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The Refeudalization of Housing in Texas: A Visual Approach[1]

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Although many ethnographers and urban sociologists have written extensively on the state of housing from below for more than 50 years, attempts to include more visual/arts-based methods to document further housing inequalities still tend to suffer from achieving wider academic acceptance. While some may argue that I am more or less just incorporating techniques found in the neighbouring field of anthropology, one important motivation for this unorthodox project is that I wanted to demonstrate that there are truly fruitful benefits in bringing visual/arts-based methods back into urban scholarship and mainstream sociology. During a 5-month period (June 2019-November 2019), I took more than 286 photographs from 30 sites of RV and mobile home trailer parks across North Texas/Dallas-Fort Worth Neighbourhoods. The sample/findings do indicate numerous fruitful applications with previous urban scholarship and social analysis of the structure of modern cities done by Geographer and Anthropologist David Harvey, German Sociologist Sighard Neckel, Sociologist Jerome Krase and Social Anthropologist Italo Pardo.
Keywords: Visual methods, RV/mobile home parks, housing from below, differential inclusion/exclusion, state retrenchment.

Introduction

According to estimates from the Manufactured Housing Institute, some 22 million people in the United States live in mobile homes (MHI 2017) In addition, around 55% of those who live in mobile homes have an annual household income below $29,999 US dollars (MHI 2017). The distribution of mobile homes also varies regionally across the United States, with a much higher percentage of mobile homes existing in the South and Southwest regions (See figure 1 below). For example, in Dallas around 75,000 households live in mobile homes while the numbers are even higher in Houston, TX where nearly 104,000 households live in mobile homes (Bennet 2018). Neighbouring states to Texas like New Mexico and Louisiana also have high numbers of households that live in mobile homes. Estimates for those that also live in RV-type housing and other informal housing forms found throughout the United States remain unavailable.

[1] I would like to thank Dr James L. Williams at TWU (Denton) and the helpful reviewers of *Urbanities* for providing feedback and guidance in the early crafting of this article. Without their fruitful support, it would not have been possible to carry out this project successfully.

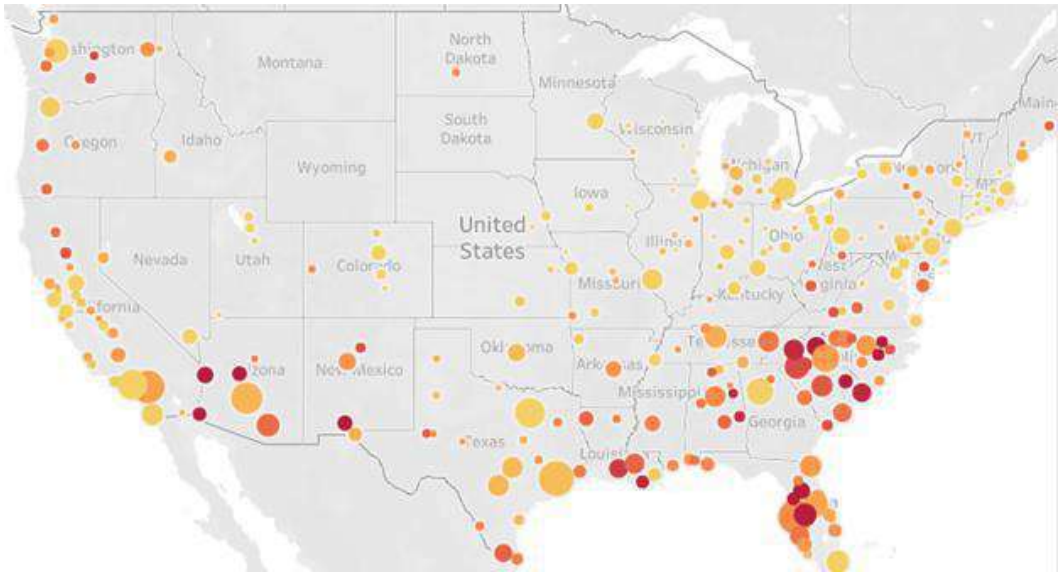

Figure 1. Map showing mobile homes distributed by Metro regions in the U.S. Source: Apartmentlist.com, 8 October 2019.

Although these maps and descriptive statistics do provide some preliminary estimates on the amount of people living in mobile homes across the United States, what appears to be missing is an important theoretical link between the glossy affluent-gated enclaves, a shrinking middle-class of homeowners, a growing working-class of renters and finally an emerging underclass of mobile-home and RV dwellers in the United States. In short, a break from the promises once associated with the America dream.

Recognizable social divisions like those briefly highlighted above are clear examples of the increasing social stratification of housing in the United States, once assumed to exist only in the periphery countries of the global-south like Brazil and India (Davis 2006). At the same time, such recognizable social divisions found increasingly in the arena of housing in the United States also give further evidence of social enclosure and social exclusion patterns. German Sociologist Neckel (2019: 1) refers to this process as 'the refeudalization of modern capitalism', basically translating into '[…] "neo-feudal" privilege for the upper classes while precarious social groups experience impoverishment and exclusion'.

In an effort to help conceptualize visually what Neckel may have meant by 'refeudalization' trends in modern capitalism, I use figure 2 below to illustrate two very different situations. On the left side is an RV which has been modified with a visible ac window unit attached for the likely purpose of more long-term living. On the right side is a single-wide trailer with a tiny stair-case and patio located in a typical trailer-park in North Texas.

Figure 2. Pictures of a modified RV-home with an attached ac window unit to the window (left) and a typical single-wide trailer in a trailer park in North Texas (right). Photos taken by the author.

The urban scholarship developed by David Harvey (2003, 2014) can in many ways be seen as complementary to the 'refeudalization' thesis by which Neckel (2019) offers theoretical trajectory patterns or future scenarios of modern capitalism. To go further, Harvey (2014) proposes a list of seventeen contradictions which in some fashion also involve contradictions in the organization of housing in capitalism. Specifically, this issue is brought up in the chapter titled 'Use Value and Exchange Value'. There, Harvey (2014: 21) talks about this tension between use value and exchange value, especially with regards to the fundamental housing problems in capitalism geared more towards exchange values. On this important point, Harvey states (2014: 21),

> 'Housing provision under capitalism has moved, we can conclude, from a situation in which the pursuit of use values dominated to one where exchange values moved to the fore […] The provision of adequate housing use values (in the conventional consumption sense) for the mass of the population has increasingly been held hostage to these ever deepening exchange value considerations.'

Briefly evoking Neckel (2019) and Harvey (2014) as my initial introductory entry-points, the main purpose of this qualitative-arts-based project is to provide an account of what RV and mobile parks symbolize in modern capitalism. This may also intersect with other important topics and themes, including the unexplained rise of precarious and other informal housing forms in the United States.

As hopefully illustrated so far, a qualitative-arts-based project like this aims to not shy away from bigger questions about declining opportunity structures which once also defined the American Dream (homeownership) and the American middle-class. Some of these relate to broader, and often hidden, social divisions which RV and mobile home parks seem to reveal visually, specifically about the growing economic and social and political regional divides in American society in the 21st century. The three primary research questions I therefore will attempt to address are:

1. What can a visual-based study of RV and mobile home parks in North Texas reveal about larger economic inequalities/poverty and 're-feudalization' (Neckel 2019) trends that are happening in the US?
2. To what extend does Harvey's (2014) list of contradictions of capitalism fit with some of the visual representations of decay and the precarious housing character found in RV and mobile home parks in North Texas?
3. What can a visual-based study of RV and mobile home parks indicate about the direct consequences of state retrenchment and a declining affordable housing sector?

Literature Review

This section reviews research in what can be called early 'urban ethnography' that addresses issues related to poverty, the poor, social inequality, marginalization, and the city. Although I do start with some of what I characterize as 'Marx-inspired' literature from the mid- and late-19th century, there is really no designated order in which to start formally. Nevertheless, I aim to highlight carefully some of the ways previous thinkers (both academic and non-academic) have attempted to frame their research with regards to housing and inequality issues. It is also important to note that not all the works cited in this review are written exclusively by 'urban ethnographers' or social scientists. Some may have been simple cartoonists/amateur photographers, investigative journalists, or political activists.

One early limitation to this general literature review is that in the very beginning I had to delimit literature that would not aid in answering the research questions that are important to the project's aims and goals. This meant that the literature review ignored theories or works that might have looked at the social phenomenon of homelessness or even at the specific population impacted. Also, since I am looking at the housing refeudalization process, I am ignoring some dimensions related to refeudalization process regarding gated upper-class communities and up-scale mansions often linked with the upper social classes.[2] Also, with the exception of one or two books, the majority of the books reviewed below come from a global North perspective rather than a global South perspective, which should be seen as a limitation of the literature.

Documenting the State of Housing

The earliest attempts to document the state of 'housing from below' can be found in late-19th century works, like Friedrich Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1962 [1892]). Although no known visual methods were used by Engels in his study of working-class communities in Manchester, England, around the 1840s, he did provide some detailed urban ethnographic descriptions of the negative impact that industrialization had on working-class people, and of the precarious state of housing in which many were forced to live and toil, often in the immediate vicinity of polluting factories. Similar arguments and concerns

[2] Notably, studies focusing on the housing lifestyles of the secretive upper classes, for example in affluent enclaves like Aspen, Colorado, have also seen a recent increase in scholarly interest and readership (Elias 2008).

over the state of housing among the working classes can be found in political pamphlets written later by Engels (1872) to highlight 'The Housing Question'. There, Engels uses a more aggressive political rhetoric and more or less shifts the political blame towards both the petit bourgeois and the bourgeois for being unable to solve or address 'The Housing Question'.

Nearly at the same time, across the other side of the Atlantic Jacob Riis published his famous *How the other half lives* (1997 [1890]). Like Engels' important portrait of the state of working-class housing in cities like Manchester, Riis studied tenement slums, the majority of which were home to working-class immigrant groups and were located in the Lower-east side, New York. Yet, compared to Engels' work, Riis's can be considered in many ways as the first study to make fruitful use of modern photographic visual methods in order to document the horrible living conditions of the tenement city dwellers in New York city in the 1890s. A similar fruitful style of visual-cartoon documentation of German working-class city culture would be produced almost thirty years later by the German cartoonist and artist Heinrich Zille, who made a fruitful art-career out of drawing images of working-class neighbourhoods in Berlin, Germany, in the 1920s, during the Weimar period (Artnet 2019).

During the 1930s, the photographic work by Dorothea Lange essentially picked up where previous photographers like Riis left off with the study of tenements in New York city. In her book, Spirn (2008) details some of the visual projects Lange did in her own lifetime. Spirn provides commentary and background research to a variety of pictures produced by Lange. Many depicted the state of insecure housing found among white and black sharecroppers during the early 1930s, as well as among farm workers in California, who also lived in makeshift camps throughout the state. On page 164, for example, Spirn shows photographs of insecure housing among workers, who in the late 1930s, in search of work and shelter, often migrated from other states like Texas and Oklahoma to reach pear and apple farms located in Washington state. Such images produced by Lange in the 1930s would find their way in 1940s movies like Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940).

Bourdieu's (Bourdieu et al. 2014) photographic work produced during his time living and working in Algeria from1957 to 1960 has striking similarities with some of the themes found in Dorothea Lange's work. In France-occupied Algeria, Bourdieu obtained a job as a clerk for the French military (Bourdieu et al. 2014: viii). In his free time, he took photographs of the slum-like housing in which many Algerians lived. Some of his photographs also highlighted the kind of manual and agricultural work Algerians did. Bourdieu focuses on a variety of themes in his photographs, including housing, unemployment and poverty. On pages 151 through 170, for example, the reader is introduced to pictures highlighting the state of poverty and the street-based vendor economy, which included both adult and child laborers that thrived in Algeria at the time (Bourdieu et al. 2014: 154).

In the late 1970s, it is perhaps the amateur work of Danish photographer Holdt (1985) that takes over where Bourdieu (Bourdieu et al. 2014) left off in Algeria. While hitch-hiking across the United States during the late 1970s, Holdt (1985) produced hundreds of unedited raw pictures, carefully documenting impoverished inner-city ghettos/projects like those in Harlem and the South Bronx, New York. Several pictures of affluent upper-class individuals

are also included in some of his pictures. Holdt also visited numerous shanty-towns in the deep South, some near tobacco farms, highlighting the serious housing insecurity and poverty among many minorities. Gunkel (2010) claimed that Holdt travelled more than 100,000 miles across 48 states and lived temporarily with more than 381 families while he was engaged in his photography project. After he returned to Denmark with a suitcase of pictures, *American Pictures* (1985) was published and became an instant success; his photographs had been widely distributed across many university campuses during the 1970 Anti-Vietnam war movements. Themes and topics shown throughout the book instantly remind one of other previous Marx-inspired works. Holdt did not censor any material or pictures in his works — so occasional nudity and drug addicts administering drugs are also shown in numerous pictures.

Meanwhile, it is important to consider the photographic work by Richards et al. (1987) because in many ways it has much in common with some of the aforementioned Marxian-inspired work going as far back perhaps to Engels. In an effort to document visually US poverty trends during the 1980s, Richards and his colleagues produced portraits of individuals who were poor or on the margins of American society. They included, for example, pictures of people sleeping in their cars and vans, of former military veterans and also portraits of drug addicts. Pictures of retail workers in supermarkets working the late shifts were also included in the book. The photographic work of Baudrillard and Turner (2010 [1986]) in their book *America* (1986) is postmodern in that pictures were taken while driving a car on American highways. The pictures ranged from deserts to skyscrapers, to abandoned cars. There is no real theme that can be linked to any previous Marx-inspired literature. Rather, Baudrillard and Turner seem to use peculiar places like deserts and highways as a metaphor for describing the rise of social chaos in modern society, which often directly links with issues related to urban ethnography.

Thus, whether through its early uses by Robert Ezra Park (1952) and other key members of the Chicago school of sociology, urban ethnography continues to make significant contributions to the study of cities and housing. Among other important urban ethnographic works, Pardo's (1992) housing study conducted in Naples, Italy, embodies in many ways this desire to understand the city as dwelling from a totally different point of view. Pardo's classic urban ethnographic study reveals a kind of individual managing struggle which does not seem to fit into a traditional structural analysis. Although, there are here existence struggles similar to those found in any city, the inhabitants are also forced to engage with and be part of city life, which intuitively goes against some of the early heavy structural thinking found in early texts on urban life (Pardo 1992: 276). In our understanding of city-life, Pardo encourages us to look at action and agency, rather than merely obsessing about structure. He states,

> 'There is, in other words, an incomparable advantage in coming to terms with the moral and spiritual complexity of people's lives in its multifaceted relation to practical aspects such as work, transaction, choice, risk, investment, capital, property, education, entrepreneurship and contacts — in brief, individuals' management of existence as the pursuit of fulfilment.' (Pardo 1996: 187).

Another fruitful grounded approach to studying urban spaces can also be found in the works by the sociologist Jerome Krase (2012, Krase and DeSena 2015), who has made a very successful academic career taking thousands of pictures of urban spaces in locations like Brooklyn, New York, as well as numerous European cities. In a way, Krase's fruitful use of visual methods provides another lens to see urban spaces and the consequences of social change. Whether through the use of traditional participant observation found in anthropology and sociology or through their combination with visual techniques (street photography), the ethnographic study of social change in cities continues to be a powerful method for the purpose of understanding the state of housing and the city in the 21st century.

Methods and Data Collection

Throughout this project, my qualitative approach (also called 'urban ethnography') allowed me to study RV and mobile home trailer parks across North Texas/ Dallas-Fort Worth Neighbourhoods. I used overwhelmingly visual methods (Krase 2012, Krase and DeSena 2015, Caldararo 2017). My primary rationale for choosing this research method was tied to my ultimate research goal; specifically, I wanted to be able to differentiate among various forms of RV and mobile home housing from the standpoint of understanding the nature of social closures and what I characterize as 'housing from below'. Since previous works have focused extensively on homelessness and homeless encampments (Caldararo 2017), I decided that I would exclude this specific issue from my study. Later I realized that limiting the aim of this study (excluding homeless encampments) would further assist me in the process of coding my visual data and establishing themes and connections to the research questions and the academic literature, while avoiding to shift accidently towards a study of homelessness.

Then I had to make important decisions on the initial site selection techniques and on the parks and mobile-RV communities and other housing sites which I would visit. Given the limitations on time and funding, I decided to focus my study on the North Texas/Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex partly because I also live, work, and regularly commute through many of these communities. I selected the sites through what can be described as a snow-ball sampling technique which drew on basic web-based tools like Google Maps and Google Earth to locate the nearest RV and mobile home trailer parks. Locating mobile home trailer parks via Google maps was often as simple by entering searches for 'mobile home trailer parks Fort Worth Tx'. The Google Earth tool was also very useful because it allowed me to become acquainted with the roads and with the limitations in accessing the sites with my vehicle. To help with documentation, I invested in two digital cameras, which would ensure the production of high-quality images at the 16 mega-pixel range — an investment both costly and necessary.

I started producing visual data in June 2019 and formally concluded the project in late-November 2019. In total, I visited 30 sites, taking 286 photographs of RV and mobile home trailer park housing and other kinds of low-income housing in the DFW metroplex area. Initially, I visited the sites by commuting there with my vehicle. As I reached the end of the project, I realised I had used up almost two full 16GB memory cards. Also, since I wanted to have HD quality photographs, all pictures were taken at the 16 million pixels range.

The ideal time frame for taking pictures would usually be during the weekday or weekends from 10am to 4pm. Of course, I was careful to take photographs that would not violate any established academic research ethics or state and local laws. Hence, I established a few research guidelines in which I would not take photographs, including of people's homes, without people's permission. Moreover, prior to taking any photographs, I went to great lengths to contact individuals and park managers in order to ask their permission. Both during the initial process of producing visual data and during the subsequent coding process, I made it a priority that no biographical data would be shared and that any visible identifying markers would be immediately deleted. In the photographs that I have included in this article, I have edited or totally removed license plate letters and numbers. Also, I have respected 'no trespassing signs' or 'stay out signs', avoiding to take pictures or entering the premises. Inevitably, this reduced both the number of pictures that I could take and the sample of restricted-access sites.

Coding and Analysis

The coding process started as soon as I downloaded the 286 photographs from my two digital cameras and divided them based on themes into different sub-folders. In an effort to help me remember important documenting details about every photograph, I dated each photograph, typed in the physical location/address and wrote down any important field-note comments using the Excel program from MS Office. During the early stages of the coding process, I felt it was useful to colour-code entries to indicate whether the housing unit or type under investigation represented what I characterized as 'soft' differentiation (green), 'medium' forms of differentiation (orange) or more 'extreme' or high forms of visible decay and some representations of poverty (red). This colour coding would later also help me to distinguish between different types of 'housing from below' and create an index of what I defined as Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 or Type 4 housing. Besides using MS Excel to organize and colour-code each specific photograph, I also used Google Earth to take snap-shots of the physical locations where photographs came from and placed them both into the matching folders and my excel spreadsheet. It was at this point that any remaining biographical or identifying markers were removed from the photographs. Although I undertook an inductive approach in this project, the coding process was initially inspired by a careful review of the work of Harvey (2014) and Neckel (2019), which provided me with theoretical themes like 'disparities of income and wealth' and problems of 'social reproduction', as well as the concept of 're-feudalization' (henceforth, the inverted commas are intended). Subsequently, in an attempt to operationalize my visual data, I analysed every single photograph looking for ways in which it might fit with the Marx-inspired and non-Marx-inspired theories developed by Harvey (2014), Neckel (2019), Krase (2012, Krase and DeSena 2015) and Pardo (1992, 1996). At a later stage, this also helped me to contextualize further and build theoretical themes from visual patterns taken from the photographs, which I specifically defend in detail in the following section.

Findings

To assist in the dissemination of my findings of the phenomena of 'housing from below' in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex, I used the index that I had constructed during the coding process and sub-divided photographs into four types of housing. Type 1, for example, can be more formal RV- and trailer-park housing, which may demonstrate some basic differentiation or 'differential inclusion'. This is articulated in both Figure 3 and Figure 4. Meanwhile, Type 2 housing bears more informal elements, or even some visual evidence of extreme precarity or poverty and of building decay and precarious structuring or modification of RVs for the purpose of more permanent housing. This is reflected in Figures 5 through 9. Type 3 housing represents the state of some public housing which is increasingly facing cuts by the federal government agencies (via HUD at the federal level) and failure to provide adequate affordable housing options for individuals below the poverty-line. Finally, Type 4 housing takes the form of low-income-oriented, for-profit hotels which tend to operate throughout many poor or low-income neighbourhoods in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex area and seem to have become the norm.

Influenced by my initial index, what follows in the next section is an attempt to start a basic mechanism for theorizing about housing differentiation types. It should not be seen as much different from the theoretical attempts made by many sociologists to conceptualise social stratification and establish dividing lines between relative and absolute forms of poverty. The construction of the index was, in part, influenced initially by the technique used by Gans (1974) to make theoretically-based differentiations between what he called 'high culture' and 'popular culture'. While my four different types do not have specific labels like those devised by Gans, they do generally follow a similar technique of high/medium/low housing distinctions.

To sum up, one might also say that my attempt in the section below is to develop a kind of relative housing poverty definition which I also label as 'Differential Inclusion', rather than a more absolute or extreme housing poverty definition.

Housing Differentiation or 'Differential Inclusion'?

What I will label 'soft' housing differentiation is often visible in mobile homes and RV parks, like other kinds of informal housing, as they provide visual accounts of such increasing differentiation in some parts of the United States. The 30 test sites that I visited in Texas had some level of housing differentiation with regard to formality, informality, semi-informality, decay and/or precarious character. I use the word 'soft' rather than 'hard' or 'harsher' forms of housing differentiation metaphorically, when compared to the far more peculiar term 'refeudalization' coined by Neckel (2019), who suggests the existence of a neo-feudalism in modern society marking the social relations between aristocrats and peasantry. Both housing differentiation and forms of 'differential inclusion' are visible at this basic socio-economic level. I also want to acknowledge that the expression 'differential inclusion' is originally credited to Mezzadra and Nelson (2013), who coined it in their effort to move away from simplified *either/or* debates of inclusion or exclusion in the field of migration and border research. Theoretically, I employ this expression to signify that a kind of 'differential

inclusion' exists in the field of housing in the United States which does not always fit into inclusive or strictly exclusive patterns, or in absolute vs relative forms of housing poverty.

For Harvey (2014: 182), capitalism starts to interfere with the 'social reproduction' function which previously meant the maintenance of social structures and the '[…] social reproduction of the labour force […]'. In short, he suggests that when social reproduction is interfered with it also carries real consequences for the social, cultural, as well as physical re-production of a social class (that is, ex working-class). Paradoxically, then, for Harvey there might be noticeable differences between the kind of housing that exists for the lower classes, the middle classes, and the upper classes in the US, but this does not necessarily have to interfere in the social-reproduction of class. I have decided to call 'differential inclusion' the basic level of housing shown in Figure 3, in view of the fact that it does not yet threaten the social reproduction of class.

Below are visual examples of what I call Type 1 housing.

Figure 3. The three pictures above indicate more of what I characterize as 'differential inclusion' or type 1 housing. The picture top left shows a detached 5th wheel RV trailer which is being used as a semi-permanent rather than short-term housing. The picture top right shows a colourful single-wide mini-trailer house with a satellite tv-dish placed on concrete blocks. It was located in a Trailer-park beside other single-wide trailers with worse conditions. The bottom picture shows a RV located inside a RV-park which also has some basic outside furniture (bench) and other visible external appliances. A grey-cloth cover has been attached to the front-windows probably to help ensure privacy and keep out unpleasant sun-lighting. Photographs taken by the author.

Figure 4. A single RV-trailer and small vehicle in a typical RV-park. Although some mild structural adjustments seem to have been done to the RV- trailer (attachment of a window unit), it still can be described as a type 1 form of housing RV-home and typical RV- trailer in a trailer park in North Texas. Photo taken by the author.

Housing from Below

The application of the concepts developed by Harvey (2014) and Neckel (2019) has helped me to theorize the critical link between housing poverty and other significant social and economic inequalities being reproduced within the United States. Thus, especially when examining the economic and impoverished state of type 2 housing (Neckel 2019), I use the expression 'housing from below' to refer to the radical transition away from 'differential inclusion' in housing conditions towards a shift to social closure forms of 'differential exclusion' and refeudalization. Let me briefly recall that for Neckel (2019: 1), refeudalization basically means, '[…] "neo-feudal" privilege for the upper classes while precarious social groups experience impoverishment and exclusion'. For example, according to some statistics provided by the National Low-Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC 2019), in Texas there is a shortage of 594,631 rental homes for people identified as low-income renters (NLIHC 2019). This echoes what Neckel may have meant by increasing forms of exclusions which lower-income people frequently face in modern capitalism, as opposed to upper-class people.

The photographs shown in this article reflect this problem of social-exclusion in terms of available and affordable housing for low-income renters. I will also attempt to demonstrate that at least some of the visual material shown in figure 5 through 9 can be fitted under the umbrella of quasi-refeudalization housing patterns through precarious or impoverished RV- and trailer-park housing. The latter differs from the kind of Type 1 housing shown in some visual examples given earlier. In support of the thesis of a refeudalization taking place in lower-class housing, I offer significant details on the structure and precarious visual character of this kind of 'housing from below' and on its observable character of impoverishment and social marginalization; in other words, some of the photographs that I took in this project show global-south near qualities (Davis 2006).

Figure 5. A single-wide trailer in a trailer park in North Texas. Its condition can be described as impoverished and shows clear signs of structural aging and numerous external modifications, including an attached ac window unit. The wood panelling seems to have been re-painted and added to the original structure. It is fair to say it is representative of what I call Type 2 housing. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 6. The two pictures above are similar to figure 5. On the left is a much older model RV-trailer which has modifications made to the windows in order to fit the ac window unit; an antenna is attached on the roof. On the right is an aging single-wide trailer; the modifications include an additional deck, an attached roof with blue plastic covering, a small garden, an American flag, a wooden fence and a wooden staircase. It also can be characterized as typical type 2 housing. Photos taken by the author.

Figure 7. The picture on the left shows a RV-trailer and older Ford-pickup truck; minor additions seem to have been made near the door area including a wooden scaffolding. On the right is an aging single wide-trailer that shows signs of structural modification; for example, the wood panelling near the window seem to have be re-fitted for the purpose of attaching an ac window unit in the rear of the trailer. Both pictures seem to fit into type 2 housing. Photos taken by the author.

Figure 8. An aging and slowly decaying single-wide trailer. Some of the wooden panelling near the bottom seem to be slightly unbalanced. A wooden stair-case seems to have been added. Paint does not seem to be the original. Numerous appliances are visible near the doorway, including two BBQ grills. The trailer seems to fit into what I characterize as type 2 housing. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 9. The picture on the left shows an impoverished and aging single-wide trailer. Visible modifications have been done to the windows, including the attachment of external window units. The exterior also seems to have been recently painted with a different kind of grey. The picture on the right is an aging 5th wheel trailer which seems to be no longer fit to being moved or used for travelling purposes. A small wooden staircase structure has been built to ease access to the back doorway. Both can be fitted into what I call type 2 housing. Photos taken by the author.

Public Housing for All or a State Retrenchment?

The next set of pictures is an attempt to demonstrate how state retrenchment, or the systematic underfunding of public and affordable housing programmes, has produced a number of unintended fatal consequences for the current state of public housing in the United States. Although several social theorists have written extensively on this topic of retrenchment, I will mostly rely on both Pierson (2012) and Harvey (2014), who frequently tie the politics of state retrenchment to the neo-liberalism brought about by neo-conservative austerity waves, from Ronald Reagan to Margaret Thatcher. For example, Pierson (2012: 17) defines retrenchment as, '…policy changes that either cut social expenditure, restructure welfare state programs to conform more closely to the residual welfare state model, or alter the political environment in ways that enhance the probability of such outcomes in the future.'

Harvey (2014: 190) would possibly agree with this definition of retrenchment, although for him neo-liberalism is also about attempts by the state, '[…] to externalize as much as possible the costs of social reproduction on the populace at large […]'. The definitions of state retrenchment provided here by both Pierson (2012) and Harvey (2014) are important in so far as they can also be visually observed on the ground. Statistically, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (2019), the actual number of available public housing units has been reduced by around 250,000 since prior decades. This statistic needs to be taken into account when one looks at the current state of public housing in the United States. So, although I could only visit two North Texas public housing sites, I did notice a kind of retrenchment at least in one of the locations in Fort Worth, Texas. Some of this process appears to be reflected in figures 10 through 11 below.

Figure 10. A semi- occupied public housing unit in Ft. Worth TX. Although there is evidence that some of the units are currently housed, it seems many are not being used. When I entered the location with my vehicle, I was instantly struck with the lack of human presence and social activity in this public housing community. The physical condition of the units also seems to be aged and lacking some essential maintenance. I have categorised this as type 3 housing; it should also be considered as an example 'housing from below'. Photo taken by author.

Figure 11. The three pictures above are examples of public housing in Ft. Worth TX. The top two pictures are examples of boarded up units which seem to be no longer occupied or in use. The bottom picture shows an occupied building where a number of residents currently live. These three pictures are reflections of what I have called type 3 housing subsidized by the state (Federal Public Housing Programme). It is important to note that these pictures may not be representative of the state of public housing across the North Texas region or the broader United States. More fieldwork may be needed to get a better picture of what I have called type 3 housing. Photos taken by author.

Figure 12. Pictures of Low-income Hotels in Mesquite, Texas. Low-income or Extended-Stay hotels are what I characterize as Type 4 housing. As shown by the hotel signage, hotels frequently advertise long-term deals or so-called 'Weekly rates', which seem to target people who lack formal housing. Although these two pictures were taken in a sub-orb located in East Dallas, similar low-income hotels use this kind of advertising strategy across the entire Dallas-Forth Worth Metroplex region. Photos taken by the author.

Discussion and Conclusion

This ambitious qualitative arts-based project has tried to provide critical visual illumination to what can be characterized as 'housing from below' throughout the Dallas-ForthWorth Metroplex region. Briefly, the three important research questions which were initially posed in this project were: 1) What can a visual-based study of RV and mobile home parks in North Texas reveal about larger economic inequalities, poverty and re-feudalization (Neckel 2019) trends happening in the US?; 2) To what extend does Harvey's (2014) list of contradictions of capitalism fit with the visual evidence of decay and the precarious housing found in RV and mobile home parks in North Texas?; 3) What can a visual-based study of RV and mobile home parks tell us about the direct consequences of welfare state retrenchment and a declining affordable housing sector?

I believe I have done my best to answer the first important research question, by demonstrating through the use of the sample of some 286 pictures and descriptive statistics that economic inequalities are highly visible in the social stratification of housing, or in what I have classified as Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, and Type 4 housing. The soft kind of differentiation was characterized by the forms of 'differential inclusion' that I have shown. Regarding the extent to which poverty is reflected in the character of housing, I have discussed 'housing from below', which is shifting towards 'differential exclusion', rather than merely a 'differential inclusion', and towards what Neckel (2019) has called re-feudalization trends in modern capitalism.

I have provided details to the precarious nature of such housing as visible in several photographs (Figure 4 through Figure 9). In addition to the initial list of 17 contradictions of capitalism discussed by Harvey (2014), three contradictions were also consistent with some of the evidence found in the photographs that I have shown. This includes both what Harvey called the contradictions and tension between so-called 'use-values' and 'exchange-values' and the ways in which this tension plays out throughout the oversupply of luxury housing and lack of affordable housing. The exchange value character initially theorized by Harvey was also reflected in the for-profit hotel industry entering into overt and covert marketing strategies (as observed in the photographs in Figure 12) to provide extended stay and weekly-pay arrangements, as well as transitional and informal housing. The second contradiction which Harvey also brought out regarding the problem of 'disparities of income and wealth' was observable in almost all the pictures. The third contraction known as the problem of 'social reproduction' was, at least theoretically, a fruitful bone of contention during the evaluation of precarious and decayed RV and mobile home-based housing. One might argue here that Neckel's (2019) concept of re-feudalization also warns in many ways of the polarization between the haves and have nots and re-address the basic question whether 'social-reproduction' of all social classes, including basic housing access, is being hindered by the internal problems of modern capitalism (use-value versus exchange-value).

In attempting to answer my third research question, I found that the photographs of public housing in North Texas (Figure 11) appear to be consistent with Pierson's argument (2012) that a social policy has favoured state retrenchment against the widening and

revitalization of providing public housing. There is some interesting consistency between what appears in the pictures that I have offered and what Pierson has theorized.

On a final note, as I have also argued at the beginning of this article, I feel there are fruitful reasons in bringing visual arts-based methods back into urban scholarship and mainstream sociology. I hope that this article demonstrates the value of visual techniques in the study of the state of housing in the United States. Yet, not one single research method should be taken as the sole monopoly or representation of truth. Visual documentation and other ethnographic evidence may help bring about much needed social change. I hope to inspire fellow public sociologists to engage in research that helps to illuminate the impoverished state of housing in numerous communities in Texas and elsewhere in the spirit of opening avenues for public discussion.

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The Cosmic Battle at the Street Corner
Studying A Religious Narrative of Violent Crime in Croydon[1]

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This article addresses the role of religion in Croydon in conceptualising and responding to the growing problem of knife crime in London. Croydon saw the fastest growth in the rate of knife crime between 2016 and 2017 for any London borough. Focusing on the West Croydon Baptist Church, situated in the ward of Broad Green, this article seeks to explore the relationship between how a religious institution understands the theological *problem of evil* (Kelly 1989) and how they respond to the social problems which they find themselves faced with at the street corner. While much of the previous literature has focused exclusively on religious institutions who make formal interventions, premised on a notion of *free will* as the origin of evil, this article will attempt to showcase an instance of a religious institution whose notions of evil lie in *privation* and *dualism*. Through the voices of pastors and parishioners (along with field notes) this article hopes to elucidate the importance of underlying theological beliefs (rather than merely ritual) in informing the response of religious institutions to collective problems.
Keywords: London, crime, religion, violence.

Introduction

On a Monday morning in the Smooth Bean Café, down the Road from East Croydon train station, I sat down with the community organiser and local poet, Shaniqua, to discuss the problems of knife crime in Croydon. Our conversation turned quickly to the role of religious institutions in tackling the problem of knife crime with Shaniqua saying:

> 'I'm a church goer myself … I always go to church. Everyone does different things, like my church will do a soup kitchen every Tuesday. But there's other ones that do a lot more to engage with young people. But I think yeah, faith is a really strong thing that is around. I wish that my church was doing a bit more and getting involved more in the community. Like I want them to do more. But faith is key, it's at the centre of what I do. It makes you want to be a better person, a more loving person. It's what gives me hope.'

What Shaniqua implicitly recognised in her comments, was that whilst religion and faith are key parts of the story of how and why religious communities respond to the growing problems of violence in London, the effects are not the same for all. Clearly, religion can provide the impetus for action over knife crime, but it does not do so in a consistent way. In a context where faith groups and religious institutions are increasingly expected to play a central role fighting the rise of knife crime in London it is important to understand what motivates different faith groups, how they respond to the problems of knife crime but also how they conceptualise the problem of knife crime. In the policy documentation from the *Mayor's Office for Police and Crime*, the importance of religious institutions and faith groups

[1] I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers and the Board of *Urbanities* for their comments and suggestions on previous drafts of this article which greatly helped in improving and clarifying the work.

has often been seemingly elevated to be equivalent to that of families, schools and medical professionals. The 2017 *London Knife Crime Strategy* explicitly references faith groups throughout and assigns them the role (alongside others) of preventing knife crime (Mayor of London 2017: 63), addressing the trauma which can result from knife crime (Mayor of London 2017: 70) and taking ownership of local solutions (Mayor of London 2017: 67). But no time is really taken to understand within this public policy framework the nature of faith groups and religious institutions. Rather they become yet another bullet point in a long list.

The rise in knife crime is a phenomenon which has emerged in Croydon and London only in recent years. It was the 2016/2017 change in the level of knife crime which brought the issue to the forefront, with London as a whole experiencing a 24% increase in reported knife crime, whilst Croydon saw the highest rise in the rate of knife crime for any borough in London, equating to a 103% rise (Allen and Audickas 2018: 21).

Taking Croydon as the terrain, this article will seek to understand one particular institution; the West Croydon Baptist Church and the narratives of crime that surround it. Through an examination of the pastors who run the church, the congregation and the community (at increasingly peripheral levels), this article will seek to understand at a micro level how a very particular narrative of violence has come to shape their response to knife crime through the lens of religion, and in particular the notion of the '*cosmic battle*'.

Religion, Evil and Salvation

There has been a long and interesting literature from predominantly quantitative sociologists who have sought to understand the causal role of religion in respect to crime. Starting with Hirschi and Stark's 1969 article *Hellfire and Delinquency* along with later publications such as Cochran, Wood and Arneklev's 1994 article 'Is the Religiosity-Delinquency Relationship Spurious? A Test of Arousal and Social Control Theories', and leading to more contemporary work such as that of Sampson's *Great American City* (2011). These works have seen sociologists position themselves almost entirely outside of the communities under study and instead focus on reported quantitative data. Focusing on aggregated results, the scholars who have taken this approach to the problem of criminality and religiosity have tended to play down and even dismiss altogether the notion that religion works to either promote or discourage rates of crime. Although this is by no means a universal result, with works such as Benda's 1995 article 'The Effect of Religion on Adolescent Delinquency Revisited' and Johnson's 2011 article 'The Role of Religious Institutions in Responding to Crime and Delinquency' arguing that there is a negative relationship between church attendance and the crime rate within a community.

