28 Up*, and expatriate Kligerman's Australian wife Sue became contributing breadwinners for their respective families. Kliberman's wife Sue went from working as a part-time hairdresser to becoming an occupational therapist in *49 Up* (Apted 2005). Debbie passed the knowledge test in under two years for a licence to drive a London taxi when Walker had taken a year longer. Although Debbie became a partner in driving their jointly-owned cab, Walker refused to become a partner in keeping house, unlike postal worker Russ in his marriage to school librarian Johnson.

Gendered inequality is compounded in white-dominated societies by racist practices suffered by people of colour. Non-whites in Britain and America, for example, are two groups who face disadvantages beyond their gender or social class membership in the form of 'discrimination on the grounds of colour' (Banks 1968: 62). Basterfield's second wife

Vianetta, a non-mixed African Caribbean woman, gave a woman's perspective in *42 Up* — 'It's still tough out there. You're still fighting and you're still having to push yourself because unless you've got a job you have to always try and work harder. Even at school, you've got to' (Apted 1998).

A common criticism of the *Up* series in the Ohio urban prison classroom pointed to the filmmakers' selection of mixed-race Basterfield as the only representative of a racial or ethnic minority, which was perceived as giving short shrift to social inequalities of race and ethnicity. This concern might have risen, in part, from students' experiences of everyday life in America as a nation largely of immigrants where African Americans and Hispanic Americans together comprise more than twenty percent of the total population. Britain, in turn, has a population that is eighty-five percent white. This is not to say that racial and ethnic minorities in Britain do not face unequal treatment or other social disadvantages — they do, as the children in the *Up* series clearly demonstrate. Britain's approach to these dynamics through cultural pluralism, however, coupled with the banning of guns has reduced hostilities and resentment in comparison to the lethal violence accompanying America's melting pot approach.

Ethnicity, however, was clearly given short shrift in the *Up* series. When Brisby shared his view that racial prejudice is 'rather vile', Apted continued to ignore his half-Bulgarian ethnicity during the early films and his experiences of not being ethnically akin in culture and religion to Anglo-Saxon Protestants (Apted 1977). Race is nevertheless a topic addressed repeatedly in the films. Basterfield opined in *Seven Plus Seven* that 'white people got to get used to coloured people and coloured people got to get used to being with white people because if either side doesn't work properly, the other side won't work properly' (Apted 1970). He explained in *42 Up* that 'I've had it from both sides [. . .] I've had white people tell me you black this and I've had black people tell me I'm white this and that, so I've stopped thinking about colour a long time ago' (Apted 1998). In *35 Up*, Balden defined racism as 'prejudice plus power' (Apted 1991).

What is the relationship between social constructions of race, social inequality, and poverty? How is racism socially divisive? Statistics show that significant numbers of people from many groups in America are increasingly poor and do not share in America's plenty. Further, '[p]overty rates are different among races' (Obosu-Mensah 2014: 218). According to the U.S. Census Bureau in 2012, more than fifty percent of Americans living in poverty are non-whites (Obosu-Mensah 2014: 218). Sociology's concept of racism helps to understand how '[r]ace is a powerful social idea' that organises society and the hidden dynamics of institutional discrimination by employers, labour unions, and police (Romero 2014: 251).

What does 'race', 'class', and 'social inequality' look like? The *Up* series provides a documentary medium for students to see ethnographically race relations in a society dominated by whites and how those relations change over time. Basterfield worked in the 'chiller' at Wall's Sausages in London for at least seven years. Students made comparisons of Basterfield's desire to keep his job with the many attempts by the fictional Italian American character Paulie Pennino in the 1976 film *Rocky* to leave his job in a Philadelphia chiller. Basterfield did not become a tow lift driver at an air freight company until the closure of

Wall's Sausages. Students discussed to what extent Basterfield's long-held chiller job and subsequent tow lift operator job were both a manifestation of his life chances due to racism, no doubt compounded by a lack of confidence from his years in the orphanage. Discussion raised the further question as to why his first wife Yvonne might have divorced him? Did Basterfield's experience of the orphanage as a total institution generate such a lack of self-confidence in him that he held back from seeking other employment with better wages? Or, more than one female student asked, did Basterfield divorce Yvonne? These questions were not answered in the *Up* films but did fuel students' sociological imaginations and class discussions.

Class discussions asked students to think about the social reality of the idealised life in America of personal happiness and material comfort known as the American Dream, which most students are 'socialised with the idea of achieving' (Stablein 2014: 182). But to upper-middle class Brisby in *21 Up*, the 'invasion of the American way of life' is blamed for 'decreasing respect for the family as a unit' and 'increasing dishonesty' in England (Apted 1977). What, students were asked, was Brisby talking about? One student pointed to his sociology textbook on disparity in life opportunities to share that 'people can't achieve that dream by legitimate means and mainstream norms', therefore 'they may attempt to achieve it illegally' (Stablein 20114: 182). The opportunity followed to explain that many Prohibition era immigrants to the U.S., facing xenophobia and denied opportunities to realise the American Dream, found themselves engaging in illegal enterprise in order to make ends meet. Popularised during Brisby's teen years by Hollywood gangster films such as Francis Coppola's 1972 film *The Godfather*, similar illegal opportunities in England's impoverished urban areas might have been interpreted by Brisby as an 'invasion by the American way of life'.

Conclusion

Although this article is argument for collective ethnographic seeing through documentary media to promote sociological literacy, classroom discussion and sociological imaginations, it has not analysed the effectiveness of using documentary ethnographic seeing for educational activities. That would involve decisions on what to measure — exams, written assignments, or proficiency in classroom discussions. Rather, the reflections of this film series as a medium in the urban prison classroom are intended to inspire prison educators and other instructors of sociology in total institutions to employ this documentary model of society in their teaching of sociology. Due to its longevity and ethnographic seeing of social inequalities by class, gender and race, this British documentary series provides a useful audio-visual window for students to collectively see unfolding socialisation in an openly class-stratified society. That said, it is likely however that the collective style of ethnographic seeing and ensuing class discussions are more social and therefore more conducive to grasping the social animation of sociological concepts than the solitary style of solely reading a text. In other words, the classroom in an urban prison need not be an impediment to the pedagogical objectives of sociology. With the visual documentary medium of ethnographic seeing, a classroom behind bars might serve as an interactive Parthenon for budding social philosophers.

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The Singular and the Universal in Urban Ethnography: How Mechanism-based Explanations Enable Generalisability[1]

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In the last twenty years ethnographers have provided thorough and inspiring accounts regarding, first, the 'context of discovery' of fieldwork practice, as philosophers call the process of theory development and of causal explanations and, second, the relation of the singular to the universal. In this article I endeavour to contribute to this discussion by placing the question of how one could claim generalisability of their findings through causal explanations at the forefront of the urban ethnographers' methodology agenda. To do this, I present the Critical-Realist approach to emergence and to mechanism-based explanations in detail, and I provide an argument as to how one could talk about the universal by researching the singular. Finally, I apply these ideas to most of the case studies collected in Manos Spyridakis' book *Market vs Society* in order to highlight the importance of causal thinking for explaining the realities of the social world.
Keywords: Ethnography, significance, causal explanation, case studies, generalisability.

> 'I would like to say in passing that, among all the dispositions I would wish to be capable of inculcating, there is the ability to apprehend research as a rational endeavor rather than as a kind of mystical quest, talked about with bombast for the sake of self-reassurance…The summum of the art in the social sciences is, in my eyes, to be capable of engaging very high "theoretical" stakes by means of very precise and often apparently very mundane, if not derisory, empirical objects.' (Pierre Bourdieu, *The Practice of Reflexive Sociology*, 1992: 220)

The impetus for writing this article was the International Conference 'Urban Inequalities: Ethnographic Insights' that took place in June 2019 in Corinth, Greece, where I was invited to present Spyridakis' edited volume titled *Market versus Society* (Spyridakis 2018, hereafter MvS). Usually the title of a book denotes its position in the academic field and it says something about how it is related to a specific theme of the knowledge area within which it is inscribed. MvS criticises what Spyridakis calls 'the financialisation of rationality'; that is, economists' claim to identify rational action with instrumental reason or to impose the model of homo economicus as the normative prototype model to which all human behaviour and action should be ascribed. On the contrary, he invites us to see rationality and economy not in instrumental terms but as embedded in cultural, social and political relationships. MvS's source of inspiration is Karl Polanyi's epistemology according to which 'any so-called economic behaviour cannot be studied separately of what is happening within society' (Spyridakis 2018: 9). As I see it, there are two ways of reading this statement. One is to see it as a political critique of the (non)democratic EU's decision making. The idea is simple: the more remote economy is from society, the less democratic the decision-making is. The second is to read it as a methodological injunction concerning how researchers should explain economic practices and how a causal explanation in ethnography could be obtained. In this

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article I will focus on the methodological version of this reading because it touches upon the core epistemological issue that urban ethnographers face when trying to theorise their findings.

This issue revolves around how the findings connected with a specific site and settings are theoretically informative about the social phenomenon of which that site is a case. This is a controversial issue to grapple with and its resolution has troubled scholars engaging with urban ethnography for the last twenty years. What seems to be the most intriguing part of this issue concerns the ways through which theoretical explanations related to the singular (urban ethnographies located in time and place) could be generalised so that they cover features of something universal. Although for decades urban ethnographers remained indifferent to systematizing their 'context of discovery' for fear of abstraction, it is encouraging to see that there is a growing number of ethnography-based articles delineating the specifics of theory development. MvS, in collecting cases of urban ethnographies from various localities, aspires to connect the singular features that emerged from these localities to theoretical insights which could explain more universal phenomena like, for example, why social groups develop either deviant economic activities or entrepreneurial practices in similar conditions (like that of neoliberal ascendancy). The common denominator of MvS's fieldworks is Prato's (2018) conception of the city according to which 'urban' is not limited to geography or physical space but mostly and most importantly takes into account 'citizenship', in the sense of 'individual' civil, economic, and political rights. As Prato has powerfully argued 'the city should be understood at once as *urbs*, *civitas*, and *polis*; that is, as a built-up area, as a social association of citizens, and as a political community. Focusing only on one of these aspects would be inexcusably reductive' (Prato 2018: 5).

Therefore, I have structured my argument as follows: in the first section I summarise the main philosophical approaches regarding what it means to explain something by means of a mechanism-based account. One of the main ideas of the article is that theory development in urban ethnography can benefit from mechanism-based explanations because they enable one to identify the details of how the singular is tied up with the universal. Next, I present the main epistemological ideas proposed by ethnographers for theory development and specific ways in which ethnographic cases can be theoretically informative of how larger social phenomena are set out. Finally, I apply the idea of an ethnography-informed and mechanism-based explanation in some of the fieldworks gathered in MvS in order to give a flavour of how this way of explaining the singular tells us something about the workings of the universal.

Mechanism-based Causal Explanations: A Critical Realist Approach
Although philosophical literature on causal explanation is vast and sometimes seems chaotic, social scientists have adopted many of the ideas developed in it in order to frame causality in social research, both quantitative and qualitative. A common theme permeating these ideas is that Hempel's Deductive-Nomological Model presents too many inadequacies and shortcomings to be considered a gold standard for social science research, especially qualitative research. There are two main reasons for this. First, since the explanandum (that which is to be explained, for example a specific finding from urban ethnography fieldwork) is subsumed under the initial conditions of the explananda (that which explains, for example a

theoretical proposition covering all the particulars to which it refers), it follows that the particular fieldwork finding is explained by reference to the premises of the initial conditions. For economists, these premises are identified with the Rational Action Theory, which is considered to unify all the explanatory propositions of economic and social phenomena. However, in that sense — and this is the second reason behind the failure of the D-N model — social explanations are not informative of the social world, they do not tell us something new in relation to the data at our disposal once the research is completed. For the D-N model, whatever is not subsumed under the initial conditions of explananda is inexplicable and so it lacks the necessary armour for theory development (Porpora 2008).

Given that most social scientists who grapple with these issues are well aware of these failings, they have adopted mechanism-based approaches to causality, because they think that they fit more with the social ontology upon which social research methodology is built. For Critical Realism (henceforth, CR) social reality is not only what actors perceptually experience. This is only one of the first layers that the social world is composed of and it is called the 'Empirical' level of reality. Social reality is also composed of social events whose existence is dependent upon actors' perceptions, not its explanation. This is called the 'Actual' level of social reality and its workings are not premised on whether actors are aware of it. Finally, a layer exists upon which the other two are based in the sense that its generative mechanisms give shape to how, why and in what conditions the events of the 'Actual' level take place and inform how actors are going to experience these events at the 'Empirical' level. The philosophical innovation of this stratified social ontology is twofold. Firstly, although it acknowledges the concept-dependent dimension of social reality, it gives precedence to the independent existence of generative mechanisms that emerge in the 'Actual' and in the 'Real' ontological levels. Secondly, although controversial in philosophical circles, the concept of 'emergence' would be of central importance should one want to make sense of CR. In contrast to various strands of reductionism, the ontological doctrine of emergence provides a thorough and detailed picture of the Durkheimian thesis that 'the sum is something more and above its parts' (Sayer 2000: 10-29; Collier 1994: 3-31).

As a starting point, we could say that cases exist where lower-level parts interact in ways that higher-level configurations are formed and whose properties emerge through this interaction. For Kim (1999), emergence describes two things. First, that the properties which emerge in the upper and configurational level cannot be predicted through the knowledge of the lower-level parts; in this sense, these emergent properties are novel. This is why emergence stands in stark contrast to reductionist explanations which tend to reduce upper level phenomena to the knowledge of the parts of which they are composed. Second, these emergent properties bear causal powers which are independent of the constituents of the interacting parts and which can shape their behaviour. What is crucial in these ideas is that a large part of social phenomena related to the unintended consequences of action owe their existence not to the actors' rationality or reasons for action but to the causal power of these emergent properties of the whole. According to Groff (2004: 99-135), the emergent properties of social phenomena are qualitatively different from the sum of their parts. The non-predictability of emergent properties provides us with a holistic clue as to why a large part of

consequences were not anticipated when action was planned. In addition, the causal power of these properties is formal in the sense that it gives shape to the configurations of the interacting parts. If one wants to detect causal mechanisms one should explore how these formal causes make things happen and why things take one form and not another.

This conception of causality agrees with Gerrings' attempt to provide a unifying definition of causation when he states that 'causes refer to events or conditions that raise the probability of some outcome occurring' (Gerring 2005: 169). Thus, causation is framed in probabilistic and not deterministic terms since formal causes display necessary and efficient conditions for something to happen or change. Thus conceived, causal explanation should refer to generative mechanisms deployed in the emergent level of the Real. Instead of treating actors' reasons for action as efficient causes, CR views them as the first step for detecting causal mechanisms and for crafting causal propositions. In the layered model of the social world, CR offers reasons for actions that are the observable starting point in order to tap the unobservable generative mechanisms. The ontological criterion for the (non-observable) existence of the Real is through the causal effects exercised in the (observable) levels of the Actual and the Empirical. In this stratified ontology, causation may take three directions, upward, downward and on the same level. The first means that higher-level entities are explained by lower-level entities, the second means that a lower-level property is instantiated because of the emergent higher-level property and the third concerns explanations related to entities belonging to the same ontological level (Gorski 2009). Hence, it is obvious that CR's emergentism prioritises downward causation but without this meaning that it is crude Marxism or superficial structuralism. All these explorations are socio-ontological commitments, not theoretical propositions to be treated as testable deductive explanations of the particulars of the social world. They are not social theories for explaining the world but socio-ontological arguments about the furniture populating the social world and which provide a lens for explaining the causal forces forming people's practices. Social research is that which will provide us with the domain-specific details of these forming forces. Emergence is a socio-ontological term while mechanism is an epistemological one.