However, this aggregated approach does not yield the full picture as regards the relationship between religion and crime. As Wuthnow argued in his 1988 article *Religious Discourse as Public Rhetoric*, one cannot have a full picture of religion and how beliefs and discourses come to shape action in the public space through a purely survey based, quantitative approach. By no means did Wuthnow reject the valuable contribution of those who rely on the survey approach, but rather he argues that it cannot answer legitimate

questions about how particular religious institutions both conceptualise and set out to tackle perceived public problems.

The issue of conceptualising the problem of violence in the public space is not one which should be rushed over because it strikes at the heart of a theological problem for many religions, namely the problem of evil. This is to say that religion for the most part seeks to explain to some extent the existence of suffering in a world which pre-supposes a coherent creation, which in the Abrahamic tradition includes a single all power creator who in certain traditions is often also characterised as being an omnibenevolent God (Dombrowski 2016). Public violence which sees the death of innocent individuals can certainly be included within this problem of evil.

Responding to the problem of evil is in part a question of dividing the world into the *sacred* and the *profane* as Durkheim suggested (1995 [1912]). This problem can in part be interpreted in essence as having the functional purpose of promoting desirable behaviours whilst prohibiting undesirable behaviours. But more than that it is about crafting narratives which work to explain and frame social problems. Within the Western Christian tradition there can be seen to be three formal responses to the problem of evil. The first is that of *privation*, namely that evil occurs when there is an absence of God, a view which was dominant in the early Catholic church (Kelly 1989: 45). The second, which is strongly associated with the theodicy of St. Augustine, is the notion that evil is the result of free will, that is, God having given people the freedom to do what they want cannot be held accountable if they do evil (Kelly 1989: 41). The final explanation, which tends to be associated with the *asceticism* and deterministic theology of Calvin, is that of *natural evil*. This is essentially the idea that given there is an omnibenevolent God it follows that evil must be a part of his wider scheme for the cosmos and therefore will ultimately turn out to be a form of hidden good (Kelly 1989: 92). There is a fourth explanation, which has not been a central part of the Western Christian tradition (but which will prove important for this study) which is *dualism* (Kelly 1989: 2). Namely, the idea that there exist two unseen forces (one good and one evil) fighting for dominance and that this evil force creates concrete manifestations in the world. It is worth mentioning here that the British Union of Baptists, of which the West Croydon Baptist Church is a part, does not have a clear doctrinal position on this question instead choosing to respect the primacy of local pastors (Fiddes et al. 1996). Evil in essence, is not a universally agreed upon notion but rather it is a constructed and contested notion which, as Jeffery Alexander argued, is used by individuals and institutions to explain the ills to be found in both society and nature, but also at times as a tool in the pursuit of a perceived good (Alexander 2003).

As Max Weber noted, it is from this construction of evil that comes the power of religion to act in the social world, namely through salvation (Weber 1965 [1920]: 44-45). The capacity of religion to act as a salvific power in contexts of violence has been most broadly studied (in the UK) in the context of those who are or who have been in prison. This perhaps makes sense given the high number of conversions which take place in incarceration (Hallett and McCoy 2015). Robinson-Edwards and Kewley's work, which centred on the religious interventions of a single volunteer (Joanna) with the Christian organisation Mothers' Union,

tried to argue that those making religious interventions often taken on multiple roles within the context of a prison, simultaneously acting councillor, preacher, quasi-confessional priest and the person who can ultimately grant forgiveness (Robinson-Edwards and Kewley 2018). The work of Kerley, Leary and Rigsby by contrast, which focuses on the US context, emphasises more the experience of prisoners and those leaving prison in how the salvific power of religion is something experienced not only by those who exercise it (that is, religious volunteers) but also by those on the receiving end (that is, prisoners) in developing a *Faith-Worldview* (Leary 2018) in which religion works to reconstruct the narrative of prisoners lives (Kerley 2013; Leary 2015, 2018; Rigsby 2015).

Studies that have explored the salvific power of religion outside of the prison context, have often focused on the creation of *sacred sites* (Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016, Holligan and McLean 2018) within the community, which work to provide a space in which individuals involved in criminality can come to receive some form of salvation. There exist some striking similarities between the literature both in and out of the prison context. Holligan and McLean's work, which examines young criminals in the West of Scotland, chimes with much of the in-prison work in its emphasis on *criminal dissidence* (Holligan and Mclean 2018) and autobiographical reconstruction. Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson, through their work with a Pentecostal Church in East London, emphasize more the power of religion through structured interactions to reframe a life as a choice between *street* and *community* (Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016: 33).

The focus, thus far, has very much been on the impact of these interventions, but there exists at least some recognition that narratives of salvation themselves rely on particular understandings of the problem of evil and tend to privilege an understanding of evil based on free will. For example, Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson reflect (albeit briefly) on the irony that the Pentecostalist Church, who have more historically subscribed to a theory of natural evil, turn towards a narrative of evil founded in human free will when delivering these interventions in the lives of young offenders (Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016: 19). The issue is that by focusing on the situations where religious institutions make formal interventions, it gives a somewhat one-sided view of how religions characterize and explain crime because those groups who work directly on this issue tend to adopt a narrative of free will, if criminals cannot choose to act differently there would be no point in working with them. But there exist many religious institutions who neither make these formal interventions nor subscribe to a view that evil is rooted in free will (McRoberts 2005, Sampson 2011). So, if faith groups and religious institutions are going to play this key role in fighting London knife crime (Mayor of London 2017), it is important to develop an understanding of the groups who do not adopt this narrative of free will and how they come to explain the problems of violent crime and more particularly knife crime.

A Snapshot of Croydon

If one takes the train from London Victoria going towards Brighton, in about 30 minutes, one comes to East Croydon train station. This puts one right at the heart of the Croydon community. As one walks out of the train station facing south, one sees London's only tram

line running from east to west and the honey-combe like tower block known as Croydon No.1. This is one of London's most southern boroughs located right on the edge of the city. Further south and one will have left London altogether entering either Surrey or Kent.

As one walks to the north-west, one enters into Broad Green, an area increasingly characterised by being dense, young and impoverished. Looking at the Index of Multiple Deprivations (IMD) — which considers income, employment, health, education, housing, crime and the living environment (Fallon 2015: 8) — one finds almost the entire Broad Green community in the top 10% to 20% of nationally most deprived communities, with certain streets falling into the band of being in the top 5% for most deprived communities (Flowers 2017: 19). The community is also defined by its youthfulness with most streets having between 28.4% and 35.8% of 0 to 17-year olds amongst its residents, while no street has more than 10.9% of persons aged 65 and over amongst its residents (Flowers 2017: 13). In the north east of Broad Green one finds some of Croydon's most densely populated streets, with 136 to 180 people per hectare depending on the specific locality, this compared with Croydon's 2015 average of 43.8 people per hectare (Flowers 2017: 20).

In the north-east of the borough, one finds Thornton Heath. Thornton Heath lacks some of the more extreme poverty that can be found in Broad Green, but many of the streets still find themselves in the top 10% to 20% of deprivation nationally and a few in the south west are even in the top 10% to 5% (Flowers 2017: 19). Again, although in Thornton Heath there are not pockets of extremity when it comes to population density, much of the ward still faces a comparatively high level of population density, between 92 and 135 people per hectare depending on the precise locality (Flowers 2017: 20).

But it would be wrong to say that Croydon's social deprivation is isolated to the north of the borough. In New Addington — an estate connected to Croydon only by one road and one tram line, which lies far to the south of East Croydon station — one again finds a community riddled with deprivation. Like Broad Green, it is largely in the top 10% to 20% for most deprived areas, with pockets in the top 10% to 5% and in the top 5% (Flowers: 19). The old Fieldway, which is now New Addington North, actually has the youngest population anywhere in Croydon with 34% of the residents being under the age of 18 (Flowers: 28). Near the tram stops in New Addington North the proportion of residents under 18 years of age is even higher, between 35.9% to 43.5% depending on the street. Population density is mixed, but around the King Henry's and Fieldway tram stops population density is as high as in the north east of Broad Green.

Overlying these diverse communities are also more general problems of race, health and education. As Croydon transitions from being a predominantly white London borough to a majority ethnic minority London borough, the existing inequalities are becoming more problematic. These inequalities are particularly evident among the youth of the borough as expressed through education attainment. Only 46.6% of black Caribbean students achieved five GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) with grades between A* and C, as compared to 60.4% of white British students and 71.3% of Indian students (Elahi 2017: 9). Now those figures are not wildly out of line with national results; with 46.5% of black

Caribbean student achieving five GCSEs with grades between A* and C, 56.8% of white British students and 71.3% of Indian students (Elahi 2017: 9).

Amongst the wider social problems of Croydon, there is the very particular problem of knife crime, which has grown so much in prominence over the last few years. However, as we will see in the next section, this problem is centred around a few identifiable locations.

Methodology and Choices

What is clear from even a preliminary glance at Croydon is that not all of Croydon is the same. Therefore, the work itself started by identifying where the fieldwork would take place. This was achieved through an analysis for ten months of data collection on violent and sexual crime, between May 2017 and February 2018, on a sample of 639 localities[2] in and around Croydon that had experienced at least one violent or sexual crime in May 2017. It should be said that there is a technical limitation to this data, in so far as the open source data does not allow for a disentanglement of knife crime from other forms of violent crime at the street level. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) estimates that in 2017 around 21% of violent and sexual crimes involved some form of weapon. However, this method points us to an area where there is a significant level of Serious Youth Violence, which, according to other MOPAC (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime) data, is strongly correlated with knife crime (The Association of Directors of Children's Services 2019).

Given that each street only had ten data points, corresponding with ten months of analysis, it became necessary to use a system that would be able to determine the confidence intervals for each locality, without the need for large data sets, leading to the decision to use the Student distribution, sometimes also known as t-distribution. At first this was run with a 95% confidence interval; localities that did not have at least a lower bound of one were eliminated, leaving 18 localities.

Given the level of work required to analyse and choose from 18 localities it was then decided that it would be prudent to still further eliminate the potential localities of study. Thus, a 99% confidence interval was used, leaving only 11 localities (having applied the same rule as before).

What was then important was to identify amongst those 11 localities those that would be studied. The approach was to find multiple localities which could be grouped together on the basis of proximity. When one looks at it on a map, two groups of localities become evident. There is one group of localities around the Broad Green community and a second around the Thornton Heath community. Given that this article is to focus almost exclusively on the work done in Broad Green (where the West Croydon Baptist Church is situated), the article will not provide further data on localities around Thornton Heath.

In the ward of Broad Green four localities appear; on or near the Hospital (Croydon University Hospital), on or near St James's Road, on or near Wellington Road and on or near Hartley Road. The three streets that are in that group directly interconnect with one another.

[2] For a full list see https://www.police.uk/metropolitan/00AH01T/crime/2017-05/violent-crime/+P0mSCU/locations/ .

The Croydon University Hospital is a little further up the London Road, but ultimately only 500 meters away from the opening of St. James's Road onto London Road. At the centre of this cluster is the West Croydon Baptist Church which sits on the crossroad between St. James's Road and Whitehorse Road. It was this crossroad that would become the focus of the ensuing work. According to data from *London Landscape* project developed by MOPAC,[3] Broad Green reported the second highest rate of Serious Youth Violence for any London ward in 2016 and third highest in 2017 (only pushed down in the ranking because of the rise in youth violence in another Croydon ward directly south of Broad Green, Fairfield). So, while it is difficult to evaluate how much of what the Metropolitan Police data is capturing is Serious Youth Violence, one can state with confidence that it is pointing towards an area where Serious Youth Violence is high by the standards of London.

It is worth taking the time to be clear that this is far from being a perfect method to identify precisely where violence takes place. Like all methods which attempt to map out where crime takes place it has to rely on the assumption that the underlying data is reliable (i.e. that the location of the crime is correctly reported) which is by no means a certainty (Harries 1999). However, given that there is a consistently high level of reporting around the West Croydon Baptist Church, it seems reasonable to assert that it finds itself situated within an area which is a centre of violent crime, even if those who commit the crimes do not necessarily come from that area (Borrion et al. 2019).

Having identified the terrain in which to work, this article will follow an essentially ethnographic method of participant observation combined with in depth interviews. Ethnography is a broad and diverse method. Unlike other methodologies which have come to define the study of urban environments through their physical characteristics, ethnography works to explore (primarily through observation) the ways in which individuals organise themselves, how individuals explain their own actions and the emotion which lies behind action (Pardo et al. 2018). However, as Murchison and Coats have elucidated in their recent work, ethnographies of religion have in the past placed the emphasis in different places with some focusing more on the particularised study of religion purely as a social practice through rituals within *sacred sites*, whilst others have emphasized the emotional and spiritual elements of religious life (Murchison and Coats 2015). This work will give some consideration to ritual but will for the most part focus on the subjective experience of participants through the voices of those involved in and connected to the West Croydon Baptist Church to understand how they conceptualise the problem of violence (and more specifically knife crime) and how that conceptualisation informs their actions.

To this end, around 150 hours was spent on participant observation in the field. It is worth noting that this article is one part of a wider work and therefore not all of the 150 hours was spent at the crossroads between St James's Road and Whitehorse Road. This article is going to focus mostly on what was observed within the West Croydon Baptist Church itself, events which the pastors of the West Croydon Baptist Church took part in, as well as the way

[3] For the full dataset go to https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/data-and-statistics/london-landscape

in which peripheral members of the church used religion as a lens through which to see violent crime. It is worth saying that even though I lived in Croydon for eighteen years (between January 1999 and January 2017), just a half an hour walk from the West Croydon Baptist Church, I had stayed away from Croydon before starting my fieldwork here in May 2017. So, it is possible some cultural gap may have opened up during this period (Madden 2010).

In order to try and take account for the fact that in the practice of ethnographic observation misinterpretation can take place, I also conducted six long semi-structured interviews to inform the wider ethnographic work. Individuals were recruited for these interviews through snowball sampling (Browne 2005); that is, the first individual introduced the next and so on. Each interview took around two hours to conduct. This included community activists, residents, landlords and others. The interviews themselves were divided into two parts. The first, was an exploration of general themes with similar questions being asked as in the survey work. The second section was made up of commentary on field notes from the observation phase of the study and results from the survey. So, the interviewee would be presented with an observation, then a discussion would take place as to the significance of that initial prompt. Again, this work took place in the context of a wider study so not every interview is relevant to this article, but I have tried to take what is pertinent.

We Know God and They Do Not

The West Croydon Baptist Church finds itself located in the middle of a cluster of roads with some of the highest reported levels of violence in Croydon. Directly around the West Croydon Baptist Church (on St James's Road) there are an average of 3.6 violent and sexual crimes committed every month (ranging between 2.2 and 5.0 violent and sexual crimes per month in a 95% confidence interval) making it the fourth most violent locality in the sample. The roads which interconnect with St James's Road equally display a high level of reported violence; with Wellington Road having an average of 2.7 violent and sexual crimes committed every month (ranging between 1.8 and 3.6 violent and sexual crimes per month in a 95% confidence interval) and Hartley Road having an average of 2.7 violent and sexual crimes committed every month (ranging between 2.0 and 3.7 violent and sexual crimes per month in a 95% confidence interval) making them the eleventh and twelfth most violent localities in the sample respectively.

It is in this network of violent localities that one falls across the West Croydon Baptist Church. Within what one might call the *sacred site* of the West Croydon Baptist Church members meet twice a week to listen to the pastors of the West Croydon Baptist Church preach. The West Croydon Baptist Church has a skeleton of structure to its services (in that a general order is pre-established and who is going to speak is pre-decided) but it tends towards a style of worship that can be characterized as charismatic worship, which leaves a great deal of freedom to the preacher. This more fluid style of worship can lead to spontaneous singing from those at the front or sermons that often contain large portions in which the preacher appears largely to improvise. None of the services that I attended during the three months ever ended on time and individuals who left early were often publicly called out for their lack of

devotion to God, in front of the congregation. But fluidity and improvisation does not imply a random message. Within the narrative expressed by the pastors was always a key explanation of evil as *privation* (Kelly 1989). Whether it be in praying for those in illness or preaching on social ills, the pastors of the West Croydon Baptist Church explain these ills as caused by the absence of God. God is not strictly speaking omnipresent for the West Croydon Baptist Church, he exists only through the presence of true believers. On my first visit to the West Croydon Baptist Church a pastor who had recently visited the United States would preach on this very subject.

> 03/06/2018: 09:50 – 'We enter the West Croydon Baptist Church and are greeted by an elderly gentleman who offers us coffee. … After some time, the singing ends and he begins to give his sermon on the Book of Exodus, which apparently part of a series of lectures. At a certain point the gentleman starts to talk about how at larger congregations the spirit of God would come and touch the congregation if their faith so sufficiently devout. He goes onto say "Are you ready for God to come here", about three people in the audience say very quietly "Yes", the gentleman giving the sermon responds with "We are not ready" whilst shaking his head.'

Crucial to understanding how the West Croydon Baptist Church conceptualizes and responds to the problems of knife crime, is realizing that for them *privation* frames every issue and becomes central both to the construction of a notion of evil (Alexander 2003) and a wider *moral universe*. It is easy to believe that those who are in the grip of this belief system separate their esoteric beliefs about the nature of God and evil from their more temporal concerns, namely the violence that, at least according to the data, seems to surround their *sacred site*. But in fact, the narrative of *privation* becomes co-opted directly into how they understand (and subsequently how they seek to respond to) the problem of violent crime and more specifically knife crime. This is a realization that crystalized at a meeting of local Baptist pastors to which I was invited, and which was called specifically to address the issue of knife crime.

> 06/06/2018: 21:15 – 'I was invited to a meeting of church leaders by the pastor for the West Croydon Baptist (Reuben Martin). The meeting occurred in Trinity Baptist Church. The meeting began at 9:15 and ended at 11:30 … Mark Nicholson started the meeting by talking about Prayer Marches against knife crime. The first one, which has taken place in April, saw around 2000 people in the centre of Croydon. He had been encouraged by the way churches set aside their own agenda and came together (it reminded him of when David brought the Ark back to Jerusalem — that as the church prayed and worshipped they were carrying God's presence into Croydon). "We are bringing the presence of God into the community".
>
> Sitting around, I asked pastors at my table how their community was dealing with knife crime. The two black pastors at the table said that their church was having to deal with the effects, the white pastors said theirs were not immediately

connected. One of the white pastors remarked 'I feel disempowered. Prayer is the only thing I feel like I can contribute'. The black pastors said that everyone in the community is well informed when an attack occurs, and that they had good consistent contact with the police.

One of the pastors who speaks recommends the pastors to "adopt" a local mosque, enter the mosque to say hello and congratulate them on the Eid festival, and also to proselytize. "There are far fewer mosques than churches, so there is no competition" however "they are not shy to tell us of their religion, so we as Christians should not hesitate to tell them the good word"

One of the other pastors agrees, because "We know God and they do not"'

In this meeting what came out clearly was the interconnection between how the pastors see the problem of knife crime and how they choose to respond to it. For this group of pastors the origin of knife crime lies in an absence of God in the community, which only they can end. There exists in their sentiments a strong element that they exclusively are the bringers of God, as perhaps best demonstrated by their reference of the Biblical character of David (who brought back the Arc back to Jerusalem and defeated numerous enemies because he was God's elect). From this comprehension of knife crime as being caused by *privation*, they come to clear conclusions that the solution lies in prayer and proselytizing. The kind of active and structured interventions that have been described in some of the literature (Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016, Holligan and McLean 2018) are simply not within the frame of reference for these pastors, who openly admit that they feel 'disempowered' to act on knife crime. Indeed, the two identifiable solutions that do come out, prayer (often in the form of prayer marches) and proselytizing, echo far more a repertoire of action to be found in the work of scholars such as DeHanas in his study of religion and politics in East London (DeHanas 2016). At the heart of these solutions are a recognition that only through the divine presence of God can social unrest be resolved and God can only be present when numerically large numbers of people believe in him. However much such a view may conflict with widely accepted and positivistic understandings of knife crime in London, it forms a coherent train of logic from the point of view of the pastors.

The Cosmic Battle

The difficulty of studying the Baptist Church in the United Kingdom is that they have almost no formalized doctrine beyond the three-paragraph *Declaration of Principle*. Although the meaning of the *Declaration of Principle* was elaborated upon by a group of British Baptist Church leaders in the 1996 publication *Something to Declare*, the main conclusion of the work was that local church leadership and congregations should remain free to decide upon doctrinal questions for themselves (Fiddes et al. 1996). Therefore, it is not only pastors and church leadership who define the answers to the problem of evil, although they have a powerful influence from the pulpit; but rather members of the congregation also play a key role in constructing that moral universe. Moreover, members of the church take this moral universe out with them into everyday life, so that characterizations of knife crime, which one finds first emanating from the pastors of the West Croydon Baptist Church, are carried

beyond the *sacred site* by its members. Those who encounter knife crime, both as activists and participants, then are able to contextualize their actions through the lens of their faith.

Shaniqua is one of the more engaged members of the Baptist community in Croydon working on knife crime. She is far from being a peripheral member of the community, with two of her uncles serving as pastors (although not in the West Croydon Baptist Church). She runs a Community Interest Company (CIC) seeking to fight knife crime by encouraging young individuals in Croydon's Afro-Caribbean community to take up poetry as an alternative to violence, which has been part of the European project *Complete Freedom and Truth*. What was interesting when we interviewed her was how she came to characterize the problem of knife crime as being part of a 'cosmic battle' saying:

> 'There's a cosmic battle happening which I can't see. The supernatural powers and intervention in the world are a key part of everything, everything we're living in. ... For me, we live in a world of sin and the devil is out to get everyone that he can, and those people are vulnerable because they're in a horrible situation anyway. Like, I say we live in a world of sin but you have a choice to make. You have to realize that if you live by the sword you may die by the sword ... Some young people I've seen it looks like they have demons within them, it's like why are you so intent on being angry in the way you are behaving.'

For Shaniqua, this idea of the *cosmic battle* came to define her whole approach to the problem of knife crime. There are of course important differences in her narrative of violence to that of the pastors. She does accord some level of free will in her narrative and accepts that 'God is not a tyrant'. But centrally she still attributes the existence of knife crime to an unseen spiritual dimension of the universe. In many ways her views can be seen as more reflective of *dualism* rather than pure *privation* (Kelly 1989). For Shaniqua, it is not just that there is an absence of God, but also that that space is filled by a demonic presence which influences the actions of individuals. But importantly, she converges with the pastors in a rejection of the kind of formalized and structured interventions in which religious groups have engaged elsewhere (Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016, Holligan and McLean 2018). As she says:

> 'It's just you've got to think, stop focusing on the knives and start focusing on the people. It's like "Oh we're going to have a knife amnesty", well great but someone can go home to mom's kitchen and get another one out. So often we're not asking what are the core root issues of it.'

It is not only Shaniqua who carries this view with her. In the course of the three months, one group of individuals, who operated in Thornton Heath high street and used a mixture of drug dealing and begging to support their lives, became of particular interest to the study. The four individuals within this group were Summer, Dee, Steve (sometimes known as Stevo) and Chinky. They were more occasional attendees at the West Croydon Baptist Church who took advantage of some of the charitable actions undertaken by the church such as the soup kitchen. Summer was a black woman who had been out on the streets for eight months by that

stage. Dee was a white man who went in and out of homelessness and had just lost his accommodation again. Steve was a black man who, like Dee, came in and out of homelessness. Chinky by contrast to the other three was not in fact homeless but was a schizophrenic living in a hostel who begged for a little extra money. It is worth saying that Chinky never actually said anything but was instead constantly silent. The first thing that emerged when speaking to them was that they shared with the pastors a sense of the power of God to act for them as believers in materially identifiable ways.

> 13/06/2018: 23:51 – '[...] Steve leaves us briefly to buy cider for himself and Summer. He returns within a few minutes. Then we start to talk about some luck he had the previous week. He says, "You know the other day £15 just flew out of a woman's handbag. I could have handed it back, but you know, that's not stealing, that's God, you hear what I'm saying."'

Beyond the recollections of God playing a central role within the economic organization of their lives, Summer also expressed a view that echoed that of Shaniqua in explaining the violence within the community as a form of *dualism* (Kelly 1989).

> 13/06/2018: 23:21 – '[...] As we speak on, Summer talks about how she met Dee. She says: "This man is a God send I tell you, Hallelujah. You see, I met him one day at the station and I had a feeling in my gut, you get me, that he (Dee) was a good one. And ever since then we've be tight. We don't mess with them bad ones, with their knives, we stick to us. There's all these guys going around saying 'how much you got'. We don't do that. We look out for each other.'

During the time spent with this group, it became evident that the way they see and respond to the world is mediated through essentially theological beliefs in which it is the divine that seems to direct events (such as the procurement of money as well as the perpetuation of crime amongst the homeless). What is remarkable in all of this, is that from the centre of religious organization, namely the pastors, one can take a step away and find the same (or comparably similar views about knife crime) expressed by increasingly peripheral figures in religious life. One step away from the pastors, one finds in Shaniqua someone who expressed explicitly the view that the origins of knife crime lay in a 'cosmic battle'. If one then takes another step out to those who themselves carry knives and who find themselves on the edge of social and religious organization (namely Summer, Dee, Steve and Chinky), even in their explanation for the origins for crime there is an explicitly theological element. Moreover, the view that Summer expressed suggests that actually the only protection that could be provided was one that came directly from God.

In all of this one begins to reconsider the *salvific* power of religion (Weber 1965[1920]). The narrative, which comes particularly strongly through the voice of Summer, is without a doubt one of salvation. But it is not the same salvation that one finds in the literature that addresses those who have gone to prison and who are forced to change their way of life (Kerley 2013; Leary 2015, 2018; Rigsby 2015). This is a narrative of salvation that works to justify an already existing way of being. The conception of evil as coming from *privation* and

to some extent *dualism*, is one that is co-opted into a narrative that there are good people with knives and bad people with knives. Unlike the cases described in the work of Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson (2016), here the division between the *sacred* and the *profane* ceases to be premised upon a choice between a life of violence and a life of peace in the community. Instead, violence is presupposed, and the only answer is to be a good person with a knife rather than a bad person with a knife. There is of course a certain evolution of ideas which takes place between the centre and the periphery of this religious organization, but the fundamental logic remains the same.

Conclusions and Limitations of this Study

In large part, this article hopes to show the evolution of a religious narrative of violent crime within a particular context. From the pastors who emphasised the role of *privation*, to Shaniqua who brought in an element of *dualism*, to Summer and those around her who were actively engaged in the dealing of drugs and to participants in violence who co-opted those same religious narratives to justify their action. From a centre of religious organisation, one can see how the narrative becomes interpreted and reinterpreted through the community. But also, this article hopes to show that the effect of the *salvific* (Weber 1965[1920]) power of religion is heavily dependent on the narrative of salvation and evil which one chooses to adopt. One cannot deny the demonstrated power of religion to transform lives when it is underpinned by a belief in *free will* (Kerley 2013; Leary 2015, 2018; Rigsby 2015; Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson 2016; Holligan and McLean 2018). However, once one takes away that premise, religion can be many different things. In this particular case, one finds in the West Croydon Baptist Church and its congregation a narrative of conflict. Conflict of Islam against Christianity, of God against the Devil and of street gang against street gang, which all form a part of a greater *cosmic battle*. If, as the Mayor of London's office has suggested, faith groups and religious organisations are to be a cornerstone in the strategy against knife crime (Mayor of London 2017), perhaps the moment has arrived to consider in full the nature and heterogeneity of religious groups and the narratives that they adopt towards collective social problems.

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Visualising Transnationalism: Photography in Analyses of Migrants' Belonging[1]

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Employing visual methods of sociology, this article discusses the aspects of transnational space with which migrants and their descendants engage. It looks upon transnationality as being localised and material, rather than abstract and suspended between national territories, arguing that migrants and their descendants are located rather than dislocated, even if engaging in transnational relationships. I demonstrate that the involvement of photography as a research tool facilitates identifying local (a new homeland society) traces on ethnic places, showing that what is considered 'immigrant' and 'foreign' is always influenced by the circumstances of the dominant society within which they operate. The article discusses ethnic facilities in new homelands and traces of the influences of new homelands in migrants' ancestral villages. What is more, it demonstrates how visual methods can enhance new theoretical angles of analyses of the complex situation of migrant minorities.
Key words: transnationalism, international migration, Norwegian Turks, visual sociology, ethnic neighbourhoods.

Introduction

I collected the data presented in this article among Norwegian Turks who settled in the Norwegian city of Drammen. Although they do feel at home in Norway, they simultaneously express their belonging to the local areas of their ancestral origin in Turkey. Even though many of them were born in Norway and their contact with Turkish villages is limited to the sentiments of their parents and annual visits, they consider these local places in Turkey as home, and the practices and discourses common there constitute what they consider Turkish. Some Norwegian Turks travel back to the villages with their children to show them 'from where their blood originates' and to teach them 'what it means to be a Turk'.[2] Such attempts to put down roots in Turkey are strengthened by the growing significance of the discourses of autochthony in Europe, understood as 'being born from the soil' (Geschiere 2009: ix). This has consequences in that Norwegian Turks' belonging to Norway is questioned both by fellow members of minorities and ethnic Norwegians. On the other hand, the lives of Drammen's Norwegian Turks are entangled with Norwegian reality, ordered by Norwegian laws and influenced by Norwegian lifestyles and the Norwegian education system. Many of them, even if articulating strong Turkish identity, cannot imagine returning to Turkey, as Norwegian-born offspring of Turkish immigrants refer to possible migration to their ancestors' country of origin.

This article discusses visually reflected transnational ties between Norwegian Turks settled in the city of Drammen and their ancestral villages in Turkey. It is based on data collected in a study that employed visual ethnography and was conducted between 2013 and 2016 in Drammen's vernacular space, as well as in several villages in Konya province in Turkey, where a significant number of Drammen's Norwegian Turks declared having their roots. The aim of the article is twofold: to visualise the transnational boundaries between the

[1] I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the journal's editors for their valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper.
[2] Quotes from interviews with second and third generation Norwegian Turks. All names of respondents were changed to preserve their anonymity.

local in Turkey and the vernacular in Norway, stressing a back-and-forth character of human mobility that affects not only those who left but also the originating communities; and to investigate researcher-generated photography as a research tool in analysing migrants' belonging and engagement with space. In doing so, the article aims to contribute to the discussion on the urban presence of migrant minorities (Çağlar 2001; Blommaert et.al. 2005; Krase 2012a, 2012b; Krase and Shortell 2011, 2017; Pardo 2020; Prato 2020; Armstrong et.al. 2020).

Photography has proven to be a powerful tool in shaping images of migrants and refugees in the common discourse as either vulnerable or dangerous, the latter contributing to current anti-immigration sentiments in many countries (Szörényi 2006). Even if recognising the limits of participatory visual methods (Cabañes 2017), a number of scholars have employed them to challenge the aforementioned imposed narrations about migrants and refugees that are reproduced in media coverage, aiming to give a voice to actors themselves so as to depict their complex situation by presenting it 'through their eyes' (Oliveira 2016, Mannik 2012, Robertson et al. 2016). While this approach has proven to be valuable, here I raise a question of whether non-participatory visual methods can also contribute to presenting the complexity of migrants' situation, showing their familiarity and rootedness in new homelands and challenging common discourses of the vulnerability, strangeness and threat that migrants supposedly bring.

Gold (2004: 1554) points out that photography as a research tool requires coming into contact with people and the social life with which they engage, drawing attention to the local settings of analysed processes. This article aims to develop this argument, examining how researcher-generated photography helps in grasping the broad context of social life and how it further supports important theoretical statements; here, specifically, the *localised* side of transnationalism. I will demonstrate the ways in which photography has contributed to presenting migrants as located rather than dislocated, uncovering traces of new homeland influences on vernacular facilities and enabling presentation of the complex and shifting identities of people and places, but without determining them as typical of either a minority or dominant group's *culture.*[3]

Transnationality is understood here as 'referring to various kinds of global or cross-border connections' (Vertovec 2001: 573) and an 'analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labour migration' (Çağlar 2001: 607). While the limits of the notion have been articulated by a number of scholars (see the overview by Vertovec 2001: 576-577), it is still recognised as relevant for the analysis of processes that occur beyond the borders of nation states that are, among other things, related to migration. With the help of photography, I demonstrate that transnationality is not suspended between cultures or physical settings, but is localised and dependant on the circumstances present in its *local* surroundings, a fact that is too often omitted both in academia and in the public discourse on migration. I also demonstrate that transnational influences are mutual, affecting not only localities in new homelands, but also

[3] I recognise the analytical problems of the concept of culture, interpreting it here as a process rather than a fixed set of values. I continue with non-italicised typing of the notion.

those situated in places of ancestral origin. I present analyses of transnational spaces as they are exercised by people of Turkish origin settled in Norway, showing how macro processes around transnationality are reflected on the micro and mezzo levels of individuals and small communities. Thus, the focus is on how transnational spaces are created by these local actors in the circumstances of new homelands and vice versa, how they influence the landscape and attitudes in ancestral villages of migrants.

The discussion starts with a theoretical framework of analyses that links Massey's (1994, 2005) theory of places as moments in space and the concept of vernacular landscape developed by Krase (2012a) and Krase and Shortell (2011, 2017). I then explain the methodology of the research presented here that is situated within the tradition of qualitative research and visual sociology, namely the photographic survey (Krase 2012a, 2012b). Finally, I discuss the visual aspects of the transnational space with which Norwegian Turks engage, as it is materialised in Drammen, distinguishing five dimensions of this space: commercial, emotional, symbolic, cultural and political.

From Production of Space to Shifting Identities of Places: Theoretical Assumptions.

Massey (1994) claims that space is multiple and complex and that it occurs in social relationships. Thus, it is not a bounded entity — a flat landscape one passes through. Rather, it comprises an abstract dimension beyond a mere location, namely social relationships ordered by economic, political and cultural influences. Massey brings to the discussion on space the feminist angle of positionality, arguing that individual experiences of space depend on an individual's position in the social structure and hierarchies linked to this space. Among others, these comprise gender, race and class. Consequently, a particular space is experienced differently and may have various meanings for different people.

Modernity divided space from place: space, which comprises broad social relations, no longer needs to be local. Regarding space and place, Massey proposes the following:

> 'I began to develop an argument for thinking of social space in terms of the articulation of social relations which necessarily have a spatial form in their interactions with one another. If this notion is accepted, then one way of thinking about place is as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed, and renewed. Some of these relations will be, as it were, contained within the place; others will stretch beyond it, tying any particular locality into wider relations and processes in which other places are implicated too' (1994: 120).

As such, space represents broader and more abstract processes than a place. Space is a 'concrete abstraction' (Lefebvre 1991: 86) which materialises in the social relationships leading to its creation. Place, in turn, is a moment in space 'formed out of the particular set of social relations that interact at a particular location' (Massey 1994: 168).

Places are products of social interactions. They are multiple, changeable and processual, have various identities composed of a specific social structure, political influences and local culture (Massey 1994: 120). Places are thus not bounded; they are 'unfixed' and dynamic and

they do not require that boundaries be defined (122-152). Massey contends that in the common discourse, places are often assumed to be connected to the particular identities of people and setting boundaries for places equates to setting boundaries for group identities. This is the case with nationalism, which seeks to place national identity and define its 'edges' through territorial boundaries. However, as the identities of places are multiple, processual and unfixed, the actual boundaries of places are blurred and changeable.

Places undergo processes of globalisation. However, this does not mean that they lose their unique character. In contrast, globalisation works within local circumstances, creating new qualities that bring together the global and local. 'There is the fact that this very mixture together in one place may produce effects which would not have happened otherwise' (Massey 2005: 156). Therefore, globalisation occurs locally and has local forms. Drawing on this, the article argues that what is known in immigration countries as ethnic, immigrant, or foreign, occurs in fact in local forms, being influenced by the circumstances of the receiving society.

Thus, space is regarded here as produced in social relationships and influenced by economic, cultural and political factors. Place, in turn, is a moment in space capturing concrete interactions (still ordered by the same influences as space) at a specific moment in time and at a particular location. Places have multiple identities depending on who participates in them and on which occasion. In other words, a place comprises a location, a physical area, as well as the social relations occurring within it, including discourses and cultural, structural and economic influences beyond this mere locality. The character of interactions determines the meaning of the place, transforming it into what it really is at a particular moment for particular people.

Having conceptualised space and place, in the next section I link Masseys' theory to the concept of vernacular, explaining its potential to recognise the influences from both the minority and dominant culture on the creation of places.

Vernacular vs Local

Krase and Shortell (2011: 372) argue that '[v]ernacular landscapes are the interpretive context of the signs of collective identity […]. Signs have meanings related to the patterns and places of urban life'. Considering Massey's (1994) argument of places as moments in space, vernacular places are not regarded as landscapes here, but involve a spectrum of possible spatially located relationships. Vernacular places bear meaningful signs of ethnic identity which are expressed either in public or in private, or in an expressive or phatic way, following the interpretation of Krase and Shortell (2017) of Jakobson's (1960) typology of signs. Expressive signs of belonging involve intended signs of ethnic identification such as flags and foreign writing. Phatic signs of belonging are unintended markers of ethnicity that stem from everyday practices. Examples include the clothing and language used by people who frequent a place.