Having clarified the basics of what it means to say that social phenomena are emergent from a Critical Realist perspective, let me now briefly present the details of how social phenomena are explained through the concept of mechanism. It has been argued that the definition of mechanism propounded by the philosophers Machamer, Darden and Craver (2000) is that which most suits the research issues of social science. They say that 'mechanisms are entities and activities organised such that they are productive of regular changes from start or set-up to finish or termination conditions' (2000: 3). More refined versions of this definition are that 'A mechanism for a phenomenon consists of entities and activities organised in such a way that they are responsible for the phenomenon' (Illari and Williamson 2012) and that 'A mechanism for a phenomenon consists of entities (or parts) whose activities and interactions are organised in such a way that they produce the phenomenon' (Glennan 2010). One crucial component of these definitions is that they dispute the Humean and regularity conception of causality in so far as mechanisms could work only once or irregularly.

Critical Realists are in line with the above characterisations since they conceive of the causal power of mechanisms through its capacities to bring about changes in the world and effects which are observable. A crucial qualification CR makes is that causal mechanisms are generated within relationships. What social research has to do is to detect the necessary elements of these relationships in which mechanisms are generated. Earlier I mentioned that it is the peculiarity of the configuration of the lower-level entities that makes possible both the emergence of higher-level entities and the fact that that these entities have a causal effect in their own right. The task of social research is to identify the particular causal influence by exploring the peculiarities of the configuration of the relation in which mechanisms are generated and make things happen or raise the probability of some outcome occurring. Reframing this line of reasoning through CR terminology, we could say that social researchers need to explore the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of the events. Events are composed of what humans empirically perceive by means of their narrative or conceptual schemes and of the entities whose interrelation takes a specific form due to its emergent properties. Entities can be not only individuals but also social organisations and groups, and in that sense entities exist in all the three ontological levels (in the Empirical the entities are the individuals, in the Actual they are the organisations or social roles and in the Real they are the causal mechanisms) and are emergent in relation to them. Due to their properties, entities possess powers which may or may not be actualised. The causal power of entities is found not in the entity per se but in the configuration of the interaction between them. This is why mechanisms are emergent and why Bhaskar conceives of societies as open systems (Collier 1994).

Theory Development and Ethnographic Research

Sometimes ethnographers have been reluctant to engage in methodology-oriented philosophical reflections like those given above either for reasons of academic division of labour or for fear of abstraction. Abstraction and armchair theorists have been the target of critique in various sociological and anthropological circles which had adopted the lessons of C W Mills on the dangers stemming either from blind empiricism or from abstract theory. In my view this is a justified fear because whenever social scientists wanted to apply causal language and explanatory propositions to research data, they made superficial use of the D-N model of causality. Actually, what they did was to use a Marxist or structuralist theory that covers conditions in which every explanandum is explained by these theories. The results of these crude conceptions of causality were, among others, theory stagnation or theory imposition on empirical domains and data, and in some cases the stereotyping of how social actors think and feel. Pardo's research (1996) is a telling example that highlights the defects of applying deductive reasoning to ethnographic data.

Italo Pardo in his fieldwork in Naples, contra to this deductivist application of causal explanation, tries to forge a new and non-reductive insight into how one should approach the agency/structure debate by developing a conception of social action that takes into account non rational elements in how actors manage their existence. Pardo treats his informants as rational actors who asses their resources and take decisions, not as cultural dupes who are

unable to manage their existence. He suggests that Neapolitans' managing of existence is informed by '*strong continuous interaction* between tangible aspects of existence and symbolic, moral and spiritual ones' (Pardo 1996: 11). It is, he adds, a matter 'of attaining self-worth through which motivations and boundaries are formed' (Pardo 1996: 14). Pardo puts at the forefront what I described in the previous discussion as the unintended consequences of action. Although actors' beliefs that their relations to the system are negotiable may not be well founded, they nonetheless play an important role in how they manage to form interpersonal connections and webs which are unaffected by trade unions. By means of the creation of entrepreneurial practices which are usually atypical but tolerated by the authorities, actors produce their social, economic and moral status without being involved in the traditional industrial work which they see as alienating.

Pardo, by setting in motion Weber's value-laden rationality, disputes the stereotyping of the *popolino*'s (ordinary people) atypical work activities as criminal and describes in detail the creativity entailed in such activities, which is embedded in religious and moral meanings (Pardo 1996: 25-45). He uses the case of Naples to argue that the development of European urban settings is characterised by internal instability of power and defends the idea that the struggle between the dominant and the dominated cannot be merely explained in class terms (Pardo 1996: Ch. 7). In other words, through urban fieldwork, he uses a case study to disconfirm class theory for explaining the unequal distribution of power by highlighting the contexts to which this theory does not apply. Thus, the concept of 'strong continuous interaction' can be used not only for descriptive but for explanatory reasons.

Pardo's ethnography is an example of the use of theory not in deductive terms but as an orienting device for investigating inductively social process and contexts. His methodology follows the principles followed by most ethnographers either explicitly or implicitly: analytic induction and abductive reasoning through which new (mostly substantive) theoretical propositions can be forged. Although analytic induction is considered the 'royal road' for qualitative researchers and is well known, let me briefly outline its main logic. Given that analytic induction goes hand in hand with theoretical sampling, one should note that in analysing their data ethnographers proceed sequentially, meaning that the first unit or case yields a set of findings and questions that inform the next case. The reasoning behind theoretical sampling is that one starts by analysing a unit (an interview, a household, a neighbourhood) and then proceeds by exploring whether prior findings are replicated or not. This exploration is done using units similar to the initial one and units different from it. The crucial thing in this procedure is that the characteristics of units are chosen deliberately, based on the refinement and re-evaluation of each unit that is sequentially analysed in order that the underlying phenomenon be understood. The goal is not that descriptive statements be made (x% present the Z attribute) but to establish that a mechanism is at work.

The methodological principles of analytic induction and abduction should be seen not as a peculiarity of qualitative research but as a strategy for crafting explanatory accounts which could be transferred to contexts other than those in which the fieldwork took place. The systematizing of this strategy constitutes the main challenge ethnographers have to overcome. Despite the fact that ethnographers should care about the extrapolation of their theoretical

explanations, they should not imitate quantitative epistemology because in that case they would be unable to distinguish empirical findings from theoretical accounts. In order to clarify this, Small (2009) thinks that the key is to reframe qualitative sampling. In classic quantitative parlance, generalisability is attained through the selection of typical cases which are identified by means of survey techniques. Ethnographers are encouraged to select cases not from the dependent variable but by assessing how representative is the case of the population from which it has been sampled. However, I have to note that there are two reasons why the statistical conception of generalisability is doomed to fail: the first has to do with the fact that the selection of cases will always be biased because researchers use their hunches to a greater or lesser degree in order to assess how typical the case they have selected is. The second reason is that ethnographers will never be certain whether their analyses concerning their sampling units would apply to those that would be obtained if the entire population had been analysed. There is no way of determining whether the same results can be obtained by studying populations from which the (typical) cases have been sampled. The solution ethnographers propose is to carry out in-depth research in order to overcome this limitation. However, for Small this does not change things, and he proposes specific alternatives.

The first promising solution, Small believes, comes from Burawoy's 'extended case method'. The goal is not the discovery of new theory but the extension of pre-existing theoretical or conceptual formulations to other groups or aggregations, to other bounded contexts or places, or to other sociocultural domains (Small 2009: 20-4). In this view, theoretical extension focuses on broadening the relevance of a particular concept to a range of empirical contexts other than those in which they were first developed or intended to be used. In this sense, theoretical extension preeminently involves the 'transferability' of theory between at least two contexts. For Snow, Morrill and Anderson (2003), Simmel's formal sociology offers a classic means for practicing theoretical extension. They believe that there are three main forms that Simmel thought could explain the various contents of social life; they are social processes, social types and developmental patterns. By researching a specific singular, ethnographers can describe how it instantiates one of these three forms.

However, there is an inconsistency in Burawoy's argument since it is not clear what is meant by 'extended'. While the key idea is to learn how society's larger forces shape the case, the purpose is to understand the case, not to generalise from it. I believe that this confusion lies in the fact that Burawoy draws upon a deductive line of reasoning, not an inductive one like that of Grounded Theory. Beyond this unclear point, Small makes a crucial distinction between 'statistical significance' and 'social significance', which means that ethnographers should be clear as to what the single case has to tell us about society rather than about the population of similar cases. He proposes the replacement of 'statistical inference' with the use of 'causal or logical inference' which means that the 'extrapolability from any one case study to like situations in general is based only on logical inference' (Small 2009: 18). He suggests that the tapping of a causal hypothesis should be based on logical thinking, not on deduction. Instead of hypothesizing that '"All entities of type A will exhibit characteristic Z", researchers

should hypothesise that "When X occurs, whether Y will follow depends on W'" (Small 2009: 23).

Be that as it may, how could one be sure that what one has found from the research on a single case tells us something about society as a whole? The solution comes from how researchers should select cases, and Small believes that ethnographers should search for 'deviant or unique cases that are especially interesting, because they provide for ways of developing or extending theories' (Small 2009: 21). In other words, Small argues that instead of prioritizing typical cases identified through random sampling, researchers should look for cases which are deviant in some respect. Although it sounds good, this solution is appropriate for theory development (when one wants to develop a theory in order to cover instances not explained in its initial form), not for informing us on how a case is generalisable to society. We believe that at this point Small's argument lacks specificity because he does not provide us with sufficient details as to how a 'deviant case' is defined and identified in fieldwork research. On the contrary, he takes the deviant case solution as a taken-for-granted guide which will ease ethnographers' confusion.

From Sampling to Causal Propositions

Let me reiterate here my earlier crucial point that it is the kind of sampling that can produce causal propositions. In the quantitative tradition, randomisation assures one that the cases selected are representative of the population. However, two important notes need to be made. First, that it is the researcher who defines what the population will be and, second, that representativeness is not exactly the same as generalisability; the former refers to the fact that every single unit has the same likelihood of being selected and not to the possibility of generalizing sample findings to the population. According to a quantitative logic, generalisability is inferred from representativeness; it is inferred from the reasoning that since every single unit has the same likelihood of being chosen, it follows that what applies to the sample will also apply to the population.

In contrast, in 'maximum variation sampling' cases are selected only if they represent the full range of values of the relevant variables X, Y or of the dimension of interest. The aim is for the researcher to collect data from all viewpoints (including the extreme and the mean values) that constitute the studied phenomenon. Identification of diversity is not usually obtained in a one-shot procedure before the research is carried out; instead, the cases are selected in an iterative way while the research is in progress. Antecedent analysed cases inform the researcher about the diversity of the next cases that have to be selected (remember what we said previously on analytic induction). Maximum variation sampling goes hand in hand with the construction of typological theories, that is theoretical explanations delineating types of conditions within which a different causal hypothesis of X and Y is analysed. In other words, typologies are informative of the various types of necessary and sufficient conditions within which the causal path from X to Y takes various forms. Typicality and diversity in this sampling procedure interact since in each type a typical case has to be analysed for within-type generality to be obtained. The most known advantage of maximum

variation sampling is that by covering the full range of variation in the dimension of interest, one is justified in claiming the representativeness of the chosen sample of cases.

If a researcher wants to maximise variance then he or she could select a single case exemplifying an extreme value on a dimension of interest for a within-case analysis. 'Extreme' could mean either the distance from a mean or what is considered unusual in a common sense way. The extreme-case method can be implemented on condition that the full range of variation in the population of cases has been understood, allowing the researcher to obtain a fuller picture of the studied population. Alternatively, it can be implemented for exploratory reasons; that is, as a way of explaining how a Y (outcome) has been produced, or of pointing out the effects of an event or a situation (of X).

Similarly, when a case presents unexpected or surprising properties in relation either to a theory or to common sense, then this is called deviant. According to Gerring (2007: 95-105), the difference from the extreme case is that while the latter is defined in relation to the distance from the mean of a single distribution, deviant-ness emerges only when a case is not explained by a statistically-grounded causal relationship. To the extent that the causal model is transformed so that it encompasses the unexplained, then the deviant becomes typical. Gerring believes that the best way to choose a deviant case is to pose the question: *relative to what general model* (or set of background factors) is Case deviant? For example, Paul Willis' theory on how working-class kids get working-class jobs applies only to cases in which the opportunity structure of the local job market, the school habitus, the community culture and the predominance of locality are similar across the population of cases. Thus, one could carry out ethnography or an interview-based study by selecting a case (for example, a group of working-class adolescents or a vocational school) in which one or more of these contextual factors is absent. In such an instance, one could either disconfirm Willis' theory on adolescents' identity formation or reframe its main constituents. What is important is to understand that both the extreme and the deviant case have an exploratory function to perform. To the extent that a causal process has been identified for a deviant case, then one can expect that it is applicable to other deviant cases, too.

I believe that social researchers should capitalise on deviant cases because generative mechanisms come to the fore more visibly in periods of crisis or of transition (Christodoulou and Spyridakis 2019). As Collier has argued (1994: 165), by seeing how something goes wrong we find out more about the conditions of its working properly than we ever would by observing it working properly. In researching deviant contexts we learn about the workings of an unactualised mechanism under typical conditions.

Finally, in contrast to the exploratory logic of extreme and deviant case method, a case that is used to confirm the assumptions of a theoretical model is defined by Gerring (2007: 118) as influential. Here, the goal is not to produce new causal explanations but to specify the conditions that make this influential case not deviant but rather explicable from the original theory to the extent that one takes into account the circumstances of this case. While the exploration of new causal paths and theory modification is fitting for extreme and deviant sampling, theory confirmation is what sustains the influential case method.

I believe that the main idea springing from what I have set out thus far is that the kind of generalisability of the discovered causal relations depends on the sampling reasoning that sustains the research design. For instance, in a typical case sampling, the generalising reasoning is that 'since this causal relation applies to this case, it probably applies to similar cases'. In the maximum variation sampling, the generalising reasoning is that typologies tap necessary and sufficient conditions through which causal relations take a different form analogous to the type. In the extreme or deviant case sampling, the generalising reasoning concerns causal relations explaining new phenomena through theory development. Finally, in the influential case, the case that is analysed exemplifies a theory-confirming causal relation.

We should not forget that for a Critical Realist, generalisability is not to be identified with the use of statistical techniques for extrapolating from the studied to the unstudied. According to this empiricist conception, the larger the sample the more accurate the extrapolation. The problem with this conception is that it equates generalisability with the domain of the empirical. On the contrary, a CR approach to generalisability refers to the conditions that make something — a social relationship, an action, an institution or a social structure — what it is, not something completely different (Danenramark et al. 2002: 77). Using the terminology that we have developed thus far, researchers try to detect how mechanism interacts with context so that a specific outcome is produced. For O'Mahoney and Vincent (2014), researching mechanisms asks, 'how do the properties of one or more entities affect those of others?'; researching context asks, 'what conditions are needed for an entity's causal mechanisms to be triggered?'; and researching outcomes asks, 'what are the empirical manifestations produced by causal mechanisms being triggered in a given context?'

The difference between the empirical and CR conception of generality lies in the inferential logic that sustains them, with induction prioritised for the former and retroduction and abduction identified with the latter. Retroduction is an inferential move from the empirical domain to the generative mechanisms and its core element is related to abstraction, which one should not confuse with data enforcement. Abstraction refers to the re-description of how the differing elements of a phenomenon are combined in such a way as to affect events. As they put it, abstraction involves combining observations, often, though not inevitably in tandem with theory, to produce the most plausible explanation of the mechanisms that caused the events. Re-description means that researchers observe, describe, interpret and explain something within the frame of a new context. It does not mean that one discovers something that nobody knew anything about before but that what is discovered is 'connections and relations, not directly observable, by which one can understand and explain already known occurrences in a novel way' (Danermark et 2002: 91). In the next section, I discuss how Spyridakis' edited book MvS could be viewed through a causal-explanation line of thought.

From How to Why: A Mechanism-based Explanatory Framework for MvS's Case Studies[2]

The central phenomenon with which MvS deals revolves around three interrelated issues. They are:

1. What market-based institutional practices does the capitalist economy set in motion to overcome the 2009 financial crisis?
2. How do the various social groups located in differing urban spaces respond to these practices?
3. In what ways does the encounter between market-based practices and social groups' actions transform urban places?

In addition, the common core permeating all the chapters of MvS is that the means-ends scheme of rationality not only is theoretically misguided but it is also a disguised imposition, identifying rational action with the capitalist conception of homo economicus. On the contrary, by drawing upon the Weberian value-laden approach to rational action, which takes into account the emotional and moral dimensions of rationality, MvS exemplifies how one could treat rationality as a total social fact.

In his chapter titled '"We Are All Socialists": Greek Crisis and Precarisation', Spyridakis (2018: 113-133) shows how the Weberian conception of rationality finds its way into precarious forms of life created by the 2009 financial crisis in Greece. Within these forms of life people cannot schedule their future lives, they tend to be isolated and socially excluded, doing short and dead-end jobs and mostly they are forced to find recourse in public programme schemes in order to get by. The idea researched by Spyridakis is that the financial crisis creates precariousness which is reproduced by the economic policies implemented for remedying it. He uses as a case study an E-funded programme for the reduction of poverty in Greece in which each EU member had to identify a specific target group deserving financial and psychological support. In Greece, the members of the target group are those: (1) with an annual income that does not exceed 3000 Euros for each individual, 4500 Euros for two-member families, 5400 Euros for a three-member family, 6300 Euros for four-member families and 7200 Euros for five-member families; (2) the total taxable value of whose property does not exceed 115,000 Euros per person and 250,000 for the whole family, plus 20,000 Euros for each additional adult and 15,000 for each dependent minor, with a maximum total value for each individual or family of 250,000 Euros. Spyridakis views this policy as a case that not only confirms Foucault's theory of the microphysics of power but also acts as a template for crafting a mechanism through which a precarious life is constructed. This policy creates a kind of dependency on the state, which provides material items (food, clothes, unemployment allowances and other income supports), and makes the recipients unable to get out of precariousness. This is why the beneficiaries of this programme have the ironical feeling that they are 'all socialists'.

In a similar vein, Julia Soul (2018: 134-153) examines how neoliberal policies for overcoming a crisis transform the sense of being a worker and a member of the working class.

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[2] For the full contents of this volume, see: https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783319741888

She takes as a case a group of steel workers from San Nicolas de los Arroyos, the city where SOMISAc the state-owned steel mill privatised in 1992 was located. Through a detailed analysis of the workers' responses to the privatisation of the factory, Soul highlights the distinctive features of being a worker before and after privatisation and the causal path of this transformation. In particular, during the state-owned period, the steel mill workers had access to relatively better reproduction conditions than other groups, because of higher wages and a set of corporate policies linked to household reproduction. In addition, this set up provided them with a sense of personal worth, as they could build their own homes, lengthen their children's educational trajectories and keep their households financially supported by male breadwinners. Their commitment to the 'collective worker' was tied up with upward mobility.

However, the lived experience of being a worker was deeply individualised when the factory was privatised. For example, retirement decisions became a personal and family matter, not a puzzle to be solved by the labour union; at the same time, workers obtained the power to purchase ten or twenty percent of the company's stock. The feeling of individualisation intensified as workers gradually became 'shareholders', their family incomes increased and employment relationships were replaced by commercial relations. In other words, Soul identifies labour subsumption and the changing role of union mediation as the two causal mechanisms that made the lived experience of the worker individualised.

In his chapter in MvS, Budel (2018: 209-227) describes the close relationship that developed between farmers and their livestock and how it faced a challenge in the context of the Common Agricultural Policy. The small milk-producing farms had to process their milk directly on the farm while others had to convert to breeding cattle for meat production if they wanted to keep their farms. Applying what I have described as a 'maximum variation sampling', Budel examines various kinds of farms by size, location and production and forges a spectrum on which farmers are located. At one end of this continuum, there are farmers with a strong work ethic who run their farms with idealism and sometimes accept relatively low technical standards (ancient working practices); at the other extreme, there are farmers who regard their work not as a vocation but see their farm more like a business that could be sold if no longer profitable. In other words, he describes the differential causal process that corresponds to the different ways in which farmers dealt with the market-based agricultural policies devised to overcoming crisis.

Similarly, D'Aloisio (2018: 153-171) explores the effects of FIAT's internal relocation in Italy as a policy aimed at managing the financial recession. Using a longitudinal research design based on ethnographic observation and life narratives, she underlines the difference in the meaning and the value attached to holding a job at FIAT between the findings from the interviews conducted in the first phase of research, six years after the factory's opening, and those from the interviews conducted ten years later. She identifies the workers' specific strategies for 'managing their existence' (as Pardo would put it, 1996), like having the support of their families (the parents of the families in crisis), who helped guaranteeing daily meals, and of their friendship and neighbourhood networks, which helped including small services of a technical and/or domestic nature and reducing certain costs through arrangements such as collective car-sharing.

To conclude this short overview of MvS, Nissim (2018: 171-189) uses a sampling logic in order to sharpen the Gramscian theory of hegemony and to explain how the dominant have the symbolic power to impose their worldview on the dominated. In particular, he highlights the fatalism which shapes the political worldviews of workers' committees, who had many stories of uncontrollable forces to tell (globalisation, investors, the garment industry, the Chinese), leading to shutting down production in Israel. This fatalistic stance adopted by workers' committees lead them to one of the following practices: a) resignation from whatever union claim, believing that combative acts like striking were useless, b) collaboration with the employers or conceiving the capital-labour conflict in personalised terms (the idea that the only thing that matters is the person holding the class position) c) seek the assistance of lawyers, who are experts in Labour Law and d) pursue academic degrees in business administration in order to become professionals in this field. The causal explanation offered by Nissim is that the labour struggle is transformed through market logic and business tools. He proposes the causal hypothesis that the professionalisation of unionism and the personalisation of the public sphere raise the probability of workers' resistance becoming both local and non-radical.

Discussion

I hope that the foregoing has sufficiently illuminated the main idea of this article that case studies and ethnographic fieldwork have a crucial contribution to make, not only in relation to the description of people's lived experiences and of the attendant web of meanings but also to the causal explanation of why things happen in this way and not another. Drawing on a Critical Realist approach to causality and to emergence, I applied the mechanism-based account for explaining social phenomena to the urban fieldwork brought together by Spyridakis in his MvS. I have shed light on specific mechanisms (dependency on the state, labour subsumption, workers who become 'shareholders, CAP, unionism professionalisation, to name a few) which work in ways that produce specific outcomes (precariousness, individualisation of the sense of being a worker, types of farms, weakening of labour-unionism) within specific conditions. In a comprehensive chapter in the MyS book, Durrenberger points to the emergent contexts which give shape to the abovementioned mechanisms and outcomes and which make people unaware of the forces that form their reasons for actions. Among the various and inspiring ideas offered by Durrenberger, I choose that which is closer to the central tenet of the present discussion: that ethnographers can claim causal explanations without resorting to methodological individualism or forcing data through deductive reasoning. Emergentism is a powerful ontological argument for grounding this idea. I argued that the best way to defend causality as an emergent phenomenon and not as stemming from people's reasons for action is to turn our attention to the details of connecting sampling with various explanatory statements whose causal character can be singular or universal. The fact that qualitative researchers deal with the singular does not mean that they are preoccupied with the particularity of an inexplicable thing or with ungraspable peculiarities for which the only thing that can be done is to describe their uniqueness. On the contrary, the singular is not an empirical matter as positivists conceive of it in a nominalistic

way but it always tells us something about the objects of which it is an instantiation. It has, in other words, an illustrative value, as ethnographers know, in so far as it elucidates the whole by detailing its social formation. The merit of the comparative ethnographies gathered in MvS lies in the fact that they lead to causal hypotheses that shed light on the conditions that increase the probability of specific things happening. As Pardo and Prato have argued (2017), understanding the urban world presupposes socio-anthropological theorisation grounded on empirically based, holistic analysis of singular cases. A lot of work has yet to be done for this goal to be achieved.

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Ethnographic Perspectives on Slum-dwelling Women's Access to Primary Care: The Case of Pune, India[1]

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This article describes the methodology and results of a two-month empirical study based on a focused ethnography (FE) approach and aimed at exploring the Primary Health Care (PHC) experiences of women who live in slums in Pune, India. I look at the current scenario regarding accessibility to primary health care facilities by women in Indian slums, explain the need for the present study and discuss the methodology adopted for ethnographic research and the challenges, tensions and dilemmas that arise when working with women living in slums. I consider issues concerning access to health care facilities in the case-study area and the attendant difficulties. I examine the reasons why people rely more on the private sector. These issues will be the object of analysis leading to conclusions.
Keywords: Public health, slums, women, ethnography, accessibility.

Introduction

Urbanisation is one of the leading global trends of the 21st century that has a significant impact on health. By 2050, over 70% of the world's population will live in cities. Currently, Indian cities are facing a triple health threat: infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and pneumonia; diarrheal diseases; non-communicable diseases like asthma, heart disease, cancer, and diabetes. They also face violence and injuries, including road traffic injuries (World Health Organization 2019). According to the Census of 2011, the population of India has crossed 1.21 billion with an urban population of 377 million, which is 31.16% of the total population. Urban areas provide great opportunities for people to prosper and can provide a healthy living environment through enhanced access to services. These positive aspects of city life attract people to migrate to urban areas (Chandrasekhar and Sharma 2015). In India, the employment-driven migration is mainly from the less developed states to large metropolitan areas, wherein the migrants become employed in low-paid jobs in unorganised sectors (Mukherji 2001) and are often settled in slums that lack basic public services, thus becoming exposed to health risks and the related problems.

The slum population in Indian cities is rapidly expanding, with a 25.1% decadal growth rate (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2013). This population offers complex challenges in terms of health services for disadvantaged groups, like women and children (Ministry of Health & Family Welfare 2006). The access and use of Primary Health Care[2] facilities are severely limited and this is more so for the disadvantaged section of the

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[1] I am thankful to anonymous peer reviewers and the Board of *Urbanities* for giving valuable suggestions on my research article that helped me in finalizing this paper for publication

[2] Types of healthcare according to World Health Organization (WHO) are: (i) Primary Healthcare, which denotes the first level of contact between individuals and families with the health system. It provides care for mother and child, which includes family planning, immunization, prevention of locally endemic diseases, treatment of common diseases or injuries, provision of essential facilities, health education, provision of food and nutrition and adequate supply of safe drinking water. (ii) Secondary Healthcare, which includes treatment for a short period of time for a brief but serious illness, injury or other health condition, such as in a hospital emergency department. It also includes childbirth, intensive care, and

population in urban areas. Barriers are identified at both provider and beneficiary levels. Many approaches such as free or subsidised medical care, patient health card, and incentive schemes have been tried to prevent diseases and promote health among urban poor. However, the goal of 'Health for All' remains unachieved in developing countries like India. In many urban areas, the primary health care facilities are not available and some that are remain underutilised, while there is overcrowding in secondary and tertiary care services. The situation remains nevertheless complex because, with no referral and screening system, most of the equipment and machinery in secondary and tertiary care centres is underutilised. Furthermore, while the local government (municipalities) must provide both preventive and curative services to the urban population, the existing infrastructure is inadequate to cater to the growing urban population.

Public health care provisioning for women and children in urban slums is mostly unstructured, fragile and with an almost non-existent outreach (Madhiwalla 2007). The use of health service facilities is compromised due to limited capacity for decision making, negligent and delayed care-seeking, issues of access and (Hazarika 2010) affordability and the large number of unorganised private providers. This is compounded by socio-behavioural, spatial and economic inequities that define the context of disempowerment and constraint for this population. The National Urban Health Mission (NUHM) launched in 2013 advises on improving the health of the urban slum populations through a need-based city-specific urban health care system that includes a refurbished primary care system, targeted outreach, equitable access and involvement of the community and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) (Ministry of Health & Family Welfare 2013). The lack of formative information and disaggregated data impedes efficient urban health policy-making and programming (Save the Children 2016).

Women Health in Urban India
Among the urban population, the maternity services also show a disparity between the urban poor and the rest of the urban population. The proportion of urban poor women receiving full antenatal care is very low compared to other urban women. Although urban India has a relatively very sound and strong healthcare infrastructure both in the public and private sectors, there is a marked disparity between rich and poor in terms of availability of the service and use of the resources.

According to the Sample Registration System (SRS),[3] in 2014-16 the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) was 130/100,000 live birth, while in developed countries such as Australia and Canada the MMR is less than 10/100,000 live births. Figure 1 shows that in India 44.4% of urban poor women have access to institutional deliveries against 78.5% of non-poor women. The use of healthcare services is minimal among urban poor women as compared to urban non-

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medical imaging services. (iii) Tertiary Healthcare; this refers to a third level of health system, in which specialized consultative care is provided usually on referral from primary and secondary medical care. The main provider of tertiary care is the National Health system, which consists of Regional Hospitals and National Hospitals.