Vernacular literally refers to the local and indigenous. It recalls the autochthonic understanding of origin. Thus, vernacular may be interpreted as representing the folklore of both minority and majority groups. I suggest benefiting from the possible dual interpretations of vernacular, understood as the habitus of immigrants and ethnic minorities as well as the local and specific of mainstream society. Consequently, while my understanding of vernacular refers

to ethnic facilities and districts, it combines both the traits of the new homeland's society and influences from the ethnic minorities in them. As such, vernacular comprises the ethnic or foreign, but also involves the local, emphasising that the current shape of immigrant or ethnic facilities always depends on the circumstances of the local of new homelands, previous meanings and functions of the space and the broad discourses and relationships between individuals and groups within the new homeland's society. At the same time, vernacular may also constitute a part of ancestral homeland's landscapes when influences from the new homeland's society (that may by analogy be called ethnic or foreign) are reflected spatially in the local (to the ancestral homelands). This second dimension of vernacular is rarely discussed in the literature as it is neither visually obvious nor very common, but as I will demonstrate in this article, it exists.

Drawing the boundary between the vernacular and non-vernacular as well as between the vernacular and global is difficult — sometimes impossible. Blommaert at al. (2005: 217), in line with the aforementioned argument of Massey (1994), note that a mono functional space rarely exists, while the multi-functionality of facilities and public space is common. Sometimes the non-vernacular can become vernacular upon the occurrence of particular interactions and the presence of particular people; for example, when a city square hosts an ethnic market. Furthermore, an ethnic vernacular may in some circumstances become global, depending on who visits and for what reason. The Turkish-run kebab shop may be assumed to be a globalised dining place for ethnic Norwegians, but in ethnic or religious terms it is viewed differently by some Norwegians of Turkish origin due to the halal meat served there. Thus, the boundary between the vernacular and non-vernacular as well as between the vernacular and globalised is situational.

Considering this, I reject drawing the boundaries of vernacular and acknowledge the multiple and shifting identities (Massey 1994) of vernacular facilities which are defined by the circumstances occurring at a particular time. In addition, I argue that vernacular spaces are influenced by the dominant society as well as by minority and global culture. The vernacular, understood as ethnic or minor, is thus always 'host-vernacular', being embedded in the architecture and spatial conditions of the receiving society. Meanwhile, the non-vernacular is often regarded as neutral, while it is in fact marked by the design, rules and discourses of the mainstream society.

This article, employing photography, looks more closely into the vernacular facilities of Drammen that are the moments of transnational space with which Norwegian Turks engage. It seeks to visualise transnational relationships that stand behind the creation of these places, analysing their meaning, design and functions, and exemplifying how immigrant minorities change urban landscapes (Krase 2012, Prato 2020). Since transnational relationships are *per se* mutual, the article refers also to the ancestral villages of Drammenian Turks. It thus seeks to grasp the elements of transnational space that are materialised in vernacular places in Drammen and in Norwegian Turks' ancestral villages, showing how transnationality is *localised*, instead of being suspended in an abstract space of in-betweenness. By doing this, it reflects on the role of researcher-generated photography in advancing theoretical angles of analyses of the complex

situation of migrant minorities. Following Massey's (1994) argument, the article acknowledges multiple identities of vernacular places that shift according to the presence of particular people and circumstances occurring at a given moment in time. These identities may well go beyond transnationality, referring to discourses and relationships different from those characterised by ethnic belonging. Therefore, the transnational character of analysed places is regarded as a dimension that comes to the fore when particular relationships that have transnational character occur within them. Consequently, while the main focus of this article is on visualising transnationality as it is displayed in analysed places and landscapes, it also recognises the links of these units to the dominant society and traces the local influences on them.

Methodology and Sampling

The article employs the methods of visual sociology to analyse transnational places and spaces with which people engage. The data was obtained as a part of a bigger project[4] by using a method of a photo survey developed by Krase (2012a, 2012b) that aims to document systematically the *walked* area through photographs, including all possible elements of the landscape, even though they appear unimportant at first. Initial data collection was supported by guided photo-walks with the members of Norwegian-Turkish communities in Drammen and with the inhabitants of Turkish villages respectively. The collected visual materials comprised a wide range of information from which that of interest was selected in the analysis. Employing visual data in the study was in accordance with the main assumptions of visual sociology (Harper 2012); specifically, that visual data should be treated as a source of knowledge and not as an illustration of findings.

The collected data was interpreted and analysed using MAX QDA software. I distinguished and categorised multiple threads stemming from the visual data. Thus, the categories were not preconceived, but based on the information emerging from the data. The findings revealed five dimensions of Drammen's transnational space the Norwegian Turks engage with, which are discussed in the section on visualising transnationality.

The data was collected in Drammen, Norway and in three chosen ancestral villages of Drammenian Turks in the Turkish province of Konya. Drammen is a mid-sized city situated in the Eastern region of Norway, around 40 km south of the capital city of Oslo. 29% of its population (SSB 2016) is of immigrant background, making it the second most diverse city in Norway. The majority (13.5%; 2,200 people) of inhabitants with immigrant backgrounds are of Turkish origin. They are relatively well settled: 62% of Drammenian Turks have lived in Norway for more than 21 years (Høydahl 2014). The first Turks arrived in Drammen in the late 1960s and early 1970s as so-called guest workers. Today, the Turkish minority in the city

[4] The project focused on belonging, translocational positionality and cultural heritage of people of Turkish origin settled in Drammen, Norway and comprised a collection of in-depth, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, ethnographic observation in and visual documentation of Drammen and ancestral villages of Drammenian Turks in Turkey. It employed qualitative methodology inspired by Clarke's Situational Analyses (2005). The data was collected between 2013 and 2016 (Nikielska-Sekula 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2019).

constitutes a heterogeneous group representing different religious backgrounds of Sunni Muslims and Alevis,[5] and various places of origin, among which rural villages situated in Konya province, and more specifically around the city of Beysehir, prevail.

Konya, considered one of the most conservative areas in Turkey, has more than 1 million inhabitants, many of whom are devoted followers of Islam. Beysehir is a smaller city, inhabited by over 40,000 people according to the 2000 census. While Konya, as the capital of the province, shapes the character of the region, Beysehir constitutes the main urban reference point for the inhabitants of the visited villages. The streets in both Konya and Beysehir are dominated by people with references to Islam inscribed in their clothing: most women wear Islamic veils and a significant number of men wear a Muslim cap.

The ancestral villages of Drammenian Turks are much poorer than the neighbouring cities. In the Sunni villages, men dominate public areas; women are much less visible on the streets than they are in Konya or Beysehir. This is not the case in the Alevi village, where elderly women are active in making contact with newcomers on the streets. While the Sunni villages are relatively young and vibrant, mostly elderly people inhabit the Alevi village, the smallest of the three.

Visualising Transnationality

Based on the findings obtained from analyses of visual data collected in Drammen and in the ancestral villages of Norwegian Turks, I distinguished five dimensions of transnational space the actors engage with which will serve further as analytical categories that bear the characteristics of Weber's ideal types. These dimensions are (1) commercial, referring to economic dependency and exchange of products driven by transnational belonging; (2) emotional, which comprises relationships with people and places structured by ancestral origin; (3) cultural, comprising recreation of traditionally foreign tangible and intangible cultural patterns; (4) symbolic, which refers to phatic and expressive signs of minority ethnic and religious identity, traditionally foreign to a dominant society; and (5) political, covering activism in diaspora organisations and the politics of ancestral homelands. In further sections, I demonstrate how these dimensions materialise in transnational places, making the abstract transnational space visible and localised.

Commercial

The commercial dimension of transnational space refers to the exchange of goods, whose aesthetics, character and form are not popular among the local dominant population, being rather specific to minority group(s). In Drammen, this dimension is well reflected by Turkish-run shops. One of them is the Nisa boutique,[6] established to fill the niche for Islamic women's clothes and provide outfits consistent with the requirements of Islam that are suitable for various occasions, ranging from everyday clothes to wedding dresses. Similar boutiques are very

[5] Sunni Muslims constitute the biggest religious group in Turkey, while Alevi Muslims are the biggest religious minority.

[6] At the time of writing this paper, Nisa had already disappeared from the landscape of Drammen.

common and popular in Turkey. The shop targets people with a Muslim background and others who 'like to cover themselves slightly' (owner, interview). The person who runs the shop is a female first-generation Norwegian of Turkish origin. The shop is mostly supplied by a popular Turkish Islamic fashion brand, Armine (Figure 1); most products are imported from Turkey and, as such, generally reflect the aesthetics of Muslim fashion popular in that country. For those familiar with the trends there, this makes a clear but phatic reference to Turkey. Among other objects, the shop also sells rings with tulips, which, according to the owner, strongly refer to Turkish Islam.

Figure 1. Nisa boutique with Armine's products, Drammen (left). Armine shop, Istanbul (right). Credit: the author.

The walls are decorated with pictures of Istanbul, materialising another dimension of transnational space that I refer to as emotional and which comprises a longing for ancestral origin. This will subsequently be discussed in more detail; however, as observed in Drammen, this longing usually related to villages of ancestral origin, especially when a facility was run by first-generation immigrants from Turkey. However, at the Nisa boutique, a reference was made to urban areas of Istanbul, mirroring the urban shift in identity formation described in the German–Turkish context by Çağlar (2001).

The owner created the interior design of the shop based on her taste and without declared references to any known patterns. However, the presence of the phatic references to Turkish Islam, along with pictures of Istanbul, materialised the transnational space of Drammenian Turks within this place, making it vernacular, even if it lacked expressive signs of Turkish ethnicity, such as flags or descriptions in Turkish.

Another place that reflected well the commercial dimension of Drammenian Turks' transnational space is Merinos Tepper, a shop which sells furniture and carpets imported from Turkey. It has a more modern interior design than other examples of vernacular Turkish facilities. However, most products on offer here are unlikely to be found in shops selling home equipment in Norway, which target the dominant population. The appearance of the products reflects the tastes and patterns popular in Turkey, which are more decorative than the simpler Scandinavian style. Seemingly, the shop lacks references to Turkish ethnicity. However, among the products sold are pictures of Istanbul and a child's bed shaped like a car with Turkish plates. In addition, kitchen products popular in Turkey such as specialised teapots and tulip glasses are sold (Figure 2). These products enabled habits that are popular in Turkey to be maintained, such

as drinking Turkish tea in tulip glasses and preparing specific meals that are popular there. Both Nisa and Merinos therefore reveal a strong commercial interdependency with Turkey that comprises not only the import of goods, but also relies on the tastes and habits popular back there and recreated in Drammen, bringing together commercial and cultural dimensions of transnational space, as is discussed later. This interdependency between people's tastes in Turkey and a demand for specific products addressing these tastes in Drammen reflects macro-processes of transnational trade relationships driven by the global expansion of tastes in particular localities, as are described in the literature (Bestor 2003), on a mezzo level of a local entrepreneurship.

Figure 2. Kitchen equipment comprising teapots and tulip glasses popular in Turkey are available at Merinos Tepper. Credit: the author.

Pécoud (2004: 12) claims that '[g]enerally speaking, business is business: shop owners are understandably concerned with their economic fate and are not obsessed with cultural or identity matters'. Turkish-run commercial facilities in Drammen are primarily concerned with making money, targeting as big a group as possible. The signs of Turkish identity inscribed in them are not exclusive and rather kept neutral. Their identities differ according to the social relations occurring within them at particular time, becoming transnational only on specific occasions. However, as demonstrated, these places are moments in the transnational space of Drammenian Turks, relying on and helping recreate in Drammen tastes and products which are popular in Turkey.

Exercising transnational belonging by Norwegian Turks is reflected in commercial activity in Drammen through import of goods and recreation of tastes popular in Turkey, but it also affects the economy of local entrepreneurs in rural areas in Turkey, presenting another side of the commercial dimension of the transnational space of Norwegian Turks. The activity of local shops in ancestral villages of Drammenian Turks' is dependent on their yearly visits, which contribute significantly to shops' profits. The expectation of profit is reflected in broadening of the assortment for the summer months, when villages are filled with visitors from Norway. Exercising transnational belonging has therefore mutual consequences for particular localities in both ancestral and new homelands.

Emotional

The emotional dimension of transnational space relates to relationships with people and places that go beyond the borders of nation states. This going beyond may be directly reflected by links between people and places situated in different national territories, but also by contacts between people within one national territory that are structured by transnational belonging and oriented on celebration of things that are linked to issues and origins from outside the borders of the nation states they are currently exercised within.

An excellent example of places that materialise the emotional aspect of transnational space are ethnic clubs, also known as teahouses (*çayhane*). These small businesses originally sold tea and provided a space for men to meet, watch TV and play board games. In Drammen, places with similar functions and meanings are mostly co-founded by members whose ancestral origin was usually a similar area in Turkey and the references to this origin are inscribed in their space (Figure 3). Members refer to these places as associations. I suggest that the issue of funding requires they be regarded as private places, an extension of a living room, where access is limited to invited guests and insiders. This further indicates that ancestral origin has a real impact on the access to particular sites of transnational space in Drammen.

Figure 3. Ethnic club in Drammen. A picture of the members' ancestral village is displayed on the wall along with a Turkish flag and a map of Turkey. Credit: the author.

The social relationship structured by the membership in ethnic clubs has resulted in some cases in the creation of different associations, such as sports clubs. In one of the ancestral villages of Norwegian Turks, I spotted a banner of such a club founded by the descendants of immigrants from this village. This shows an interesting circle of impact that involves transnational belonging. Shared local ancestral origin in Turkey has encouraged social relationships between people settled in Drammen, leading to them creating a transnational social space for the activity of ethnic and sports clubs, membership of which was conditioned by this particular ancestral origin. They designed the symbols of this social space, such as the aforementioned banner, and displayed it in the ancestral village of origin, regardless of the fact that the current inhabitants of this village have little, if anything, to do with the new social spaces established in Norway on the basis of ancestral origin of those who left the village more

than a half century ago. The village thus appeared as a landscape with parallel spaces: local and transnational. The transnational space comes to the fore on some occasions, especially upon the presence of Norwegian Turks originating from there. This duality of space is well reflected in the village's architecture, which comprises small stone houses inhabited by the locals and huge dwellings built by Norwegian Turks, with aesthetics that are foreign to the village (Figure 4). The practice of marking the landscape of ancestral homelands with new prominent houses is not unique for migrants from Turkey. As Boccagni (2014) suggested in an Ecuadorian context, the absence of migrants in their villages of origin is contradicted by the *feeling* of their presence through the existence of their newly built houses.

Figure 4. The landscape of the village in Konya province is influenced by the newly built houses of Norwegian Turks, which contrast with the local small dwellings made of stone. The houses serve as holiday residences during yearly visits of Norwegian Turks to the villages of their ancestors. Credit: the author.

Besides ethnic clubs, facilities where membership depends to some extent on ancestral origin are places of worship that address the Turkish population in Drammen: Sunni mosques and the Alevi *cemevi.* While the congregations in mosques are more open and not limited to any particular village of origin, the *cemevi* gathers people of Alevi background from a particular village in Konya province. Both ethnic clubs and places of worship hold celebrations of particular Turkish traditions that are not common in Norway, including Turkish national days, etc. These places are, therefore, one of the most *explicit* moments of the transnational space of Drammenian Turks, where transnational relationships and ancestral origin come to the fore and are strikingly visible. In the following sections, I discuss in detail the cultural and symbolic aspects of transnational space that these places materialise.

Cultural

The cultural aspects of Turkish transnational space in Drammen, as they are understood here, are linked to the habits, behavioural patterns, space decoration, and so on that are traditional to ancestral origin of Drammenian Turks, but recreated in the new settings of the Norwegian city. These influences, however, are sometimes reversed, when cultural patterns and aesthetics typical of Norway are recreated in the ancestral villages of Norwegian Turks, as in the case of houses built by migrants (Figure 4).

In Drammen, while ethnic clubs and places of worship are located in ordinary buildings that do not stand out from the architecture of the neighbourhood, their interior design is kept in accordance with aesthetics similar to the facilities of the same kind in contemporary Turkey: mosques (Figure 5), teahouses (Figure 6) and *cemevis*.

Figure 5. Interior of a mosque in Konya province (left) and in Drammen (right). Credit: the author.

All ethnic clubs in Drammen have square tables covered with colourful tablecloths that enable people to play cards and board games as they are served tea in traditional Turkish tulip glasses from a traditional tea machine. The same elements are typical of teahouses in Turkey, where, similarly to the ethnic clubs, men gather to drink tea, chat, and play board games (Figure 6). Drinking traditional Turkish tea is a common and important practice in Turkey that constitutes an obligatory part of any deeper social relationships. Tea is a sign of hospitality and is served to visitors at private houses, work places, during short meetings and in the shops upon longer transactions. Recreation of this tradition abroad requires, however, specific equipment in the form of a pot and glasses; the export of these goods by local shops in Drammen is therefore crucial here. This confirms the aforementioned interdependency between the commercial and cultural aspects of transnational space of Drammenian Turks: imported commodities are necessary to fulfil cultural patterns of behaviour, and, vice versa, tastes and cultural habits typical of Turkey and reproduced in Drammen drive demand for particular products and trade relationships between Turkey and Norway (see also Çağlar 1997, Savaş 2014).

Figure 6. Interior design of Turkish association in Drammen (left) that is a faithful copy of its Turkish prototype in the members' village of origin (right). Men are playing *tavla*.
Cultural Centre, Konya Province (right). Credit: the author.

All ethnic clubs are equipped with satellite TV that enables exchange of pop culture between Norway and Turkey, such as music and TV channels. The practice of watching Turkish TV — often channels broadcasting for diaspora Turks — is very common among the Norwegian-Turkish population, thus deepening the cultural influences from Turkey. This practice is reflected visually in Drammen by the presence of satellite dishes in immigrant-populated districts. Broadcasting of Turkish TV, however, reflects not only a cultural dimension of transnational space, but also a political one. As argued by some scholars (Gupta 2003: 331), there is a dependency between the creation of national identities and the mass media. Exposure to Turkish TV channels helps people maintain their diasporic identity, thus strengthening their transnational belonging to Turkey.

Besides ethnic clubs, aesthetics typical of similar places in Turkey are recreated by mosques and *cemevi* in Drammen. Sunni mosques are characterised by wooden decorations on the walls, soft carpets adorned with ornaments, and a *mimbar*, a pulpit from which sermons are delivered (Figure 5). The interior space of places of worship thus bear obvious traces of Turkish sacral aesthetics, while the exteriors retain clear traces of the previous use of the space. One of the mosques is located in a former Adventist church, which from outside is therefore reminiscent of a Christian centre in the local Norwegian form (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Turkish mosque in Drammen is located in a former Adventist Church. Credit: the author.

Religious discourse and practices are inscribed in the space of all Turkish-run mosques in Drammen. The Turkish-style design of the interiors creates an opportunity for particular practices such as prayer and reading the Quran, in the way they are done in Turkey. Soft carpets completely covering the floor encourage the practice of removing shoes before entering the mosque and enable prayers without the use of praying carpets. The discourses inscribed in the space recall a particular hierarchy and gender segregation not present in most contexts in Norway. For example, the Imams' position as leaders of the mosques has been replaced by their vulnerable position in Norwegian society, due to their limited skills in Norwegian or English.

The separate space between men and women has recreated the traditional division in Turkey between males and females, which is not acceptable in most public places in Norway. An attempt to provide such a division is also taken seriously by ethnic clubs, which exclusively address men, thereby reflecting the rule common in teahouses in Turkey. Although this traditional gender division is not maintained in Turkish-run businesses in Drammen, where the rule that business is business (Pécoud 2004) enforces inclusiveness, it is inscribed in the spaces of non-commercial places targeting mainly people of Turkish origin, such as mosques and ethnic clubs. However, it should be emphasised here that, being a woman, I was allowed into the ethnic clubs several times, which proves that even these clearly vernacular places, which are strictly oriented on materialising transnational belonging and values, have shifting identities according to who visits them (Massey 1994). Therefore, even if the design of these vernacular spaces enforces or enables particular cultural patterns of behaviour and hierarchies that are not common in Norway, their meaning may change upon the occurrence of particular social relationships that do not relate to transnational belonging.

Symbolic

Symbolic references to transnational space of Drammenian Turks, whether phatic or expressive, are present in all Turkish vernacular facilities in Drammen. Although they are less visible and overwhelming in a commercial context, they are well exposed in private and semi-private facilities such as mosques and ethnic clubs.

One of the most common symbols refers to the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, with the Ottoman coat of arms being a common sign that materialises these sentiments. Another example relates to the foundation of the Turkish republic and was personified in a figure of Atatürk. Both the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and the idea of a Turkish Republic constitute two core pillars of contemporary Turkish national identity. While the latter elicits a more modern and secular vision of the nation state, reference to the Ottoman Empire involves a religious connotation to Sunni Islam as an important part of this identity. These symbols are acknowledged by many all over Turkey and are present in many teahouses there. They are also reflected in Drammen, but they are often adjusted to the local circumstances, conveying the dual belonging of Norwegian Turks (to Turkey and to Norway), as in the case of one ethnic club, which displays a picture of Atatürk alongside a picture of the Norwegian King Olav (Figure 8). In this Turkish vernacular place, such dual belonging was also quite strongly articulated via other symbols inscribed in the space. For example, its front windows feature a logo with a Norwegian and a Turkish flag, and the associations' name is a combination of Turkish and Norwegian words. The presence of Turkish flags is quite popular both in Drammen and in Turkey; however, in Drammen there is a tendency to neutralise the Turkish flag with two Norwegian flags in public places. One Drammenian Turk, when asked about the meaning of this combination, replied, 'In Norway, Norwegian rules are important, and in Turkey, Turkish rules count' (Defne, interview). This statement elicits similar interpretations of integration popular among Norwegian Turks, who share the idea that one should obey the principles of Norwegian society while living in the country and that there are differences

between acceptable behaviour in Turkey and Norway to which one should adjust while acting in different social spaces.

Figure 8. A portrait of Atatürk is displayed alongside a portrait of the Norwegian King Olav in the Turkish ethic club in Drammen. Credit: the author.

The examples of the mixing of Turkish and Norwegian symbols visually proves that transnational belonging, habits, and values are not separated from the local Norwegian reality; therefore, vernacular places always bear traces of the local they act within, being rather what could be tentatively called 'host-vernacular'.

Political

The transnational activism of members of Drammenian-Turkish communities is a fact. There are several diaspora organisations of Turks active in the city, among them Sūlaymanites and Gülenists, the latter accused of being behind the 2016 military coup in Turkey. The Alevi community works under the umbrella organisation of Bektashism. While this activism is not visually present in the city as much as other aspects of the transnational space of Drammenian Turks, there are some signs of it in the city's landscape. For example, the Gülen movement organises a yearly festival that aims to promote minority cultures and, by doing so, it makes itself very visible in the public space of the city. Moreover, some references in graffiti spotted across the city reveal engagement in Turkey's politics and confirms that events there are echoed in Drammen (Figure 9). Therefore, transnational engagement in politics in Turkey, although it does not constitute a core part of everyday life of Drammenian Turks, is present and reflected visually in the city. The interpretation of these signs, however, requires deeper knowledge about the arrangement of political forces and influences in Turkey, and is therefore possible to decode only by insiders.

Figure 9. Graffiti spotted in Drammen that refers to the far-right Turkish Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which is popular in Konya province. Credit: the author.

Conclusions

This article shows various aspects of engagement with transnationality by migrants and their descendants in new and ancestral homelands, proving that these relationships are mutual and localised rather than being suspended in an abstract space of in-betweenness. I have presented five dimensions of a transnational space that the Norwegian Turks settled in Drammen engaged with. Through the study of the transnational relations of the members of the Norwegian-Turkish communities I have aimed to add to the 'understanding [of] social, cultural, political and economic changes worldwide' (Prato and Pardo 2013: 87). The findings have been enhanced by the employment of visual data collection methods that allowed analysis of transnationality as something that is visible and rooted. Transnationality has therefore been presented as a local element, thereby showing that what is foreign, global, or ethnic gains characteristics typical of social, cultural and geographical circumstances of new surroundings when recreated within particular settings. It has emerged that dimensions of the transnational space merged within vernacular facilities, and a boundary between them cannot be drawn as the same elements fall into several categories and are characterised by strong interdependencies between them.

One may argue that the vernacular places discussed here have little to do with the territories of the nations where they are located in the sense that they reflect processes, symbols and economies that go beyond national borders. They not only contain references to Turkey, but they also address needs of the city's minority population that go beyond dominant Norwegian society. On the other hand, these places are regulated by Norwegian legislature and embedded in the landscape of a Norwegian city. Thus, the transnational practices which these facilities enable or address 'do not take place […] "in-between" national territories' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 11), but 'are built within the confines of specific social, economic, and political relations which are bound together by perceived shared interests and meanings' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 13), produced within particular localities and with relation to the dominant society. Transnational practices are localised and are not free from the influences of the local circumstances in which they operate, being therefore not fully independent from the nation

states in which they are situated. Thus, the argument that this article attempts to make is that scholars should pay more attention to local traces inscribed in what is considered transnational, foreign or ethnic, as only in this way can a more comprehensive picture of reality be obtained.

I have demonstrated that researcher-generated photography may be successfully employed to analyse the issues around migration and diversity, especially when there is an interest in thorough examination of micro and mezzo processes within their local surroundings. Visual methods enhance the localised perspective, which enables migrants and their practices to be approached in the context of the settings in which they are exercised, challenging the traditional image of migrants as dislocated and stuck between cultures and places. However, the interpretation of visual elements captured in the pictures should not be separated from the meaning given to them by migrants. Therefore, analyses of researcher-generated photographs have to be supported by active engagement with the field that is allowed by more traditional methods, such as interviews (Gold 2004, Martiniello and Boucher 2017, Oliveira 2016). In other words, photography needs a context and this context has to be provided by and consulted with the participants of the research, so as to reach a nuanced picture of their situation.

A big advantage of photography is that it captures not only objects of primary interest, but also a broader context that is sometimes overlooked by researchers at first glance. Analysing photographs therefore allows not only taking a step back and re-interpreting the meaning of a documented reality, but also coming back to the field to explore details that went unnoticed, but were later identified as important when the photographs were analysed. This would not be possible with traditional ethnography, in which field notes contain information recorded as a researcher works, or on the basis of his or her memory. Moreover, photographs help communicate findings in a powerful way that is able to balance media coverage of migrants. On the other hand, researcher-generated photography bears problems similar to traditional qualitative methods. It is a carrier of information that is exposed to the same interpretation dangers as interviews, field notes, etc. After all, the story that is told is always the researcher's interpretation of the actors' situation, even if the necessary steps of consulting research findings with participants and distancing oneself from the field are taken. Given the similarities in the limitations between the visual and traditional methods, photography may be therefore assumed to be a tool that is not only complementary to, but also equal to traditional methods; however, it works best in triangulation.

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Whitechapel, Dark City: Performative Recuperation of Urban Identity in Gilded Age Chicago's Whitechapel Club[1]

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Chicago was in a phase of negotiating its urban identity in the 'Gilded Age' of the early 1890s. The city took the opportunity presented by the Great Fire of 1871 to reinvent itself as a beacon of a new age of American innovation, culminating in its hosting of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. While this managed reinvention was taking place in the corridors of power, Chicago remained a city of contrasts where the wealth of industry sat uncomfortably next to the deprivation of impoverished communities plagued by the social problems of the industrial era. For some who were aware of this contrast, the Whitechapel Club represented the reality of life in Chicago — a city where violence and mortality were central to the urban character. This article explores the Whitechapel Club's role as a reflection of Chicago's identity of contrasts, as well as the lasting impact it had on shaping the city during the Gilded Age. It focuses on the Club's recuperation of death and morbidity through the use of performative tactics designed to cathartically process the reality of urban life.
Key words: Urban identity, Chicago, social issues, performativity, historical sociology.

Introduction

The early 1890s were a tumultuous period of social development in Chicago. Like other major American cities in the Gilded Age, it was a time that was rife with potential for industrious individuals seeking to make their fortune in a society that was experiencing unprecedented industrialisation (Schneirov 2006). The term 'Gilded Age' is often used to refer to the period of American history between 1870 and 1900 — an era of rapid industrialisation and economic expansion but, also, a time when exponential migration and urbanisation led to abject poverty for many, with the divide between rich and poor becoming ever more pronounced (Schneirov 2006, Flanagan 2018). For this reason, the period is described as 'Gilded', wherein outward displays of opulence belied a society suffering significant social problems beneath a superficial veneer of prosperity. Chicago's geographical location at the crossroads of many of the country's railway lines meant that industry saw the city as a prime location to establish new factories, stockyards and processing plants. This attracted not only entrepreneurs to Chicago, but the working-class labour who were their employees as well. Chicago's growth was rapid, and in the period between 1870 and 1900 the city's population expanded from around 299,000 to 1.7 million (Cumbler 2005). Late 19th-century Chicago was a city of contrasts in many ways. On one hand, it felt the burden common to all growing industrial cities — strained infrastructure, migration, poor living conditions, increased crime. On the other, it was a city that revelled in its ability to reinvent itself after the 1871 Great Chicago Fire, which left 18,000 buildings destroyed and a third of the population homeless (Boda and Johnson 2017). After a concerted period of investment and reconstruction, Chicago saw the 1890s as its triumphant return to the pantheon of American culture, embodied by the decision that it would play host to the World's

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Columbian Exposition in 1893, an event with the express mandate to better the Paris World's Fair only four years prior (Bolotin and Laing 2002). Chicago was a city on the edge, though whether this was the edge of victory or decay depended on the social strata one belonged to.

Living in this society of contrasts required a renegotiation of Chicago's identity, especially important as the city prepared to showcase itself to the world at the 1893 exposition. Chicagoans were forced to confront the grim reality of the city head-on — that, hidden under the veil of industry and innovation, was a city in which vice and violence was omnipresent (Larsen 2003, O'Brien 2015). Grappling with the concept of fleeting mortality was central to understanding the evolution of Chicago's identity in the 1890s. A major part of this process of identity formation was the Chicago establishment's unlikely embrace of the city's gritty criminal reputation. No clearer example of this exists than the Whitechapel Club, a social group of the city's élite that met for five years in the early 1890s. The Whitechapel Club took its names from another crime-riddled metropolis, London, in a reference to the salacious stories of Jack the Ripper's Whitechapel murders that were playing out in the penny press (Sawyers 1986, Lorenz 1998). The Whitechapel Club was a group that represented the best that Chicago had to offer: it was highly exclusive, consisted of men from a range of professional backgrounds, and was (at least, purportedly) dedicated to progressive social change (Lorenz 1998). The practices of the Whitechapel Club were arcane, with members openly fetishizing the type of death and morbidity that working-class Chicagoans grappled with every day. Their fetishization can be seen as performative, a way for privileged Chicagoans to take the city's criminality and, ultimately, incorporate it as a central aspect of the growing metropolis's cultural identity. For many, Chicago's global reputation as a 'crime city' was born in the shadow of the World's Fair, and the serial murders of H. H. Holmes — as the Whitechapel Club shows, Chicagoan's affinity for violence and crime predates the crimes of Holmes, instead reflecting Chicago's organic development as a 'dangerous city'.

Methodology

A common way to analyse a city's sociocultural identity is to examine the institutions upon which that city was built. Often, the most useful way to accomplish this is by engaging with ethnographic fieldwork: utilising such methods gives the researcher opportunity to make firsthand observations of how communities function and, arguably more important, the people who make up those communities. In their discussion of the benefits of urban ethnography, Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (2017) pose that 'while there is no need to fetishise fieldwork – certainly not as an end – its unique value cannot be overstated' (p. 2). Indeed, ethnographic fieldwork provides great insight into a city's function, but where problems arise is in how to conduct an effective ethnographic analysis through the historical lens, absent the ability to conduct ethnographic observation. Here, a broader approach is required that accomplishes the overarching goal of rendering a more thorough and insightful view of a population, reliant on other forms of data aside from participant observation, often the preferred research method of the ethnographer. As Pardo and Prato point out, however, the practice of urban ethnography is not a nil-sum proposition where methods beyond participant observation should be summarily

dismissed: as they assert, 'there is no need for the complexity of urban life to translate into academic complication or disciplinary insecurity' because of a reluctance to engage in interdisciplinary work (2017: 2).

Historical data has traditionally had a significant role in ethnographic research, albeit to mixed reactions from some ethnographic researchers. For example, Peter Jackson (1985) refers to the early work of Robert and Helen Lynd (1929), where historical data was used to elucidate patterns of change in Muncie, Indiana, and provide a baseline for their observational research. Even here, the use of historical data is used to *support* traditional participant ethnography, not as a means to render an ethnographic product of its own. This is, thus, not a new challenge faced by urban researchers: Jackson was writing in the mid-1980s when he argued the need for ethnographic studies 'more adequately situated in terms of their broader historical or social context' that would avoid 'static, cross-sectional accounts' (1985: 165). The best way to avoid this, from a historical perspective, is to expand the use of historical data away from empirical statistics and into the realm of more qualitative, descriptive accounts of life in another period. Reflective accounts like memoirs provide a window into urban life at a very specific moment in time and, when contextualised using contemporaneous materials like news reports, can form the foundation of an urban ethnography that is removed from the events described, yet still reflective of how those events were perceived and interpreted by the people who *were* there.

Much has been written about Chicago's government and industry in the late 19th century, however less has been written about the city's more informal institutions like the Whitechapel Club. One reason for this is that the nature of the group itself precluded scrutiny. While its existence was not necessarily a secret, the exclusivity of the Whitechapel Club was such that its practices were not widely publicised outside of its membership (Lorenz 1998, Banning 2014). This presents problems for researchers, because what information does exist about the Whitechapel Club is limited to the testimony of its members who, over time, spoke about their involvement of the group and its activities. Nevertheless, even if the description of the Whitechapel Club that currently exists is not entirely full and thorough, it still showcases the unique relationship that Chicago's élite had with crime and death — enough, at least, to make this article's case that the group performatively engaged with such subject matter as part of the identity negotiation process.

Literature Review

The study of how cities develop an identity is not one with a long, historic tradition in scholarship. For some, in the past the city was an anomalous social formation; its importance far outstripped by that of the rural or non-urban communities where the majority of a nation's population resided (Sadalla and Stea 1978). It should not be surprising, thus, that sociological urban studies initially entered into the academic discussion in the mid-to-late 19th century — the very period discussed in this article, when rapid industrialisation was forcing mass rural to urban migration across the then-developing world (Sadalla and Stea 1978, Grossman and Jones 1996). Like Chicago itself, early urban studies were split between analysis of architectural features of the city and the experiences of people living in newly-developing 'ghetto' areas

where poverty and crime was rife (York et al. 2011). Indeed, the Chicago School of Sociology led by Robert Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess represents some of the most influential work on the social impact that urban environments have on the population. Taking a macro-based approach to studying the city — and Chicago in particular — these early theorists found that the geographic locations that a person lived in within the city was more predictive of their social outcomes than any other single factor. Effectively, it was the city itself that was the most significant influence on an individual's self-conception and identity, which in turn is a product of the collective identity of the specific part of the city that they are from (Park and Burgess 1925). This interpretation of the city serves as acknowledgement that urban environments are not, by nature, homogenous. Instead, they are venues where individuals from a range of backgrounds are forced to live side-by-side, forming communities in concentric zones with their own (often contrasting) sociocultural identities. It explains the fundamental conflict at the core of Chicago's identity: a city of great, concentrated wealth and power surrounded by concentric zones of urban decay and poverty.

Though useful when it comes to understanding how urban geography develops from a sociological perspective, the Chicago School was more focused on social outcomes than on urban identity. Harold M. Proshansky, a pioneer in the study of urban identity and ethnographic research, found that 'for each of the role-related identities of an individual, there are physical dimensions and characteristics that help to define and are subsumed by that identity' (1978: 147). His argument that physical environment or, as he puts it, 'place-identity' is central to a person's self-conception can be broadly applied to the collective identity adopted by the citizens of a city as a group. Edward Relph (1976) proposed a three-dimensional model of urban identity, arguing that the identity of a 'place' is the result of interactivity between its physical features, the activities that take place there and its symbolic meaning to the broader population. Much of the literature on urban communities has focused on the first of these three factors, the way that physical environments impact on sociocultural identity, but comparably little research has been compiled on the symbolic interactions between a city and the people who live there. Symbolic interaction goes beyond the physical — it is fundamentally grounded in a population's *perceptions* of the place that they call home, and how they are able to recuperate these perceptions — both good and bad — into a salient narrative of the city's identity. Recuperation is a critical sociological theory that suggests it is possible for a society to incorporate 'dangerous' or otherwise threatening ideas, sanitise them and commodify them for its own benefit (Debord 1967, Hutcheon 1989, Stabile 1995, Bleakley 2018). Although they were initially developed as a Situationist critique of capitalist structures, the principles of recuperation can be applied to urban identity formation as well, particularly in cases like 19th-century Chicago, where the grit of urban life was treated with excitement and became a major element of the city's risqué appeal to non-urban visitors and migrants.

The connection between Chicago citizens and death was well covered in Jeffrey Adler's *First in Violence, Deepest in Dirt* (2006), which examined the impact of Gilded Age phenomena like industrialisation and migration on the swelling rate of violence in Chicago in the era. Adler suggests that the preoccupation with mortality was common in the Gilded Age, not just to

Chicagoans but to Americans as a people: he notes that 'Americans had held fatalistic attitudes toward life and death' that were exacerbated by the increasing inequality experienced by a large proportion of the population (Adler 2006: 203). The acquiescence to death that Adler identifies is reflected in the behaviours of the Whitechapel Club which, though seemingly unusual, in the context of the Gilded Age were in keeping with a general community acceptance of inevitable mortality. The inner-workings of the once-secretive Whitechapel Club were incrementally revealed in the press in the years after its decline, partly a result of its membership mostly working as newspaper reporters. The most notable of these journalistic accounts comes from Charles A. Dennis, former city editor of Chicago's *Morning News*. Dennis was not a Whitechapel Club member himself, but through his position as the supervisor of several younger journalists who were members he gained access to a range of recollections about the Club that he compiled and published in a 36-part series in the *Chicago Daily News* in 1936. The Dennis files provide the most thorough account of the Club's culture and practices, especially as his work is derived from multiple sources rather than a single informant. His work provides the basis for the best modern rendering of the Whitechapel Club, written by Larry Lorenz (1998). Lorenz assesses the Whitechapel Club from a journalistic perspective, discussing the group's position as 'one of the most peculiar of all press clubs' (1998: 83). Although he is less focused on the Whitechapel Club's reflection of Chicagoan identity, Lorenz's research draws on a number of journalistic sources to provide a strong depiction of the Club, its membership and their influence on the city's journalistic community.