[3] Data released by the office of Registrar General of India.

poor women. The primary health facilities have not increased in proportion to the growth of the urban poor population. Figure 2 shows that only 54.3% of urban poor mothers undergo a minimum of 3 antenatal care check-ups during pregnancy, while this percentage rises to 83.1% among urban non-poor women and drops to 43.7% among rural mothers. According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS),[4] among urban poor families 3.56 % are home deliveries, against 21.5% among non-poor families.
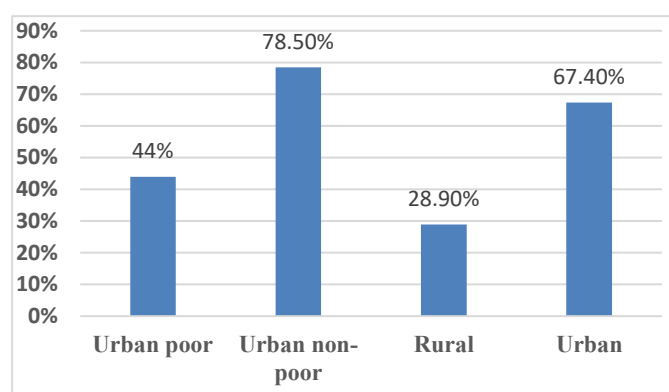

Figure 1. Birth in public health facilities in urban and rural areas- 2005-06 (NFHS 3 Data)
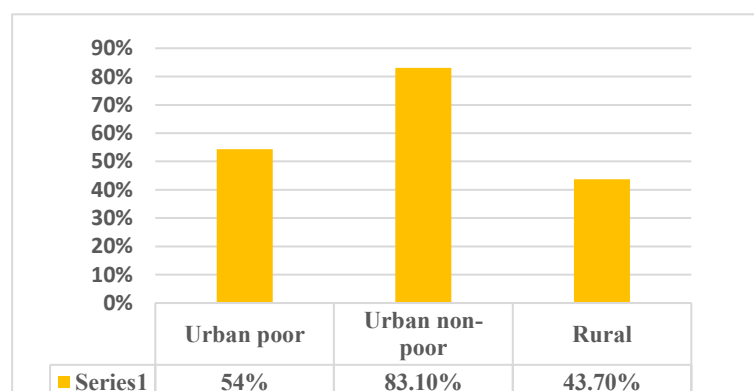
Figure 2. Mothers who had at least 3 antenatal visits- 2005-06 (NFHS 3 Data).

Issues of Accessibility to Health Care Services for Women
Access includes affordability and availability as well as quality. Affordability and availability imply that irrespective of economic status or geographical location every individual should be able to afford effective healthcare services. In terms of quality, the more government spends on improving healthcare infrastructure, training the healthcare providers, getting the latest technology and expanding the network of hospitals and dispensaries and primary health centres the better the quality of the healthcare services people will receive. The on-the-ground situation

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[4] The NFHS is a large-scale, multi-round survey conducted in a representative sample of households throughout India. The survey provides state and national information for India on fertility, infant and child mortality, the practice of family planning, maternal and child health, reproductive health, nutrition, anaemia, utilization and quality of health and family planning services.

is different on all these aspects, as indicated by the National Health Profile (NHP).[5] The data for the year 2017 show that there is only one government allopathic doctor for every 10,189 individuals, one government hospital bed for every 2,046 people and one state-run hospital for every 90,343 people. The study stated that India has a little over 1 million allopathic doctors for 1.3 billion people, just about 10% of whom work in the public health sector.

Many quantitative studies have been published which identify reasons for lack of access to PHCs by slum-dwelling women in India. However, a qualitative approach is needed to understand the attitude, perceptions and thinking processes of women who use PHC facilities. Qualitative research needs to look at how much information women have on the available medical facilities and how they view availability and should look at the issues concerning public medical facilities. Such kind of research can also help us to understand why women make certain choices, how thoughts and ideas vary among different women or how well certain ideas are understood. Qualitative research may follow a quantitative study in order to dig deeper into trends.

Qualitative research is a general term for exploratory methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field or participant observer research. It gives importance to considering variables in their natural setting. The interaction between variables and their analysis is important. The material is collected through open-ended questionnaires that provide direct testimonies (Krase 2018). This is different from quantitative research which attempts to gather data by objective methods to provide information about relations, comparisons and predictions and tends to remove the investigator from the investigation.

Here I present an ethnographic study on slum-dwelling women's access to public health care facilities focusing on their experiences in the primary health care centre. I adopt the investigation method known in anthropology as ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson 2009) because it provides the most basic form of social investigation that works with several information sources. Given an interest in understanding dynamics among varied urban cultures, social strata and traditions, Pardo and Prato (2018) argue that urban anthropology is more than anthropology of the city; significantly, it should be intended as anthropological research carried out in urban areas. By ethnographic method, I mean a ground-level research activity carried out for prolonged periods in direct contact with the object of study, followed by the systematisation of the experience in a text format (Caprara and Landim 2008). Based on a long period of on-the-ground, ethnographic research involves the construction of theoretical knowledge alongside data collection (Caprara and Landim 2008). It is, therefore, not only a research method but a process conducted by sensitive reflection, taking into account the field experience itself together with observation and information derived from the people with whom the anthropologist is working (Caprara and Landim 2008). As shown by Pardo and Prato in their recent publication on comparative urban ethnography and theory (2018), field research carried out applying traditional methodology in specific urban areas offers an empirical understanding of the broader

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[5] National Health Profile (NHP) is an annual publication of the Central Bureau of Health Intelligence (CBHI). It covers all the major information on Demography, Socio-Economic Status, Disease Morbidity & Mortality, Healthcare Finance, Human Resources in Health and Healthcare Infrastructure.

context and the attendant sociological connections through the ethnographic study of local people's links to the rest of the city and beyond. Pardo and Prato stress that 'while there is no need to fetishize fieldwork — certainly not as an end — its unique value cannot be overstated' (2018: 2). They demonstrate that ethnographically-based research can produce 'up-to-date readable contributions that avoid abstract generalities while engaging with the analytical complexity of ethnographic evidence' (2018: 2).

Over the last decade, research on health has been accompanied by a growing interest in the use of qualitative methods and the research techniques applied throughout the 20th century in the social sciences and particularly in anthropology. This interest is explained by the importance currently given to national healthcare policies and to the qualitative dimension of the healthcare services offered to citizens. A growing emphasis has therefore been put on research and evaluation instruments focused on the users' perception (Caprara and Landim 2008). Within this theoretical-methodological framework, several scholars have used the ethnographic method to study a variety of themes in the health area, from the functioning of the health system to the evaluation of the quality of healthcare services from the users' perspective (Caprara and Landim 2008).

In pages that follow, I will present results from the ethnographic study that I conducted in June-July 2018 in five slums of Pune, Maharashtra state, India.

Why this Study

In the literature outlined above, the emphasis on lack of use of primary health care facilities in slums is seen as mainly due to socio-economic and cultural factors as well to the location of health care facilities, accessibility and the experiences of women in public medical facilities. All these factors play the deciding role in the use of primary health care facilities. Also, there is a strong tendency to use private health care facilities as compared to government facilities. In Pune, this is evident from the primary survey carried out by Save the Childre's Saving Newborn Lives (SNL) Program in collaboration with the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) and the National Health Mission of the Government of Maharashtra in 2016. Thirty-seven percent of women cited the comfort level in government facilities as the main factor for not using them. The discussion that follows will draw on a focused ethnography to understand these issues. I shall address the following research questions:

1. How the experiences of women using Public Health Service facilities are deciding factor in utilizing public health care services in the slum area?
2. Why women are more inclined towards using private health care facilities as compared to public health care services?
3. How accessibility to public health care facilities can be improved in slums using issues that will be identified using current ethnographic study?

I did fieldwork among women living in slums in Pune in order to investigate their experiences in using existing public health care facilities. As I have mentioned, the ethnographic method in health services research has slowly gained recognition although it is argued that it is still underused (Bunce et al. 2014). The ethnographic approach mainly involves

interviews, observational fieldwork and document reviews (Savage 2000). The researcher is immersed in a social setting to understand the subjects' behaviour and views on the topic under study. Arguably, there can be multiple and diverse interpretations of the meaning of the empirical observations (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994). In the current study, we have used the focused ethnography (FE) approach, which has a focused field of inquiry. The background of the problem is studied and, based on the literature, a problem-focused research question is formulated before going into the field. This approach involves short term visits in the field and targeted data collection during customised visits to the field in a specific timeframe or during events. The interviews with subjects are normally structured around the study topic (Higginbottom et al. 2013, Knoblauch 2005). While in traditional ethnographic research[6] the researcher does not enter the field with formerly specified questions (Roper and Shapira 2000), in focused ethnography, a researcher with insider or background knowledge of the cultural group will employ intensive methods of data collection and recording, such as video or audio-taping (Higginbottom et al. 2013) to address a specific research question. For the current study, the method of focused ethnography was chosen because it allowed data generation on our pre-defined topic in the context and cultural landscape of the general practice of poor women's accessing primary health care facilities.

While there have been arguments in the literature about the use of focused ethnography there are very few publications on the conduct of a focused ethnography in health services research. Here, I report on our experience and on the challenges of conducting a team-based FE. Our study explored issues of inaccessibility of primary health care facilities among women living in slums of Pune. I use this study as an example to illustrate the benefits and challenges associated with a team FE approach. The next section will explore the case study area and the issues arising around sampling and the methods of data collection used, including individual interviews, small-group interviews and semi-participant observation along with writing field notes.

The Case Study — Pune
Pune is the second-largest city in Maharashtra after Mumbai, with a population of 3.1 million and, according to the Census of India 2011 is the ninth-largest in India. The Pune Region of Maharashtra comprises five districts; Pune is the largest. Pune District accounts for 33% of the total population of the Maharashtra State and has an urbanisation rate of 60.89% (GOI 2010). The population growth rate in the Pune district is 30.34%; that is, twice the state growth rate of 15.99% (Butsh et al. 2017). The data on demography and medical facilities are given in Table 1 below.

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[6] Traditionally ethnography is characterised by in-depth observation of groups of individuals, taking into account the influences of the historical and cultural contexts on social interactions. This process of immersion in the real-world context and detailed analysis enables the researcher to investigate and describe the complexities and cultural nuances of the specific setting and of the phenomenon under investigation (Streubert and Carpenter 2011).

Demography (Census 2011)	Medical Units with PMC
Population: 3.1 m (9th most populous in India)	1 General Hospital
Area: 479 km (2nd in Maharashtra)	1 Infections Disease Hospital
Population Density: 6500 per sq km	15 Maternity Homes
Sex Ratio: 948	44 Dispensaries
Literacy: 89.6%	2 Mobile Dispensary
Slums in Pune 564 Slums (357 Notified)	2 Polyclinics
Population: 33% of Pune	1 Central Immunisation Centre
Density: 6 times of non-slum area	7 ICDS Projects
Population Growth Rate: 1.5 times of Pune City	21 Urban Family Welfare Centres
	531 Regd. Private Facilities

Table 1: Demographic and medical facilities data in Pune city.

The Situation in the Slums

This Situation Analysis carried out in 2016 by Save the Children's Saving Newborn Lives (SNL) Program in collaboration with the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) and the National Health Mission–Government of Maharashtra presented the accessibility status of primary health care facilities to women and children living in slums of Pune. A total of 601 recently delivered women were selected from 30 slum clusters using a house-to-house survey. Of the 601 women, 43% was primiparous[7]. Pregnancy at a young age was commonly seen with 25% women in the teenage years who have already experienced more than one pregnancy. The majority of the women (57%) had not been visited by any FLW (Front Line Workers) at home in the last 6 months prior to the survey leaving MNH (Maternal and Child Health) care-seeking choices mostly self-driven and conditioned by prevalent socio-behavioural beliefs and preferences (Figure 3; see also Figure 4).
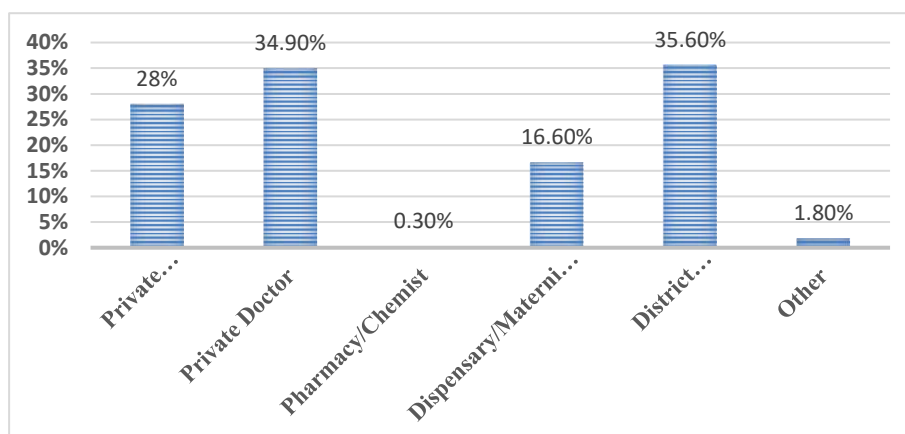

Figure 3. Preferred Site of Care Seeking for Pregnancy and Childbirth Related Conditions.

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[7] Giving or having given birth for the first time.

Public Health Service Delivery and Access[8]

In the surveyed slums, the *Anganwadi* Workers (AWW)[9] provided pregnancy registration services and nutrition counselling for pregnant women. The women in slums were unable to differentiate between AWWs and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs). There was minimal outreach by ANMs and Medical Officers (MOs) in the slums. For women, the primary and secondary level public health facilities provided ANC (Ante Natal Care) services but they lacked infrastructure for investigations (for example, ultrasonography, X-rays), C-sections and specialist care (for example, paediatric); these services were available only at the tertiary care facility. Public health facilities had a bad reputation for the unavailability of a regular and comprehensive quality service under one roof, the unfriendliness of staff, almost universal high referral rates, unforeseen out-of-pocket expenses, inconvenience (distance, transport, Out-Patient Department waiting time). Consequently, private facilities were preferred (Figure 4). Among women who reported visiting a private provider, 37% felt more comfortable with private providers while 29% said that they were available at all times (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Tertiary level public health facilities were more preferred by women for health care.

The Ethnographic Study: Methodology and Issues

In line with the focused-ethnography approach, our data collection began with observations conducted at given times, meaning that the researchers did not fully immerse themselves in the subjects' lives. Observations were performed while living with women in their house and

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[8] Source: City Health Plan, Pune 2016-2020. Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) in collaboration with Save the Children, India prepared City Health Plan Pune (2016-2020) to provide the broad framework ensuring availability, accessibility and affordability of healthcare services that is to be administered by PMC.

[9] An *Anganwadi* is the focal point for the delivery of ICDS (The Integrated Child Development Service Scheme). ICDS is one of the initiatives taken up by the Central Government, which provides a package of six services viz., supplementary nutrition, immunization, health check-ups, referral services, nutrition and health education for mothers/pregnant women, nursing mothers and to adolescent girls. An *Anganwadi* normally covers a population of 1000 in both rural and urban areas and 700 in tribal areas. Services at *Anganwadi* centre (AWC) are delivered by an *Anganwadi* Worker (AWW) who is a part-time honorary worker. She is a woman of the same locality, chosen by the people, having educational qualification of middle school or higher.

accompanying them at public health care facilities. The duration of these observations varied in each case, but the researchers usually followed the woman through her workday and her interactions with nurses and other staff in primary health care; these encounters usually lasted between 10 to 20 min to over an hour (See Table 2 for the frequency of data collection). Observational data were recorded between visits to homes as hand-written field notes, focusing on the ways in which women and primary health care staff related to and dealt with organisational systems. Field notes included information about observations, verbal exchanges and the researcher's understanding and interpretations of events. Throughout, the researcher was discreet and did not interfere when observing the subjects and their interaction with PHC staff. Informal conversations were limited to when participants were on their own, allowing the researcher to compare interpretations of meanings of observed behaviour with participants' understanding.

Observations	
Time range PHC (hours)	8–45
Approx. no. of different patients observed, not invited to interviews	20
Women interviews	
Number of women included for interviews	8
Time range of interview duration (minutes)	20–40

Table 2. Frequency of data collection methods.

All subjects were observed before starting the interviews. The goal of the semi-structured interviews was to talk about issues that were important to women, while allowing the researcher to ask explanations about specific topics and observed events, and clarification on any doubts. Thus, the interviews provided insights into background meanings, values, concepts and the thought patterns (often shared on a cultural level) behind observed practices and expressed beliefs (Guest et al. 2013).

For this survey a sampling method was adopted in order to identify the slums to be researched and the women living there. We chose slums where we had acquaintances. In most cases, there was no objection to us conducting a primary survey but slums dwellers were uncomfortable about us carrying out ethnographic research (more on this in the next section). When we started the survey, the target population was 20 women but had to revise this in view of this resistance.

We conducted this survey in the 5 slums of Pune. The interview guidelines were developed specifically for the women. Some of the topics discussed in the interviews were particularly relevant to the present article, including women's experiences of doctor-patient interactions, everyday home care practices, priorities and time management. Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility to explore emerging topics (Guest et al. 2013) and, as the focus of this discussion arose from observations done while collecting data for the previously published study, many of the questions asked revolved around observed practices of subjects to uncover, as I have mentioned, the meanings behind the practices. The interviewees were encouraged to talk about situations that they had experienced and that stood out in a positive

and negative sense. Meeting the respondents' preferences, interviews were performed in their homes. They lasted 30-60 minutes and were videotaped and transcribed word for word by the researcher.

The Interviews

During the survey, we noticed that some women were outspoken when discussing issues of proper access to primary health care services, while others were reluctant to talk about these issues as they were not clear about how we would use the interviews. Dandekar Vasti was the first slum that we surveyed. This is an old slum located in Navi Peth area of Pune (Ward number 29). My first interviewee was Sushma who has lived Dandekar Vasti for the last 14 years as a homemaker. She has two daughters and her husband is a rickshaw driver. I first met her during my visit in May 2018, when I conducted a primary survey for a quantitative analysis. In June 2019, I approached her again for the ethnographic survey. For this survey, I enquired about her health problems and asked where she was getting medical treatment. I found that she had menstrual problems for which she saw doctors regularly. On 4th June, I visited her again and carried out observation from morning to noon, noticing that she was unable to perform her daily chores properly due to stomach ache and discomfort. When I asked if she was taking medication, she said that she was on home remedies like unripe papaya and ginger. At noon she decided to visit a PHC facility, which was located approximately 2 Kilometres from her house. Having obtained her permission, I went along. We hired an auto-rickshaw, which charged 30 Rupees (Rs) to take us to the PHC. We reached PHC in 15 minutes, to find long queue of people waiting to see a doctor. Before meeting the doctor, every patient was required to make a case paper to be shown later to the doctor; the case paper cost 10 Rs. It took Sushma 10 minutes to get her case paper and then she had to wait her turn to be visited. After 45 minutes to 1 hr, she was allowed to see the doctor. She went in alone and within 3-4 minutes came out with a prescription. In this PHC the medicines are free, so all Sushma had to do was to show the prescription to chemist. We went back to her home again by auto-rickshaw, which also cost her 30 Rs. Once at home I asked her a few questions about on her experiences in PHC. She said:

> 'There was a long queue with no proper arrangements for handling patients. The doctor had no extra chair where a patient could sit. She asked questions about my problems while I was standing. She did not touch me or examine me properly. The interaction lasted only a few minutes and she prescribed the medicines. The PHC is open from 10am to 1pm and then from 2pm to 5 pm. Women who work have difficulty in using this facility compared to women who are homemakers. The behaviour of the PHC staff was average. I am not satisfied with treatments provided in PHC. The interaction with the doctor in private care facilities is very different. There, the doctor has a proper chair where patients can sit there are proper beds where doctors examine patients properly.'

In Pune, around 41% of slums are covered by Primary Health Care (PHC) within a range of 500m; still, only 9% of women are using the local PHC.[10] Most of the women surveyed for our ethnographic research have raised issues similar to Sushma's. Kamal is an *Anganwadi* worker who has lived in the Gurudutt Vasti slum (Ward number 29) for the last 30 years. Having enquired about her health problems and where she was getting her medical treatment, I found that she had had diarrhoea for the last two days and expected to see a doctor soon. After obtaining her permission, I accompanied her to the PHC when she next went there. Initially, she was hesitant to let me go with her because she was an *Anganwadi* worker and was concerned that the interview could to be used to criticise government facilities. I assured her that the sole purpose of this interview was to understand the issues, not to criticise anyone.
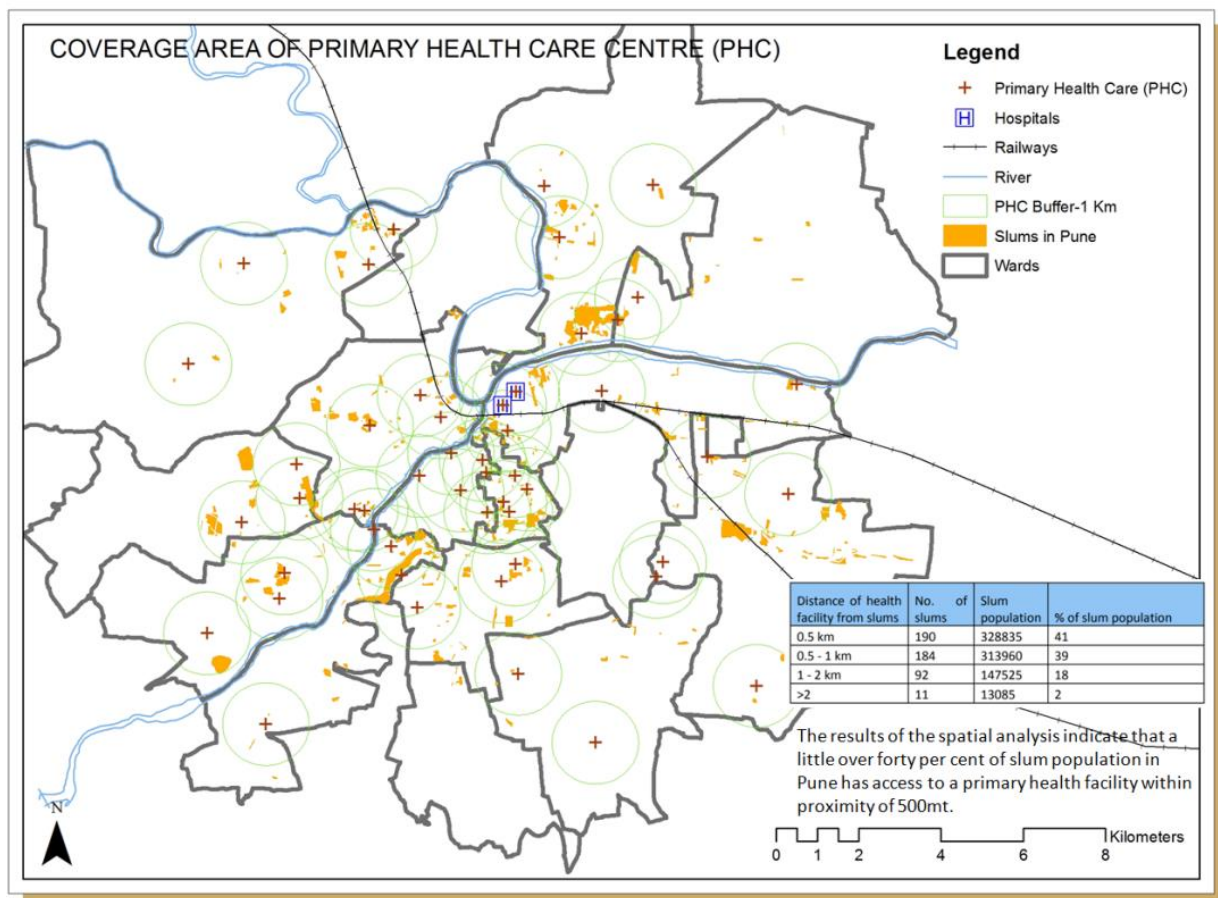
Map 1. Coverage of PHC in Pune city (Source: Secondary Survey conducted for PhD study in PMC (Pune Municipal Corporation) office in the month of May 2018.

On 6th June I visited her again from morning to noon and noticed that while working as an *Anganwad*i worker she was unable to concentrate fully on her work due to stomach cramps

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[10] These data are from a Primary Survey done as part of a doctoral study in May 2018. At that time, 80 slums were selected from Pune to assess the accessibility of PHC (Primary Health Care) facility to women. The results indicated that only 9% of total sample of 600 women out of 80 slums were using PHC facility.

and weakness. At noon we decided to visit PHC facility which was approximately 0.5 Kilometres from her house. We hired an auto-rickshaw for 20 Rs and reached the PHC in 10 minutes. There, she experienced the same kind of long wait as Sushma to see a doctor for 3 or 4 minutes, obtain a prescription and get free medicines. She, too, needed to make a case paper costing 10 Rs before meeting the doctor. We went back to her home by auto-rickshaw, which again cost 20 Rs. Once there, I asked her to comment on her experience in the PHC. She said:

> 'Anandbai Gadgil is the medical facility that I visited. This is a government facility. Usually, I also go private. In a government facility, we have to wait in lines before meeting the doctor. In a government facility, doctors don't examine patients properly as compared to the private clinic but medicines are as good and fees are less. On some days the waiting time is 1 hr. There were no X-ray and Sonography facilities. Given a chance I would prefer a private facility as compared to a government facility.'

So, Kamal, too, is not satisfied with government facilities. She was also concerned with the check-up provided by doctors and facilities in the government centre. Most women living in the slum are comfortable taking home remedies before consulting doctors for treatment. Like Sushma, Kamla was also taking some home remedies before visiting a PHC.

Manisha, a resident of DandekarVasti slum has the same story to tell. She suffered from arthritis and had difficulty walking. She was using an oil prescribed by her neighbour, which for the last week had on her knees and hands. On 8th June we persuaded her to visit the medical facility near her place. She was prescribed medicines, which she obtained free of charge from the chemist at the PHC. Back at home. I asked her comments. She said:

> 'The facilities in the government centre are good but there are long queues and waiting hours. The waiting time in the private facility is quite less. In a government hospital, we only have to pay 10 Rs as a fee and medicines are free. In a private hospital, the expense goes up to 500 Rs. In case of hospitalisation, we use a government facility but for OPD we prefer private facilities.'

While the PHCs are normally used for OPD (Outpatient Department), women are mostly dependent on government-run hospitals for their deliveries but their experiences are not good. Namita's husband and father-in-law living in the Shankarmath slum, Hadapsar-Pune, borrowed money and she delivered her baby boy in the relative comfort of a private health clinic which charged her 6,000 Rs. While Namita's delivery was normal and her family was able to repay the debt, her neighbour Parvati's case took an unfortunate turn. She had a complex pregnancy and was admitted to the government-run hospital. Not only was she scared by the hospital staff's rude behaviour, but was also disturbed by the deaths of a mother and her new-born baby that she witnessed in the nearby room. She recalled,

> 'I was very scared listening to the cries of all the women in the ward in the process of labour pain and listening to nurses talking to them so rudely. The woman with whom I was sharing my room had just delivered a baby girl — both the woman and

the child died before my eyes. My head started spinning after this and I told my husband that I could not stand being there. So, we just walked out of the hospital.'

Her husband, who runs a *paav-bhaji* (Indian bread snack) stall to earn a living, took Parvati to a private hospital where her baby was delivered through a Caesarean section. But it entailed a four-day stay in hospital and a debt of 35,000 Rs.

While some families borrow money to pay for private health care, others opt for home births. According to Kalyani, an *Anganwadi* worker based in the Jehangir Nagar slum, Hadapsar Pune, sending patients to the hospital is sometimes counterproductive. 'It is so difficult to convince women to go to hospitals for their check-ups and many are so discouraged by their experiences in these facilities that they end up delivering at home'.

According to a large number of *Anganwadi* workers to whom we have spoken, rude behaviour and physical abuse are major factors that deter women from seeking institutional deliveries.

Kamla, an *Anganwadi* worker, narrates an incident that happened when she took a patient to the hospital for her first delivery, 'When I went to see her on the occasion of her second pregnancy, she firmly refused to go to the hospital, saying that she was treated extremely badly on the earlier occasion and had decided to opt for a home delivery'. According to Kamla, women refuse to go to government hospital because the behaviour of doctors is consistently bad in all government facilities. She says, 'They speak to their patients in such an abusive way, sometimes hit them and turn them away even when the patient is in labour'.

Deliveries in institutional facilities have been regarded as an answer to address India's high levels of infant and maternal mortality but, unless something is done to make the experience a happier one for ordinary women, nothing will change. The whole system is designed to lure women into institutional delivery but it is not equipped for it, thus creating barriers to the programme.

Challenges in Conducting Ethnography

As an ethnographer, it was challenging to conduct this kind of research in the slums. Out of all the total 80 slums that were surveyed for quantitative analysis, the women of 8 slums allowed us to conduct our ethnographic study. For this study, I and one of my students decided to stay with these women the whole day and decided to understand more about the problem and issues they are currently having concerning accessing health care services.

The primary requirement of the ethnography survey is gaining the trust and confidence (Prato and Pardo 2013: 96) of the women who are willing to be interviewed. These women have been living in these slums for many years and have been using the primary health care facilities. When we first met for the survey, they were apprehensive about our study and motives. We were not invited to survey or even talk to them because many times agencies come, ask questions, assess the facilities and if they spot problems they use them for their ulterior motives. It took us a long time to make local women accept our study and reassure them that we would not use their remarks without their consent.

Along with the women whom we considered for our ethnography, other slum dwellers were continuously asking questions concerning our project and the place we come from. Being an outsider, it was difficult for me to handle people as their questions were in the Marathi language (the local language in the study area) and I was no so well-versed in this language but this problem was solved as most of the time my student helped me to understanding people's concerns.

Discussion

Health is a fundamental right, and it is the right of patients to receive respectful and dignified treatment and the services they need. Unfortunately, a majority of the people in developing countries, particularly the urban poor, cannot use health services. In India, the primary health care services are greatly underutilised because they offer a low-quality treatment and are marred by lack of responsibility and proper management, and by insufficient resources. It is also apparent that private hospitals are successful at providing better healthcare facilities and contributing to lessen pressure on public hospitals. Private medical facilities are characterised by a clean and healthy environment, sterilised equipment, efficient handling of patient grievances, availability of medical tests and pharmacy facilities located in the hospital, the polite attitude of doctors, nurses and supporting staff. However, although urban slum dwellers are well motivated to use private medical facilities, the high cost often forces them to resort to public medical facilities. The ethnographic study conducted in selected Pune slums has brought out these problems and the discomfort among women who use the public medical facilities. Free medicine was for them only encouraging factor when using these facilities.