Discussion. A tale of two Chicagos — The Urban Metropolis in the Gilded Age

In order to understand the urban conditions that facilitated the creation of the Whitechapel Club, it is crucial to recognise that the late 19th century was a transformative period for Chicago. In 1885, the city became home to the first skyscraper in the world — the Home Insurance Building, a ten-story structure in the downtown Loop area that was innovative in its use of structural steel (Webster 1959, Mentzer 2019). In the years that followed, skyscrapers would become a feature of Chicago's skyline, a physical representation of the growing wealth of the city's downtown area. The skyscraper impacted more than Chicago's skyline, however. Before the invention of the skyscraper, cities usually expanded outwards fostering a low-density urban sprawl (Squires 2002). Skyscrapers allowed for a repurposing of scarce land in Chicago: as the central business district expanded upwards rather than outwards, density levels increased in the zones surrounding the city centre, exacerbating the poor social conditions in the city's 'slums' (Park and Burgess 1925, Du et al. 2017). This also impacted on the experience of crime in the city, as the social issues experienced in the impoverished inner-city zones inevitably spread into adjacent areas of the city where wealth was concentrated (Park and Burgess 1925, Larsen 2003). The Gilded Age was a time when the United States began to see the rise of 'new money' — wealth was accumulated by industrialists in manufacturing, steel, the railroads and stockyards, all of which Chicago was known as a hub for in the late 19th century (Larsen 2003, Adler 2006). It was from this cohort that the city's élite came, divergent from the New York City set in that there was less status afforded to legacy and more recognition given to successful

entrepreneurialism. Many of the Chicago élite made their fortune on the back of working-class labour and, as such, there was a mutualistic relationship between the two groups: the fortunes of Chicago's élite were more directly dependent on labour than in places like New York City; thus, the interconnectivity between classes was perhaps more pronounced than it was elsewhere in the United States in this period.

Even from an environmental perspective, Chicago's downtown élite were not entirely shielded from the inherent grime of the city. Indeed, the spread of the 1871 Great Fire has been attributed to Chicago's poor infrastructure, which resulted in both human and industrial waste entering the Chicago River and flowing into the downtown area. It has been speculated that these flammable pollutants were the reason that the river did not provide an effective firebreak, causing the blaze to 'jump the river' from the poorer South Side to the more affluent North Side (Boda and Johnson 2017). As much as the severity of the 1871 fire was the product of unsustainable urban growth, it was also the fundamental reason that Chicago was a city on the rise by the time the Whitechapel Club was formed eighteen years later. Although it was an unmitigated disaster for the city, the Great Fire gave Chicago an opportunity to rebuild in a purposeful manner, and effectively to take control of shaping its urban identity. Unlike other cities, where civic leaders were forced to work around established urban landscapes, the damage rendered by the fire meant Chicago was in many ways a blank slate that was primed to be reinvented for the Gilded Age (Cuff 2009). It facilitated the city's rise as an architectural powerhouse, which in turn set the stage for the city to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Distinct from other global events like the Olympic Games, the 'World's Fair' was not awarded by a centralised committee. Instead, it was a model adopted for major exhibitions around the world, such as the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition held in London and, only four years prior to the Chicago event, the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition. The decision was made for the United States to host a World's Fair to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's 'discovery' of North America, with the United States Congress given the power to choose a city to host the event, formally dubbed the 'World's Columbian Exposition' (Larsen 2003). There was a perception that hosting the World's Fair would considerably benefit the city chosen, contributing to an increase in economic investment and a boost in real estate values, resulting in stiff competition for the honour between Chicago, St Louis, Washington DC and, notably, New York City.

Ultimately, Chicago was selected over New York City based on a campaign that sold the city as location that possessed 'abundant supplies of good air and pure water […] ample space, accommodations and transportation' that their rivals in New York City did not (Lederer 1972: 389). The Chicago pitch inherently played into the perception of New York City as an urbanised locale which possessed the usual social problems afflicting major cities in the Gilded Age: overcrowding, poverty and crime. Chicago was cast as a contrast, a safe space where there were extensive patches of 'empty' land to develop for the World's Fair (Lederer 1972). The portrayal of Chicago by World's Fair organisers was a far cry from the experience of Chicagoans living outside the affluent Loop and, in a respect, is reflective of the 'two Chicagos' that existed in the

Gilded Age. While the World's Fair campaigners presented Chicago as a sanitised form of urban life, this was not the experience for many Chicagoans existing outside the affluent 'bubble': the geographical location of Chicago at the 'crossroads of the nation' meant it was the ideal place for industry to develop, using Chicago's access to the railroad network to ship products to all corners of the nation. Prominently, Chicago was home to a robust meat trade, with the slaughterhouses of the Union Stock Yard on the fringes of the inner-city in many ways marking a physical barrier between the powerful capital of downtown Chicago and the poverty-stricken working-class communities beyond (D'Eramo 2002). When pitching the city as a safe, clean alternative to New York City, the official biography of Chicago ignored the experience of this 'other Chicago'. In some respects, this was part of the World's Fair legacy: the process of selling an 'ideal' Chicago by its very nature excluded the working-class citizens that did not fit comfortably with the narrative the city was pitching for itself. Ultimately, it reinforced the boundaries between the 'two Chicagos' — one, a safe and aspirational Gilded Age city and, the other, a decaying metropolis not dissimilar to that the World's Fair campaign derided in New York City.

Winning the right to host the World's Fair over eastern rival New York City was a coup for Chicago, a recognition that it was no longer 'a greedy, hog-slaughtering backwater' and was, instead, the nation's leader in fields like commerce, manufacturing and architecture (Larsen 2003: 13). It is a common misconception that Chicago's campaign to host the World's Fair was driven by the economic benefit it would hold for the city. While this was a central aspect of the sales pitch that was devised to ensure Chicagoans were on board with the World's Fair, the reality is that the event cost the Chicago-based organising committee what would be the equivalent of more than half a billion dollars in the twenty-first century (Larsen 2003, Rosenberg 2008). Instead, the World's Fair was an exercise in identity development — an effort by Chicago's business and political élite to fast-track its acceptance in the pantheon of America's great cities, and to overcome the regional prejudices emanating from eastern rivals like New York City and Boston.

A City in the Shadows — Forming the Whitechapel Club

The Whitechapel Club initially formed as a response to the bleeding of the dark, deprived elements of the city into the lives of Chicago's privileged establishment. As Lorenz (1998) notes, the founders of the Whitechapel Club were primarily disaffected members of Chicago's Press Club, driven out of that institution by a combination of the costliness of its fees and the more traditional and culturally refined tone expected of its membership. The breakaway element who formed the Whitechapel Club in 1889 were mostly young, 'wild and erratic geniuses' who rejected conventional decorum in favour of social realism (McGovern 1915: 1005; Dennis 1936b). For the most part, the membership register of the Whitechapel Club remained a secret to outsiders; however, personal memoirs and other anecdotal memoirs allowed Larry Lorenz (1998) to identify a total of 94 members — of this number, 39 members were confirmed as newspapermen. Journalists represented the largest single subgroup in the Whitechapel Club and, perhaps unsurprisingly, the group held this profession to a higher

standard than most: editors or reporters with the trade papers were not permitted to join the Whitechapel Club, with the existing cohort of reporters seeing these publications as merely vehicles for advertising rather than genuine forms of journalism (Lorenz 1998). It is no coincidence that the journalists who were at the core of the Whitechapel Club more often came from the city or police rounds of their publications, rather than the business or finance departments — it was this group that regularly came into contact with the deprived areas outside the concentrated wealth of the Chicago Loop, and saw firsthand the issues experienced by these communities that their social peers were shielded from (Lorenz 1998, Brian 2014). For many who would later join the Whitechapel Club, this exposure to a 'different Chicago' triggered a personal identity crisis. Chicago writer James Weber Linn claims that the pronounced social deprivation experienced by the young journalists of the Whitechapel Club forced them to re-evaluate 'whether this was a world of even-handed justice […] [and] whether the papers they worked for were altogether a civilising and regenerating influence' (Linn 1937: 38). Like the city itself, the members of the Whitechapel Club were consistently faced with the extreme contrasts of the city, pulled between the opulent wealth of their downtown offices and the impoverished communities that they were dispatched to report on.

It was from within the tumultuous, nebulous social context of the late 1890s that the Whitechapel Club was created, a subversive and anarchical backlash to the carefully cultivated image of World's Fair era Chicago as an emergent city of the future. Again, like so many aspects of Chicago's identity, the Whitechapel Club served as a direct counterpoint to this vision: rather than a city reborn from the ashes of the Great Fire, the Whitechapelers viewed Chicago as a place where death and decay were rife. The question of why the Whitechapelers were so fascinated by death is interesting: Chicago was not alone in the United States (or, indeed, the world) as a city where death was common. Perhaps the best explanation for this lies in the membership of the Whitechapel Club. Although the Whitechapelers had regular exposure to the 'other' Chicago, the Club members did not generally come from working-class communities. Instead, they adopted the role of outside observers, which placed the experience of the poor in stark contrast to their own privileged lives in Chicago's affluent downtown milieu. The Whitechapelers were, to a great extent, the *enfant terrible* of 'polite' Chicago, shocked by what they found outside their social bubble. As a result of their own community generally showing minimal interest in the problems of the poor, the Whitechapelers were prone to behaving unconventionally in an effort to process their experiences.

While their corporate employers were heavily invested in the World's Fair narrative of Chicago, the Whitechapelers knew that the reality was far different. Indeed, in some ways it was the significant cohort of Whitechapelers who worked in the print media that gave the Club its primary power in shaping Chicago's identity: the Whitechapel Club served as a venue for journalists to discuss the social problems facing the city and, while the Whitechapel Club itself was not a lobbyist organisation for the most part, the discussions it hosted and the worldview it helped cultivate among members translated into the journalism they published, thus influencing wider perceptions of Chicago. That the city's élite wilfully turned a blind eye to the social issues plaguing the city only reinforced the Young Turk perspective that Chicago's establishment was

too conservative and traditional to understand the true identity of the city that they claimed to represent (Dennis 1936b, Dennis 1936d, Lorenz 1998). Charles Goodyear Seymour, the Club's inaugural president, was notorious in Chicago's journalism community for his open disdain for the hypocrisy of Gilded Age society — perhaps part of the reason he was chosen to lead the Whitechapel Club in the first place, along with humourist and Club co-founder Finley Peter Dunne. Seymour, a general duties reporter for the *Chicago Herald*, often published stories that were purposefully designed to shed light on the contrast between the 'two Chicagos'. On one occasion, dispatched to cover the city's annual charity ball, Seymour related an incident he witnessed where two young homeless women were removed from the site of the ball by police to make way for the city's wealthy élite who were — purportedly — there to raise money for the destitute (Dennis 1936d, Lorenz 1998). Seymour's targeting of the Chicago establishment no doubt would have been unwelcome in the traditional circles of the official Press Club, again showcasing the major role that awareness of social harm experienced by Chicago's less affluent population had on the foundation of the countercultural Whitechapel Club.

Performativity and Recuperation — Morbidity and Death as Identity Negotiation

Charles Goodyear Seymour was not only the founding leader of the Whitechapel Club, he also gave the group its unusual name. Seymour was sitting with journalist Frederick Upham Adams at Koster's saloon, which would provide a venue for the Whitechapel Club, when a swarm of newsboys rushed in to announce the latest Jack the Ripper killing in London's East End (Dennis 1936b, Lorenz 1998). While the Ripper murders did not inspire the creation of the Whitechapel Club — it was already, in some form, in the process of being formed — it did guide the shape that the group ultimately assumed. In many ways, the Ripper motif provided perfect symbolism for a group that was highly concerned with casting light on the myriad of social issues facing underprivileged communities in Gilded Age Chicago, and the United States more generally. Since 1888, the Whitechapel murders have been inherently tied to the venue in which they took place: the dilapidated, violent and poverty-stricken rookeries of Victorian London (Godfrey 2014). Enshrined in the cultural zeitgeist by writers like Charles Dickens and Jack London, the iconography of Victorian London is immediately evocative of a specific time and place. The Whitechapelers of Gilded Age Chicago would have seen the similarities between their city and the Ripper's London, where violent murder was committed against a backdrop of industrial urban decay. The Whitechapel Club operated at a time when there was little sense of community in a rapidly-expanding Chicago and, for that reason, it was common for the city's citizens to disappear without a trace, only to be found murdered sometime later (Larsen 2003, Adler 2006). In this, the Whitechapel Club saw comparisons with the Whitechapel murders, which (in their own social context) shone a spotlight on the correlation between poor living conditions and moral deviance, in relation to both the murders themselves and the 'fallen women' killed.

Central to this perspective is that Gilded Age society was an inherently hierarchal structure: like their London-based counterparts, the Whitechapel Club questioned whether the poor were responsible for their own conditions, or if these conditions were in fact a result of the ever-widening gap between rich and poor in the United States. It was not coincidental that

most of the motifs adopted by the Whitechapel Club, such as the skull of a Native American woman or the noose used to hang a Western outlaw, were symbolic of American colonialism in the West, not relics of their own urban environment (Dennis 1936a, Lorenz 1998, Larsen 2003). Again, this suggests a fascination with insatiable American expansion, and its impact on those who stand in its way, but also a desire to process this concept in a way that is removed from the lived experience of Club members, allowing the Whitechapelers to deal with the concept of death and morbidity, recuperating the idea but stopping short of engagement with the specific trauma taking place in the 'other' Chicago. For the Whitechapelers, Jack the Ripper was the embodiment of Gilded Age inequality and a cipher for all the social issues that they covered on a daily basis. Their fetishization of the Ripper was undoubtedly tongue-in-cheek, but at the same time served as a recognition of the natural endpoint for social decline in the city: violence and, ultimately, death.

Unlike other press clubs or social organisations of Chicago's Gilded Age, the Whitechapel Club was highly performative in the way that it operated, to the point of eccentricity. Although Seymour was the first leader of the Club, and chaired the Club's meetings, the position of 'president' was technically held by another: Jack the Ripper. On convening each meeting, the Whitechapelers would leave an empty chair for the Ripper in the event he deigned to show up, a performative act that again reflects that Club's purposeful engagement with the morbidity of urban life (Banning 2014). This performativity was not limited to the Ripper iconography, but to death itself. Decorations were fashioned out of the skulls of the mentally ill supplied by Whitechapeler and hospital superintendent Dr John C. Spray (Lorenz 1998). The central meeting table was shaped like a coffin, its centrepiece the skull of a young Native American girl that Seymour had brought back from an assignment in the American west (Dennis 1936a). There were other macabre 'souvenirs' from the west dotted around the Whitechapel Club rooms, including blood-stained blankets of Native American warriors, pistols used as murder weapons and nooses used for hanging the outlaws who used them (Dennis 1936a, Lorenz 1998, Brian 2014). At this point, it is important to make clear that the Whitechapel Club's engagement with death was never more than symbolic and performative. There is no evidence that members ever participated in violence or murder, only that they collected the morbid mementos of such acts. Rather, the Whitechapel Club's focus on murder and death was a physical representation of what many of them already did in their daily lives — engage with human suffering from the outside, and recuperate it into a form that was palatable for public consumption.

Recuperation is an important facet of identity formation, in the sense that it allows individuals to reconcile unsavoury (but unavoidable) realities, and to incorporate them into their self-conception in a way that contributes to building identity, not challenging it. The quest to reconcile the social problems experienced by Chicago's underprivileged with the innovative, wealthy city of the future promoted in the lead-up to the 1893 World's Fair was a central driver of the Whitechapel Club's formation (Larsen 2003, Rosenberg 2008). Before the members could accept urban decay and social deprivation as central to Chicago's identity, however, it was important first to negotiate their relationship with death — an ever-present reality of urban

life for the communities they reported on (Lorenz 2003, Banning 2014, Brian 2014). To recuperate the tragedy and finality of death in a way that allowed it to become a part of the 'real' Chicago identity, the Whitechapel Club adopted a practice of mocking the subject (Lorenz 1998). In doing so, the natural fear of death was mitigated by constant exposure, even immersion, in symbolic totems. This is not to say that death was not treated seriously by members of the Whitechapel Club, many of whom were journalists, doctors and police officers that were exposed to death to one degree or another every day. Instead, the mocking of death and rejection of the grief that conventionally accompanies it served as a cathartic process that helped Whitechapel Club members to cope with Chicago's inherent brutality. That the Club's activities and traditions were excessively performative, even ridiculous, was essential to the recuperation process. Performativity provided a necessary buffer between the reality on the streets and the hyper-reality created by the Whitechapelers, providing a space for members to consider challenging concepts of mortality faced in the course of their work without revisiting the trauma of actually experiencing it firsthand (Gingrich-Philbrook 1997, Brian 2014). This was important not just for the individuals in the Club, but for the development of the city's identity itself. The mainstream portrayal of Chicago as a bright beacon of opportunity was rejected by the Whitechapelers, who did not see the city they knew reflected in this depiction. The separation of the Whitechapel Club from the other established social and professional clubs of the period was a reaction to this, and a clear sign of the schism between establishment and radical perspectives on Chicagoan identity.

The Fall of Whitechapel — An End to Performative Identity-building in Chicago

Though the Whitechapel Club was not formally deregistered until 1902, it had transformed into a largely different group by 1894 and, for the most part, no longer existed in its original form. A number of micro- and macro-events around this time impacted on the Club's decline, including the 1892 death of Club visitor Morris A. Collins. The president of a group called the Dallas (Texas) Suicide Club, Collins was invited to the Whitechapel Club by 'fringe' member Honore Joseph Jaxon, a union organiser (Dennis 1936c). An advocate for legalised suicide, Collins killed himself shortly after his visit to the Whitechapel Club — in some recollections (perhaps apocryphal) he was 'taunted' to lead by example by founding Whitechapeler Frederick Adams (Lorenz 1998). If the connection between Collins's suicide and his visit to the Whitechapel Club was in any doubt, his final instructions were addressed to Jaxon, where he requested that the Whitechapel Club take possession of his body, dissect it for scientific research and burn what remained (Read 1930, Lorenz 1998). The Club went to great effort to fulfil Collins's request, claiming his body from the morgue and transporting it to the Indiana dunes where Collins was cremated in a ritual ceremony performed by the Whitechapelers (Read 1930, Dennis 1936e). Collins's suicide and the active involvement of Whitechapelers in cremating his body, still considered an unholy practice in Gilded Age society, would have reminded members of the reality of the mortality that they usually mocked and provided a blow to the sense of hyper-reality that usually provided a buffer between reality and performativity.

In many ways, Collins's funeral pyre on the Indiana dunes was a last hurrah for the Club, which had moved in early 1892 from Koster's to a new headquarters at 173 Calhoun Place — a costly endeavour that resulted in the Club falling into debt, unable to pay vendors or the landlord (Lorenz 1998). The move led to a concerted change in the Club's membership, which in turn impacted on its adherence to tradition. While the Whitechapel Club had previously been strict on its membership rules, the need for increased capital to fund the group's activities led to a loosening in the restriction that only two members of any profession should ever be admitted. Ultimately, this resulted in a less socially conscious membership made up of businessmen who coveted the Whitechapel Club for its reputation and exclusivity rather than its focus on Chicago's deprived (Whitlock 1916, Mott 1960). The Whitechapeler's inability to keep up with their payments, despite including some of the most prominent members of Chicago society, was also affected by the Panic of 1893, an economic depression that made it no longer viable for members to continue supporting financially a social club that did not offer any return on investment (Stevens 1894, Carlson 2005). The Whitechapel Club's decline was not because its remit for social change had been achieved — indeed the Panic of 1893 continued until 1897, a period in which the conclusion of the World's Fair only added to Chicago's social woes by returning thousands of workers employed by the fair to unemployment and poverty (Larsen 2003). Instead, the Whitechapel Club ended because the group itself experienced recuperation, overrun and sanitised by new, establishment members who were not aligned with the values expressed in the Club's original charter.

Conclusion

There was little need for the Whitechapel Club by the mid-1890s, at which point the inherent contrasts in the city's identity were readily apparent to Chicagoans. Originally, the Whitechapel Club had formed as a reaction to the city's reluctance to even accept the significant disparities that existed between the wealthy, privileged downtown and the deprived inner-city that sat just outside the Loop (Park and Burgess 1925). To correct this imbalance, the Whitechapel Club did not just acknowledge the social problems of Gilded Age Chicago, it embraced them totally. Its members operated on the periphery of Chicago society — though most were professionals, and nominally privileged, their profession routinely put them in a position to bear witness to the brutality and morbidity of the city that their more senior colleagues did not (Read 1930, Lorenz 1998, Brian 2014). It is not coincidental, with this in mind, that the Whitechapel Club was founded and led by muckraking journalists at a time when reporting on social problems in the urban environment was prioritised in much of the press. The difference in perspective that Club members had on what life in Chicago *actually* was like for much of the city's population is central in understanding why the Whitechapel Club splintered from the traditional professional clubs of the era. Whitechapelers kept a foot in both upper- and lower-class society, and were better positioned than most to recognise the contrasting nature of the city. The formation of the Whitechapel Club was a result of this unique viewpoint on Chicago's emerging urban identity. For as much the practices of the Whitechapel Club were performative exaggerations designed to ridicule the concept of mortality, they served a practical purpose. These arcane rituals gave

Whitechapelers the chance to renegotiate their relationship with death, normalising the subject and allowing them to process what was a common fact of life in 1890s Chicago.

As the twentieth-century approached, eccentric groups like the Whitechapel Club were no longer necessary for the simple reason that there was no longer a pressing need for Chicagoans to negotiate the identity of the city, and their place within it. In the early 1890s, it remained unclear what kind of city Chicago was — for the élite, it was a legitimate contender to wrestle the title of America's first city from New York City but, for the less fortunate, it was a cruel and unforgiving place. The members of the Whitechapel Club were among the first to recognise that determining the city's identity was not a binary choice between these two versions of Chicago. As they recognised, Chicago was both: it was opulence and poverty, sanitised boulevards and crime-ridden alleys. In some respects, the Whitechapel Club was outlived by its legacy. Members of the Whitechapel Club went on to become some of the city's greatest muckrakers — journalists dedicated to shining a light on poverty and the human condition (Lorenz 1998). These muckrakers continued to shape Chicago's identity as a city of contrasts, a concept that was pioneered by the Whitechapel Club. Although the Whitechapel Club was regularly (and understandably) criticised as an eccentric oddity of the Gilded Age, its unusual practices were a product of the cultural identity negotiation that Chicago was undergoing in this period. The engagement of Chicago's privileged élite with such a performatively macabre social group reflected a blurring of the lines between two societies that existed within the city limits, and through their actions they helped establish this incongruity as a fundamental aspect of Chicagoan identity well into the future.

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Impact of Waste Disposal Sites on Property Value in Moscow, Russia[1]

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This study analyses the impact of waste disposal sites on property value in Moscow, Russia and outlines contemporary hedonistic sustainability initiatives in some European and Asian countries. A case study is presented to show the modern scale of urban gentrification and neighbourhood revitalization within the Moscow metropolis. The research methodology comprises the analysis of property datasets and a cross sectional survey of Moscow residents. The model demonstrates the correlation between average property prices within the studied areas and their proximity to waste disposal sites. Data analysed points to the average price of private and commercial real estate considering factors such as accessibility, distance from the city centre and other physical and social factors. Findings reveal that properties located close to waste disposal sites were relatively undervalued by as much as 18% when compared to similar middle-income group housing and 36% when compared with higher-income group housing. Property prices also increased by every additional kilometre away from the source of pollutants despite being of further distance from the city centre. A case of social inequality is also largely felt between Moscow city and its suburb.
Keywords: Gentrification, hedonistic sustainability, property value, waste disposal sites, neighbourhood revitalization.

Introduction and Study Objectives

It is estimated that 55% of the world's population lives in cities, this number is expected to increase to 68% by 2050.[2] Urban planning systems are therefore faced with sustainability challenges posed by urban population growth rates (Prato and Pardo 2013). Housing, transportation and waste management are some of the key issues being evaluated by most governments in preparation for the growth of their urban centres. The Russian Federation is currently focused on the large-scale reform of its waste management system, this is key in driving sustainable development, especially for large urban settlements like the Moscow metropolis. Waste generation has increased drastically over the past decade as a result of urban population growth rate,[3] housing boom and the new consumerism culture. This sudden surge in waste generation has led to landfill overfilling, as the post-soviet waste management infrastructure is simply unable to cater to such volumes. This stagnation in the waste processing cycle has led to environmental degradation in communities in close proximity to industries, landfills and waste disposal sites, thereby triggering numerous community protests and public petitions. The problem of utilization, processing and disposal of waste requires a systematic approach and operational solutions tailored to the socio-cultural norms of the citizenry. It is believed that the efficiency of the new environmental policy reforms and the introduction of

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[2] United Nations: https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html
[3] Russia's Urban Population Growth Rate
https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL?locations=RU

green technology will provide assurance to investors that real estate value will not decline due to, or depend heavily on the proximity of properties to industries, landfills and waste disposal sites.

This situation is definitely worth analyzing, especially in light of the recent real estate infrastructure boom in Moscow following the adoption of the *2017 renovation program* which threatens the demolition of housing estates built in the early 1950s and 1960s (Gunko et al. 2018). According to the news outlet *vedomosti*,[4] over 5.5 million square meters of real estate was commissioned in the first half of 2019, including 2.2 million square meters of housing, which is three times that commissioned in the same period the previous year. According to the Russian federal bureau of statistics Rosstat,[5] in the first half of 2019 over 29,880 new apartments were commissioned in Moscow and 47,409 in the Moscow region. Mass housing projects are popping up everywhere in Moscow and its suburbs, thereby redefining the cityscape. Real estate pricing in Moscow is primarily determined by a number of factors, such as the property's proximity to mass transportation (subway, bus and tram), distance from the city centre, floor space per square meter and access to utilities and social services (clinics, schools, and so on). Lower asking prices in areas close to waste disposal sites may therefore seem a lucrative offer especially for young families who cannot afford more expensive options.

The present study looks into the current pricing of real estate (specifically, residential housing), based on property's proximity to waste disposal sites as compared to other areas located farther away with better ecological attributes. The discussion seeks to answer the following questions: Are ecological factors considered to be key attributes when selecting a property in Moscow? Does the proximity to landfills and waste disposal sites have a negative impact on property value in Moscow? What is the average property price variance for properties located close to landfills by distance (in Kms)?

The null hypothesis applied for the data analysis states that the location of landfills has no negative impact on property pricing in Moscow. Our alternate hypothesis states that the location of landfills has a negative impact on property pricing in Moscow.

The following sections present a comprehensive outlook on the 'Moscow' study area in light of recent housing demands and current waste management challenges. A review of relevant urban planning theories and literature is presented. The methodology and findings describe the methods used in the quantitative and qualitative research and the findings. Finally, we offer suggestions and recommendations for urban planning and municipal policy.

Study Scope: Moscow, Russia

Moscow covers an area of 2561 square kilometres, with a population of 12.5 million.[6] It is the most populated city in Russia and second most populated city in Europe. The city comprises 12 administrative districts, or *okrugs* (subdivision of state administration), which are further

[4] https://www.vedomosti.ru/realty/articles/2019/07/08/806121-vvod-zhilya-v-moskve-priblizhaetsya-k-rekordam

[5] https://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d04/144.htm

[6] www.macrotrends.net

subdivided into 123 *raions* (local municipal districts). The city shares its boundaries with the Moscow region (Moscow Oblast) and has notably been expanding outwards; in July 2012, part of the Moscow region currently known as the Novomoskovsky (New Moscow) and Troitsky *okrugs* were transferred to Moscow (Figure 1). The Moscow city and Moscow Region are commonly identified jointly as the Moscow Megapolis (Porfiryev and Bobylev 2018). Nonetheless, social inequalities exist between the two regions, as officially registered residents of Moscow city are afforded numerous advantages, such as facilitated administrative processes, social welfare and access to numerous subsidies (Vershinina et al. 2018).

KEY	District	Housing Price (Jan-20)			Dec-19
		RUB	USD	EUR	
1	Central District	313,646	5,091	4,581	-0,3%
2	Northern District	176,546	2,865	2,579	+0,8%
3	Northeast District	157,454	2,556	2,300	+0,1%
4	Eastern District	163,442	2,653	2,387	+0,8%
5	Southeast District	150,407	2,441	2,197	+1,2%
6	Southern District	158,816	2,578	2,320	+1,1%
7	Southwestern District	207,606	3,370	3,032	-0,1%
8	Western district	194,561	3,158	2,842	+0,9%
9	Northwest District	183,938	2,985	2,687	-0,2%
10	Zelenogradsky District	134,409	2,182	1,963	+1,1%
11	Novomoskovsky District	134,409	2,182	1,963	+1,1%
12	Troitsky District	134,409	2,182	1,963	+1,1%

Figure 1. Administrative districts[7] and housing prices[8] in Moscow, Russia. Adapted from www.irn.ru by the authors.

The city is characterised by a mix of baroque and neo-Russian historical buildings, post-revolution structures and modern high-density apartment blocks. Over the past decade residential housing has been on the rise with about 37 million square meters built between 2011 and 2019.[9] Moscow ranked 6th globally in the CBRE Global Report[10] with a growth rate of 8.9% in 2018. This was attributed to low unemployment rates and attractive credit and mortgage facilities especially for young families with several children who receive government subsidies and welfare support. Property prices are highest in the city centre and western districts (Figure 1). Housing in the outer districts (Zelenogradsky, Novomoskovsky and Troitsky) is relatively lower but has been steadily increasing in value since 2015 and, more recently, following the announcement of new social infrastructure and rail lines. New social infrastructure, including schools, clinics and parks, as well as public transportation, has been a key priority for the government and is being developed to complement the city's expansion. One of such projects is the city's subway (Metro) expansion over 120 Kilometres (66 new subway stations)

[7] Stan Shebs [CC BY-SA 3.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)]

[8] https://www.irn.ru/

[9] https://stroi.mos.ru/news/doklad-zamiestitielia-mera-moskvy-v-pravitiel-stvie-moskvy-m-sh-khusnullina

[10] https://www.cbreresidential.com/uk/en-GB/content/moscow

developed between 2010 and 2018.[11] Currently, the *Third Interchange Circuit* (TIC) and *Moscow Central Diameters* (MCD 1-5) are under construction; TIC is an outer circular ring of the current subway network covering 69 Kilometres and 31 stations and is aimed at connecting 31 city districts; project completion is scheduled for 2020. The MCD are outward routes connecting Moscow city with the suburbs (regions); currently MCD-1 (54 Kilometres, 28 stops) and MCD-2 (80 Kilometres, 33 stops) are nearing completion. Transportation routes provide important metrics when comparing property prices, especially in relation to landfills.

Figure 2. Average property prices in Moscow by Housing type 2020. Adapted by the authors.

Air quality in Moscow has generally improved since 2006. However, municipal waste remains a high concern, due to indiscriminate dumping and overcapacity of existing landfills (Bobylev et al. 2015). Ecological assessment in Moscow usually considers the following factors:

- Pollution from waste incineration plants, thermal power plants and chemical industries;
- Wind direction promoting air pollution from the aforementioned industries;
- Air pollution from densely populated highways especially around the area of MKAD ring road;
- The presence of nuclear facilities (radiation).

Figure 3 below depicts the impact radius of three main waste incineration plants in Moscow and this study evaluates the effect of property pricing near these sites.

Government subsidies are currently given to citizens living in close proximity to landfills and waste disposal sites, for instance up to 70% discount on waste management fees is applied to those who live within a 2-Kms radius from landfills and other objects of MSW handling.[12]

[11] https://www.mos.ru/en/city/projects/metro2022/

[12] Moscow Region Government Website: https://mosreg.ru/sobytiya/novosti/news-submoscow/kak-zhiteli-podmoskovya-budut-platit-za-vyvoz-musora

Type of Housing Structure	Average Apartment Price Jan-20			Dec-19
	RUB	USD	EUR	
Old panel (5-storey and other apartments with a small kitchen)	153,580	2,493	2,243	+0,9%
Typical panel (9-14 floors, standard areas)	157,421	2,555	2,299	+0,3%
The modern panel (16 floors and above, non-satandard areas)	168,586	2,736	2,462	+0,9%
Old brick (5-storey and other apartments with a small kitchen)	168,668	2,738	2,464	+0,4%
Stalin blocks and typical brick (6-11 floors)	195,050	3,166	2,849	+0,9%
Modern monolith-brick (monoliths, brick)	198,852	3,227	2,904	+0,8%
All panel and block houses	159,862	2,595	2,335	+0,7%
All monolithic and brick houses	187,523	3,044	2,739	+0,7%
Living Space				
Studio apartments	175,768	2,853	2,567	+0,5%
One bedroom apartments	178,036	2,890	2,600	+1,3%
Two bedroom apartments	172,016	2,792	2,512	+0,6%
Large apartments	185,791	3,015	2,714	-0,1%
Source: https://www.irn.ru/index/				

Figure 3. Impact Radius of Incineration Plants in Moscow (2017/18). Source: https://mosnov.ru/

Literature Review

A number of research studies have established the correlation between property value and proximity to waste disposal sites or landfills. Empirical evidence often indicates that hedonic pricing on property is regressed by approximately 5-7% per 1.6 Kilometres relative distance of the property from such locations, and the effect on pricing is often felt on properties that are situated within a 3 to 6 Kilometres radius of landfills or waste disposal sites. The most affected (as much as 20% to 30% price reduction) are properties located within a 400-800 Kilometre radius (Nelson et al. 1992, Akinjare et al. 2011). Wind direction also seems to play a key role when reviewing the surrounding ecology of the property in question (Li and Li 2018), as does the volume of waste being disposed at nearby landfill sites (Ready 2010). These past studies are quite relevant to this research as we consider property distance, air quality and landfill capacity in our analysis.

There are also studies that show no negative impact on property value (Cartee 1989, Parker 2003, Ready 2010), although it could be argued that these instances involve either low capacity or technologically advanced landfills and that the residential communities located nearest to such sites are quite dispersed with a low density housing index. Our study, however, covers high density housing, which is characteristic of Moscow districts. There has not been much prior research into the effect of landfills on property pricing in Moscow. Our research fills this gap by providing the price correlation of both residential and commercial properties in districts close to landfills and in the concentric periphery of Moscow, which is considered a highly polluted zone due to smog from highways and nearby industrial and incineration plants.

The new environmental policy in Russia involves sorting of waste at source and greater responsibility by manufacturers and importers; it also seeks to induce a sense of 'hedonistic sustainability' for the remediation of waste disposal sites; this concept involves a mutual and sustainable coexistence between people and the spaces they occupy, a relationship which also creates positive interactions and a flourishing sense of well being (Aoyagi et al. eds 1995, Mohtadi 2016). A successful land-use juxtaposition, or 'hedonistic sustainability', seems to

thrive in various regions, including Northern European countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway) and Asian countries (in particular Japan). For example the Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) designed a modern waste-to-energy power plant 'CopenHill',[13] which is capable of converting 440,000 tons of waste to clean energy annually and is now the epicentre of mountain sports in Copenhagen, Denmark. The project utilizes a unique smoke purification system, so that the emission of harmful substances into the atmosphere is practically reduced to zero. This project is of great importance to the Danish authorities and their new climate plan CPH 2025,[14] which aims at making Copenhagen the first carbon-neutral city with zero greenhouse gas emissions. Another great example is Sweden, which has an outstanding 1% landfill rate. With 34 waste-to-energy (WTE) plants and a very efficient waste collection system, the country actually has a nation-wide shortage of garbage. While in Russia this sounds implausible, Sweden manages not only its waste but also imports up to 800,000 tons of waste annually from Norway. Its waste management infrastructure boasts 99% utilization and by-products production; so, less than 1% actually ends up in landfills.[15] Although most of the country's power is generated through nuclear/hydro 83% and wind 7%, WTE provides heating to nearly 10 million residents. According to Avfall Sverige, the Swedish Waste Management and Recycling association, 4,771,450 tonnes of household waste was treated in 2018 (466 Kg per capita in 2018, compared to 473 kg in 2017) and 0.7% was landfilled. Such results are achieved, firstly, by a high environmental sensitization culture and, secondly, by a well-functioning system of separate waste collection. Infrastructure also plays a key role, as most of the waste is incinerated in state-of-the-art processing facilities.