While conducting ethnographic research, I observed understaffed medical facilities with obsolete tools, limited beds and lack of proper infrastructure. Moreover, many women complained about the repeated use of surgical equipment and syringes on several patients with unsatisfactory sterilisation, thus raising the risk of spreading infections and diseases. We often noted absenteeism among hospital staff such as sweepers, health technicians, nurses and even physicians. There is also a rising concern that patients in public hospitals, especially in the tertiary care facilities, are often treated by junior doctors, who are not yet well-experienced in the field.

In outpatient departments and emergency wards, we observed patients being advised, on occasion, to seek admission to private wards. Patients waiting their turn to get a bed were seated two to three on a single bed. Also, we noticed doctors in public hospitals spending very little time visiting. In short, in government hospitals, the doctors, nurses and supporting staff are not providing sufficient individual care to patients. Lack of staff interest in duty, absenteeism, inclination to work in private clinics, lack of feedback and accountability are the key factors that lead to patients' dissatisfaction with public hospitals.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the interviews show that women living in the slum areas of Pune have primary health care facilities that are spatially accessible to them. However, our findings tallied with

those of the primary survey conducted in May 2018 among approximately 600 women living in Pune slums, which showed that, despite better spatial accessibility to PHCs, only 9% of the surveyed women were using a PHC facility. The rest were dependent on private hospitals or clinics for their medical treatments. The ethnography brought out clearly that there are no obvious socio-economic reasons that are make public health care facilities non-accessible to women. The reasons in favour of private facilities given by the women whom we met included behaviour of the administrative and nursing staff and doctors; long waiting times and the opening times of the PHC. The doctors stationed in PHC spend little time discussing medical issues with women in OPD, they do not examine patients properly and prescribe medicines just looking at the patients once they have described their symptoms. In many PHCs that I visited there were no chairs for patients in OPD, women discussed their medical issues with doctors while standing and in many cases within 2 minutes doctors prescribed medicines and moved on to the next patient. As such incidents make women believe that their treatment is not done properly, they turn to private medical facilities for treatment. There, the cost of treatment is high but women feel satisfied as doctors listen to them, examine them properly and give them proper treatment. Moreover, while conducting an ethnographic survey, I found that many women who live in slums work as housemaids, or do private jobs. The PHCs are open is between 10 am and 1 pm and between 2pm and 5 pm, which does not suit working women.

The bad behaviour of those who staff government facilities is a common problem across the country. It is important to note that, as many reports point out, government facilities are understaffed and the personnel work under difficult conditions; not only they are not trained adequately, but are also overburdened and work long hours without proper support; there is clearly a need for a better working environment. It is equally important to stress that there is a need to sensitise doctors and other staff to behave better when giving treatment; they should be properly trained before they start working in a PHC. On the basis of my ethnographic experience, I believe that if these conditions were satisfied the accessibility to government PHC services would surely increase.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Nikhil Anand, Akhil Gupta & Hannah Appel (eds), 2018. *The Promise of Infrastructure*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

The contemporary context of the Anthropocene has evoked re-conceptualisation of concepts and categories inviting comprehensive, in-depth and multi-layered understandings of their multiple meanings and associated functions. The application of a transdisciplinary lens to explore concepts through undisciplined or de-disciplinary initiatives is gaining ground during recent times to arrive at plural perspectives by addressing intersections and inseparable overlaps between the physical (technical) and the social. There is an overarching awareness that studying and perceiving so-called physical objects like water (H_2O), air (O_2), etc. only as 'technical' separates them from larger social, cultural and political contexts. This awareness can be considered as an outcome of cross-disciplinary and multi-sectoral knowledge exchanges, an imperative for our survival and sustenance within the era of global environmental change.

The mutual, cyclical and reciprocal relationships between infrastructures and environment during the entire life span (or life cycle) of the former, proceeding through various stages of design, financing, construction, completion, maintenance, repair, breakdown, obsolescence and ruin (being permanently dead or getting restored, enabling the sequence altogether again) is provocative enough to shed light on multiple meanings and exigencies that infrastructures encompass. And this is why this edited volume, consisting of nine chapters structured along three major interventions — time, politics, promise —

can be considered as the timeliest contribution. That infrastructures are 'sociotechnical' assemblages have been empirically and ethnographically validated across various chapters in this book. The volume advances and enriches the anthropological understanding and probing of infrastructures as 'objects of ethnographic engagement' (4), facilitating new theoretical and political insights for and from anthropology. The volume builds upon an array of genealogies: critical Marxist perspectives, the government of difference in cities, and the science, technology and society (STS) literature. The volume is a comprehensive coverage of infrastructures from multi-layered, multi-dimensional and multi-modal perspectives across complex functioning of multiple actors, traversing both human and non-human worlds and worldviews.

Unravelling multiplicities from hard infrastructures (Schwenkel, Chapter 4; Anand, Chapter 6) to 'infrastructure's infrastructures' to 'people as infrastructures' and 'structures of feeling' to 'knowledge infrastructures' (Bowker, Chapter 8), this volume addresses convergences along politics, poetics and promises of infrastructures. With the conviction that '[…] any given future is built on the past' (7), the editors boldly assert that infrastructures mediate time as it mediates space. The temporal interplay between spatial and social extension is manifested in von Schnitzler's chapter (5) on metered water and electricity in South Africa. The coproduction of the temporal, spatial and political finds reflection in Anand's chapter (6) on hydraulic politics and bureaucracy in Mumbai which traces how the spatial extension of pipes potentially supplying drinking water to non-authorised settlements is determined by a

politico-temporal trajectory dotted with elaborate negotiations and bargains among multiple stakeholders and actors (slums dwellers, politicians, engineers, managers, etc.) over an extended period of time. Gupta concretises the significance of understanding and exploring infrastructures as spatio-temporal projects, 'chronotypes' when he describes infrastructures not as finished products but frames and familiarises 'infrastructures as unfolding' over many moments with uneven temporalities (Chapter 2). The editors validate why and how they have considered and contemplated on 'time' as one of the most significant interventions to explore infrastructures: 'A focus on the temporal helps us think of the spatial, technical, material, logistical, political and social properties of infrastructures together' (19).

The element of 'promise' elaborately fleshed out in the different chapters connects infrastructural past, present and posterity, enabling readers to dig deep, making meanings even from 'hidden temporalities' entrenched in future oriented investments or 'the ruins of the future'. Gupta's rereading of ruins of half-built infrastructure projects in Bangalore encapsulates ruination not as the fall of past glory but an in-between stage with the hopes of modernity and progress embodied in the construction phase at one end of the spectrum and suspension of those hopes in discontinued projects on the other (Chapter 2). That this 'promise' also embodies statist legitimisation, oppression and desperation comes out sharply in the chapters contributed by Schwenkel and Larkin (Chapters 4 and 7). Schwenkel demonstrates how risks of natural calamities and political subjugation were ingrained in laudable promises of technological prosperity relating to

smokestacks in post-colonial Vietnam. The opening chapter by Appel complicates 'promise' by unfurling multi-scalar and multi-dimensional insights reflecting on today's imperial formations and the poisoned promise of economic growth. Drawing attention to 'Investment as a percentage of GDP' as the statistical reflection of infrastructural projects in the national economy, Appel writes about the lived experience of spectacular rates of infrastructural investment in Equatorial Guinea noting its centrality to ideas of national economy and schemes of economic growth (Chapter 1: 42). Harvey on the other hand unveils the element of 'longing' and expectations surrounding promises of road construction projects in Peru (Chapter 3).

The last two chapters by Bowker and Boyer emphasise not only why infrastructures but 'why now', explaining how and why fresh theoretical formulations and empirical insights building upon the existing archaeology of knowledge is imminent within Anthropocene. For Bowker the more important question than 'what is an infrastructure?' is 'when is an infrastructure'? (Chapter 8: 203). Shedding light on 'knowledge infrastructures', Bowker uses the term 'infrastructures' to connect across an array of literature. Pointing out to the limits of knowledge classification, he establishes why interdisciplinarity and trans-disciplinarity are crucial to explore infrastructures, given its layered nature and complexities across time and space, human collectivities and also data, representing challenges for the 'design, use and maintenance of robust infrastructures' (Chapter 8: 217). This chapter also introduces readers to species database like the Global Biodiversity Information Facility, discusses its limitations like providing and generating

linear and single observations, being restricted to politically selected parts of the globe, and validates why environmental (more specifically climate) knowledge infrastructures should be perceived, designed and made operational across pluralistic prisms and perspectives.

Referring to his 2014 work, Boyer affirms that the anthropological revelations of infrastructures are part of a much larger movement: the 'anti-anthropocentric turn' in human sciences (Chapter 9: 225). The chapter intensely draws from what Boyer calls 'a family resemblance' rooted in the critical social science literature emanated from cutting-edge researches by Michel Foucault, Donna Haraway, Bruno Latour and Cary Wolfe. Criticizing the classical, Keynesian, neoclassical and neo-Keynesian models of economic growth indebted to apparatuses of carbon energy extraction and delivery, Boyer advocates that a 'revolutionary infrastructure' (through the adoption of the Marxian path) is critically relevant for facing and overcoming the Anthropocene. His idea is to move beyond 'the familiar infrastructures of carbon modernity that currently encompass and enable us' (Chapter 9: 231).

The co-evolution and co-functioning of hard, soft and ecological infrastructures where nature and culture are embedded as enmeshed entities across spatio-temporal scales finds reflection in the various contributions in this volume. The Anthropocene as the immediate and urgent context to determine and decide upon desired infrastructures has been well formulated in the last two chapters by Bowker and Boyer. Yet, the connect requires deeper consolidation through the use of robust datasets and more empirical examples, a provocative provision rolled out by this volume as future lines of

inquiries that can be taken up by social science researchers. This conviction is channelled through Anand, Gupta and Appel's comment: 'We present a set of scholars working on infrastructure today, but we also gesture to all the work still to be done' (7).

This book is a must read for students and scholars pursuing STS, political ecology and development studies. The policy makers can be immensely benefited from it as the ideas, concepts and contexts laid out in the introduction and subsequent chapters have revolutionary potentials to enrich and expand their perceptions and mindsets. The only challenge is that the sophisticated scholarly presentations might not attract bureaucrats and technocrats directly; a concern that is not specifically targeted to this volume, but for series of extremely significant recent social sciences contributions, pressing forward the need to come up with innovative mechanisms (even within academic writing) through which academic and policy dialogues and exchanges can be effectively crafted.

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Richard Florida, 2018. *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities Are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Falling the Middle Class and What We can Do About It*. New York: Basic Books.

The title of the book by Florida tells us what the new urban crisis refers to and also shows promises for solutions. Cities have increased inequality and deepened segregation, and the result is the disappearance of the middle class. Starting from his observations about US cities from his childhood, Florida expands the

discussion to the global level. He recommends a more 'inclusive urbanism'. Based on his own life story, Florida points to the decline of the middle class and their suburban way of life. Combining his experiences and social changes, Florida gives his reader a good example of how the 'sociological imagination' (Mills 1999) works. He also makes a self-criticism of his earlier work in which he celebrated the recent developments of technology, talent and tolerance and the emergence of the 'creative class'. Yet, the outcome of that enrichment was not what Florida optimistically expected. Rather, urban space has turned into a place where inequality and segregation between those who have access to resources and those who do not have gradually increased. The middle class, the buffering class between the total winner and total loser, has gradually declined as well. Florida describes what has happened from an urban perspective.

The aims of the book are to define the basic dynamics of the urban crisis, to gain an insight into the forces that shape this crisis, and to propose some possible solutions to create inclusive urbanism. Inclusive urbanism refers to better job opportunities, better living conditions, and a better way of life for all. For the author, the new urban crisis has five basic dimensions. The first one is the growing disparity between a few cities that are superstar cities for the author such as New York, London, Hong Kong, Los Angeles and Paris and the rest of the cities in the world. Superstar cities are those that attract not only creative potentials in technology, talent and innovation especially in sectors like finance, media, entertainment and technology, but also money under the globalised economy. The second one is that

the accumulation of these potentials in a few cities have resulted in the overvaluation of the urban land, which might have affected even this new creative class and certainly affected other urban residents like blue collar workers, service workers and, naturally, the middle class. The third dimension is the growing inequality and segregation in the urban areas, while the fourth dimension is the concentration of poverty, insecurity and economic and racial segregation in the suburbs. Finally, the fifth dimension is the urbanisation crisis in the developing countries.

Florida explains these five dimensions in the following eight chapters. In Chapter Two, he explains why few superstar cities have won out over the others and that the outcome of this process is the increase in housing prices. Florida analyses the new urban battle as the outcome of the concentration of creative elites in Chapter Three. The author discusses gentrification to provide a more balanced perspective in Chapter Four. This perspective requires putting gentrification into a historical context in which neighbourhood transformations refers to continuous shifts and changes (p. 61) and also into larger social processes like public and private investment, location of universities and public transportation—especially trams, metros etc.—and green spaces rather than individual choices (p. 65). Gentrification takes place on a very selective basis and it is very much concentrated in certain neighbourhoods in superstar cities. Florida highlights that gentrification has bypassed the black neighbourhoods where residents are experiencing 'chronic and persistent poverty' (p. 77). In the following chapter, the author opens the Pandora Box because the growing inequalities in the cities are the result of not only globalisation and

technological changes or persistent poverty, but also policy choices associated with neoliberalism, such as the reduction of benefits and taxes and also anti-union measures (p. 88). The main theme of Chapter Six is the segregation in urban contexts, which is linked to income, education and occupational differences, and also 'racial' divisions within the US. In this and the previous chapter involving the combination of macro- and micro- findings, Florida persuades the reader that the growing inequality and segregation in cities forms the core of the New Urban Crisis. While superstar cities have attracted the creative powers of the new economy, the majority of the cities remain disadvantaged (p. 120). The author uses class-based data in order to present how the Patchwork Metropolis combines the residential location preferences of three different classes, namely the 'highly paid creative class, lower paid service class, and the working class' (p. 122). The decisions of the creative class are crucial and 'the rich live where they choose, and the poor live where they can' (p. 150). Despite the existence of the 'back to city movement', the privileged class prefers the suburbs. Yet, there is growing suburban poverty across America. Not only poverty but also increasing violence and the disappearance of middle-class jobs contribute to the decline of suburbs. Florida interprets this trend as a threat to the American dream and to economic growth in Chapter Eight. Contrary to superstar cities, urbanisation in the developing world occurs without economic development. In Chapter Nine, Florida analyses this trend and recommends policy makers to make an investment in the basic infrastructure in a city within the context of international collaboration. In the final chapter, Florida shares his proposal for

changing cities through a more cooperative effort so that they become more inclusive and egalitarian.

What is interesting in this book is that Florida combines and visualises various findings to support his arguments. The language used in the book is easy to follow, which also makes it easy for the readers to follow the arguments in the chapters. The scope of the book extends from the American experience of urban development to the global one. And yet, for the emphasis on the global one awaits further attention.

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Douglas, Gordon C. C., 2018. *The Help-Yourself City: Legitimacy and Inequality in DIY Urbanism.* Oxford University Press.

Douglas' *Help-Yourself City* is relevant to urban imaginations that are sensitised to or curious about the ways in which cities, neighbourhoods, built environments and urban spaces take place. This book is an engaging ethnography which lays the groundwork for asking questions about urban placemaking, urban spaces and places, and urban inequality.

Help-Yourself City is based on five years of qualitative interviews and ethnographic research with people in cities mostly across the United States. The data includes 113 interviews with DIY urban designers and professional place makers, as well as an analysis of public web content, policy, and planning documents related to DIY urban design activities, and a database

of DIY urban design projects including over 400 projects. Altogether, Douglas builds a strong analysis of urban placemaking as it happens in informal and unsanctioned ways by people who take action to change aspects of their built environments for the public good.

The book is organised around seven chapters. In the introductory chapter, the reader is oriented to ideas of formal and informal placemaking practices, civic-mindedness and individualism, as well as the problematic socially reproductive, but also the transformative, potential of informal urban design. In Chapter Two, Douglas tackles the literature on *unauthorised urban space interventions* and in so doing carves out a new analytical category from his data which he calls *DIY urban design*: 'small-scale and unauthorised yet intentionally functional and civic-minded physical interventions aimed at "improving" the urban streetscape in forms analogous to or inspired by official efforts' (p. 26).

Douglas argues that this new category is appropriate for analysing unauthorised urban space interventions that are neither explicit acts of vandalism nor radical acts used to make critical social commentary. It is the formalised and institutionalised characteristics of DIY urban design that make this social phenomenon interesting, and the DIY urban design category analytically useful. In Chapter 3 Douglas explores the cultural logic that inform DIY urbanism which, he argues, is couched in an individualizing of civic responsibility. DIY urbanists are largely motivated by a perceived civic or social need and take it upon themselves to make the urban intervention, rather than entrusting it to market actors or local government.

Douglas finds that the majority of DIY urbanists he encountered and interviewed are white, well-educated, middle-class men. These intersecting identities have implications for DIY urbanism. Do-it-yourselves 'operate from a position of considerable privilege in public space and interactions with authority' (p. 13) and have access to resources and networks that are useful for accomplishing DIY urbanism. Discussed in Chapter 4, some of the resources necessary include the professional knowledge of the do-it-yourselves who incorporate formalised, professionalised, and standardised elements into their urban interventions. Douglas finds that many of the do-it-yourselves he spoke to were familiar with urban policy and professional placemaking.

Chapter 5 is Douglas' critical analysis of how DIY urbanism is rooted in social privilege and may be complicit in the spatial reproduction of social inequality. While do-it-yourselves may be acting in ways they understand to be civic or socially responsible, they are paradoxically also engaging in practices that might be reproducing the very issues they hope to address in the built environment. This critical lens unpacks how urban placemaking practices are informed by social privilege and inequality, and how systemic social inequalities persist in urban places through the placemaking practices of people.

Chapter 6 turns attention to the relationship between DIY urbanism and formal urban planning and urban policy. This chapter is interesting because it makes connections between informal urban space interventions and professional placemaking. Douglas explores how professional place makers make sense of DIY urbanism, and how they negotiate their

often-conflicted stances. Interesting, too, is how informal, unsanctioned, and illegal DIY urbanism has become co-opted by local governments and private market actors.

Convincingly, Douglas points to the problematic ways in which this institutionalisation of DIY urbanism as local economic development and 'tactical urbanism' may further reproduce social inequalities in urban contexts. The final chapter pulls together the major themes of civic participation, urban citizenship, and individualism, legitimate and illegitimate urban placemaking practices, fuzzy distinctions between formality and informality, and the enduring problem of social inequality as they persist in urban contexts.

In all, Douglas accomplished three major tasks. First, he showcases the relevance of ethnography as a way to do research about urban life and to construct useful analytical categories from data at the level of lived experience. Second, he explores the relationship between place, place-based practices, and socio-spatial inequalities, privilege and legitimacy. Third, he contributes to an important scholarship on placemaking and how urban places are accomplished.

More so, I appreciate Douglas' creative use of tools in doing the ethnography. Intertwined into the methodology of the project is the use of bicycles and cameras as data gathering tools. Douglas engages in 'photo ethnography' to capture the visual aspects of DIY urban design projects as well as the visual characteristics of the urban context. This is strategic because it highlights the significance of context for making analytical sense of DIY urbanism and urban design. The photo images, appropriately scattered throughout the text

of the book, are welcomed by the reader as they contextualise the projects discussed.

Douglas uses the bicycle as another tool for ethnography that, he argues, is particularly well-suited for exploring urban space at the level of everyday life. In cycling through a neighbourhood, the ethnographer can note changes in 'land use and character and arrive in some ways already familiar with a place' (p. 207). This creative use of tools in ethnography spurs important discussion about how we come to know about a place and the people that live in and move through them.

This book is appropriate for undergraduate students enrolled in upper level urban social sciences courses; particularly, courses related to urban sociology, urban planning, and urban policy courses. At the same time, the book will be a nice addition to the reading list of a graduate level course in these same subjects. Altogether, Douglas' *Help-Yourself City* is a relevant contribution to understanding placemaking.

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Jenia Mukherjee (ed.), 2018. *Sustainable Urbanization in India: Challenges and Opportunities*. Singapore: Springer Nature.

The world has become familiar with the idea of sustainable development with the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987 where the concept was defined as follows: 'Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. But the idea of sustainable has been floating around in one form or other ever since Henry George formulated the concept of

Spaceship Earth, in which all creatures, human and non-human, need to live in harmony in order for the spaceship to sail without any trouble. A similar, though slightly different hypothesis of 'Gaia' was formulated by scientists like James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis in the 1970s. It talks about how living organisms interact with their surroundings on earth to form a synergistic and self-regulating system that helps to maintain and perpetuate the conditions for life on the planet. This rather optimistic view was radically challenged by the economist Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen in 1971, who argued that human beings are using non-renewable resources to advance economically: they are bound to be exhausted sooner than later. The implication was that the world must shift to renewable resources in order to survive. The escalating use of exhaustible resources has brought in severe problems in the accumulation of greenhouse gases bringing with it problems of climate change; the Arctic Circle becoming navigable for the first time in history; Greenland and the Himalayas losing their icebergs and glaciers at an alarming rate; sea levels rising all over the world, already submerging many Pacific islands; biodiversity being damaged on land and in the oceans; the air of many big cities becoming unbreathable, causing severe respiratory diseases and lung cancer; and, so on and so on.

All this is the result of capitalist, profit-seeking industrialisation and accompanying urbanisation. Not all industrialisation is, however, driven by profit-seeking capitalists. After World War II, many of the newly independent countries adopted 'developmentalism' as state policy. When that led to a policy of industrialisation at any cost, it caused as much damage to the environment and the welfare of ordinary people as profit-driven industrialisation. Way back in the 1920s Rabindranath Tagore wrote an allegorical play called *Raktakarabi* (Red Oleander) to depict the evils of unregulated industrialisation.

Not all urbanisation is driven by industrialisation. In India, the focus of Mukherjee's volume, urbanisation is driven by both push and pull factors. In this age of neoliberal globalisation, agriculture has become increasingly unremunerative for medium and small farmers, the cost of seeds, fertilisers, irrigation and pesticides leaving little margin as income. So many of them crowd into cities in the hope of bettering their chances. The spread of education in rural areas has also encouraged ambitious young men and women to migrate to nearby small towns and cities where they have joined various professions. This has led to the sprawl of squat and slums, because a large proportion of migrants cannot afford decent housing.

The current volume has brought together some of the best students of cityscapes, sociologists, political ecologists, hydrologists and economists in India. The volume adopts a multi-disciplinary approach so that it is neither necessary nor fruitful to put the writers into one category or another. This point can be illustrated by the example of the editor, Jenia Mukherjee herself. She has written papers on the political history of India and China, on the history of the wetlands around Kolkata, on the chars (sedimentary formations of islands in the bed of the river, which, if large enough can invite settlements or cultivators, creating social and sometimes diplomatic problems when they happen to be on the border of India and Bangladesh), has studied the problems of human development and diplomacy created by the chars upstream and downstream of

Farakka Barrage, and studied the way a branch of the Bhagirathi (Adi Ganga) has been converted into a sewer of Kolkata and how to remedy the situation.

The intention of the editor was made clear in the Preface: it was 'to identify city-specific sources of challenges and opportunities and explore strategies and potentials to make the process of urban transition both equitable and sustainable'. The last, of course, is a daunting task, because the question of sustainability apart, the process of urbanisation has been highly inequitable, both internally and spatially — metropolises like New Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Bengaluru, Chennai or Kolkata — drawing most of the resources at the cost of smaller towns within the region. This tendency is likely to be exacerbated with the central government declaring its intention of creating 100 'smart cities'. What will happen to the hundreds of not-so-smart towns spread all over India?

In the chapters in this volume, the problems facing the metropolises mentioned above have been covered along with challenges faced by smaller cities like Ahmadabad, Patna, Udaipur and Visakhaptnam.

The issues analysed by the contributors range from the broader question of what meaning can be given to 'sustainability' in the urban context, structural constraints of urbanisation, governance systems that can be accessible to the urban poor, the danger of slum clearance leading to the dominance of the real estate lobby over the process of urbanisation, the importance of the peri-urban water bodies for sustaining Kolkata, providing tenurial security to the urban poor, and management of various kinds of waste and managing water supply in a situation of water scarcity. The last has become of emergent importance in view of the extreme scarcity of water in Bengaluru and rationing of water in Chennai.

The volume is extremely timely in view of the fact that the speed of urbanisation in India and most of the Third World countries is going to accelerate and market-dominated urbanisation will inflict untold misery on ordinary people (prevalent air pollution will not spare the rich either) and cause further damage to an ecologically fragile world. I hope that policy-makers and opinion-makers, not only in India but all over the developing world, will heed the warnings sounded by the specialists gathered in this volume and judiciously adopt at least some of the advice proffered by them.

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Velasco, Alenandro, 2015. *Barrio Rising: Urban Politics and the Making of Modern Venezuela*. California: University of California Press.

In *Barrio Rising: Urban Popular Politics and the Making of Modern Venezuela*, Alejandro Velasco describes the 30-year history of a mid-century, Brutalist-inspired mega block housing development where residents organised multiple political strategies in their quest for democracy. In the 1950s a new military regime cleared slums in Caracas, Venezuela's capital city. When this dictatorship fell on 23 January 1958 citizens rushed to occupy illegally the unfinished housing project. These new residents renamed the neighbourhood 23 de Enero to honour the emerging dictatorship. Velasco's study provides a prequel to the rise of socialist president Hugo Chavez and the collapse of the modern regime.

However, the study uses a wide brush to tell Venezuela's political history through this housing project without providing specifics about the roles groups and individuals played in these events or the design's impact on these events.

Velasco divides the book's seven chapters across three parts. In Part One, Landscapes of Opportunity, he includes two chapters. The first describes the 23 de Enero neighbourhood's transformation under Marco Perez Jimenez from an urban barrio to a complex of modern high-rise buildings for the former slum dwellers. Chapter Two focuses on the overthrow of the Jimenez regime as citizens began occupying the unfinished housing project within days of the regimes' collapse. Once the resident dwellings were occupied completely, people began re-creating the demolished slums in what had planned to be open green spaces between buildings. The 23 de Enero neighbourhood emerged as a large voting block focused on urban political reforms. As their candidates lost national elections to rural-backed ones, the residents resorted to guerrilla warfare.

In Part Two, Paths to Democracy, Velasco examines how the residents adjusted their political strategies as Venezuela urbanised nationally and moved towards democracy. Chapter Three covers the tenuous conflicts between 1958 and 1963 as well as the 23 de Enero's links to international political movements. For example, Fidel Castro's first overseas state visit to Venezuela with his first stop being the 23 de Enero. The neighbourhood went in and out of violent periods as the new Betancourt regime struggled with insurrection leading to the guerilla violence in the housing project until the 1968 national election.

In Part Three, Streets of Protest, Velasco examines the emergence of a new mobilisation and discourse between the 23 de Enero residents as the 1950s promises of a democracy re-emerged. In the 1970s focusing on community organizing, Velasco uses Chapter 5 to describe how residents turning to political issues based on local needs and demands ignored by the national regimes during the 1960s guerrilla warfare. In Chapter 6, A Weapon as Powerful as the Veto, he shows that by the early 1980s this community organizing moved into radical actions such as hijacking garbage trucks and other public service vehicles in the neighbourhood. Facing increased economic crisis by the late 1980s, the Venezuelan government shifted the mega block public housing development to condominiums for the existing residents. While previous generations protested against the state for their demands, organizing protests in other neighbourhoods outside 23 de Enero proved difficult. In Chapter 7 Velasco wraps by revisiting the 1999 Carazco massacre contextualizing the relationships between neighbourhoods and the Venezuelan government. He concludes by arguing that the rise of Hugo Chavez rests not in his emergence in the 1980s to the national scene but from the 1950s struggles by 23 de Enero residents.

This book is geared to readers possessing some general to advanced knowledge and understanding of Latin American but more specifically, Venezuelan history and politics. Velasco presents the work from his background as a historian. Velasco documents the national political events occurring with extensive citations but provides little guidance to readers trying to follow the different regimes and political parties over a six-decade period. Those approaching this

study from sociological or anthropological backgrounds will be frustrated by this focus on macro national events without clear ties to the 23 de Enero residents or housing complex. Readers are never provided with more than a notation that the slum dwellers moved into 23 de Enero. We do not know how homogenous or diverse the residents are nor what might be the socio-economic basis for this. Velasco offers an occasional quote or comment from an interview with a 23 de Enero resident or former one. However, there are no explicit links on the organisation of urban opposition groups in the mega project. For example, the attacks that residents organise in the 1970s are described just as occurring. Readers do not get any insights into how these protestors organised nor their rational for focusing on the hijacking attacks to service providers in the mega-blocks.

From an architectural or urban planning perspective, you would expect to see more explicit links between the 23 de Enero's mid-century modern, brutalist Bauhaus-inspired urban design and the rise of political actors from the mega-blocks. In the introduction, Velasco offers detailed schematic maps of all sectors in 23 de Enero including a time frame from 1955-58 of the mega project's develop process. However, there is no follow up as to how this construction process or later finished design influences residents' behaviours and actions. Velasco mentions that once all residential units were occupied, new arrivals recreated the slum districts they left in what were supposed to be public open green spaces between high-rises. But, Velasco never discusses how these on-site settlement patterns influence the 23 de Enero's political activism. There is a long history of research from Jane Jacob's critiques of New York City Planning

Director Robert Moses' demolition of low-rise ethnic enclaves to Herbert Gans' studies of Boston neighbourhood slated for Urban Renewal clearance going back to the 1950s. Outside the U.S. context, studies note the similarities in post-World War II brutalist designs among Western European democracies' housing complex design to Soviet-era ones in Eastern Europe. In the Global South context, the void decks common in Indian and Asian mega cities are re-imagined by residents for additional recreational and garden uses. Here, Velasco provides no direct links other that a description of the 23 de Enero's design. Specifically, what is so unique about the urban design that 23 de Enero became a hub of political opposition?