Hedonistic sustainability is often driven by the need to maximize urban space, as in the case of Japan (Brumann and Schulz 2012). There, due to the geographical features of the area, which does not allow for mass disposal of waste, measures to promote policies for sorting municipal solid waste and their correct disposal were developed much earlier than in other countries. Japan initiated its first modern regulation on waste management in 1900 and Tokyo's first incinerator was commissioned in 1924. In Japan, the manufacturer is responsible for the disposal procedure; the costs are borne by the consumer; and the municipalities, with the support of regional authorities and the state, implement separate collection and processing of waste. Separate waste collection and recycling are implemented not only in large cities but also in remote areas, and often the residents themselves act as initiators. Some cities have over 40 garbage categories, and the sorting system depends on the disposal methods. Large fines are issued for sorting violations, and explanatory work is carried out among the population from an early age. Currently, most of Tokyo's waste is being managed by the union of Tokyo's 23 central wards the 'Clean Authority of Tokyo 23' (CAT23).[16] The group manages 19 active incineration plants amongst other waste treatment plants in the region. Waste is often channeled

[13] Copenhill/Amager Bakke https://www.copenhill.dk/en
[14] Carbon Neutral Capital https://international.kk.dk/artikel/carbon-neutral-capital
[15] Swedish Waste Management 2018
https://www.avfallsverige.se/fileadmin/user_upload/Publikationer/SAH_2019_EN.pdf
[16] http://www.union.tokyo23-seisou.lg.jp.e.de.hp.transer.com/

towards land reclamation; for example, 'The Central Breakwater' is an artificial island located in Tokyo Bay made up of incinerated ash and debris from waste treatment sites.[17] The project was initiated in 1973 to address the high volume of waste in the city and has since become an epitome of modern engineering and urban sustainability. The principles of sustainable development are widely promoted, strong associations linked to separate waste collection are created among the population. Waste management is also strongly ingrained in the Japanese culture (Sato 2017). The word *mottainai*, which translates to 'what a waste' or 'do not be wasteful', is commonly used in everyday life and promotes sustainable consumer behaviour (Sirola et al. 2019).

As a separate example, we cite Kamikatsu, a small village in Tokushima Prefecture, located in the southwest of Japan (in the northeast part of Shikoku Island). Forested mountains make up 85% of the total area of the village, with 1580 people in 800 households gathered in 55 communities.[18] Kamikatsu became the first municipality in Japan to declare a zero waste policy. It initiated a strict zero-waste campaign in 2003, whereby waste is sorted into 45 types under 13 categories, according to detailed instructions supplied by the municipal authorities to residents. There is also a waste collection point in the city where people can leave used clothes or furniture or exchange their old things for those of their neighbors. As a result of these measures, 80% of Kamikatsu's garbage is recycled, reused or composted, and the rest is sent to landfills.[19]

Countries generally develop environmental systems which are most convenient for their citizenry. For instance, in Germany special colour coded containers are used for sorting household waste at designated collection points. Switzerland has a littering police force whose responsibility is to control sorting and waste disposal. In France and Italy, chips are installed on containers that control the transport of waste; the chip allows you to determine the fullness of the container and set the date of removal, thereby rationalising transportation routes and improving overall efficiency (saving time and fuel costs). This GPS technology is now being introduced in Russia, specifically to cater to municipal waste transportation from Moscow city to designated landfills in the region to curb unauthorized dumping by waste collectors.

Based on data provided by Rosprirodnadzor, in 2017 industrial and household waste in Russia amounted to 6.2 billion tons, while 2.3 billion tons were buried at landfills and waste disposal sites, which makes up more than 38% of waste.[20] According to the Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection in Moscow, waste disposal at specialized

[17] https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/fdc02295fe7c4dce87a4b0926ecd6d95

[18] The Kamikatsu Zero Waste Campaign: How a Little Town Achieved a Top Recycling Rate // Nippon, July 13, 2018. URL: https://www.nippon.com/en/guide-to-japan/gu900038/the-kamikatsu-zero-waste-campaign-how-a-little-town-achieved-a-top-recycling-rate.html?pnum=2

[19] The simple way this Japanese town has become nearly zero-waste // Business Insider, Jule 10, 2017. URL: https://www.businessinsider.com/zero-waste-town-kamikatsu-japan-2017-7.

[20] State Report (in Russian) 'On the Status and on the environmental protection of the Russian Federation in 2017', Ministry of Natural Resources and Ecology of the Russian Federation. URL: https://gosdoklad-ecology.ru/2017/obrashchenie-s-otkhodami-proizvodstva-i-potrebleniya/otkhody-proizvodstva-i-potrebleniya/

landfills is currently the main recourse for waste management in the region. At present, in Russia, waste treatment methods include both technological processes (incineration, biogasification and composting) and redistribution as feed for livestock, accounting for a small proportion of waste treatment. Most of the waste is simply buried in landfills without pre-sorting or treatment, leading to mountains of waste with a very slow rate of decomposition. This situation negatively affects the surrounding ecology, causing to a large extent a chemical imbalance in air and soil quality which negatively impacts public health and may lead to increased mortality rates (Yablokov 2010, Pukhova 2018).

Most of the landfills were located in old waste dump sites even before the *perestroika*, and they do not possess secondary aeration systems or conduits to handle gas or leachate evacuation; and, now that a significant part of the waste dumped is plastic, these landfills simply grow in size causing greater degradation of the surrounding environment. The effects of landfills and incineration sites is dependent on the technology utilized. Wind direction and the position of underground water reservoirs also determine the impact on the surrounding community (Phillips et al. 2014, Pukhova 2018).

Many experts admit that even for large developers, construction in areas close to industry and waste disposal sites is associated with certain economic risks, such as lower demand for real estate (Grigoriev et al. 2012, Vershinina and Martynenko 2019). When developing a site located close to a landfill, the developer, as a rule, estimates that housing will be sold at a discount and an extra effort will have to be made on external aesthetics and marketing. The price per square meter in a residential complex located in close proximity to landfills is much lower than the market average for similar apartments located elsewhere. Nevertheless, since the base cost of such plots tend to go at a bargain, most developers can afford to reduce their asking price to a minimum. Economy-class projects are mainly implemented on such sites, often these are blocks of the popular monolith panel housing structures, and the difference in price compared to new buildings in a more attractive area can reach upwards of 15-20%.

Real estate prices are affected by multiple variables; some weigh more than others, depending largely on public preferences. For instance, access to water (Cho et al. 2011), noise pollution (Del Giudice et al. 2017), distance from industrial plants (Grislain-Letrémy and Katossky 2014), proximity to incineration plants (Farber 1998, Phillips et al. 2014) and many more. Most researchers often use the hedonic pricing model to determine the variability in such instances; it is depicted as P = f1, f2, f3, …, fn), 'P' being the property price and 'f' the function that affects the property price (Li and Li 2018). The model by Lavee and Bahar (2017) depicted below identifies property price factors according to internal characteristics and external factors affecting the property:

$$Pi = f\,(d, s1, s2, \ldots sn; n1, n2, \ldots, nm)$$

Where:

Pi: is the apartment price;

f: is the function that studies the relationship between housing prices and the

d: distance of the property from the environmental hazard;

s: are the characteristics of the housing structure (internal);

n: represents the characteristics of the housing neighbourhood (external).

According to www.rn.ru, the key criteria in selecting property depend on whether the property acts as a short or long term investment or is considered for immediate living purposes (usually through mortgage or outright purchase). In the latter case, the criteria for selection will depend also on the preferred type of property (newly constructed or existing) and the buyer's age group; for instance, when a property is purchased for elderly parents the focus may be more on ecological quality, distance from clinics and public transport and availability of disability access in the nearest subway station. On the other hand, property purchased by young families may prioritise price (ability to purchase bigger apartments for less), apartment quality, easy access to clinics, kindergartens and schools, quality of playgrounds, access to subway stations and the surrounding ecology. However, the most popular parameters often used in selecting apartments in newly constructed blocks within Moscow city and the Moscow region are identified as:

1. Location: Distance from the city centre and whether the property is located within the Moscow city border since being registered within Moscow provides administrative and social welfare incentives especially for pensioners, veterans and young families;
2. Price: Property value per square metre;
3. Developer ranking and apartment finishing: This is key, as some developers have been embroiled in class action suits for not completing projects: new apartment blocks were sold as shells and the buyer was required to complete the finishing based on their taste. Modern developers add this to the cost of the apartment popularly — known as 'white-box' — and the buyer is expected to furnish the apartment based on taste;
4. Access to social infrastructure: Distance to schools, clinics, parks (especially for residents with pets) and public transport, as well as the type of public transport — tram, rail, subway, and so on.

Our study offers a novel insight into other ethnographic factors of equivalent importance to Moscow residents; specifically, 'ecological considerations'.

Methodology

The methodology applied in this study utilizes both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The primary data were obtained from a cross-sectional survey of Moscow residents, while secondary data were collated from the real estate analytical sites and examined alongside environmental factors (air and soil quality) in order to test the following hypothesis:

a) H0: The location of landfills has no negative impact on property pricing in Moscow.
b) H1: The location of landfills has a negative impact on property pricing in Moscow.

In order to determine data viability, certain considerations were applied prior to selecting the data source and analysing the data obtained. Care was taken to obtain secondary data only from sites that provided:

- Active and publicly available real estate market data;
- Active real estate repository data for up to 5 years (High ranking repositories);
- Valid methodology for property pricing (microeconomic and macroeconomic factors);
- Active ecological data (air and soil quality data).

With these considerations in mind, the open access real estate analytics sites www.cian.ru and www.irn.ru were selected as our data source for real estate market data, while Mosecomonitoring (www.mosecom.ru) and the website of the Department for Environmental Management and Protection (www.dpioos.ru) were consulted to verify data on ecological factors including air and soil quality. The real estate analytics sites www.cian.ru and www.rn.ru publicly provide their methodology for calculating the average price per square meter for apartments in various districts. It should be noted that their model takes into account various factors, such as living area, type of house, number of rooms, proximity to the city centre, distance from the metro, kitchen area, presence or absence of a balcony, and so on. Data on office and retail rental rates were also taken from the www.cian.ru website. Our empirical study collected the property prices in eight districts in Moscow located concentrically and adjacent to the MKAD ring road (Figure 4). The most expensive properties are generally located in the city centre and the western districts. Our study focused, however, on average property pricing for middle-income and upper middle-income groups in keeping with the methodology used by the 'cian/irn' analytics; so, certain aspect, such as high-income, elitist and atypical properties, were excluded from the analysis. The indices also reflect the real market sale value, which appears to be slightly lower than the overestimated offer prices.

Our survey of Moscow residents was conducted online due to the recent COVID-19 pandemic, a total of 921 responses was collected between 24 June and 24 July 2020. The general public was informed of our ongoing survey through social media platforms, forums and blogs. 'Google Forms' was used to conduct the survey and gather all responses. The majority of responses came from the 'Yandex Rayon' platform (https://local.yandex.ru/). Focus group discussions were also held on the platform and this provided further insight into the study areas. Unfortunately, interviews with select government officials could not be conducted, due to the pandemic and the official workload of the 2020 Russian constitutional referendum.

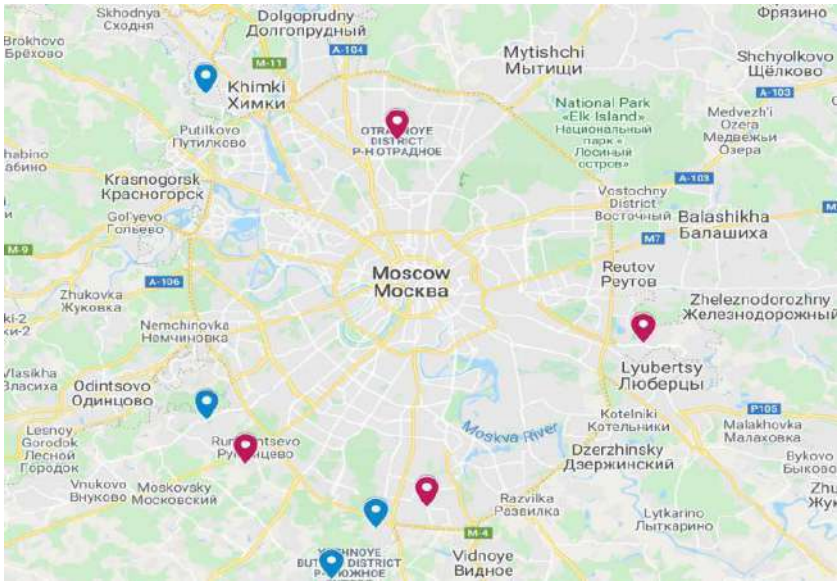

Figure 4. Map of Moscow and the districts under study.[21] Designed by the authors using Google Maps.

[21] The *red pins* are districts close to waste disposal sites and the *blue pins* are districts least affected by poor ecological considerations.

The eight districts under study are located along the Moscow ring road (MKAD). The stretch of real estate along the MKAD is known to be of low ecological quality (especially the eastern route); yet, it is quite popular for most middle-income families who need to commute daily to the city for work. Four of these sites are close to landfills and incineration sites (0.5 Kms), while the remaining four (1-10 Kms to the MKAD) are within as easy access to the MKAD and the city centre and fall within the same property price range, but are not located near any waste disposal sites. For the purpose of objectivity, these districts were selected for their overall ranking in terms of affordability and the increased rate of new residential developments. The following information was sourced from the www.cian.ru property database:

- average prices of apartments in select Moscow districts (January/February 2020);
- average rental rates for office space (January/February 2020);
- average rental rates for retail premises (January/February 2020);
- comparative real estate prices by select districts (3-5 year review);
- environmental data (air and soil quality);
- price analysis of properties located close to landfills and waste disposal sites (between 500 meters to 3 Kilometres);
- ecological factors that significantly affect the value of real estate were considered to be air pollutants — particularly, carbon monoxide (CO) and nitrogen oxides (NO and NO_2) — as well as the index for soil pollution.

Microsoft Excel was used for statistical analysis and plotting charts. Correlations coefficients for the property types were further analysed and the critical value determined as explained in the next section.

Findings

We conducted an empirical analysis of the dependence of the average cost of real estate in several Moscow districts on their proximity to waste disposal sites. All prices are in Russian Rubles. We found that there is a dependence of the real estate price on the distance to the municipal landfill and or incineration plant.

Our analysis revealed that there is a negative dependence between the location of waste disposal sites and property value; hence we reject the null hypothesis. On average, each kilometre away from the waste disposal sites (landfills and incineration plants) increases the price of real estate by 2-2.3% for apartments, 1.2-1.3% for rented offices and 1% for rented shopping areas (retail space). The significance of the findings was verified using Fisher's F-test, as well as Student's t-test. Both tests showed that our findings (models and coefficients) are significant at a significance level of 1%.

Based on the World AQI Ranking,[22] Moscow is generally considered to have moderate air quality. In 2017, Moscow ranked 8.4 and in 2018 fell to 10.1, indicating that the volume of soil and air pollution identified were still within acceptable global parameters. However, the

[22] World AQI Ranking: https://www.airvisual.com/world-air-quality

presence of smog, soot deposits and occasional foul odours is still largely felt in areas within 1-3 Kms from waste disposal sites. Even in small amounts, the presence of CO, NO and NO_2 may still lead to health issues if inhaled over a prolonged duration, and poor soil quality affects the surrounding environment. It should be noted, however, that most major landfill sites are located in the outskirts of the Moscow metropolis in the Moscow Oblast (Moscow Region) and that cases of air pollution poisoning have been recorded with children being the most affected.[23] So, while official statistics and indicators may show acceptable levels of pollution, the situation on the ground may be significantly worse with unmonitored carcinogens polluting the atmosphere, especially considering that most of these plants have been operating for over forty years (example the garbage incineration plant No. 2 was built in 1975) and only recently have begun to implement modern environmental safety measures which are seen as ineffective by the majority of residents living in close proximity to the plants, who continue to complain of their deteriorating health.[24]

The indices on environmental quality provide supporting metrics for evaluating the districts most affected by industrial and anthropogenic emissions from the waste processing plants and the MKAD and could support future research on the environmental impact assessment of the MKAD highway. The study provides evidence to show that the impact of environmental factors on real estate prices in Moscow is quite significant and this determines the overall attractiveness of districts in the city. The tables and figures below show an obvious negative correlation between average property prices and the location of landfills and waste disposal sites. Real estate prices are much lower in areas within 1-3 Kilometres from landfills or waste incineration plants. Moreover, in the neighbouring ecologically clean areas, the cost of apartments seems to grow significantly (Kurkino, Butovo, and so on). Our study further suggests that, despite other major variables in real estate selection such as distance from the city centre, metro location and social infrastructure, ecological factors play an important role in property selection and this trend has increased over recent years.

[23] About 77 children were hospitalized in the Volokolamsk District of the Moscow Oblast in March 2018: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/05/world/europe/russia-landfills-gases.html

[24] Residents of the Eastern District continue to complain about worsening health conditions because of the waste disposal plant: https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/08/15/moscow-trash-incinerator-spews-bright-purple-smoke-a66890

Table 1: Average property price and location of waste disposal sites - Correlation coefficient

Municipal Administrative District (Distance in Kms)	Average Price ",000" Rub/m²			Concentration of harmful substances in the air µg/m³				Soil pollution index
	Apartment	Office	Retail Space	CO	NO	NO_2		
Salaryevo ('Salaryevo' Landfill)								
3	153.30	9.74	13.80	153.00	3.20	2.40		128.90
2.7	151.80	9.66	13.76	154.10	3.21	2.43		129.00
2.5	148.17	9.62	13.73	155.00	3.23	2.44		129.05
1.7	146.87	9.58	13.70	155.40	3.24	2.46		129.09
1.5	146.00	9.54	13.68	156.00	3.25	2.48		129.15
1.2	145.27	9.51	13.65	156.70	3.25	2.50		129.20
1	144.00	9.45	13.57	156.77	3.26	2.52		129.38
0.8	143.50	9.40	13.50	156.85	3.26	2.55		129.50
0.5	143.00	9.38	13.40	156.98	3.27	2.56		129.60
Otradnoye (Garbage incineration plant No. 2)								
3	158.23	11.88	15.25	125.00	2.00	1.60		104.55
2.8	157.40	11.82	15.19	126.10	2.01	1.62		104.62
2.5	156.94	11.79	15.13	127.00	2.01	1.63		104.70
1.7	156.30	11.72	15.04	127.70	2.02	1.64		104.78
1.5	155.90	11.66	15.00	128.30	2.02	1.65		104.92
1.2	155.55	11.62	14.94	128.90	2.02	1.65		105.00
1	153.20	11.53	14.90	130.10	2.03	1.66		105.30
0.7	152.56	11.45	14.86	131.00	2.04	1.67		105.50
0.5	152.00	11.40	14.83	131.30	2.05	1.67		105.60
Biryulovo West (Garbage incineration plant No. 3)								
3	146.31	11.26	14.14	159.00	3.50	2.50		118.76
2.8	144.76	11.13	14.02	160.00	3.53	2.52		119.00
2.5	144.20	11.08	13.97	160.40	3.54	2.53		119.08
1.75	143.70	11.05	13.89	160.60	3.55	2.55		119.15
1.5	143.38	11.03	13.85	160.80	3.55	2.55		119.20

1.2	142.80	11.00	13.81	161.30	3.56	2.55		119.28
1	141.00	10.99	13.79	161.70	3.57	2.56		119.30
0.7	140.48	10.97	13.77	162.00	3.58	2.56		119.34
0.5	140.10	10.95	13.76	162.20	3.59	2.57		119.37
	Kosino-Ukhtomsky ('Nekrasovka' Landfill)							
3	149.34	9.44	12.45	193.00	4.00	3.10		148.30
2.75	148.00	9.40	12.40	193.30	4.03	3.12		148.37
2.5	147.10	9.39	12.39	193.45	4.04	3.13		148.44
1.8	146.00	9.37	12.37	193.60	4.06	3.14		148.48
1.5	145.00	9.36	12.34	194.00	4.07	3.15		148.55
1.3	143.10	9.34	12.30	195.10	4.12	3.16		148.63
1	141.34	9.31	12.26	196.21	4.15	3.17		148.70
0.7	140.00	9.25	12.24	197.00	4.20	3.20		148.90
0.5	139.35	9.20	12.15	197.40	4.22	3.22		149.00
Solntsevo	163.62	16.55	18.45	80.00	1.90	0.90		40.10
Kurkino	170.18	19.22	20.01	69.00	1.40	1.10		25.88
Chechora	165.85	20.13	17.83	43.00	1.50	1.20		37.66
Butovo North	167.57	19.76	18.44	55.00	1.30	0.70		24.97
Correlation coefficient for apartments				-0.87	-0.88	-0.87		-0.84
Correlation coefficient for office space				-0.91	-0.75	-0.81		-0.97
Correlation coefficient for retail property				-0.96	-0.88	-0.93		-0.99

Table 2: Significance of Correlation Coefficients

Significance of correlation coefficients				
Correlation coefficient for apartments	22.15742006	24.40670669	22.56024596	17.74185627
Correlation coefficient for office space	31.87886741	10.59482103	14.55400377	92.80881779
Correlation coefficient for retail space	83.29351581	24.11082339	42.47272096	248.0616836
			Critical Value	**2.707913184**

Table 3: Price variation by distance (in Kms) from landfill and incineration sites (Moscow)

District	Apartments		Offices		Retail Space	
	%	RUB ,‘000’	%	RUB ,‘000’	%	RUB ,‘000’
Salaryevo (‘Salaryevo’ Landfill)	2.81 %	3.941	1.41%	0.132	0.99%	0.133
Otradnoye (Garbage incineration plant No. 2)	1.50 %	2.280	1.55%	0.177	1.10%	0.162
Biryulovo West (Garbage incineration plant No. 3)	1.55 %	2.167	0.89%	0.097	1.00%	0.137
Kosino-Ukhtomsky (‘Nekrasovka’ Landfill)	2.82 %	3.886	0.85%	0.078	0.81%	0.099

Table 4: Model Significance Test

District	Apartments	Offices	Retail Space	Concentration of harmful substances in the air µg/m³			Soil pollution index
				CO	NO	NO2	
Salaryevo	1.98518E-05	4.13083E-06	0.000506847	3.27012E-05	5.05455E-06	6.64321E-06	0.000250864
Otradnoye	0.000191146	1.26183E-05	9.6692E-09	4.88893E-06	0.000241155	8.74768E-06	0.000185166
Biryulovo West	7.48938E-05	0.000313339	1.52666E-05	3.15251E-05	4.71773E-05	2.15023E-05	0.000104968
Kosino-Ukhtomsky	4.42901E-06	0.000266314	8.0513E-05	0.000350546	8.63652E-05	4.87568E-05	9.37042E-05

The property price is further presented in the form of the regression model (Table 5):

$$y = a0 + a1x$$

Where:

- y is the dependent variable: real estate price (thousand rubles);
- x is the independent variable: distance from the landfill (in Kms);
- a0 is the average property base price;
- a1 is the relative amount increase per Kilometre from the waste disposal site.

Table 5: Regression Model

District	Average Price (y = a0 + a1x)		
	Apartments	Offices	Retail Space
Salaryevo (‘Salaryevo’ Landfill)	y=140,355+3,941*x	y=9,32335+0,132*x	y=13,4234+0,133*x
Otradnoye (Garbage incineration plant No. 2)	y=151,567+2,280*x	y=11,3598+0,177*x	y=14,7481+0,1642*x
Biryulovo West (Garbage incineration plant No. 3)	y=139,382+2,167*x	y=10,8901+0,097*x	y=13,6616+0,137*x
Kosino-Ukhtomsky (‘Nekrasovka’ Landfill)	y=137,861+3,886*x	y=9,20893+0,078*x	y=12,1562+0,099*x

A survey of Moscow residents was conducted to assess the environmental situation in the city districts. The survey was held online for a month (from June 24 to 24 July 2020) using primarily the Yandex.Rayon service, which is an internet platform of Russia's tech giant Yandex. The service allows neighbours and local organizations to share information, request and offer services, jointly solve problems and improve life in their neighbourhoods.

During the survey period, 921 residents took part in the questionnaire, which is a representative sample of the city's population. The respondents were asked to indicate their age-group and area of residence in Moscow. The majority were residents aged 25 to 64 years in approximately the same proportion (an average of 20% in each age-group variated by a span of 10 years); approximately 10% of the respondents were over 65 years old and 5% were aged between 18 to 24.

Our survey revealed that the majority of Moscow residents (52.4%) do not sort their household waste, even though they said that their districts were equipped with some form of at-source waste sorting system (for plastic, glass and paper waste). At the same time, 42.4% of respondents were positively engaged in sorting their household waste, while 5.2% had not even known about such a possibility before the survey. For those currently sorting their household waste, we evaluated the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on their decision to continue sorting waste: 75% said that they continued to sort their waste as usual, and some stated that they started sorting their household waste during the self-isolation period; 12.5% said that they faced new challenges with sorting waste, while only 10.5% had to completely abandon sorting their household waste due to the current COVID-19 pandemic.

Regarding neighbourhood pollution, 58.6% felt that their neighbourhood was polluted and primarily attributed this to air (92.1%), noise (67.4%), water (29.6%) and solid waste (28.1%) pollution. 25% of respondents stated that some form of waste disposal plant was located close to their residences and 37.4% had no idea if such facilities existed in their neighbourhoods. Interestingly, 71.7% of all respondents felt that the waste collection and sorting system in their neighbourhood was inadequate.

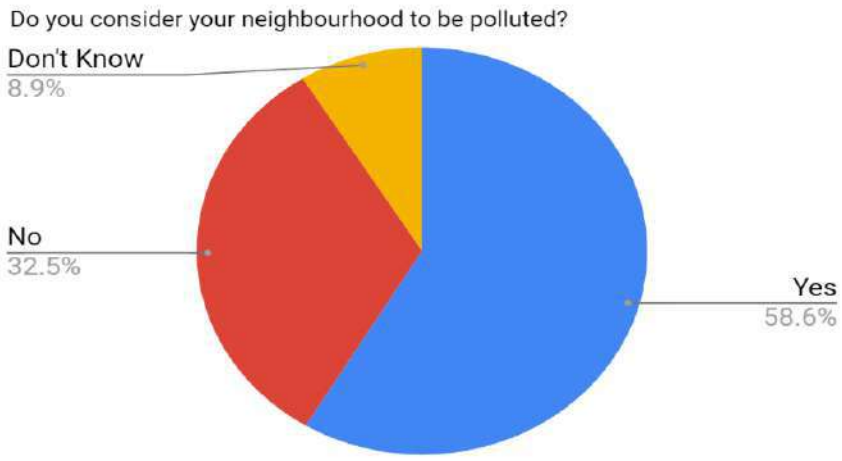

Figure 5. Survey of Moscow Residents (Question 4).

Respondents were also asked to rate key factors in their selection of residential property. Six factors were listed: property price, distance from the city centre, accessibility of public transport, ecological situation in the area, type of building and developer. 661 people (71.7% of all respondents) assessed the environmental component ('ecological situation in the area') as 'very important', which surprisingly ranked higher than two other leading factors — 'real estate prices' and the 'availability of public transport'. This shows that Moscow residents are highly sensitized about their environment and prefer residing in areas with good ecological conditions.

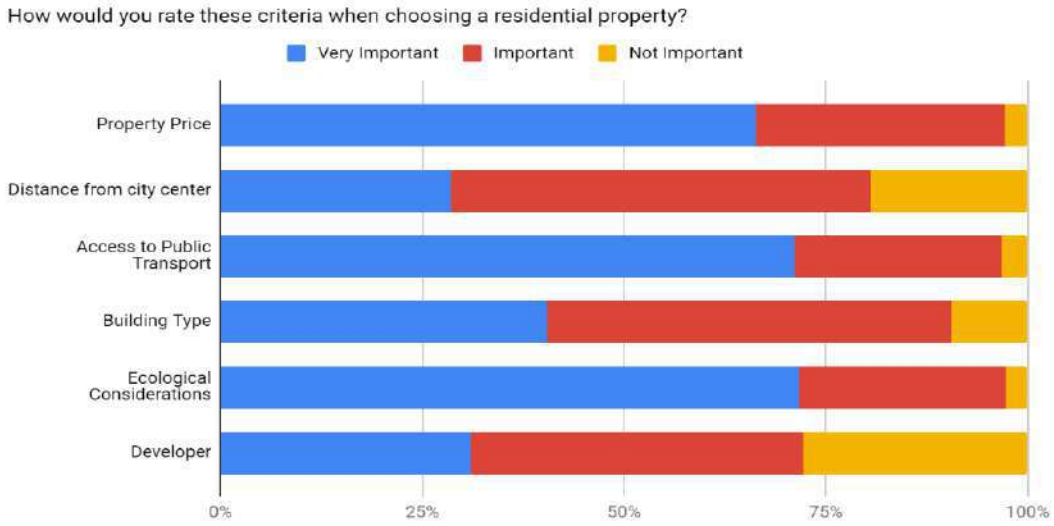

Figure 6. Survey of Moscow Residents (Question 5).

Our focus group discussions provided further insights on the ecological situation in the Salaryevo and Nekrasovka districts. The 'Salaryevo' landfill remediation covers 590,000 square metres. The reclamation project approved by the Moscow Urban Planning and Land Use Commission was initially planned to facilitate transport infrastructure in the region. Currently, it is being managed by 'Pik Group', a well-known mass housing property development company,[25] which has reported its successful efforts in reducing leachate and bio-gas levels. As a result, the land use for the area was amended in 2016, providing allocations for new residential development in the area, which are currently situated 500 meters from the decommissioned landfill (Figure 7). During our site visit, there was no foul smell in the area and residents were generally pleased with the landfill reclamation project. The same cannot be said for Nekrasovka, where the ecological situation is notably worse. During our multiple site visits to the district, we noticed a recurring foul stench emanating from the Lyubertsy Aeration Station (LOS) and the waste incineration plant No.4. Some residents confirmed that the stench of hydrogen sulphide was permanent in the area and depended largely on the wind direction. Local residents are in the process of gathering signatures for a petition to combat air pollution in the area.

[25] https://www.pik.ru/recultivation

Figure 7. Salaryevo Landfill Moscow. Photo taken by Authors.

Case Study: Gentrification in Nekrasovka, Lyubertsy District

Gentrification often drives changes in the local housing market and boosts new businesses (Pardo et al. 2020), it could also be seen as the precursor of neighbourhood revitalization, as in the case of 'Nekrasovska' in the South-Eastern Administrative okrug, in the Lyubertsy District.[26] Nekrasovka is considered one of the fastest growing micro-regions in the Moscow metropolis and provides mass housing for middle-income, especially young, families. Nekrasovka is quite unique, as it is located within the Lyubertsy District of the Moscow Region (Moscow suburb). Until September 2011, most of its current territory (the Lyubertsy fields) was part of the Moscow Region. Lyubertsy is for the most part an industrial district and accommodates a much disputed landfill. This landfill was operational between 1997 and 2000 and was handed over to the Moscow authorities for remediation in 2009 but still bears ecological concerns for residents in the area.[27]

Figure 8. Map showing Nekrasovka landfill in close proximity to residential buildings. Source: Yandex Maps[28]

[26] Lyubertsy District Map: https://yandex.ru/maps/-/CCQpNWAcpC

[27] Lyubertsy Ecological Petition: https://democrator.ru/petition/ekologicheskaya-katastrofa-v-lyubercahnekrasovkeko/

[28] https://yandex.ru/maps/-/CCQpR0r21C

Multiple industrial sites are also located in the vicinity, resulting in overall poor ecological indices and low property pricing in the area. Nonetheless, in recent years developers have been allocated land close to the old landfill site; specifically, less than 500 meters, which is the standard norm for decommissioned sites. It is unclear if this development was spurred by modern urban planning considerations, developer lobbying or corruption (Torsello 2012), but the effects are vividly observable in the rapid revitalization of the district, which includes state-of-the-art infrastructure and transportation routes. The announcement of the new 'Nekrasovka' subway line in 2012 increased the local property value by 7-10% and after the launch of four of eight stations along this line in June 2019 the property value of newly constructed residences increased by a further 6%, regardless of the ecological considerations in the area[29] and continues to rise steadily as more young families. Figure 9 below shows the landfill next to a residential block with ongoing excavation works.

Figure 9. Nekrasovka Landfill located beside residential buildings. Photo taken by Authors.

Gentrification is not only felt through the new real estate developments in the region but also via outward urban mobility (Krase and DeSena 2015 and Krase and DeSena eds 2020), as most young families seek affordable housing solutions in the city's periphery, particularly in areas with relatively good access to public transport, especially the subway. A measure of social inequality as discussed by Pardo and Prato (2020) can also be seen in the social infrastructure differentiation between areas considered 'Moscow city' and 'Moscow region', despite these areas being less than ten minutes drive from each other. A photographic comparison is shown in Figure 10 and 11 below.

[29] https://www.irn.ru/geo/rayon_nekrasovka/

Figure 10: Lyubertsy Moscow Region - Bus Transport Services. Photo taken by Authors.

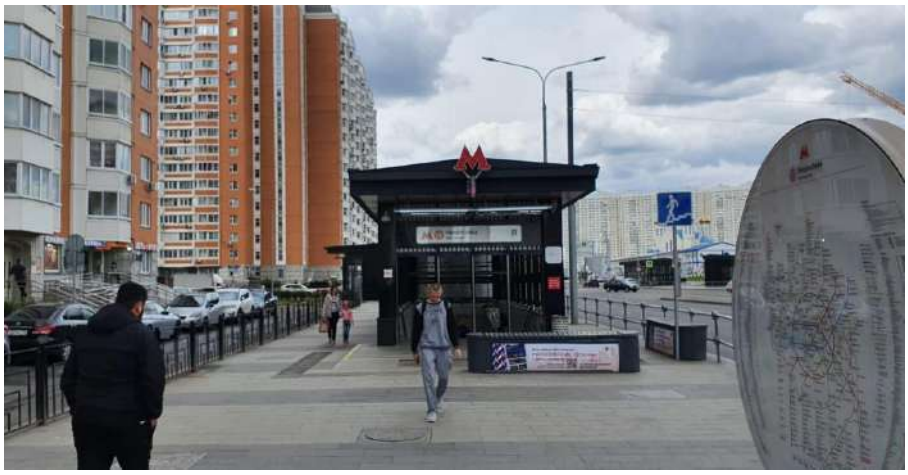

Figure 11. Lyubertsy Moscow City - Subway Transport Services 'Nekrasovka Station'. Photo taken by Authors.

Conclusion

This study shows that ecology plays an important role in economic decisions and impacts our everyday lives. The analysis of current real estate data and our qualitative study further reveals that:

1. The ecological factor is important for Moscow residents when selecting properties for residential, business and retail purposes;
2. Waste disposal sites have a negative impact on the surrounding local economy, which is evident through property devaluation.
3. The variance devaluation of properties located close to waste disposal sites in Moscow as compared to properties in other districts with similar economic indices is upwards of 17-20%; and it is 30-36% when compared to districts with above higher economic and ecological indices such as the western and south-western districts.
4. Property prices are further devalued by about 1-3% for every 1 Km from the landfill, depending on the economic purpose of property (residential, business or retail).

Most people are generally reluctant to live in areas with a high pollution index, and most young families and elderly folk will seek locations in the suburban outskirts of town in the hope that there city fumes and industrial pollutants will be much less. Unfortunately, the situation is not as straightforward in Moscow, where industries, landfills and waste incineration sites are located at the periphery to avoid epidemiological outbreaks in a congested metropolis with 12 million residents. This has resulted in increased pollution in the suburbs and lower property prices along the concentric MKAD ring road.

We have seen that waste management influences multiple factors in various sectors; specifically, public administration and spatial economics. The efficiency of structured processes and the implementation of new technologies in landfills and waste incineration plants can provide improved ecological welfare for citizens and boost the local economy, including realty value. As seen through multiple cases, *hedonistic sustainability* is achievable and may be the only solution for a densely populated metropolis like Moscow. This option will undoubtedly involve tremendous political will, large budgetary investment, community buy-in and much creativity, but in the long-run the outcome could ensure a better district ecology. Interestingly, our study reveals that this system is already gaining some foothold with local property development companies that are working towards the remediation of decommissioned landfills. Further research into various case of neighbourhood revitalization through hedonistic sustainability initiatives even at a local level could provide much-needed socioeconomic and ethnographic perspectives for efficient urban planning.

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Globalizing Ghettos and Immigrant Entrepreneurship: How to Survive in a Spatial Ecosystem?[1]

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This article aims to discuss the effects of neoliberalism and its socio-economic complications on ethnic entrepreneurship within a traditional ghetto environment. One aspect of this examination is the specific spatial issues and urban uneasiness derived from the loosening of spatial fabric. The other aspect is the strategies to exist, which are produced by the endeavour to protect spatiality. In this study, we took the German-Turkish entrepreneurs in Berlin/Kreuzberg, and their economic activities as ethnographic subjects. Our study shows that immigrant businesses have a tendency to develop four different strategies for holding on to space: *Ethnicization, Neutralization, Ethnic Mixing, and De-Ethnicization*. We have analysed these strategies in the context of the potential of the reproduction of the space and the struggle to regain the right to the city, and concluded that the demand for the right to the city cannot be limited to forming ethnic cultural anchors and simply taking pragmatic economic precautions.
Keywords: German-Turkish entrepreneurs, Berlin/Kreuzberg, ethnicization, ethnic mixing, de-ethnicization.

Introduction: New Urbanism vs. Traditional Ghetto

It is possible to come across migrants or ethnic minorities able to participate in the labour market and ethnic regions that oversee low-wage, unskilled and undesirable jobs. We can say that the spatial concentration and co-habitation of the segments that oversee this kind of economic activities are a typical ecosystem of ethnic businesses. We can trace a certain academic interest towards ethnic businesses in Germany. Studies on ethnic businesses generally read ethnic economies as the strategy of migrants/ethnic minorities transforming their ethnic identities and cultural capital into economic capital within a closed-circuit activity network. However, the development that truly kept ethnic economies on the agenda was the notable increase in migrant entrepreneurial activities in the 1990s. This situation resulted in both the socio-economic perspectives of immigrant entrepreneurship and the post-industrial economic reconfiguration being added to the literature. For example, the structural analysis that reflected 'social innovation' (Hillmann 2009) or 'political-institutional' (Panayiotopoulos 2008), specific sectorial studies — especially gastronomy (Hillmann and Rudolph 1997, Göktürk 1999) — and cultural studies (Pecoud 2002, 2004) reflect this abundance as studies that are the focus point in the examination of ethnic and migrant economies. Nearly all studies on German-Turkish entrepreneurship conducted in different contexts underline the difficulty in taking ethnic businesses into account independently of spatial agglomeration (Harvey 2017: 170), which is a result of residential differentiation, and this causes immigrant economies to become inevitably a spatial matter (Ülker 2019).