For Latin American scholars, Velasco's book provides a detailed overview of the political regime changes through brutal revolutions in Venezuela as well as the linkages to other political movements in the region. Velasco's work is well-document and sourced. However, he paints his arguments about the 23 de Enero's design and political organisations with a very broad brush. This will frustrate sociologists and anthropologists interested in the links among political activism and urban design.

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FILM AND VIDEO REVIEWS

Bloqueio (Block). Directed by **Victoria Alvares** and **Quentin Delaroche**. 2018. 76 minutes. Colour. Produced by Ponte Produções.

In May 2018, a massive truck drivers' strike took place in Brazil. The largest cities in the country had no provisions for nearly 15 days. Gasoline, in particular, was lacking in most urban areas, disrupting daily life and creating a temporality affected by the strike. The film Block (Bloqueio) directed by Victória Álvares and Quentin Delaroche takes the viewer into a strike camp in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

The documentary observes the activities carried out at a camp established at a gas station along a highway. The truckers in the film portray themselves as part of a working class amidst a socioeconomic crisis that has led to unsustainable working conditions. If a distribution infrastructure (of which the truckers are part) is only perceived when it fails in its objectives, the strike and the consequent lack of provisions revealed the presence of these workers to the urban population.

In a nocturnal sequence, the trucks become 'houses', creating narrow streets that resemble lower class townships found in the main cities of Brazil. The film shows how these spaces are built and inhabited. Paradoxically, through images that show an exceptional moment in the life of truck drivers, the viewers can see their own daily life. Camp life, which is the norm for workers who spend months away from home, becomes an object of ethnographic exploitation.

The filmmakers become closer to the truckers as the film progresses. The camera's gaze allows us to perceive the processes that lead to the construction of these political subjectivities. The relationship with the national media is a fundamental theme. Journalists from the major broadcasters and their cameras, in particular, are harassed by truck drivers. In contrast, the filmmakers, who followed the strike for three days, and their camera become the strikers' allies.

In the visual narrative, a helicopter is a central agent. It is the subject that represents the state in the broad sense. Hailed as an ally at the beginning of the film, it becomes an enemy of the strikers. One shot stands out, in which a striker angrily throws a bottle at a helicopter. From the visual standpoint, this shot reminds us of an iconic sequence in 'Pirinop. My first contact' directed by Mari Correia and Kumaré Ikpeng, in which natives shoot arrows at a plane flying over the village in the 1970s. The natives show hostility toward this invader as well as a fascination for the great 'bird'.

In this sense, we can see the historical roots of the complex strategies used for the management of subaltern groups. In the first part of the film, the Brazilian army and police are hailed as allies of the strikers through banners that call for a military intervention. Progressively, these entities become the main enemy — the agents that provoke the end of the strike. Visually, the film shows the complexity of the truck drivers as subjects and their ambiguous relationship with power. Paradoxically, we see them in a final sequence, when the state is already clearly their enemy, singing the national anthem. The directors show us these moments without commenting on

them, leaving the complex task of interpretation to the viewer.

The film Block is an encounter with these new alterities — these contemporary lower classes that remain under-analysed by anthropologists and who supported the election of the current president of Brazil. In an iconic final sequence that hosts the credits of the film, we see the trucks leaving the camp. This is where we find the only textual comment that the filmmakers propose throughout the film: 'Five months later, Jair Bolsonaro, a right-wing former military man is elected president of Brazil'. The film Block is an excellent visual exploration of the processes that have preceded this moment. Moreover, it can be considered a visual encounter with a logistic infrastructure and its ambiguous relation to urban spaces.

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Koukaki. A Neighbourhood in Transition. Directed by **Zilan Dalgic** and **Ismini Gatou**. 2018. 100 minutes. Colour.

'The majority of the houses in Koukaki are rented through Airbnb'
'Airbnb has grown because it is much cheaper than hotels'
'The financial crisis made Airbnb more attractive'

These are some of the concerns voiced in a recent documentary film by locals residing in the Athenian neighbourhood of Koukaki. The short (just under 10 minutes in length) *Koukaki* was produced in 2018 by the Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA) and the Athens Ethnographic Film Festival (Ethnofest) and was directed by Zilly

Galdic and Ismini Gatou. The film offers a critical perspective of urban development seen through the eyes of Athenian residents. Koukaki, which is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Athens, underwent significant changes once the giant Californian company Airbnb tapped into the area's short-term rental market.

The film starts and ends in a visual loop with a static frame capturing three locals chit-chatting on a bench. One carries a supermarket bag. One is petting a leashed dog. The third twirls a pair of komboskini (orthodox prayer rope). Frame by frame, the footage moves from one local resident to another filmed in their typical environment: smoking, talking and sitting in taverns while sharing their thoughts on the district's transition. The film is much stronger conceptually than visually. The visual medium adds little to the story. There are a couple of long frames that draw the viewer into the *feel* of the neighbourhood, but the camera makes fast jumps from the background to the interviewees, obscuring what exactly the film aims to emphasise and why. The frames are often unstable and some of the footage looks as if it was placed accidently. For instance, at minute 3:55, a resident asks if he should look at the camera, which is something that could have been edited out. Similarly, the footage covers the Fabrika Restaurant, one of the oldest taverns in the neighbourhood, yet suddenly jumps to a general street view of the neighbourhood, making the viewer wonder why the camera stopped for a few seconds on the restaurant.

Due to its proximity to the Acropolis, Koukaki has changed from a low-key local neighbourhood into a tourist hotspot. The film attributes this change to the expansion

of Airbnb into the short-term rental market. Local opinions seem divided on the subject matter. Some understand this change as a positive development — a sign that the society is evolving. Others see it as a phenomenon strongly connected to the 2008 financial crisis that subsequently propped up the Airbnb industry. Some argue that Koukaki lacks sufficient hotels, while others state that Airbnb provides cheaper accommodations. Indeed, in 2018, when the documentary was filmed, Greece made media headlines for breaking its all-time tourist record — over 33 million travellers visited the country. It is likely that most of these people passed through Athens, even if they were on the way to the islands.

A local resident describes Koukaki as underdeveloped, with about 70% of the shops in the area empty. Towards the end of the film, the viewer learns that this was the neighbourhood outlook about 30 years ago. Nowadays, a different story unfolds and the touristic appropriation of the local housing stock has negative impacts for the resident population: communication is difficult for those who barely speak English; decade-long residents leave their homes and rent them through Airbnb; and residential apartments become unavailable for year-to-year leases. One resident is filmed speaking about a Cypriot investor who has purchased several flats in the area and requested an inadvertent viewing of her apartment.

Parallel cases of foreign investments are currently the norm across Athens. In the anarchist neighbourhood of Exarcheia, similarly located in the central area of the city, a Chinese investor has allegedly bought over 100 flats to capitalise on the short-term leasing market.

Airbnb is a contentious topic in Athens. Data show that incorporated businesses operating multiple rental units comprise almost half of all Airbnb listings in the city. In spite of Airbnb's noble goal of supporting a shared economy, the Athenian short-term rental market has been exploited by large commercial actors with dozens of properties in their portfolio. In many neighbourhoods, such as Exarcheia, political defiance against the Airbnb monopoly is taking root. It remains to be seen whether Koukaki will undertake such forms of resistance in the near future.

Koukaki is a lively documentary. It will most likely be useful to housing activists, researchers, urban planners and public policy makers focused on opposing gentrification and developing affordable housing options.

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Пукнатини (Cracks). Directed by **Dimitra Kofti**. 2018. 55 minutes. Colour.

Based on anthropological research and produced by the Max Planck Institute, Kofti's Cracks provides a wry look at the lives of people who are exasperated. Set in Pernik, Bulgaria, precariously employed workers and retirees reflect upon the disappointments they have experienced under communism and capitalism whilst asking what the future might have in store.

Although Kofti's interlocutors discuss their economic situation with humour, the frustration they feel is palpable throughout. 'It seems I've begun to use this word "unfortunately" very often,' comments one

man. 'Looking at what remains of these factories, indeed one should really regret that they're no longer working'.

The film ranges widely across the city, jumping between interlocutors who seemingly have no connection with one another save their residency in Pernik. This approach provides plenty of talking-head snippets that underscore the stated thesis that 'decay and reconstruction, employment and unemployment, debt and migration are all topics of daily concern'. Diverse though the characters are, the refrain throughout their observations seems to be that without an active industrialism, city life becomes empty and directionless.

At a moment when we begin to take degrowth, post-industrialism and a shorter working week seriously, a documentary such as this should give us pause. A pro-active, positive embrace of less work, less production and more free time should be the basis on which to build fair, open, sustainable cities. However, as the film shows, economic growth and development provide, if nothing else, a default sense of purpose for a city and its people. Without such a purpose, it is very easy for people to fall through the cracks as cities fall apart. This argument is made through the use of archival footage and first-person testimonials, which suggest that time has somehow slowed down into a long present or even folded back into itself as people have passed from capitalism to communism and back without 'better times […] coming'.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the film implicitly endorses the role that culture can play in giving people a sense of pride and purpose when work is no longer satisfying. The film both opens and closes with the dual examples of an audience attending a chamber music concert and a woman who has artfully decorated the earthquake-damaged walls of her apartment. These two acts — one social and the other idiosyncratic — affirm our ability to produce meaning whatever our economic circumstances may be.

However, the circular construction of Cracks adds further to the sense of drift and disorientation that is the over-arching theme. Because it is based around interviews with seemingly unrelated interlocutors, it never develops any kind of dramatic tension. This may reflect a feeling that things in Pernik have already happened and are not happening anymore; the city's stories are in the past rather than unfolding from the present into the future.

As it stands, this make the film an ambient document of some of the contradictions or 'cracks' inherent to global development. Given the candour and insight with which people seem willing to speak, a feature-length follow-up could — if it allows itself to settle upon a personal story — greatly develop the issues that are showing between these cracks.

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(Un)wash. Directed by **Sophie Krabbe** and **Rosa Gelardi**. 2018. 9 minutes. Colour. Produced by Netherlands Institute of Athens (INA).

Presenting Ithaca, a mobile laundry service in Athens, Greece, *(Un)wash* (2018) shows an oft-hidden aspect of life for those who live on the streets — the simple pleasure and necessity of washing one's clothes.

This is a student film and a first feature. Co-directed by Sophie Krabbe and Rosa Gelardi, this summer school project was produced by the Netherlands Institute of Athens (INA) and the Athens Ethnographic Film Festival (Ethnofest), where it was screened in 2018. The story is simple: the filmmakers interview some of Ithaca's employees and a few of the homeless people who use this service to get their clothes washed in the heart of Athens, Greece.

As the activity of washing clothes in machines — surrealistically set up in urban locations — unfolds before our eyes, the protagonists comment on the importance of cleanliness in emotional and social terms. People come to the mobile laundry because wearing clean clothes is important to them. It makes them happy and grateful. They also come for the feeling of community and solidarity that bonds them to others who gather around or work at the mobile laundry. It becomes quickly apparent that Ithaca provides a service that goes beyond the trivial act of washing, offering a taste of everyday life and a sense of belonging in exchange for a fresh load of laundry.

Interestingly, Ithaca's workers often comment on the importance of cleanliness as a means of gaining control of one's life and a way 'to get back into the system,' which is a phrase that makes a subtle comment on homelessness. As such, this film could easily dialogue with one of the most influential books on social anthropology, *Purity and Danger* (1966), for, as Mary Douglas proposes, 'if uncleanness is a matter out of place, we must approach it through order' (2010: 50). This film could indeed appeal to visual or social anthropologists and urban scholars alike for the many layers of sociality it evokes as well as for the city it portrays.

The cinematography is meditative, with images at times reminding the viewer of zen gardens. This is especially true of the sequences showing soapy water coming out of the washing machines and spilling onto the dirty pavement. The visual language often uses mid-shots and alternates between eye level and low angles, enabling the sense of closeness and community to shine through. It also makes the city streets and squares stand out as the unlikely backdrop for a very mundane activity that usually occurs indoors, away from prying eyes.

The filmmakers' choice to interview these people in English and use subtitles, when it is obvious that English is not their first language, is questionable. Making them speak in a foreign language flattens the emotional dimension of the interviews and hinders a direct connection with the characters. Moreover, the message remains a bit hazy throughout the film. One is not sure what to think when the credits roll. However, the aesthetics chosen by the directors indicate that it is a labour of love — an ode to the hidden treasures of compassion that the city of Athens and its inhabitants have to offer when times get tough.

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Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology

Half of humanity lives in towns and cities and that proportion is expected to increase in the coming decades. Society, both Western and non-Western, is fast becoming urban and mega-urban as existing cities and a growing number of smaller towns are set on a path of demographic and spatial expansion. Given the disciplinary commitment to an empirically-based analysis, anthropology has a unique contribution to make to our understanding of our evolving urban world. It is in such a belief that we have established the Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology series. In the awareness of the unique contribution that ethnography offers for a better theoretical and practical grasp of our rapidly changing and increasingly complex cities, the series will seek high-quality contributions from anthropologists and other social scientists, such as geographers, political scientists, sociologists and others, engaged in empirical research in diverse ethnographic settings. Proposed topics should set the agenda concerning new debates and chart new theoretical directions, encouraging reflection on the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research and its centrality to mainstream academic debates and to society more broadly. The series aims to promote critical scholarship in international anthropology. Volumes published in the series should address theoretical and methodological issues, showing the relevance of ethnographic research in understanding the socio-cultural, demographic, economic and geo-political changes of contemporary society.

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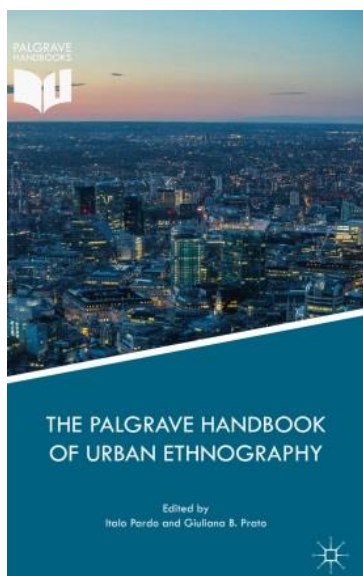
Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (Eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Urban Ethnography*
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- Presents a range of topics, such as work, employment, and informality; everyday life and community relations; marginalization, gender, family, kinship, religion and ethnicity; and political strategies and social movements in historical and transnational perspectives
- Encourages reflection on the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research and its centrality to mainstream academic debates
- Points to new topical debates and charts new theoretical directions

These ethnographically-based studies of diverse urban experiences across the world present cutting edge research and stimulate an empirically-grounded theoretical reconceptualization. The essays identify ethnography as a powerful tool for making sense of life in our rapidly changing, complex cities. They stress the point that while there is no need to fetishize fieldwork—or to view it as an end in itself —its unique value cannot be overstated. These active, engaged researchers have produced essays that avoid abstractions and generalities while engaging with the analytical complexities of ethnographic evidence. Together, they prove the great value of knowledge produced by long-term fieldwork to mainstream academic debates and, more broadly, to society.