At this stage, reactivating traditional anthropology in order to examine the postmodern environment and the socio-cultural and economic conditions that determine the formation of

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the post-industrial urban reality may open up an effective horizon. As Spyridakis et al. (2018: 20) pointed out, this is quite important, because 'anthropological instruments seem now to be revisiting their "roots" equipped with the experience of their relation with non-Western cultures', and this experience can now be useful for discussing the conditions of immigrants and ethnic minorities as non-Western cultures of the today's post-industrial Western countries. Urban anthropology offers a suitable methodological perspective to carry out a holistic spatiotemporal analysis of the post-industrialization process in terms of the social reproduction of the space. Some important anthropological studies (Pardo 1996, 2009; Prato 2020; Spyridakis et al. 2018; Christian 2015; Rial and Grossi 2016; MacGaffey 1987) examine the urban experience around the interaction between the social and the spatial through inequalities caused by new urbanism and issues such as unemployment, informal economies, exclusion, uncertainty, eviction and morality, providing a deep insight to understand the struggles taking place in urban environments, the dynamic structure of power relations, and the vibrancy of the demand for the right to the city.

The effects of globalization on geographies, cities and spaces can be read through three main processes: De-industrialization, gentrification and class eviction (Harvey 2012). These processes, which began with a decrease in demand for big industrial pools and with a relocation of industry to the outskirts of cities, put new economies based on flexible production into a significant position in city centres. Considering that the meanings of concepts like ethnic niche or enclave economy, which were used to define the socio-economic and cultural entities in the traditional ghetto, are now disputed, we claim that while on one hand migrants are taking on new socio-economic roles under the conditions of the changing labour market, on the other they are also struggling to hold on to the city spaces, which have been their long-term traditional ecosystems. In this perspective, one aspect of our ethnographic examination is the urban uneasiness that is displayed in conjunction with the ambiguity that occurs due to the loosening of the spatial fabric. The other aspect are the strategies to exist, produced by the motivation to protect spatiality in the traditional ghetto. In this study, we took German–Turkish entrepreneurs located on the two main arteries *(Oranienstrasse and Adelberstrasse)* that form the urban heart of Kreuzberg, and their economic activities as ethnographic subjects. We conducted a field study over a year with 29 business owners or managers from various sectors, and formed a qualitative data set shaped by in-depth interviews, participant observation, and field notes including visual materials such as old photographs of the places in question and their current appearance. Based on a theoretical perspective which is rooted in urban anthropology, the question that we are endeavouring to answer is the role and significance of migrant entrepreneurship in urban struggles.

In accordance with the new developments in anthropological urban research, which takes into account cities in a global perspective (Prato and Pardo 2013: 97), we especially focus on certain spatial aspects of urban conflicts in a multi-ethnic city, which has been experiencing multi-cultural processes for a long time in the context of a post-industrial setting. In this sense, our methodological perspective can be described as a multi-sited ethnography, which makes an in-depth examination possible by focusing on interactions between micro- and macro-processes. As Prato and Pardo (2013: 96) pointed out, even when it focuses on a specific sample, urban site or a neighbourhood, anthropological research in urban settings has the ability

to adapt the traditional methodology to offer a broader empirical understanding. In this sense, although this research can be seen as limited to a target group, it has the potential of being holistic in analysis.

Urban Anxieties: How the circle tightens?

The Kreuzberg district in Berlin can be shown to be one of the breeding grounds for the urban anxiety that had started to grow throughout the process of de-industrialization. The ever-increasing cracks in the living apparatus of ghetto or ghetto-like places, which were known as the havens of the working-class, the migrants and subcultures, caused serious social uneasiness and tension. The most noticeable development that took place at the start of the 1990s was the structural crisis that occurred in the productive industry. When the industry facilities abandoned the West in favour of East Germany, the unemployment rates in Kreuzberg soared above 20% (twice as high as in West Germany in general) for the first time (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Arbeitslosigkeit im Zeitverlauf 2009). The first instances of migrants looking in to small business opportunities coincide precisely with this period. According to the records of the Berlin Senate in 1995, non-German business ownership between the years of 1991 and 1993 showed an increase of over 40%. Of the businesses opened, restaurant-cafes, corner groceries, newspaper shops, and kiosks are the most prominent. Along with this, German–Turkish entrepreneurship, similar to other ethnic/migrant businesses, followed an inconsistent course from the very beginning. Between the years of 1992-2000, for every 10 Turkish-origin businesses that registered, 8 businesses deregistered (Hillmann 2009: 106). Additionally, the cut in funding for cultural initiatives aimed at young people and migrants, due to the strategy of the newly United Germany of transferring resources to the East, also bred prejudice and the neighbourhood gained a one-dimensional reputation as ‘dangerous’, a ‘drug slum’ and a ‘district of losers’ (Perl and Steffen 2015: 70).

The banking scandal of 2001 can be seen as the beginning of and the trigger for the neo-liberal urban policy that occurred in Berlin in the 2000s. After that, the Berlin Senate signed two critical decisions that limited the flow of public resources to the disadvantaged social segments. The first of which was the cancellation of all subsidies to buildings constructed after 1987. The second was the approval for sale of all public housing companies belonging to the state (Uffer 2014). These decisions had a huge impact on districts that bore the signs of traditional ghetto community. Places like Kreuzberg were transformed into not only an international and a global playground but also a playground full of new economic opportunities for middle-sized local investors. These new actors forced out previous commercial tenants such as printing presses, carpenters, metal workers, etc., as well as the emerging immigrant businesses; and start-up businesses and creative industries quickly replaced them (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung – Hrsg. 2014).

On the first axis of our analysis, in order to draw an outline of the urban upheaval, which emerges in this historical background, we aim to classify the urban anxieties that are reflected in the shop windows of ethnic businesses. Therefore, at first, we will try to understand how migrant entrepreneurs experience and interpret the urban anxieties that emerge in their traditional living areas.

Attack on all Fronts: A Global Effect

Despite the multi-national capital flow responsible for a sudden gentrification in Kreuzberg, small business owners tend to define this process as 'Germanification' rather than globalization. At the top of the list of things that small business owners see as direct threats is the sale or privatization of the buildings that house their businesses to corporations or larger local firms. A tangible result of this situation is rent increase and the cancellation of lease agreements. Furthermore, there is a feeling that the new owners of the buildings 'avoid renting out shops to Turkish migrants'. The changing of owners also leads to a change in the management of the buildings and this causes Turkish tenants 'to have less influence in management'. According to shop owners, 'the new management "especially" don't bother with building maintenance, and they attempt to 'banish' them by making them "give up"'. This feeling of being threatened is not only seen as a result of new ownership, it is also considered that local governments 'support these policies, which are viewed as a "Germanification" strategy'. According to Turkish shop owners, 'the council slows down rubbish collection on streets where there are a lot of Turkish shopkeepers, they do not serve these areas enough'. Moreover, 'a lot of regulation is applied to Turkish establishments, more and heftier fines are given'.

Augmenting the ambiguity of urban boundaries in the district causes shocks to traditional lifestyles and a feeling of alienation then begins to spread. While Kreuzberg was once a migrant neighbourhood, a place with its own inner dynamics and lifestyle that was quiet, self-sufficient, and closed to outside forces, it unexpectedly and suddenly became the centre of attention. The fact that all eyes turned to the neighbourhood created difficulties for the Turkish migrants such as: 'distrust, the loss of the feeling of belonging, urban confusion and uncertainty'. Shop owners tend to define this situation in terms of their own businesses as 'instead of an opportunity, it's more of a confusion that cannot be managed and constantly causes new social problems'. In this respect, a nostalgic point of view emerges, especially among business owners of the older generation who explain developments thus: 'historical events like the fall of the wall and the union of the two Germanys were negative turning points'. Furthermore, they think that just like a magnet this cosmopolitan, complicated socio-cultural cosmos 'constantly draws problematic things to itself'. The two fundamental factors that are the source of this anxiety are the 'new residents' and the 'new refugees'. The new refugee inflow that occurred in the following years then complicated this issue further and accelerated the transition to new phases, which 'negatively' affected businesses in the neighbourhood. Shop owners believe that 'with the new refugees, theft, mugging, sexual assault and drug related crimes have reached an all-time high'. The damage to shop windows during fights between different ethnic groups attempting to control the streets are possibly the most concrete source of anxiety. The situation creates an eerie image of social life in which the police are constantly on alert. The next stage of this is the decrease in human circulation around the shops and a noticeable decline in customer numbers. The point that shop owners especially emphasize is, 'the decline of customers looks like "a decline in reputation" from the outside'. Most business owners, complain that 'because women and children try to keep off the streets, Turkish families, who form the traditional social fabric of Kreuzberg, have stopped coming to shops. Shops operating in the food sector especially complain that 'take away is ever increasing and this increases expenses'. Apart from this, 'the anxiety created by students and tourists lead to developments in the neighbourhood in

the 2000s whereby many started to avoid Turkish businesses'. The environment that the new refugees have created appears even worse than the environment initially created by students and tourists. Most shop owners remember the new residents of the previous years and the tourists who were merely temporary residents as, '"harmless" people who had parties and had fun and returned home without causing a scene'.

Migrancy Conditions: Local Effect

Some of the conditions that we think historically reflect the migration experiences of the Turks living in Kreuzberg form the source of certain daily anxieties of Turkish businesses. The fact that the level of education among the migrants did not increase as much as might have been expected can be seen as the main factor in the lack of qualified personnel in the shops, which traditionally have been run as family businesses. While the few young migrants who succeeded in education moved into various careers, those who were not able to find employment joined family companies and small businesses. While Kreuzberg was transformed into a cosmopolitan cultural hub, in order to keep their social fabric intact (especially, to protect the family structure), Turkish migrants made an effort to keep their ties with their motherland strong. This resulted in traditional migrant families encouraging their children to marry people from Turkey. The new members that join the Turkish migrant society through marriage are unable to find employment due to the language barrier and a lack of education and either work in pre-existing family companies or the idea of opening new businesses for these people is raised. The situation in terms of ethnic businesses creates disadvantages in issues such as, 'adapting to developments and innovations in the sector, increasing/diversifying products or services', 'creativity and developing original ideas', 'applying new technologies to lines of business', 'relations with tourists', and 'the aesthetic and efficient use of the space'.

Because of living in a protected spatial environment, Turkish migrants have historically avoided researching the political and structural opportunities about the conditions of permanency. In the void formed by the elimination of the conditions that made Turkish migrants in Kreuzberg feel safe spatially, the insufficiencies in important issues such as 'claiming one's right, bureaucratic consciousness/communication with institutions, and political collaboration' have become visible. Shop keepers operating in the neighbourhood believe that they 'do not possess the "culture of struggle" or are not equipped to deal with rent increase, agreement cancellations, the drawing up of new agreements, adapting to the bureaucratic process and making complaints and submitting applications'. Shop owners state that, 'the time of "solving things with fists" and "working it out among ourselves" is ending, but an understanding of how to deal with things in the new era has not formed'.

The Turkish shops in Kreuzberg are traditionally part of the service industry in particular they form a large part of the restaurant sector, and the ethnic marketing approach that created spaces for local cultures and experiences added value to original Turkish 'authentic' products. For Berliners, who had never previously set foot in Kreuzberg because of its ghetto identity, and for tourists, students / artists / white-collar workers who moved to the neighbourhood later on, these 'ethnic / authentic' products offered a new consumption range that provided them with the opportunity to experience a culture they had not seen before. However, in this period, this caused the migrants to create a destructive competitive environment among themselves as

they limited themselves to ethnic marketing within their businesses, which they saw as the most practical way of participating in the labour market. Other migrants who saw successful business in Kreuzberg tried to copy this without questioning how the business was successful and caused the sector 'to bloat'. It can be observed that one of the biggest issues Turkish shops in Kreuzberg encountered was this 'mindless' competition. This competition, which especially intensified in the restaurant sector, caused 'price cuts and negative outcomes such as a drop in product quality'. This also increased the power of certain monopolies within the restaurant sector and made it harder for small businesses to survive and made the conditions of entering the market more difficult. It could be said for businesses that are in ethnic competition today that they are in a vicious cycle of 'bankruptcy—new sector investment'. However, 'transitions between sectors or closing down and then opening up a new shop is not as easy as people think'. Thus, the frequent bankruptcy or closing down of shops has created a bad reputation for Turkish shop keeping. This situation causes banks to view Turkish investments with 'prejudice', and as Pardo (2009: 106) points out, throughout a serious number of defects such as 'overpriced banking, bureaucratic complication, inefficiency, and arbitrary procedural demands', credit is made unavailable to entrepreneurs. This is one of the most important formal instruments of accessing capital. Turkish shop owners state that 'they experience difficulties in finding the needed financial support to make new investments or expand their investment and that banks "generally refrained" from giving them a loan'. Furthermore, people think of money-making sectors with high-profit margins as, 'Turkish businesses "devaluate", "trivialize" or "destroy" the "local/authentic" products or services it traditionally puts on the market'. One of the most obvious examples of this is the fact that most of the traditional Turkish coffeehouses have been turned into 'betting agencies'. The quick transformation of Turkish shops that sold local products into Spatkaufs or Kiosks is another example of this.

Re—Production of the Space: Hold on to the Ghetto

Considering these anxieties, the assumption that the social production of the space has disappeared, that in the face of the aggressive interventions of global capital the traditional urban fabric has been colonized and that the heart of the ghetto is breaking-up is a well-known explanation and in many aspects is not out of place. However, as Lefebvre (2000: 75) underlines, we might also consider 'the existence of *irreducibles,* contradictions and objections that intervene and hinder the closing of the circuit, that split the structure'. With its rather controversial and complex nature, the conceptualization of Lefebvre's (2015) 'right to the city' is not actually about the 'existing city (Purcell 2014: 150) It is based on an alternative and revolutionary approach that implies to a future city. Therefore, it is rather difficult to fit the 'right to the city' into a political or legal framework. As Huchzermeyer (2017: 5) points out; 'The urban in Lefebvre's work is at the core of society, and not a sectoral concern; it is also at the core of a possible future that he envisions'. The critical points that determine his envisagement are concepts like 'collective creative work', 'use value of urban space', 'appropriation', 'heterogeneity', and 'complexity'. Thus, the realization of this envisagement is dependent more on the effectiveness and spread of self-management than the presence of the state or market (Huchzermeyer 2017).

In his seminal anthropological research, Pardo (1996), carried the *popolino*'s self-management in a specific urban environment to a broader understanding; in his work, the right to the city was undergirded by the social conditions of managing existence in the complex dynamics of daily life. The originality of Pardo's approach was the in-depth investigation of the 'way in which people negotiate, over time, the terms — formally absolute, but in fact ambiguous and flexible — of morality and of the bureaucratic role of the market and civil society' (Pardo 1996: 4). Thus, he added to urban anthropology an effective research focus for the examination of culture, organization, and power: 'the relationship between individual agency and "the system"' (Pardo 1996: 4). This means that no matter how destructive the intervention is, there is always room for a human subjectivity, style or strategy within the cycle of daily life, which capital cannot absolutely dominate. From this perspective, Holloway (2010) emphasizes the imperfection of the order and the possibility to create cracks in the system. As he further states, instead of acting in accordance to the rules of capital or the state, we should make our own activities more just and more visible. He writes, 'perhaps the most obvious way of thinking of cracks is in spatial terms' (2010: 27). Here, the fundamental question is how durable these cracks are against being plastered up and filled in by the system. At this point, the method and style of the efforts to prevent the destruction of the spatial ecosystem by immigrant entrepreneurship becomes a topic of discussion. Our study shows that shops have a tendency to develop four different strategies for holding on to the space. We will interpret these strategies in the context of the potential of the reproduction of the space and the struggle to regain the right to the city, either independently from the system, or by negotiating with it.

Ethnicization

The shops that we studied under the ethnicization category could be read as representations in the economic sphere of the traditional ethnic cultural structures that the Turkish migrant population in Kreuzberg reproduced during the history of migration. These shops that operate in the ethnic niche shaped by closed societal relations continue to operate as barbers, florists, jewellers, bookshops, fishmongers and traditional *doner kebab* shops. The most noticeable characteristic of these shops is that, as the oldest businesses in Kreuzberg, they were established just before or right after the small business boom of the 1990s. Taking a look at the interior design of these shops, which reflect the components of ethnic identity and traditional migrant life-styles, one notices the elements of the shop-keeping aesthetics of small cities or towns in Anatolia or neighbourhoods on the fringes of big cities. In these shops, instead of the 'fancy', 'cool' or 'stylish' elements, components that reflect traditional tastes are more visible. The walls are generally decorated with images of Istanbul, the Bosporus, hometowns, the countryside, popular icons or political figures (Atatürk, Party Leaders, and so on) or ethnic decorations. Traditional music is played in these shops or satellite Turkish TV is watched.

The economic activities of these shops are shaped according to the nature of the ethnic lifestyle of the neighbourhood and of consumption habits. For example, most of the products for sale have been brought directly from Turkey. In traditional Turkish grocery stores, white cheese, olives, butter, tomato paste, yoghurt and other traditional products dominate. The products of the numerous fishmongers in the neighbourhood also reflect ethnic tastes: haddock, Mediterranean mackerel, anchovies, sardines. The only Turkish book seller, despite low sales,

is the most concrete tie between the migrants and Turkish literature. This shop owner also has a kiosk and it is easy to see that the shop 'survived thanks to the earnings of the kiosk in the opposite corner of the bookshop'.

Apart from this, the photo-video shops that offer wedding filming services record representations of the most distinctive characteristics of traditional Turkish weddings. The shop owners emphasize that they 'are offering a service to a pool of cultural experience inspired by trends in Turkey, as a result (they) always try something new when filming'. For example, 'after drone footage started to be used in wedding films in Turkey', it can be seen that 'there was an increase in demand for this in Kreuzberg too'. These businesses that operate in ethnic niches express the difficulties they have in 'keeping up with the daily cultural shifts that have accelerated due to the increase in communications'. The sectors this is reflected in are the barber shops, dress shops and tailors. The clothing and physical styles that are reflected by popular representations in Turkish TV series 'directly affect these shops product and service range'. For example, a barber shop owner states that 'the haircuts of customers of the first-generation never change but the hairstyles that the young people demand always change'. Especially with social media effect, shop owners complain that 'the youth is losing its connection to ethnic culture' and emphasize that 'traditional products and services do not appeal to the new generation in the neighbourhood'.

The customers of the small businesses that operate in the ethnic niche are generally first- and second-generation Turkish migrants. These shops are directly dependent on loyal customers who faithfully maintain a traditional lifestyle. For example, in the ever-decreasing traditional Turkish coffeehouses only a few elderly (most are retired) male customers can be seen. For members of the third and fourth generation, ties to ethnic businesses only exist indirectly through their parents. For the Germans, tourists and the few other migrants that form the cosmopolitan structure of the neighbourhood, these shops only possess an authentic appeal.

Traditional shops are the most fragile in the face of the neighbourhood's rapidly changing demographic structure and cultural atmosphere. Mostly these shops shut down or are assigned to more profitable sectors for reasons such as the decrease, due to death or temporarily moving away, of first-generation of migrants who are their true customers, estrangement from the neighbourhood's new social and cultural fabric, and rent increases. Besides simply having favourable rental agreements and/or the capacity to continue economic activities, the few remaining shops are able to survive through the efforts of owners who believe that 'it is possible to hold on to the space only by continuing traditional relationships'. Because traditional shop owners have sufficient information regarding the past and have a long-established migration experience, they function as a kind of opinion leader. This makes it easier for the few small businesses in the ethnic niche to participate in the urban struggle. It was observed that there was strong interaction between these shops and NGO's like *Kotti&Co*, which aims to counter the negative conditions created by gentrification, rent increases, drug use and the tourist boom. Interaction between the small businesses in the neighbourhood is strong and the owners of these businesses appear to be more willing to participate in organized reactions than other businesses. The network of collaboration among ethnic businesses leaves distinct marks in the neighbourhood. Large posters and banners hanging in front of shops shut down because of evictions in the last few years are noticeable. Traditional shops make an effort to protect the

cultural status quo by highlighting their migrant identity. Operating as an ethnic anchor and claiming a stake in the traditional space by leaning on this status quo could be read as the fundamental strategy of these shops.

Neutralization

The fundamental characteristic of the shops we categorized under the title neutralization is that they do not have any characteristic peculiar to the neighbourhood. Their ethnic quality cannot be discerned at first and they have no noticeable difference to similar places that have spread all over the city. These shops operate as kiosks, *spätekaufs*, various fast-food shops, betting agencies and internet cafes that are randomly scattered throughout the neighbourhood's streets and which usually change hands, names and functions. Nearly all of the internet cafes were telecommunications shops 15–20 years ago, offering international phone calling services. These shops have large inner spaces, entrances designed as a *spätekaufs* as was the case in the past, and separate cabins in the back houses. The inner spaces of these shops are of a standard structure that reflect each one's fundamental function as if they reproduce an image of the 'neutral city' (Sennett 2013: 60-93). For example, a kiosk does not have the ability to differentiate itself from other kiosks in terms of placement of shelves, product range, positioning of the counter, and so on.

Because the characteristics of these shops are not based on any area of expertise. Most of their owners are working class who, prior to the small business boom, generally worked in the industry sector and in time either retired or lost their job. The cycle during this period is generally: the person who loses their job first tries their luck in different jobs, after a few job changes decides to open up their own business. Either through family savings or a bank loan, a small business is formed. This business is established by looking at the examples on the market and then investing in whatever sector that looks like bringing in the most profit. In time, due to the lack of expertise and experience, the business may possibly enter a crisis. In this case, either it goes bankrupt or again a transition to another sector is made. This cycle makes shopkeepers who used to have stable blue-collar jobs anxious. These shopkeepers often emphasize that, 'they miss the state of things before the wall came down'. The idea that 'the union of the two Germanys turned the lives of migrant workers and the general direction of society upside-down' is prevalent. They also display more of a pragmatic approach to work. These shops are generally designed as family businesses. In these shops, which are either open 24 hours or until late, family members run the business in shifts. When one takes a look at the motivation to run these shops, attitudes like 'providing the minimum conditions to survive in the neighbourhood', 'providing employment to the young members of the family', 'continuing economic independence' and 'leaving the existing business for the sake of a more profitable one' come to the fore.

Apart from the residents of the neighbourhood, the potential customers of the neutral businesses are those who pass by the neighbourhood and those that join the general circulation through the neighbourhood. The tourist flow as the neighbourhood's popularity increased in the 2000s provided economic advantages for the *spätekaufs* especially. In the summer months these shops became the stomping grounds for those who wanted to organize outdoor parties along the *Spree*. These places that sold cheap drinks drew the attention of students, the

bohemian residents of the neighbourhood and tourists and allowed migrant shop owners to make money easily. Fast-food shops that served *doner kebab*, Turkish meatballs, and *lahmacun* (Turkish pizza) also benefitted from this circulation. Kiosks spread as small businesses that offered a 'fast food, on foot' service to residents from all segments. Betting agencies can be seen as the evolved form of the old traditional Turkish coffeehouses and their function has changed greatly. While traditional coffeehouses were the socializing spots for retired migrants or workers, betting agencies became the meeting point for unemployed migrants from different ethnicities.

These neutral shops do not reflect the styles formed by migrant culture or the distinctive characteristics of the neighbourhood. As a characterless business branch, it represents the attempts of migrants to find answers to ever-increasing economic issues. Quick transitions among sectors can happen due to lack of commercial awareness. Because they have a pragmatic economic motivation, competition among shopkeepers is intense. This weakens the ties between the owners of neutral shops and dampens the desire to join the spatial struggle. Business owners view one another as a danger without ever considering their ethnic roots or common migrant backgrounds. And this creates an atmosphere that makes collaboration difficult and weakens both spatial awareness and a sense of community.

Ethnic Mixing

The shops that come under ethnic mix category or re-ethnicization are the 'glocal' shops that reflect a certain migrant symbolism and are based on a traditional cultural atmosphere but have installed components that are compatible with the 'World City Berlin' image. These shops closely follow the demographic and cultural changes that peaked in Kreuzberg in the 2000s and, by adjusting their ethnic identity according to the prevalent diverse lifestyles and consumption habits, they produce services and engage in hybrid economic activities. In principle, these businesses are situated within the product and service network of traditional businesses which operate in the ethnic niche; however, they differ from them in terms of their spatial features, sales, service and marketing strategies and customers. The most well-known of these businesses is a restaurant chain that has spread to other neighbourhoods but initially drew attention with its shops lining *Adelbertstrasse*. This chain creates a fusion that merges traditional Turkish dishes like *doner* and *kebab* with dishes from world cuisine. Again, in Berlin, a restaurant offering appetizers that has branches in different neighbourhoods is one of the businesses that can look at in this category. *Simit* (Turkish circular bread with sesame seeds) breakfast venues, which have become fashionable over the last 10 years, are also a good example of ethnic mix shops. The main product of these shops is the Turkish staple food *simit*; however, these places have created an appealing mix by adding the ethnic cultural symbolic context of *simit* to brunch and a more Western breakfast tradition. Another shop that operates as a 'nuts' café is among the most popular places in the neighbourhood. This business, which was established with EU funding, has added another dimension to traditional nut consumption. When looked at in terms of traditional Turkish eating and drinking habits, nuts are generally bought from the shop in packets and eaten at home or on picnics, but this business has transformed it into a product that is eaten at the café with tea, coffee or cold drinks. During the summer it is possible to see people sitting at tables in front of the establishment, located on

Oranienstrasse, eating nuts in baskets (especially sunflower seeds) and chatting. Thus, this traditional socialization formed around nuts has spread into the neighbourhoods expanding cultural atmosphere. Even though their numbers are low, there are music halls that transform into party venues by hosting traditional ghetto rappers or local Turkish, Arab, African, and Latin bands. To these shops we can add fast-food shops that serve waffles with Turkish jams, marmalades or local honey or serve *doner kebab* but, by combining it with vegan culture, appeal to the 'healthy' food and drink environment that is hip in Berlin.

Design is an important component of these businesses' spatial set up. The general structure is based on a focus on ethnic aesthetic elements. The main purpose of this 'over the top' in your face design is to weave ethnic culture into the atmosphere of the shop as an authentic component of presentation. The decorative elements, which have been shaped by cultural habits and perspectives, cannot be produced naturally; they are designed artificially. In other words, the design elements are not innate to the shops, on the contrary, they have been especially selected to emphasize which ethnic cultural area the shop belongs to. The shop owners say that the choices made about the design and presentation were made 'deliberately'. The reasons provided are: 'ethnic products or symbols are especially alluring to tourists'; 'these symbols are important to not let the Turkish ethnic identity in Berlin be forgotten'; 'because the other ethnic businesses in Berlin, especially in the service sector, have similar tendencies, in terms of competition, ethnic emphasis is inevitable'.

The main feature of these businesses is that they follow an ambitious and competitive path within Berlin's multi-cultural structure. The main aim here is to enter fully the service sector, which is constantly growing in the city. Among shop owners there are those that think, 'the businesses who operate in the ethnic niche are doomed to fail if they fail to comprehend the importance of getting in touch with elements that constitute Berlin's brand value'. These businesses are seen as 'cultural projects' from certain angles. Different motivations like 'strengthening Turkish cuisine', 'branding the eating and drinking habits and the products peculiar to Turkey', and 'introducing this culture to as many customers as possible' hold an important place among business strategies. Some of these businesses view those public organizations and structures that promote multiculturalism and support local cultures as their own shareholders. Political structures that invest in the 'zeitgeist', NGOs, and private sector investors play a certain role in the economic and industry-based development of these businesses. Furthermore, among the shop owners who operate in the 'ethnic mix' the idea that 'among the other world cuisines or ethnic cultural service sectors, Turkish businesses are at a disadvantage' is prevalent. One of the most important reasons for this is said to be, 'because the Turks in Germany come from a working-class background, they have not been able to acquire enough experience and qualifications in the running of a business'. 'The fact that Turkey does not support Turkish businesses in Germany enough' is also mentioned. It needs to be pointed out that the opinions put forward to explain this disadvantage are 'the prejudices against Muslims, especially Turks'.

De-Ethnicization

The Turkish businesses we took a look at under the category of de-ethnicization could be evaluated as shops that repeat the symbols that shape the 'World City Berlin' brand, that try to

follow global cultural trends and that do their best to make their ethnic identity invisible. It can be said that the Turkish-origin businesses in Berlin that adopt the de-ethnicization strategy, have spread out into a wide variety within the service sector network. Because these shops do not need any ethnic emphasis, they can appear at times as an Italian restaurant and at other times as an Asian one. In Kreuzberg, the de-ethnicized Turkish businesses cafes, clubs, and bars are most prominent. In terms of their interior design they have a typical Berliner/Western ambiance, and a 'retro' style is immediately noticeable inside. In terms of design, another symptom that de-ethnicization brings to the fore is that of assuming another ethnicity. We encounter this situation in businesses that have invested in different world cuisines. For example, in an Italian restaurant one will come across an interior design that has assumed the identity of a traditional Italian restaurant: gingham tablecloths, decorative elements that reflect Italian culture on the wall and wine barrels are prominent. It is not well-received when Turkish waiters or chefs working in these shops speak Turkish. As a customer, if you understand that the waiter is Turkish and want to order in Turkish, the waiter communicates in whispers so that the other customers do not understand that he is speaking in Turkish.

It would be nearly impossible for someone looking from the outside to understand which popular clubs and bars in Kreuzberg were Turkish. Some Turkish shop owners are not happy with 'Turkish-origins visiting their bars'. Some of them believe that 'places that are visited by people who are obviously migrants lose their popularity after a while'. While others emphasize that 'it is not a problem if it is common knowledge that the place is run by a Turk, however, it is important that there is a cosmopolitan crowd that shows diversity'.

The owners of these businesses are mostly new-generation German-Turks. As a segment of the migrant population that is adept at adaptation, it has been able to establish transcultural ties, and has a high level of education and cultural capital, though this group remains a minority in economic terms, it runs a more successful ethnic business. Among these shop owners are also members of the new migrant segment, which has entered the literature as 'alternative diaspora' in the last few years. Some of the educated and wealthy migrants, made up of students, academicians, and artists who have come to Germany by using the increasing political and social tensions in Turkey as an excuse become a part of ethnic business circle through the 'de-ethnicization' strategy by investing in the service industry.

The element that ties these businesses to the cosmopolitan cultural atmosphere and identity fabrication in Berlin is the experience economy that forms the basis of today's consumption habits. However, these shops do not attribute the experience to ethnic culture as in the previous category but to the fluid and dynamic variables of global culture. These spaces, just like most similar places in Berlin, tend to form a 'story' that sets them apart from others. A Turkish business owner, who for years had tried various business ventures, stated that 'after many failed attempts, (he) understood that being successful in Berlin was down to creating a concept'. Finally, by transforming his cafe 'into the hub of a traditional theatre festival he had created a permanent Berliner place'. The specialty of one other Turkish business in Kreuzberg is that it became popular when various accessories bought from the flea market entered into circulation among customers. Customers visiting the place can take these objects with them when they leave and as a result the objects in the place constantly change. Spaces with no ethnicity have a customer profile that reflects Kreuzberg's changing demographic structure,

which is comprised of tourists and Berliners from outside of Kreuzberg who regularly take part in the Berlin nightlife.

Concluding Notes and a Brief Discussion on Groggy Ghetto Economies

Kreuzberg, once a traditional suburban ghetto for the migrants and subculture groups in West Berlin, later an inner-city district with the fall of the wall, has been the target of 'Urban Renaissance' movements organized by local administrations since the 1990s in many European countries. Prato's (2020) ethnographic examination of the Albanian capital, Tirana, puts an illuminative perspective on the kind of strategies urban planners have followed in order to change the spatial characteristics of the European cities including Berlin. As Prato points out in her comparative analysis of migrations in today's Europe, just like the Berlin Senate, Albanian governments, too, have implemented urban plans for the city centre that 'satisfy what local administrators perceive to be the needs of the foreign residents and [...] that would hopefully attract new investors and rich immigrants' (2020: 41). A natural result of this process was the increase in the value of properties in city centres like Kreuzberg and the acceleration of gentrification. For example, in the second half of the 2000s, apart from 'foreign residents and rich visitors', when party crowds also became one of the important actors of Kreuzberg's rapidly changing urban reality, the neighbourhood's traditional social fabric and cultural structure experienced intense turbulence. Thus, especially for immigrants in Kreuzberg, the risk of eviction and displacement became the biggest fear (Holm 2014). This can be seen as a direct spatial intervention into this traditional immigrant worker neighbourhood — the production spaces such as old fashion artisan ateliers and traditional ethnic shops, and as the elaborator of economic, social, and cultural conditions of class evacuation. This makes it inevitable to take into account the survival and development opportunities of ethnic economies in terms of the transformation of the space and spatial struggle.

We can argue that the new economical complications of the post-industrialization process added new dimensions to the traditional exclusion of long-term immigrants in Kreuzberg. In our case, we can read the endeavour to create economic anchors in order to hold on to the ghetto as one of the key instruments of ongoing but mostly failed integration processes of the 'almost half native residents' in the district. Insisting on operating inside the formal sectors of the economy, German-Turkish entrepreneurs are actually looking for something more valuable than material interest. They are desperately seeking the equal conditions of completion, and their roles in the social reproduction of the space. As Pardo (2009: 118) underlines, this search is strongly related with the outcomes of the ongoing debates 'both at official level and at grassroots level' in the host society on 'citizenship', on 'redefinition of the democratic process', and on dualisms such as 'integration and exclusion', 'tolerance and toleration'. So, their struggle has an existential dimension which perpetually push the conditions of equal citizenship, to the extent that it is economic. That is why we are linking this search to 'the right to the city' concept, and describing spatial struggle as a right.

David Harvey (2012) examines the concept of the 'right to the city', and opens it up to a discussion around the revolutionary possibilities in the urban process directed by the 'neoliberal ethic of intense possessive individualism'. He states, 'how we view the world and define (these) possibilities depends on which side of the tracks we are on and on what kinds of consumerism

we have access to' (2012: 15). In traditional ghettos like Kreuzberg, it is easy to observe such a fragmentation derived from the 'new urbanism' processes. In fact, these places are untouched and defenceless hubs that offer various possibilities to cultural industries, the service sector, the tourism industry, and mostly to landlords and contractors. On the other hand, they are specific production ecosystems where one can observe how the demand for the right to city became topical. In this study, we have tried to clarify 'on which side of the tracks' migrant entrepreneurs are on, and what kinds of consumerism they propose in order to insist on spatial demands.

The strategies that we specified in this study show that economic activities are an anchor to perpetuate spatial existence. Since urban space is unavoidably a production centre, it is important to be able to determine the conditions of the space's social production and to have a say in the economic activities of any given place. Thus, production strategies utilized to gain a position of favour within the community in terms of production relationships and also to perpetuate economic activities in the traditional ghetto, which is now under threat, are meaningful. The effort to perpetuate, in various ways, the existence of ethnic businesses that are scattered around Kreuzberg's streets could be read as an urban struggle, especially in terms of the insistence in holding on to the space. However, as long as the strategies of spatial positioning remain pragmatic, unorganized/scattered and only occasional, it will continue to lose ground to the interference of outside actors trying to regulate or colonize the space and transform it. As the conditions of competition change, the chance of survival and the ability to have a say in the space may decrease. This shows us that the demand for the right to the city will not be limited to forming ethnic cultural anchors and taking pragmatic economic precautions. In order to protect the memory of the space by determining the conditions of production, it is necessary to insist on integration while rejecting every kind of exclusion and assimilation attempt, and to learn to use more inclusive political struggle practices that will strengthen the participant adaptation and collaboration networks, the weaknesses of which we clearly identified during our study.

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Experiencing de facto *Racial Residential Segregation in Urban South Africa: An African Refugee's Auto-ethnography*[1]

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Residential racial segregation globally and in South Africa is an extensively studied subject; however, little is known about how Apartheid-era legacies of spatial racial segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa are experienced by non-White refugees in urban areas. I address this lacuna by reflecting on my own lived experiences of residing and interacting within segregated all-Black neighbourhood in inner-city Pretoria. Drawing on my daily experiences as a 'Black' African refugee with *de facto* racial segregation, I argue that historical racial residential segregation in South Africa not only affects the South African population but non-White African refugees are also impacted by the structures and residues of Apartheid urban racial segregation geographies.
Keywords: Auto-ethnography, racial segregation, South Africa, refugees, colonialism, apartheid, neighbourhoods.

Introduction

This article presents an autoethnographic narrative of my own lived experience[2] with *de facto* racial segregation as a 'Black'[3] African refugee[4] in a predominantly Black urban neighbourhood in post-Apartheid South Africa. I recount the ways in which past Apartheid-era legacies of racial residential segregation[5] affect and colour my day-to-day experiences and social interactions. I argue that historical patterns of residential racial segregation not only structure the experiences of the South African population but newly arrived Black African refugees are also affected by Apartheid-era legacies of spatial and social segregation.

During Apartheid, immigration to South Africa from the African continent was largely labour related, linked largely to the mining industry and it was characterised by temporariness, as African migrants were impermanently settled there. Low-skilled African migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique and other neighbouring countries were imported to work in the mines and other sectors in various parts of South Africa (Neocosmos 2006). As the Apartheid government had instituted a system of racial classification and race-based racial residential segregation, most African labour migrants resided in racially designated areas for Black Africans (Neocosmos 2006).

[1]I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for *Urbanities* and the editors for their constructive suggestions that helped the revision of the manuscript.

[2] I am a recognised refugee in South Africa. For the purpose of this paper, the word 'refugees' is used as a generic term encompassing asylum seekers, recognised refugees and economic migrants in Sunnyside, Pretoria.

[3] In the present discussion, the categories 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured' & 'Indian', and the concept of 'race' are understood as socio-political constructions and do not refer to biological or objective classifications. Except at first mention, the racial categories are not placed within quotation marks.

[4]When I refer to my racial identity as 'Black', I refer to the race-consciousness that I developed in South Africa while living amongst fellow Africans in a racially segregated neighbourhood.

[5] Within the context of this paper, 'residential segregation', or 'segregation', is defined as 'the separation of racial groups in urban space' (Boustan 2013: 4). Regarding the post-apartheid era, I refer to *de facto* segregation rather than *de jure* segregation.

After the formal onset of democracy in 1994, the nature of African immigration changed. Thousands of African migrants arrived in South Africa in search of protection or to better their lives. Today, a large number of African refugees and migrants tend to reside among Black South Africans in inner cities or smaller towns (Simone 2004).

Much of the literature on refugees in post-Apartheid South Africa is focused on topics such as xenophobia (Gordon 2016, Landau 2010, Langa and Kiguwa 2016, Madue 2015, Matsinhe 2011, Ndinda and Ndhlovu 2016, Neocosmos2006), citizenship (Amisi and Ballard 2005), migratory journey (Araia 2005), human rights (Landau 2005, 2006), well-being (Greyling 2016) and racialisation (Vandeyar 2012). Migration scholars in South Africa have studied urban refugees in South Africa with a focus on their protection (Landau 2006), wellbeing (Greyling and Campus 2008), integration strategies (Smit 2015) and entrepreneurship (Crush et al. 2017). The predominant focus of scholarship on racial segregation in South Africa is centred on the experience of South Africans with historical residues of racial residential segregation. This body of work addresses *de facto* racial segregation in the post-Apartheid era (Christopher 2001, Schensul and Heller 2010), school segregation (Hunter 2010), social segregation (Durrheim and Dixon 2010) and occupation-related segregation (Gradin 2018). Other scholars have examined the effects of historical Apartheid-era structural racial segregation on South African society in the post-Apartheid period (Christopher 2001, Seekings 2010). There is little discussion on the experiences of non-South African and non-White foreign communities with racial segregation in the country. Drawing on my everyday lived experiences as an African refugee, I build on this scholarship by recounting my everyday encounters with *de facto* segregation in urban South Africa and addressing the influence that the legacies of racial residential segregation have had on my experiences as a non-White refugee.

The article is organised as follows. The next section defines the concept of racial residential segregation. This is followed by a discussion on patterns of racial residential segregation in South Africa. A literature study on immigration and racial residential segregation is presented. Then, I outline key elements in racial residential theory. I discuss autoethnography, which is the research approach in the present discussion, and follow that with a narrative of my first-hand lived experience with racial residential segregation in South Africa. The last section concludes the article.

Conceptualising Racial Residential Segregation

The concept of 'racial residential segregation' refers to the ways in which metropolitan/urban neighbourhoods or areas exhibit racially-delineated demographic characteristics (Boustan 2013). The phenomenon of racial residential segregation is present in countries where society is stratified racially, such as the United States of America and South Africa. Racial residential segregation may be imposed by the State in the form of laws and policies or it can manifest as a result of individual actions (Boustan 2013). Racially segregated urban areas do not host multi-

racial or multi-ethnic communities; they are characterised by mono-racial social groups such as all-Black or all-White areas (Freeman 2002).

In the case of contemporary South Africa, the concept of 'racial residential segregation' refers to a *de facto* segregation in which historical residues of Apartheid-era residential segregation gave rise to metropolitan areas that are still racially segregated three decades after the abolishment of *de jure* segregation. At present, residential areas or neighbourhoods in South Africa are still racially segregated: there are still Coloured areas, Black areas, White areas or Indian areas (Christopher 2001, Seekings 2010). Therefore, by using the expression 'racial residential segregation' in the post-Apartheid South African context, I do not refer to state-sanctioned segregation (*de jure* segregation) but to the historical legacies of *de facto* (informal segregation) population settlement.

Patterns of Racial Residential Segregation in South Africa

Racial residential segregation in South Africa was historically imposed by White European settlers to isolate themselves socially and spatially from other non-White groups and to create and maintain accessible and controllable cheap African labour outside city centres, on the verges of cities and towns (Christopher 1990, Maylam 1990). Before the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the independent states in the region — namely, the Cape Colony, Natal Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State — instituted racial segregation. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics legally allocated citizenship and land ownership exclusively to Whites, while excluding non-Whites (Christopher 1990: 421). In the Natal Colony, Blacks and indentured Indians were residentially segregated and were allowed to enter urban areas only for work (Christopher 1990: 426).

In the Cape Colony, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as the number of Africans increased in Cape Town, White Europeans campaigned for the city council to remove Africans from the city and establish 'locations' or ghetto-like residential sites around the city. The government eventually developed residential areas for Blacks outside the city such as the establishment of Ndabeni settlement (Maylam 1990: 61). The inhabitants of Ndabeni were later removed to the Langa and Nyanga 'locations' and Ndabeni became an industrial zone amidst White suburbs.

With the discovery of diamond in Kimberley and gold around Johannesburg in the late 19th century, racial residential segregation was implemented in the form of compounds that were built to house and control African labourers working on the mines (Maylam 1990).

After the different states were consolidated under a central state, the Union of South Africa in 1910, the central government started passing laws that would residentially and socially segregate Africans from White Europeans. In 1923, the central government passed legislation called 'The Natives Urban Areas Act No 21 of 1923', which was to become the blueprint for Apartheid segregation. It authorised the provincial states to create residential settlements outside cities for Africans and limit their presence in cities (Christopher 1990, Maylam 1990).

The major cities in South Africa became predominantly White, while Black South Africans were forced to live either in informal settlements on the periphery of cities or in Africans-only residential spaces called 'locations'. For example, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban were officially proclaimed racially segregated areas respectively in 1924, in 1926 and in the 1930s (Maylam 1990: 66). As Maylam noted, during this period:

> 'Segregation was gradually introduced as certain sections of municipal areas were proclaimed as "white", compelling all non-exempted Africans and those not living on their employers' premises to move into a municipal location or hostel' (1990: 66).

The period between the emergence of the Union of South Africa (1910) and the onset of Apartheid (1948) is referred to as 'segregation', where various laws of racial residential segregation were passed by the White-only government (Christopher 2001).

After the start of Apartheid in 1948, the government institutionalised and policed racial residential segregation by passing segregation laws and forcibly removing Africans to designated areas away from urban settings. For example, in 1954, the Apartheid government passed the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950, thereby starting the construction outside cities of numerous townships designated for Africans (Christopher 1990, Maylam 1990). Towns and cities were designated for Whites while Black Africans and other racial groups such as Coloured and Indians were forcibly relocated to the peripheries of towns and cities (Christopher 1990). Following the Group Areas Act, in the 1950s, Blacks residing in Sophia Town, Johannesburg, were removed and resettled to the margins of the city; Coloured communities were forced out of District Six — an inner-city residential area in Cape Town — and resettled in the Cape Flats, further away from the city centre. Africans living in the cities and towns had to carry a pass when they wanted to stay there. Even though legal segregation and pass laws were formally abandoned in the late 1980s, residential areas became largely mono-racial formations in the post-Apartheid era (Maylam 1990).

As Goldberg (2002) notes, it was the Apartheid state's preoccupation with maintaining and protecting a 'homogenous' and 'pure' White racial group that prompted it to resort to residential racial segregation thereby managing ethnic and racial heterogeneity in South Africa (Goldberg 2002). This segregationist policy created the formation of formal and informal segregation of South African society along racial lines. Formally, we know, South Africa became a democracy in 1994 and White minority rule ended in the country. However, *de facto* racial segregation still writs large across the country's residential landscape (Seekings 2010). The formerly Whites-only city centres are now predominantly Black. For example, there is a negligible, if any, presence of Whites in the centres of cities like Johannesburg and Pretoria. This is because as Africans increasingly settled in city centres, 'the White population, conditioned by decades of segregationist thinking' moved out of city centres to self-segregate into gated communities and suburbs (Christstopher 1990: 438).

Pretoria, the geographical focus of this article, was a formerly White-only Apartheid city. In the post-Apartheid period, its composition has drastically changed; most of the

neighbourhoods in the Pretoria CBD are now predominantly inhabited by Black South Africans and refugees from various African countries. In neighbourhoods such as Sunnyside and Pretoria Central, where I have resided for over ten years, the presence of Whites, Coloured and Indians is indeed negligible.

Immigration and Racial Residential Segregation

Scholars of race and racial segregation in South Africa (Christopher 2001, Maylam 1990, Seekings 2010) have extensively studied historical and contemporary patterns of racial residential segregation, but have paid little attention to how Black African refugees experience the legacies of residential segregation in the post-Apartheid setting. Immigration and racialised settlement patterns are intimately interlinked phenomena in racially stratified host societies with histories of racial residential segregation. Settlement patterns of immigrant groups in racially structured receiving countries have been examined. Many studies and theories on the interface between immigrants and their racialised residential settlement patterns have focused largely on the American context (Freeman 2002, Kyle 1999, Massey and Denton 1989, Scopilliti and Iceland 2008, Waters 1999). Researchers argue that immigrants' racial identity and socioeconomic status largely shape where they settle and with which racial group they interact (Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001, Portes and Zhou 1993).

Many scholars note that African immigrants in the USA tend to reside and interact among Black Americans. For instance, in an earlier study, Massey and Denton (1989) examined residential assimilation patterns of dark-skinned and light-skinned immigrants from Latin America in the USA. They found that immigrants of African-descent tend to settle in all-Black residential areas while those of European-descent reside in White neighbourhoods. Latinos of African ancestry avoid all-White residential spaces in order to stay away from White prejudice and racism. In a similar line, immigration scholars such as Portes and Zhou (1993) found that African immigrants of low socioeconomic status resided among their African American counterparts in urban areas. An empirical study by Kyle (1999) found that Black immigrants of West Indies origin in New York City resided in racially segregated ethnic enclaves and Black neighbourhoods and, like their African American counterparts, were socially distanced from White Americans due to their racial background. Freeman's work (2002) produced similar findings, as did Waters' (1999) on Caribbean immigrants of African descent in New York City, and Kasinitz and Vickerman's (2001) study of Jamaican immigrants in New York City found that Black immigrants lived in close proximity to Black Americans segregated from White Americans. Scopilliti and Iceland (2008) further corroborated these findings on Afro-Latin Americans and many other immigrants of African descent in America.

In most cases, immigrants tend to create ethnic enclaves in urban areas to aid them in their adjustment endeavours and to protect themselves from discrimination or racism by members of the host communities that are hostile towards immigrants. To put it briefly, in countries with long histories of racial segregation, prejudice and discrimination, such as the USA and South Africa, immigrants of African-descent tend to reside and interact largely among

nationals of African-descent. The social class position of African immigrants also shapes their residential settlement patterns; due to their low socioeconomic position, many immigrants of African-decent are residentially concentrated in ghetto-like urban environments (Freeman 2002, Kyle 1999, Portes and Zhou 1993, Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001).

Residential Segregation Theory

Scholars of race and racial segregation have formulated models to explain the ways in which racial residential segregation plays out in racially stratified societies. Such models attempt to explain the differential spatial settlement patterns of racially defined social groups in societies where race is a dominant form of social stratification (Boustan, 2013, Christopher 2001, Maylam 1990, Seekings 2010).

Boustan (2013) proposes five types and causes of racial residential segregation; namely, state-imposed segregation, collective White mobilisation, individual White decisions, Black self-segregation and socioeconomic factors. In state-sanctioned racial residential segregation, the state passes and implements laws that establish separate residential areas and amenities for members of different racial groups. Historical South Africa and the USA exemplify this type. In the case of collective White mobilisation, whites designate Whites-only residential neighbourhoods through racially restrictive covenants, by refusing to rent or sell property to non-Whites in their areas. Racial residential segregation also occurs due to individual actions of Whites, who decide to move out of neighbourhoods when there is an increase in the rate of Black settlement in previously White-only residential areas. Racial residential segregation may also occur as a result of Blacks preferring to reside among members of their own race to avoid prejudice and discrimination. Residential segregation can also be driven by the socioeconomic status of a racial group. Due to a long history of discriminatory policies, disadvantaged Blacks in the USA and South Africa tend to reside in poorly resourced areas isolated from Whites.

The analytical concept of racial residential segregation and its various strands conceptualised by Boustan (2013) are useful in making sense of my lived experiences as a non-White African refugee with racial residential segregation in a racially segregated all-Black urban neighbourhood.

The Autoethnographic Approach

An author employing autoethnography reflects on his or her own lived experience (Ellis et al. 2010, Méndez 2013). Autoethnography 'allows researchers to draw on their own experiences to understand a particular phenomenon' (Méndez 2013: 280). It is a strand of the interpretive paradigm that in recent years has been used extensively by researchers from various disciplines to understand and analyse the workings of culture, society and politics in shaping their everyday experiences (Bochner 2001, Ellis et al. 2010). As Ellis and Bochner (2000: 739) note, autoethnography connects the 'personal to the cultural', which is achieved when researchers make sense of their own lived experiences in light of the broader socio-cultural contexts that frame their everyday lived world (Ellis et al. 2010, Méndez 2013). Reed-Danahay describes

autoethnography 'as a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context' (1997: 9).

When referring to their own lived experiences, auto-ethnographers use singular first-person pronouns as a style of writing, such as 'I', 'me' and 'my', and the focus of their writing is on recalled past and current experiences of a social phenomenon (Ellis et al. 2010). As Ellis et al. (2010: 12) note, auto-ethnographers 'may use first-person to tell a story typically when they personally observed or lived through an interaction'. Further, Ellis et al. (2010: 5) suggest that in conducting an autoethnographic narrative, 'an author retroactively and selectively writes about past experiences'. In engaging with autoethnographic research, one does not merely describe one's lived experiences but relates them to existing research and theory on the social phenomena they are experiencing. As Ellis et al. (2010: 9) note, researchers give meaning to their lived experiences by '[…] comparing and contrasting [the researcher's] personal experience against existing research'.

I employ a qualitative autoethnographic approach to reflect on my own everyday experience with racial residential segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa. I link my everyday lived experiences with racial residential segregation to broader historical, cultural and social factors that inform and shape my lived reality. And I connect my everyday experiences to the relevant literature on migration and racial segregation.

The subjective (autoethnographic) experiences of racialisation and racial segregation are well documented in the literature. For example, notable non-White race scholars such as W.E.B. du Bois (1903), who lived through the Jim Crow era in the USA, and Patricia Williams (1991), who experienced various forms of racial exclusion in the post-Civil Rights era, have documented the ways in which structural racism and segregation affected their lived experiences. Fanon (1967), another prominent race scholar of African descent, also chronicled his lived experiences with racism and racial exclusion in a White majority France.

Scholars have used autoethnography to reflect on their experiences with racial exclusion and segregation. For example, Johnson (2013) recounts his experiences as an African American with racial exclusion in a school setting in the USA. He notes that in the USA, a country with a long history of racial segregation, racial exclusion continues to today despite the repeal of *de jure* spatial segregation. Jennings (2014), a Black American, also describes his lived experiences with residential and school racial segregation in contemporary USA society. Scholars of immigration have employed autoethnography to narrate their experiences of racialised exclusion in the host societies. For example, using autoethnography, Run (2012), a Sudanese refugee, shares his lived experience with racism and marginalisation in Australia driven by negative media portrayal of Africans as violent. Alatrash (2018) reports on experiencing racialised stigmatisation and exclusion from the Canadian White society, due to her Syrian origin, even though she was formally a Canadian citizen. Vidal-Ortiz (2004), a light-skinned Puerto Rican immigrant in the USA used autoethnography to narrate his encounters with racialisation in the USA, as his accent and origin marked him as 'other'.

My Initial Encounters with Residential Segregation

I originate from Eritrea, a country where social differentiation is based on ethno-linguistic membership rather than racial groups (Woldemikael 2005). There are nine officially recognised ethnic groups in the country; namely, Afar, Bilen, Hedareb, Kunama, Nara, Rashaida, Saho, Tigre and Tigrinya. Social distinction between these groups is based on culture, not on phenotype or skin colour. I belong to the Tigrinya group, whose members exhibit a wide range of variation in skin colour and physical appearance (Woldemikael 2005). The Eritrean state does not collect data on race, as there are no racial groups in the country. Back in Eritrea, I never defined my identity by skin colour or physical appearance; I never had racial self-consciousness nor experienced racial residential segregation. My notion of group identity and membership was based on neighbourhood belonging, nationality and as Habesha.[6] When I arrived in South Africa as a refugee, I encountered the fact that it is a racially differentiated society where one's physical appearance means something. For example, the first thing I noticed about the big cities was how racially segregated residential areas were. I observed that the inner cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria, which I frequented, were predominantly Black; I hardly saw other racial groups residing or socially interacting with Africans in those urban residential areas. For the first time, I became conscious of the fact that I was now a racialised subject and that my social networks and residence would be shaped by my racial identity.

Upon arrival in South Africa, I moved to Sunnyside, Pretoria, an urban area characterised by African refugees' ethnic (multi-ethnic) enclaves, where some of my friends and acquaintances from Eritrea were staying. I immediately came into contact with Eritrean and Ethiopian communities (the 'Habesha') in the neighbourhood. I also started interacting with other local African foreigners and some Black South Africans. As a Black African foreigner, the first thing I observed was that I found myself in an urban area that was predominantly Black. In those initial years, my everyday encounters with other non-Black racial groups were almost non-existent, as my daily life was situated within the all-Black neighbourhood of Sunnyside.

Before Sunnyside became an all-Black residential area, it was largely inhabited by White Afrikaners. When residential segregation was outlawed in the 1980s and White-minority rule ended in 1994, Black South Africans started settling in the neighbourhood. White residents then moved out, gradually giving rise to the transformation of the neighbourhood from an all-White into an all-Black urban residential setting. Today, only few elderly Whites are seen in the area and many are residents of the local nursing homes. Apart from that, I only saw Whites driving through Sunnyside.

Even though I had read and heard about racism and racial segregation in South Africa before I arrived, once there, I started experiencing racial segregation in my everyday life. I started developing race-consciousness as 'Black', due to my daily interactions with other fellow Africans in Sunnyside and gradually became accustomed to my new reality of living in a residentially and socially segregated urban neighbourhood.

[6] Habesha is a pan-ethnic cultural identity claimed by mostly Tigrinya-speaking Eritreans and Tigrinya-Amharic- and Gurage-speaking Ethiopians.

Living with Residential Segregation

The Sunnyside neighbourhood is largely residential but there are also businesses lining the busy Robert Sobukwe Street (formerly known as Esselen Street). There are predominantly multi-storey blocks of flats and the occupants are Black South Africans and African refugees. There are also few resident immigrants from India, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh running cell phone shops in the area. Along the Robert Sobukwe Street, there are ethnic restaurants, restaurant chains, butcheries, laundries, clothing stores, internet cafes, mobile phone shops, banks, private clinics, hair salons, convenience stores, liquor stores, pawn shops, sports betting sites and night clubs. There are also street vendors; Black South Africans and African refugees sell their merchandise side by side on the sidewalks, dealing in vegetables, cell phone covers, sweets, beads, second-hand wares such as shoes, electronics, clothes and beds. Some African refugees (mostly Malawians) are shoemakers and tailors.

Churches and mosques in Sunnyside are sites of social cohesion among Black South Africans and African foreigners. The mosque on Robert Sobukwe Street is located inside an office building; there, Black South Africans, Malawians, Senegalese, Nigerians, Ghanaians, Ethiopians, Somalis and South Asians come together to pray. African foreigners and Black South Africans account for the membership of multi-ethnic Christian churches, such as the Apostolic Faith Mission Church, the Sunnyside Seventh Day Adventist Church, the New Life City Church, the Prophesy, Healing and Deliverance Ministries, the Assemblies of God, and various other churches. I occasionally attend services at Apostolic Faith Mission Church, where the membership is almost entirely Black. There are also many ethnic churches in the area, such as those attended by Ethiopians where services are conducted in ethnic languages. It is common to see African evangelicals preaching the gospel on street corners and in the Jubilee Park, a small public park in the neighbourhood.

Sunnyside can be described as a melting pot of diverse African cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Black South Africans of various linguistic groups — isiZulu, IsiXhosa, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, Sepedi, Setswana, Sesotho and SiSwati — live in the neighbourhood. African refugees from Burundi, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe also live there, alongside Black South Africans.

Most of us share apartments, as it is affordable to do so. It is indeed common in Sunnyside for people to advertise on street corners bedrooms for rent. The average monthly rent for a bedroom is 2,500 South African Rand (R),[7] while half-rooms are about R2,000 (about 116 USD). Black South Africans and African refugees often share a flat. I have shared both with Black South Africans and with African refugees of various nationalities.

The main shopping mall in Sunnyside, Sunny Park, is located in the midst of the neighbourhood and it is predominantly attended by local Black Africans. The fancy restaurants

[7] 1 Rand is about 0.058 USD.

and pubs in Sunny Park, such as Cappello, Spur, Rhapsody and Wimpy are often visited by us Africans. Some Black South Africans refer to Sunnyside as 'Lagos' because of the large number of African refugees in the neighbourhood.

It is rare to see Whites, Coloured or Indian South Africans living or interacting with us Africans in the neighbourhood. This could be explained by the fact that they tend to concentrate in other areas around Pretoria. For instance, there is a large Coloured community in a township called Eersterus, about 15 Kms east of Pretoria, which was designated by the Apartheid government for Coloured people. There is also a large presence of Indian South Africans in a township southwest of Pretoria called Laudium, which was designated by the Apartheid state for Indians. White South Africans are largely concentrated in the nearby wealthy suburbs such as Lynwood, Waterkloof, Groenkloof and Brooklyn.

My lived experience with *de facto* racial residential segregation in Sunnyside testifies to the social reality in urban South Africa. This is still a racially divided society experiencing the historical residues of Apartheid-era social and residential segregation of social groups. Even though I come into contact with members of other population groups in the University where I work, these encounters are largely work-related and formal. Much of my personal life is spent around Black Africans in the spatially segregated urban neighbourhood where I reside and interact socially.

Discussion

My experience with racial residential segregation did not occur as a result of state-sanctioned segregation or of collective White mobilisation (Boustan 2013), as such forms of segregation have been outlawed in South Africa. It appears to be due to individual White actions, Black self-segregation and socioeconomic factors. Individual White flight (Boustan 2013) from the Sunnyside neighbourhood occurred decades ago, and even after the formal repeal of Apartheid over twenty years ago, White South Africans still tend to avoid Black areas and self-segregate. The phenomenon of post-Apartheid *de-facto* racial residential segregation in urban Pretoria and particularly in Sunnyside can also be viewed through Goldberg's concept of 'racialised discourse' (Goldberg 1993), whereby South African Whites tend to avoid Black areas as unsafe and undesirable due to a popular 'racialised discourse' long established among Whites about Black people.

Black self-segregation (Boustan 2013) also explains my experience of racial residential segregation. Like many middle-class Black South Africans and African refugees, I have chosen to live and interact among fellow Africans in the Sunnyside neighbourhood. My socio-economic status (Boustan 2013) has also shaped my experience with residential segregation, because it is affordable for me to rent an apartment in Sunnyside rather than move to suburbs where rents are higher. For me, as for the majority of Black Africans residing in Sunnyside, it is our relatively low socioeconomic status that has made us to inhabit affordable urban ghettos like Sunnyside. As Christopher noted, '[t]he lack of economic empowerment on the part of the vast majority of the African population is a major impediment to the process of desegregation'

(2001: 463). This resonates with the findings of AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) in inner-city Johannesburg, where African refugees, like the inner-city neighbourhoods in Pretoria and in other major South African cities, also tend to reside and interact with other fellow African refugees and Black South Africans. With the abolishment of Apartheid, many Whites fled inner cities and relocated to the outer suburbs as Black Africans increasingly settled in city centres, which are currently all-Black (Seekings 2010).

Scholars of racial segregation in South Africa also note that residential patterns in towns and cities in post-Apartheid South Africa continue to show past imprints of spatial and social segregation (Christopher 2001, Seekings 2010). With reference to the link between 'micro' and 'macro' processes, Prato and Pardo (2013: 100) argue that we need to be mindful of 'the micro-level in its broader context and the effects that global processes have on the life of the single individual and of whole communities'. The phenomenon of racially segregated spaces in urban settings such as Sunnyside is not isolated; it is shaped by and linked to broader historical, economic and social factors. Meeting the point made by Prato and Pardo that urban anthropology 'while based in a specific urban area, offer[s] an empirical understanding of the broader context' (2013: 96; see also Pardo and Prato 2018), the lived reality of *de-facto* racial residential segregation in Sunnyside is linked to larger historical processes of formal and informal racial segregation.

My experience, as a Black African refugee resonates with patterns of *de facto* residential racial segregation in the USA. As I have noted earlier, empirical research in the USA show that immigrants of African-descent tend to reside and interact in residential areas that are largely inhabited by Black Africans, who are socially and spatially isolated from White Americans due to racism and their relatively low socioeconomic status (Crowder 1999, Freeman 2002, Kyle 1999, Massey and Denton 1989, Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001, Portes and Zhou 1993, Scopilliti and Iceland 2008, Waters 1999). Even though the USA and South Africa exhibit different histories and social demographics, they appear to converge on patterns of racial residential segregation in that Whites tend to live in affluent outer-city suburbs while Black Africans of low socioeconomic status inhabit inner city ghettos.

My own experience with racialisation also echoes with the experiences recounted by non-White scholars in racially stratified societies, such as the works mentioned earlier by W.E.B. du Bois (1903) — who reports on living in racially segregated USA society when White Americans segregated themselves from Black Americans whom they viewed as undesirable — and by Patricia Williams (1991) on her experience of racial exclusion in American society where White Americans tend to segregate themselves from African Americans. Similarly, other Black scholars such as Johnson (2013) and Jennings (2014) have documented living in racially segregated mono-racial spaces isolated from White America due to their racial background.

In the South African context, the interface between immigration and racial residential segregation is an overlooked phenomenon, even though Black African refugees in post-Apartheid South Africa experience *de facto* residential segregation.

Conclusion

In this article, I have used an autoethnographic approach, sharing my everyday lived experience, as a Black African refugee, of residential segregation in an inner-city all-Black urban neighbourhood of Pretoria, South Africa. My daily experience of social and spatial segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa illustrates the durable effects of historical Apartheid-era laws and policies of social and residential segregation of various racial groups. Even though at present *de jure* segregation does not exist in South Africa, as anyone can reside anywhere in the country, *de facto* racial residential segregation writs large across cities and towns in the country. The majority of low-income Black African refugees reside in urban centres that are predominantly Black and socially and residentially isolated from other South African racial groups such as Whites, Indians and Coloured. Residential segregation for Black African refugees in South Africa is an everyday lived reality. Future studies may investigate further the everyday lived experiences of racial residential segregation for non-Black refugees in South Africa. It is also worth exploring the lived experiences of second-generation Black African refugees in South Africa with racial segregation.

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'People Have Caste in Their Mind': Understanding Dalits' Experiences in a Multi-Caste Neighbourhood in Urban North India[1]

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This article is based on fieldwork conducted in in a multi-caste urban neighbourhood in Meerut city, Uttar Pradesh, India. It focuses on the experiences of Jatavs (a Scheduled Caste, or ex-Untouchable caste). In India, Scheduled Caste communities used to be segregated in separate colonies and localities. However, following the creation of Housing Development Authorities in various districts in the post-Independence period, people could buy properties regardless of their caste identity. These housing schemes provided opportunities to individuals belonging to the Scheduled Castes to live in multi-caste neighbourhoods. Yet, Scheduled Caste communities often feel unwelcome in these colonies and many argue that they feel excluded on certain occasions, especially when it comes to participating in the collective life of the neighbourhood. People belonging to the Scheduled castes, then, are forced to adopt various strategies in order to survive in such colonies. While it may appear that disparate castes live harmoniously together in urban multi-caste colonies, micro-level data shows that Scheduled Caste communities continue to feel isolated and discriminated against.
Keywords: Neighbourhood, caste, Jatavs, Meerut, India.

Much like in rural areas, where Dalits remain largely segregated on the outskirts of the village,[2] in urban locales, too, most Dalits continue to reside in separate colonies.[3] In Meerut, in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, the old walled city was divided along caste and religious lines, with Dalits relegated to the periphery. Post-Independence, particularly in the last quarter of the 20th century, several colonies were developed by housing societies[4] that were dominated by the upper castes. Some land was divided and plots were sold. While individuals belonging to the Other Backward Classes (hereafter OBC)[5] could purchase plots in these colonies, Dalits were unable to do so. However, government housing schemes introduced in the post-Independence period gave middle class Dalits the opportunity to buy property and live in multi-caste neighbourhoods. Here, I look at a multi-caste colony in Meerut town created through the town's Housing Development Authority in the 1970s to explore the experiences of Dalits in a multi-caste neighbourhood.

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[2] On residential segregation in rural areas, see Beteille (2002 [1965]: 25) and Anandhi et al. (2002: 4397).

[3] See Vithayathil et al. (2016-17: 47).

[4] Seven or more people make a group for housing and register it at the registrar's office (Society Registration), under Societies Registration Act 1860. This kind of group is known as a society. https://www.mca.gov.in/Ministry/actsbills/pdf/Societies_Registration_Act_1860.pdf; accessed on 6 September 2020.

[5] OBC refers to 'other backward classes'. This is a category used by the government of India and includes educationally and socially backward castes.

Caste Identity and Urban Neighbourhoods

While there exists an extensive tradition of studying different institutions like caste, family or kinship in urban spaces, little scholarly attention has been devoted to the social construction of urban neighbourhoods in India (Donner and De Neve 2007). And yet, as Donner and De Neve (2007) argue, the neighbourhood, in articulating the knowledge and experience of the wider world, remains a fertile terrain for the study of culture and plays a crucial role in translating the 'global' into the 'local'.

The neighbourhood has been conceptualised differently by different scholars. Vatuk asserts that a '*mohalla* is commonly referred to as a moral community, a group agreed as to right and wrong and having a body of custom and a character. But what the agreed values or the mores of the mohalla really are, is uncertain' (Vatuk 1972: 150). Donner argues that 'rules and regulations governing the mental map of the city or the neighbourhood are constantly negotiated, and transform a place into a space through gendered practices. Since the neighbourhood is not an administrative unit, it only exists in the form of narratives, which are transmitted orally between generations' (Donner 2007: 155). Abraham (2018a) maintains that neighbourhoods are constituted through practices like reciprocity, friendship and worship, and are characterised by a 'proximity of living' and through sensorial intimacy entailing sight, smell and sound. On the basis of a study of Bhuj in Gujarat, Simpson contends that 'While neighbourhoods exist as political, ideal and intellectual tools to both outside observers and those who live within them, neighbourhoods are also constructed by any number of invisible lines signifying trust, co-operation, affinity and their opposites' (2007: 228). Moreover, Graezer-Bideau (2018: 274) in her study of neighbourhoods in Beijing notes that neighbourhood landmarks are embodied in the collective memory of local communities. Neighbours, then, can be considered as social and economic supporters and guardians of prevalent norms and values, and therefore, the neighbourhood may be viewed as a site where neighbours exercise control over each other's behaviour and seek legitimacy (Abraham 2018b). Abraham argues that in urban neighbourhoods, neighbours play a crucial role in everyday life because they would be the first to help at the time of a crisis (Abraham 2018a). Pardo's seminal account demonstrates that neighbours in Naples prove to be good and beneficial resources that can be relied upon (1996: 69). Thus, the neighbourhood has been defined as a 'moral community', a 'ritual boundary', a 'form of narratives', and is said to be constituted through a 'proximity of living' and sensorial intimacy.

Indian cities have been segregated along ethnic, linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic lines. Referring to Calcutta (now Kolkata) as a 'premature metropolis', N.K. Bose noted in an article published in 1965 that the city remained far from being a 'melting pot' (1965: 102). Unlike cities in the United States, urban spaces in India did not usher in anonymity. Berreman studied the town of Dehradun in North India where he reported that urbanites remained, for the most part, adept at the identification of a variety of strangers as particular representatives of different social categories (1972: 581). Frøystad (2007) argues that her upper caste informants in Kanpur city try to categorise the anonymous people they encounter by using markers like skin colour, height, clothing, movement, speech and language; they categorise people as '*chote*

log' (small people, people of low castes and ex untouchables) or '*gande log*' (dirty people), '*acche log*' (good people) and '*bare log*' (big people), and try to keep their distance from '*chote log*'. Continuities remain in urban areas where upper castes try to trace the social background of anonymous people that they encounter and maintain their distance in public spaces from people belonging to the so-called lower castes.

D'Souza (1977) studied the problem of segregation of Scheduled Castes[6] (hereafter, SC) in the Amritsar district of Punjab. He argued that 'growing industrialization and urbanization lead to a deterioration in the residential status of the scheduled castes in towns' (1977: 238).[7] Nandu Ram, in his study of the Jatavs of Agra in the late 1970s revealed that the Jatavs were segregated in their low-lying neighbourhoods (2013: 39). Vatuk studied neighbourhoods in Meerut city in 1972 and found that there existed no residential segregation between upper castes and low castes (referring to backward castes), although Muslims and Harijans (Dalits) remained conspicuously absent in those neighbourhoods (1972: 154).[8] Vithayathil and Singh (2012) analysed data of the 2001 Census to study residential segregation in the seven largest cities in India and argued that caste was instrumental in shaping residential segregation not only in villages but also within urban enclaves. It has also been argued that besides residential segregation, caste-based discrimination plays a significant role in renting houses in urban India. Upper caste landlords and rental agents try to mask caste-discrimination by using caste-neutral language, like suggesting that they prefer 'good people', 'vegetarians' and 'people like us' as prospective tenants (Vithayathil et al. 2016-17). Thorat, Banerjee, Mishra and Rizvi (2015) studied discrimination in the rental housing market in five metropolitan cities in the National Capital Region (NCR)[9] and argued that in most cases well educated, well-placed and well-off Dalits and Muslims were denied houses on rent, with higher caste landlords often deploying terms like 'unclean', 'pollution', 'non-vegetarianism' as excuses for not renting their house. Often, Dalits and Muslims would be forced to accept unfair terms and conditions to find a suitable accommodation, and in cases where the caste identity of Dalit tenants were revealed after renting the house, the latter were subjected to harassment and were forced to vacate (Thorat et al. 2015). Ray (2008), writing about Ahmedabad, states that the original residents in *pols* (neighbourhoods) believed that the status of a *pol* was lowered when people of low castes and low-income groups entered the neighbourhood. Gorringe, in his study of Madurai (Tamil Nadu), also found that caste-based segregation still persists, and Dalits feel that they are

[6] Scheduled Castes refer to those castes who suffer untouchability and deprivation, and are enumerated in a list under the Constitution Order (Scheduled Castes), 1950. http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/CONSTITUTION%20(SC)%20ORDER%201950%20dated%2010081950.pdf; accessed on 18 September 2020.

[7] D'Souza refers to an increasing degree of segregation of SCs urban population concentrated in localities of lower socio-economic status, especially at the periphery.

[8] Dalits were absent in one of the two neighbourhoods in Meerut city that Vatuk described, while the only other Dalit family was living in the outer corner of the settlement (1972: 25).

[9] For this study, the authors selected five metropolitan cities namely Delhi, Faridabad, Ghaziabad, Gurgaon and NOIDA (New Okhla Industrial Development Authority) in National Capital Region.

'imprisoned within cheris'[10] (2007: 63). In Madurai, Dalit migrants prefer to live in areas where they have relatives and non-Dalit landlords remain reluctant to rent rooms to them and routinely ask for recommendation letters in order to screen residents (Gorringe 2007: 49). De Neve (2007) studied Vanniyars (a lower caste) of Bhavani town in the Erode district of Tamil Nadu, and found that they seized new market opportunities which had opened up as a result of liberalization, and created wealth by running dyeing factories. However, rich and poor Vanniyars spatially consolidated themselves as communities in neighbourhoods, and they considered their neighbourhood (*ur* or home) as a safe place. Similarly, in the 1970s, Channa found that dhobis were segregated in their neighbourhoods known as *katra* in the old city of Delhi, and these *katras* acted as 'places of security' for them (2013: 183). Deshpande argues that in Pune, Dalits were overrepresented in slums and *chawl/wadas* and their representation in flats and bungalows was only 7% and 1% respectively (Deshpande 2007).

Hull (2011) states that in 1956, the Ford Foundation was invited by the Government of India to assist in a development plan for Delhi. He argued that Ford-assisted programs were not in favour of residential communities based on kin, caste or religion and preferred place-based, interactional communities (Hull 2011: 757-58). However, the data presented indicate otherwise. There are now a growing number of urban neighbourhoods where people of all castes live in proximity. Government housing schemes have provided opportunities for Dalits to purchase houses or plots in some neighbourhoods, resulting in people of different castes living together here. There is, nonetheless, little scholarship on what it means to live in a multi-caste neighbourhood, particularly one with Dalits and upper castes. To this end, the present discussion focuses on a multi-caste and comparatively new neighbourhood in Meerut city.

An Introduction to Shanti Nagar

Shanti Nagar was developed in the 1970s by the state government's Housing Development Authority called Avas Vikash Meerut, in which people of any caste or religion could purchase a house or plot. It is situated on one side of the city and is approximately 3 km away from the old (walled) city, where neighbourhoods continue to remain organized on the basis of caste or ethnicity. Shanti Nagar is a well-planned, large neighbourhood, with one segment divided numerically into sectors and the other divided alphabetically into blocks. Each sector and block has several parks and open-spaces. Most of the roads are perpendicular to each other. The colony was designed with different housing standards: The High Income Group (HIG, size 200-300 square meter), Middle Income Group (MIG, size 127-167 square meter), Low Income Group (LIG, size 57-80 square meter), and houses for Economic Weaker Section (EWS, size 25 square meter) which are known as Janta Quarters. Besides houses, Avas Vikash sells plots, although their sizes are not determined. Avas Vikash also entails a reservation scheme for the plots and houses, with 21% for SC, 2% for Scheduled Tribes and 27% for Other Backward Classes. The Housing Development Authority (Avas Vikash) advertises in newspapers and online digital platforms and offers an opportunity for registration (with registration fee) to all buyers without discrimination. After registration, properties are allotted by a transparent system

[10] Cheris are settlements of ex-untouchables situated along the periphery of villages in south India.

of lottery so that every registered applicant may be granted an equal buying opportunity, which is why individuals belonging to the SC community can purchase plots or houses in Shanti Nagar.

Sector 2 of Shanti Nagar consists of LIG houses and Janta Quarters, and adjacent to these houses there exist a few large-sized plots (approximately 50 plots, of approximately 370 square meter size). Janta Quarters are constructed around a medium-sized (approximately 400 square yard) open area, which is covered by cement-tiles. During winters, it is common to see people lounging on their cots and chairs in front of their houses, soaking in the sun. People wander in this open area; women can be seen chatting with each other and children play here. This open space is used in the way courtyards inside old houses (an *aangan*) were used; it provides more opportunities for face-to-face interaction to the neighbours. Although a few Jatavs[11] reside in HIG and MIG houses, a significant number are concentrated in LIG houses and Janta Quarters, therefore I selected sector 2 of Shanti Nagar for my fieldwork.

In order to understand the experiences of those belonging to the SC community in urban neighbourhoods, I decided to focus on the Jatavs. The traditional caste-based occupation of the Jatavs is leatherwork: removing the skin of dead animals, tanning animal hides and manufacturing leather goods and articles. Leatherwork is typically considered polluting and the Jatavs were by association considered unclean and untouchables. However, Rawat (2012) has argued that the Chamars[12] constituted an important and skilled cultivating caste in rural north India. Not only were they central to land and agriculture, they were also involved in several other occupations, with leatherwork being just one of them (Rawat 2012: 84). Echoing D. Shyam Babu's observation that the congruence between caste and occupation has diminished substantially (2016: 242-43), in Shanti Nagar only a few of the Jatavs are involved in manufacturing shoes, while the rest are employed in public sector or caste-neutral professions like shop-keeping, tailoring, electrical maintenance, and so on. During my fieldwork, I was often told "*Anya jati ke log abhi bhi jaati ko maan main rakhte hain*" (People of other caste still have caste in their mind) or "*logon ke maan main jaati hae*" (People have caste in their mind). What happens when Dalits who used to live in separate neighbourhoods begin to live in proximity with upper caste individuals? Moreover, how does a multi-caste neighbourhood shape their lived experiences? How do they live in a multi-caste neighbourhood?

In Meerut, as elsewhere, people tend to choose their place of residence according to their economic status and purchasing power. In Dalit neighbourhoods, if someone secures a government job, he would attempt to reduce his interaction with his neighbours and would eventually try to move to a better neighbourhood. When I was conducting fieldwork in Bali Nagar (a predominantly Dalit neighbourhood), some well-wishers advised me to finish my work by 7 pm in order to avoid the drunken vagrants roaming the streets. A few people left Bali Nagar just to shield their children from such encounters with wayward intoxicated men wandering the locality, and many others were planning on moving to other neighbourhoods. Hira Lal, a resident of Bali Nagar and a teacher at Inter College, plays with his two children on

[11] Jatavs are ex-untouchables, and one of SCs in Uttar Pradesh, also addressed as Dalits.
[12] Chamar is a caste and Jatav is a sub-caste of Chamar.

the roof of his house but does not allow them to wander the streets. Manveer Singh is a tailor who lives in Sharda Nagar (a Dalit neighbourhood). His son, a bank officer, has rented a house in another colony and lives separately. After securing employment, Jatavs like to avail civic facilities and aim to change their lifestyle; they usually move to better neighbourhoods, which are typically multi-caste. Jatavs tend to select a neighbourhood according to their class, as residence is considered a formidable marker of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1996 [1979]: 105).

Experiencing the Neighbourhood

Several Jatavs confided in me that the existence of casteism, although not explicit, can often be gleaned from their interactions with other people. Discussions with the Jatavs about their experience of buying property in Shanti Nagar indicated the presence of a strong resistance to Dalits moving into the neighbourhood. Jagdeep, who is in his 50s and works in the property sector, says that although he feels he has good relations with his neighbours (including all castes) he believes that they harbour rigid caste prejudices. According to him, when Jatavs start living at a new place, upper castes try to scare them off; if they manage not to get scared then people eventually change their behaviour. Jagdeep went on to recount an incident involving an upper caste Punjabi client who wished to sell his house in Shanti Nagar. A group of neighbours, upon realising that the prospective buyer happened to belong to the Dalit community, coerced the property dealer against going ahead with the transaction. This culminated in a dilemma over how to say no to the Dalit customer, for if the seller would have revealed that his apprehensions originated due to the buyer's caste, he could have been held criminally liable under the SC/ST Act. Finally, Jagdeep managed to salvage the situation by telling the buyer that his client was unable to furnish the original papers of the property in question and succeeded in dissuading him from wanting to buy the house. The fact that it was a deal worth Rs. 1.5 Crore reflected that, for the upper caste, maintenance of boundary of 'group of upper caste neighbours' stood ahead of financial or monetary gain, and it seems that the Dalits economic achievements are not enough to remove the stigma attached with them.

That Jatavs routinely face instances of caste-based discrimination in Shanti Nagar can be illustrated through the dispute surrounding a park in Sector 2 of the neighbourhood. Kaushal Dev, a resident of Shanti Nagar, informed me that his nephew, an ex-MLA with the BSP[13] once met him along with a senior leader of the party who promised to contribute Rs.1 lakh for the maintenance of the park. This news swiftly spread among the upper castes, and it led to the rumour that the Jatavs planned on erecting a statue of Dr Ambedkar[14] in the arena. The next day, upper caste residents invited an ex-MLA of an opposition party and got a stone installed

[13]BSP refers to the Bahujan Samaj Party.

[14] During BSP's regime, a number of statues of Ambedkar were erected. Nicolas Jaoul (2006) argues that the rapid proliferation of Ambedkar statues since the 1990s reflects the Dalits' increasing consciousness of their constitutional rights. Erecting a statue of Ambedkar created some hope for dignity, pride and positive changes in their lives through the enforcement of laws. He also argues that there was a common slogan among Dalits 'the government land is our land'. This discourse about statues and land created tension in rural areas between poor peasants and dominant castes/classes (Jaoul 2006).

on the wall of the park, thereby giving it a name. This was done to ensure that no statue be put in the park, and served to intensify tensions between the Jatavs and the upper castes who resided around the park. Further conversations with people in the neighbourhood revealed that the park was partitioned between the upper castes and the SCs, with the northern half reserved for the former and the southern half reserved for the latter. In an attempt to establish more noticeably this division, upper caste residents put soil on the northern portion so as to raise the ground level. Additionally, two different gardeners were employed for these two sections of the park.

A Nai Thakur (a backward caste) with the assistance of the Jatavs organized a Sunder Kand Path[15] in that park. Subsequently, the Bhajan Mandali[16] put statues of Gods in the northern portion of the park, but upper caste people objected and insisted on having those statues removed. Earlier, people who resided around that park used to burn Holi[17] at two different places: Dalits did so at the crossroads adjoining to the southwest corner of the park, the upper castes in the northern section of the park. However, in 2016 few well-intentioned individuals from both sides came together and proposed that the two communities celebrate the festival collectively. Thereupon, a common Holi was placed at the centre, with the heap of the pieces of wood (Holi) occupying equal spaces along both sections of the park.

Interestingly, there is a street light on a pole at the western edge of sector 2 in Shanti Nagar. This pole is situated at the mid of a row of houses, there are some houses of Dalits on one side of the pole and some houses of upper caste on other side. Often, Dalit families complain that the street light in the middle is tilted by the upper castes towards their side.

Vinay Kumar, a resident of Shanti Nagar, is a teacher at Inter College in his 40s. Kumar recalled an incident involving a particularly raucous cocktail party with a hired disc jockey (DJ) hosted by a Kayasth family on their roof. The blaring music, unsurprisingly, perturbed the neighbours and caused Kumar to remark to another neighbour who also belonged to the Kayasth community, 'What type of party has your neighbour arranged on his roof? It caused problems to all'. The man promptly replied, 'Yes, it was just like a Chamar's party!' (*Usne party bilkul Chamaron ki tarah ki*). Upon saying this to Kumar, who happened to belong to the Chamar caste himself, immediately clarified that his use of the caste-based slur was unintentional.

Dev Kumar, a resident in his 40s who works in a private company, shared a similar incident where he overheard someone inquire about his caste from his neighbour. The neighbour answered that he was a Jatav, with an expression of disgust on his face — illustrating the repugnance with which people continue to look down upon the community.

In urban neighbourhoods, the economic condition of Dalits may have changed but the stigma and prejudice against them persist. While most Dalits try to maintain good relations with other residents, they continue to be adversely affected by instances of casteism and prejudice at the hands of their upper caste neighbours. This ultimately serves to restrict their participation

[15] Sunder Kand is a chapter in Ramayana, which people of Hindu religion read in a ceremonial way known as Path (reading).

[16] This is a group of professionals who sing devotional songs (Bhakti Sangeet) and read Sunder Kand.

[17] These are heaps of pieces of wood, which are burnt ceremonially before playing with colours on the festival of Holi in or around March.

in the everyday collective life of the neighbourhood. Jeffrey, Jeffrey and Jeffrey (2004) studied Chamars and Muslims of rural Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh and argued that Chamars believe that education provides inner confidence and courage and helps them to get rid of former feelings of inferiority. Meanwhile, Ciotti, in studying the Chamars of Banaras, Uttar Pradesh, posits that education only partially works towards acquiring social respectability (Ciotti 2006: 913). Vithayathil, Singh and Pradhan (2016-17) argue that it is not easy to displace instances of caste-based prejudice and discrimination through advances in education, health and income. Additionally, Prasad contends that non-Dalits, irrespective of their education, profession and position in the varna/caste hierarchy, react towards Dalits in an identical manner, the reason behind which remains a shared hatred for the latter (2006:180-181). All this to suggest that education only cannot guarantee social respectability or an outright erasure of deep-rooted stigma for Dalits.

Caste Prejudices and the Idiom of Cleanliness

During interactions between Dalits and upper-caste neighbours, issues of cleanliness, discrimination in the distribution of Sindara[18] and other eatables on different occasions,[19] extending invitations and consuming eatables in the homes of Dalits emerged as important issues.

The notion of cleanliness remains crucial in a multi-caste neighbourhood. Ramesh Kumar and Jatin Kumar are two neighbours belonging to the Jatav caste, who reside in sector 2 of Shanti Nagar. The former runs a shoe shop in a market nearby and also makes and repairs shoes, the latter is employed in the public sector. Jatin observes that people of the neighbourhood refrain from inviting Ramesh to their homes because of the 'polluting' nature of his work. They instead invite him to ceremonies hosted in banquet halls.

The urban village of Sharda Nagar is situated right opposite Shanti Nagar and is predominantly inhabited by the Jatav community. The relation between the Jatavs of Sharda Nagar and the upper caste residents of Shanti Nagar remains strained; however, Kavita, a woman in her 40s who lives in Sharda Nagar, sometimes talks with a Jat (a backward caste) opposite her house. She recalls that the Jat woman once said to her *'Tumhare bacche gande rehte hain, tum log bhi gande rehte ho. Islye hum tumse duri rakhte hain. Tum apne bacchon ki dekhbhal sahi dhang se nahi kerte ho. Tumhari mahilain acche rangon ka chunaav nahi kerti, wo chamkile rang pehanti hain'* (Your children keep themselves dirty, you also keep yourselves dirty, that is why we keep our distance from you. You do not look after your children well. Your women do not select good colours; they wear bright colours). Clearly, this woman attempted to couch her disdain for a particular caste in terms of 'cleanliness' and 'colours'.

Another incident highlights the ways in which people resist everyday instances of prejudice. Ram Kumar, a bank clerk, related a story about how an upper caste woman who lived

[18] Sindara is a big packet of eatables which is sent by the bride's family to her in-laws in the month of Sawan (a month in Hindu calendar).

[19] On Diwali, people distribute eatables (mostly sweet items) among their neighbours after visiting a shrine or after conducting a religious ceremony like Hawan, Path, Jagran, and so on.

in the neighbourhood had dropped in to see his wife at their home. On her insistence, his wife had taken her to their kitchen, where the neighbour expressed her surprise at how 'clean' and 'tidy' it was. On the other hand, Ram Kumar's wife was clearly upset when she visited her neighbour's house next and she did not hesitate to comment that the kitchen was very dirty.

Another incident touching upon the notion of 'cleanliness' was shared with me by Rahul Kumar, who lives in Janta Quarters. He mentioned how he always noticed his neighbour, Rajeev Sharma (a Brahmin), carry a glass in his pocket in order to drink water at other people's homes. On the occasion of his son's wedding ceremony, owing to the shortage of space in Janta Quarters, Sharma asked Kumar to store the cooked food in his house;[20] Kumar happily allowed him to do so. Kumar amusingly pointed out that a man who would otherwise refrain from using the utensils of the so-called lower caste ended up temporarily retiring his ideas about 'cleanliness' during his time of need. Upon closer examination the practice of purity and pollution remains, then, more flexible than what might initially appear.

The trope of cleanliness emerged as a recurring theme. Several Jatav men blamed Jatav women for not keeping themselves and their children clean, due to which they claimed they encountered difficulties in adjusting in multi-caste neighbourhoods. Yashveer Singh, a retired clerk, spoke to me one afternoon in his house about the ineptitude of Jatav women in looking after their children, as he often encounters the latter with their noses running and wearing soiled clothes. Another retired resident, K.P. Singh, told me about his upper caste neighbours whose houses remained particularly dirty, so much so that it was difficult for him to stay there for more than a few minutes. He voiced his doubts about their upper caste identity and asserted that given his own neat and clean lifestyle, it is he who belongs to the upper caste!

Exclusion from the Collective Life of the Neighbourhood

Several people told me that they wanted to get involved with the collective life of the neighbourhood, but they felt that on some occasions they were consciously excluded. Darshan Lal told me about an upper caste neighbour who invited most of the children to the birthday celebrations of his son but excluded the children of SCs even though they all played together in the park. Similarly, Vishnu Chand, a resident of the Janta Quarter who retired from Uttar Pradesh Roadways, noticed that during the Navratri,[21] when young girls (kanya) are invited to people's homes and given food, only girls belonging to Khateek (a Scheduled Caste in Uttar Pradesh) and other lower caste communities would come to his home. Girls belonging to the lower castes would not go to the houses of upper caste residents either. One day, as we talked in their home, Vishnu Chand's wife Meena said that when a Mahila Sangeet[22] is organised in someone's house, neighbours go to each other's homes irrespective of caste. Another resident,

[20] Traditionally, during wedding ceremonies, the place where cooked food is stored is known as 'Paras' and is treated as a sacred space. A senior family member or relative looks after this place, no other person is allowed to enter this area.

[21] Navratri is a period of nine days during which Hindus worship Devi (Goddess).

[22] On different occasions, women in the neighbourhood assemble in the house of a woman and sing songs known as 'Mahila Sangeet'.

Dev Kumar, told me that his wife regarded it an affront when she was not invited to a Mahila Sangeet hosted by upper caste women in their neighbourhood despite it being the norm to extend invitation to all neighbours irrespective of their caste. The woman who organised a Mahila Sangeet at her home distributed some snacks or eatables and Vishnu Chand's wife, Meena, revealed that she had noticed that upper caste women did not consume food in the homes of SC residents; instead they kept the eatables in their hands. They would insist on eating the food in their own homes, but Jatav women talked amongst themselves about how the food would really be given to the cows to eat. Interestingly, whenever Meena would serve beverages (especially purchased from the market, like cold drink) in disposable glasses, she would notice that the upper caste women would drink it without hesitation. Therefore, to underscore their resentment, SC women would also not eat anything in the home of an upper caste person. It can be argued that this is their way of resisting the casteism inflicted on them.

In Meerut and western Uttar Pradesh, there is a custom among Hindus of sending a big packet of eatables called Sindara to the home of their married daughter in the month of Sawan (in the Hindu calendar). These eatables are generally distributed among neighbours. While Meena is given Sindara eatables by her neighbours and she also sends food gifts to them, she admits she does not know whether upper caste women consume the eatables sent from her house. Dev Kumar told me he has observed that when upper caste neighbours distribute prasad[23] after returning from a pilgrimage, they skip the houses of the SC residents. This, he said, is true also when it comes to the distribution of eatables during different festivals.

In her study of Meerut in the early 1970s, Sylvia Vatuk (1972: 155) described how even backward caste people did not participate in any social gatherings held in the homes of upper caste people except as ritual servants; upper caste neighbours also did not participate in social gatherings held in the homes of backward caste people. During my fieldwork, I observed that the situation has changed not only for backward castes but also for Dalits. For instance, women routinely go to each other's homes to participate in social gatherings irrespective of caste. However, as described in the foregoing sections, tensions and cleavages between the two communities continue to linger.

Strategies Employed in a Multi-caste Neighbourhood

There are several occasions when Dalits feel they are excluded from participating in the collective and social life of multi-caste neighbourhoods. They strive to live peacefully in such neighbourhoods and to that end adopt various tactics and strategies.

Dalits maintain formal relations with their upper caste neighbours, lest they come to know about their 'disabilities'. For example, Jatin Kumar thinks that he has good relations with his neighbours including those belonging to the upper castes. They visit each other's homes, but he tells me that he tries not to visit their homes too frequently, for doing so may reveal his 'disabilities' and affect his relationship with his upper caste neighbours.

[23] These are sweets or fruits which are offered to deities during worship/devotional singing or reading, and after they are offered to deities these eatables are considered as Prasad. When people visit a shrine, they purchase some eatables from there, which are also known as Prasad.

Cleanliness, as previously mentioned, remains a crucial issue in multi-caste neighbourhoods. Besides keeping themselves clean, Jatavs are also conscious about *displaying* cleanliness; it is not uncommon for a resident belonging to the lower caste to instruct his wife to hang a wet sari in front of their house to dry, regardless of whether she takes a bath in the morning. This is meant to convey an image and appearance of cleanliness to the neighbours.

Dalits criticize their upper caste neighbours when they talk about caste-related issues. Jatin Kumar thinks that his are caste-conscious but whenever any discussion on caste-related issue arises, he immediately tries to suppress it. Another respondent, Dev Karan who works as an advocate, told me about how Rs. 11 Lakh was spent to maintain the park behind his house, which therefore remained in good condition. One day, he overheard a neighbour remark that mostly Chamars were using the park, to which he immediately told the person '*Mere paas ek talwar hae, main wo talwar tumko de dunga, usse tum in sab chamaron ka gala kaat dena*' (I have a sword and I will give it to you, and you cut off the necks of these Chamars). Karan told me that the man appeared mortified and embarrassed thereafter.

Sometimes Dalits use abusive language as an act of resistance, as to prove that they do not acquiesce to caste hierarchies and could be driven to retaliate with violence. Naresh Kumar said he did not feel a sense of subordination in the multi-caste neighbourhood. He illustrated this feeling by relating the following incident. The children of an upper caste neighbour who lived in front of his house once taunted his children by saying, '*Chamar ke bacche Chamar he rahenge'* (Children of Chamar will remain Chamar). When Kumar heard about this, he stood in front of the neighbour's house and hurled abuses at him till late at night. The neighbour did not come out. Kumar seemed pleased that he had managed to scare his neighbour. Similarly, Om Prakesh, a tailor and also a part-time property dealer, living in sector 3 of Shanti Nagar (Janta Quarter) shared his strategy to resist the persistence of caste. During a discussion with his neighbours about consuming alcohol, he, in order to scare them, would tell them that one night he drank half a bottle of liquor ('*Jab bhi kabhi padosiyon se sharab pine ki baat chalti hae to keh deta hun ki raat to maine aadhi bottle sharab pi li thi*'). Om Prakesh believes that his capacity to consume copious amounts of liquor gives the impression that he is not gentle and may prove to be dangerous. In the low income Janta Quarters, it is, then, not uncommon to see such an expression of virulent masculinity as a way to resist caste. This has been documented elsewhere in the country. For example, Anandhi, Jeyaranjan and Krishnan (2002: 4405) argue that the violence and masculinity of Dalit youth could be viewed as a strategy to deal with the painful legacy of caste, insufficient material resources and continuing social marginality.

Prestige and status are played out in the neighbourhood in multiple ways. For example, the presence of SC government officers in the neighbourhood and inviting higher level administrative officers at home also strengthens the position of SC residents. Bablu Singh, who resides in the Janta Quarters and has a business supplying shoes, had a good relationship with an officer in the Indian Police Service (IPS), who was posted as the Deputy Inspector General (DIG) of Police in Meerut. The DIG would visit him frequently and have dinner at his home. The officer's car, with flashing blue lights, would be parked right in front of Singh's house and a convoy of cars would be parked on the road nearby. These visits served to strengthen the

position of Singh in the neighbourhood. Jatin Kumar also shared that many Jatav officers resided around the park, and made it a point to tell me that there were no such upper caste officers in the neighbourhood. The presence of Jatav officers enhanced the morale of Jatavs in the neighbourhood and instilled in them a sense of pride. Mahindra Kumar does independent work of water management for different companies and lives in Janta Quarters. Many Brahmins live around his house, and Kumar maintains cordial relations with them. Kumar recalled that when he celebrated the *naamkaran sanskaar*[24] of his son, he threw a feast for all the neighbours. Standing in a common open space in front of his house, he extended the invitation for the ceremony to his Brahmin neighbours and said 'you are invited but tell me in advance whether you would come, so that I may get enough food cooked'. They replied that they would come. Kumar argues that since they were standing in an open area, Brahmins knew that they were being observed so they could not reject the invitation. The tactful communication by Kumar about his son's *naamkaran sanskar* to the Brahmin men, especially in the presence of other local residents, is reminiscent of, one could argue, Foucault's declaration that 'visibility is a trap' (Foucault 1995 [1977]: 200).

Manmohan Singh purchased a house from an upper caste person in sector 2 of Shanti Nagar. The former owner of that house had taken out a big loan, and soon after Singh moved in, he started facing harassment from loan-recovery goons. Singh felt that he faced such harassment owing to his caste identity, and invited members of his kin, including his brothers, to live in the neighbourhood for support. A clerk in a department of the central government, Balveer Singh who is in his 40s, told me that he believed caste existed in his neighbourhood. However, he asserted that his wife manages to neutralize the caste-feelings of upper caste residents by her 'good behaviour'. Singh also believed that people constrain themselves within the limits of their caste, and that communicating with upper caste people without inhibitions may result in harbouring good relations with them. He also pointed out, however, that upper caste individuals have not changed the lens through which they view Dalits.

In order to push back against caste-based sentiments in multi-caste neighbourhoods, Jatavs employ different strategies, like immediately suppressing discussions on caste-related issues, criticizing caste-based mentality, using abusive language, violence, talking tactfully, placing an emphasis on cleanliness, taking advantage of their social capital, maintaining a network of close kin members for support and neutralizing instances of casteism by their 'good behaviour'. Khare notes that the Chamars of Lucknow often use social tactics to get their work done in city environs (1984: 115). Jatavs, despite being educated and holding jobs in the public sector (which are desired and considered respectable), feel that they are excluded from the collective life of their neighbourhood. Naudet argues that the upward social mobility of Dalits does not sever their social identity from their caste; rather, caste remains central to their lived experiences and serves as an obstacle to being fully recognised as a member by the desired group (2008: 437).

[24] Naamkaran Sanskaar is a ceremony conducted to give a name to a new born baby.

Conclusion

Neighbourhoods developed by housing development authorities provide opportunities for Dalits to live with upper caste individuals in the same neighbourhood. Still, in these neighbourhoods, Dalits face difficulties in buying resale houses. In multi-caste neighbourhoods, Jatavs feel that they are excluded from the collective life of the neighbourhood. They also routinely experience instances of casteism which are often encoded in the idiom of 'cleanliness'. Although disparate caste-groups live together in multi-caste urban neighbourhoods, micro-level data reflects that Scheduled Caste (SC) communities continue to feel unwelcome and isolated. Nevertheless, Jatavs continue to resist discrimination and prejudice and try to be involved in the social life of their neighbourhood by adopting different kinds of strategies. That Jatavs in Shanti Nagar are no longer tethered to occupations which make them dependent on other castes has enabled this resistance and a visible break from expressions of subservience or servitude. Moreover, many Jatavs in the neighbourhood where I did fieldwork have government jobs or are employed in senior positions of the public bureaucracy. This has assisted in instilling a sense of pride among other members of the community and, in turn, has enabled them to resist instances of casteism.

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Cycle Rickshaws: The Past Prevails in George Town, Chennai, India[1]

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George Town is a busy yet hushed part of Chennai, one of India's biggest cities. A glance at George Town shows men in their forties, fifties and sixties riding cycle rickshaws, cycle carts and operating push-carts. This article explores the question: why is a locality in one of India's most modern cities characterized by modes of transportation that have been deemed pre-modern and of little utility? I argue that by catering to niche demand groups, the *rickshaw wallahs* persist with their trade owing to multiple ostensible reasons such as the inability to shift trades or complacency. I also argue that, in addition to this, the processes of meaning-making and space-making during action and inaction contribute to making the rickshaws indispensable to the *rickshaw wallahs* of George Town.
Keywords: George Town, Chennai, Cycle rickshaws, meaning-making, space-making.

George Town is a busy yet hushed part of Chennai, one of India's biggest cities. The key to the antiquity and elegance of the town lies in the curious case of vehicular change we witness as we are further engulfed into the heart of the town. One can hear Chennai's cars and motorbikes engage in honking contests a few hundred metres away. A glance at George Town shows men in their forties, fifties and sixties riding cycle rickshaws, cycle carts and operating push-carts. The roadsides house many a dormant rickshaws and carts as well. This makes me curious; why is a locality in one of India's most modern cities characterized by modes of transportation that have been deemed pre-modern and of little utility?

Cycle rickshaws and carts have long been viewed as 'relics of the past', 'anachronistic modes of transportation' and a non-preferable object in post-colonial India, aiming for modernisation (Hyrapiet and Greiner 2012: 409). How did these rickshaws come to be in George Town and what status do they hold now? The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) ruling party, led by M. Karunanidhi, banned and confiscated the hand-pulled rickshaws in the state of Tamil Nadu in the early 1970s. The party provided the rickshaw pullers with pedalled cycle rickshaws in return. During the 1960s and 1970s, when few buses and almost no auto rickshaws existed, cycle rickshaws were the most preferred method of transportation. In the 1980s, there were more than ten thousand cycle rickshaws in the city and more than hundred operators near Chennai Central (a major railway station in the city) alone. Now, the number of operators near Central has come down to less than thirty (Joseph 2016). Fast motor vehicles have replaced rickshaws in coping with the hustle and bustle of the city. Cycle rickshaws can only be seen in certain parts of the city now, mostly limited to areas near Chennai Central and North Madras (Joseph 2016).

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Why Rickshaws: Demand and Supply

Space and Pace

Guided by conversations with the people of George Town, I believe that space and time are of utmost significance when it comes to their choice of transport. The congested streets of George Town often bear witness to the fight between vehicles, cows and street side vendors in the occupation of space. People turn to cycle rickshaws and cycle carts to navigate these narrow roads. 'People prefer to travel by cycle rickshaws in narrow, busy streets. This is why Sowcarpet (a locality in George Town) still has rickshaws. Moreover, we can ply on one-way roads, in both directions. An auto (rickshaw) cannot do the same, they will be fined, but we will not', said a *rickshaw wallah* (rickshaw driver), hinting at auto rickshaws, commonly thought to be the exterminator of the demand for cycle rickshaws. People prefer auto-rickshaws, though they are priced higher than their cycle counterparts, for their speed. The time-rich go one way and the time-poor another. *Rickshaw wallahs* noted that their customers were people who were comfortable with the slow pace of the rickshaw within the fast movements of the city: school children who went by cycle rickshaws daily and senior citizens who go to nearby markets in rickshaws.

The demand for cycle rickshaws as chronicled through these engagements brings to mind similar cases of choice of mode of transport in Europe. One thinks, for example, of the informal services of privately run minivans (*furgonës*) that propped up in Albania in the 1990s; these were preferred to public services as they ran more often and reached destinations not usually served by public transport (Prato 2020). My Indian material also evokes Pardo's description (1996: Ch. 1) of a moped-driver in Naples, who speeds through the heavy traffic, commits multiple traffic violations and gets away with it, possibly hinting at larger factors which decide a person's choice of transport and how this choice is shaped by the particular urban contexts in which it operates.

Loss and Loss

As many respondents testified, auto rickshaws and 'shareautos' have replaced cycle rickshaws as the main mode of transport in George Town. It becomes important to question then how significant the impact has been on rickshaw drivers. Most *rickshaw wallahs* gain no more than two hundred to three hundred rupees in a day, as opposed to their revenue of fifty rupees per day in the 1980s (which is approximately equal to nine hundred rupees of today). They unanimously asserted the sufficiency of their revenue in the 1970s and 1980s, whilst affirming to the struggle to make ends meet today. While some *rickshaw wallahs* have taken up secondary sources of income such as catering and poster drawing, a significant number remain loyal to their profession. I identify three main reasons behind this. Firstly, they recognised that profits are less and tried to do other work, but failed. Mani,[2] who has been a *rickshaw wallah* for thirty years, said that he tried out acting and poster drawing for a secondary income, but 'nothing ever works out'. Secondly, they were used to the job and there was a certain sense of complacency.

[2] The name has been changed.

Rajan,[3] who has been in the business for thirty-five years, is physically handicapped and he said that he does the work because he cannot do anything else (*settaavalai*). Finally, some do the work because they like the work, the pace of it and the associated experiences.

Informal and Legal?

Cycle rickshaws may not be seen as modes of employment, but rather as work, to borrow from Pardo's distinction of formal and informal labour (1996: Ch. 2). As he notes, large sections of informal labourers engage in illegal or semi-legal activities, often functioning with negotiated legitimacy and the implicit concurrence of concerned authorities. George Town's cycle rickshaws, though the archetypes of informality, steer clear of this widely accepted conflation of illegality with informality. The legality of cycle rickshaws, as opposed to the illegitimacy of cycle carts, was also a recurring theme in the conversations with the rickshaw pullers of George Town. In 2016, there was a state government legislation requiring the rickshaws to be registered and given number plates along with a seal on the body of the vehicle (see Figures 1 and 2). Similar to motor vehicles, to ply a cycle rickshaw, there are two levels of licensing required: for the puller and the vehicle. In addition to this, there is a yearly check of the condition of the vehicle, in November. If the vehicle fails the test, the vehicle is confiscated and the *rickshaw wallahs* are required to pay a fine of three hundred rupees.

Image 1: The License Plate of a cycle rickshaw in George Town. Photo by the Author.

[3] The name has been changed.


Image 2: Government Seal on a cycle rickshaw in George Town. Photo by the author.

The ownership of cycle rickshaws generally rests with the puller. Rickshaw owners are identifiable by the officially sanctioned number plates. So, official legislation around rickshaws facilitates the tracing of abandoned rickshaws on the roadside to its owner. Their legality and legitimacy also reflect in the predominant perception of the concurrence of authorities. The rickshaw pullers professed to having varying relationships with the police. Most were of the opinion that police do not trouble them as they are an authorised means of transport, or fine them for traffic violations. The only tussle they have is during the annual check-up in November, when the police could fine them for not having a properly functioning vehicle. Some *rickshaw wallahs*, on the other hand, spoke of the police with fear. They claimed that the police favours rickshaw pullers on partisan lines and ill-treats (violently) the others. This throws light on the absence of a welfare group for rickshaw pullers. They are not unionised, and multiple rickshaw pullers cited this as a reason behind their lack of prosperity, given that there is already less demand.

Functionality

Cycle rickshaws in George Town embody a multiplicity of meanings and are far from being conceived solely under the rubric of transportation for short distances on crowded roads. Over time, the functionality of rickshaws has undergone a sea of change. In the past, rickshaws were mainly used by rich Marwari (migrants from Rajasthan) families for their personal uses such as visiting temples and for their children to go to school. Today, these functions are fulfilled, although separately, without the added dimension of being hired for personal use. A *rickshaw wallah* remarked that in the 1970s, they were treated like how taxi drivers are treated today (Joseph 2016). Mani, a *rickshaw wallah* in George Town, narrated his experiences of having taken people to every single market in Chennai and also about how he was hired to go to film shooting sets in the 1970s. I argue that the cycle rickshaw is dynamic in two senses: one, while active and one, while dormant.

Meaning-making and space-making are indispensable in this reading of George Town's cycle rickshaws. I look at this as intertwined processes beginning from the analytical entity,

space; that is, physical space. Conceptual distinctions have been noted between space and place in anthropological and urban analyses, of which I view meaning-making as the paramount difference. When cities become more than physical spaces by assuming social meanings, related to identity issues, they become places (Prato and Pardo 2013). These meanings are constituted by various components, living and non-living, and invariably vary from city to city. In George Town, the space-making cycle rickshaws contribute to the meaning-making of the town.

Active and Dynamic

While active, it becomes dynamic due to the above-mentioned multiplicity of meanings and functionalities and the process of space-making. These vehicles assume an array of meanings in the multitudinous ways they are made use of. Apart from giving rides to three or four people in a day, cycle rickshaws also undertake monthly contracts of dropping children off to nearby schools. In their spare time, *rickshaw wallahs* also use their vehicle for carrying items such as vegetables, spare parts and water cans through the streets of George Town (See Figure 3). Rickshaws carry different items based on the streets they are situated in and the commodity the street specializes in. Rajan, one of the rickshaw drivers, also said that his rickshaw was used to transport dead bodies three times throughout his rickshaw riding career. A rickshaw also dons an active role in the process of space-making and space-snatching. They manoeuvre their way around the intense Chennai traffic and three-man-wide roads and make space for themselves. The existence of these rickshaws even today could be seen as making space in a post-colonial Chennai, striving for modernisation and aiming to remove anything that slows it down. Yet another interesting aspect is that rickshaws are generally not favoured as they add to 'space congestion', but it is this very congestion against which rickshaws act as a cure in the packed streets of George Town.

Image 3: A cycle rickshaw in George Town, with some of the water cans it carries. Photo by the author.

Dormant and Dynamic

The rickshaw becomes dynamic owing to the processes that constitute its dormant disposition. The bodies of these rickshaws are often populated by drawings and scribbles usually indicating a leaning towards political parties or paying homage to the party who gifted the rickshaw. Rickshaws often carry advertisements on a monthly basis as well (Shrikumar 2013). In George Town, rickshaws are often the conduits for showcasing religious affiliations of rickshaw pullers via photos or idols of deities attached to it, which is reminiscent of expressions of religiosity in primary and secondary territories (Duck and McMahan 2010, Pardo 1996). In addition to meaning-making, the usage of space during dormancy throws light on interesting processes. In George Town, I could find children sitting on rickshaws and doing homework, middle-aged people sitting on and gathering around rickshaws and engaging in socialization, and people using it for shade. The rickshaw pullers construct a sort of secondary shelter around the space of their rickshaws; one *rickshaw wallah* described himself to be '24/7 available for rides' (See Figure 4). An interesting account, provided by Rajan, whose physical disability adds to his dependence on the rickshaw as per his own admission, was about how he had organised his life around the rickshaw; he dries his clothes on it, he constructs a small space around the rickshaw and undertakes bathing and brushing rituals, he refuses to be disassociated from the rickshaw and the ways in which routine activities seem to be facilitated by the rickshaw.

Figure 4: A cycle rickshaw in George Town, parked on the roadside, made into a temporary shelter. Photo by the Author.

Although the call for modernity spelt doom for the rickshaw drivers of George Town, the cycle rickshaws continue to constitute an expression of something left behind, something that still sustains and makes its voice heard. Catering to niche demand groups, the *rickshaw wallahs* persist with their trade owing to multiple ostensible reasons such as the inability to shift trades or complacency. I have argued that, in addition to this, the processes of meaning-making and space-making during action and inaction contribute to making the rickshaws indispensable to the *rickshaw wallahs* of George Town.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Nikhil Ananad. 2017. *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Scholarly works *on* water identifying various aspects of its relationship with human and non-humans are in significant numbers. They have qualitatively influenced our understanding on life and livelihoods as well as the rise and decay of societies and civilizations over space and time vis-a-vis water. This book is surely a worthy addition to that repository. Overtly, it provides a detailed analogy of *water* and its associated paraphernalia in the Indian city of Mumbai but covertly, through it is field based insights, it allows the readers to collate and compare how the contents of debates in contemporary India changed abruptly within a short span of time; i.e. from locating the 'gaps' in identifying the constitutionally accepted rights and provisions for citizens to a *milieu* which talks less about provisions but questions fundamentally citizenship itself by casting aspersions on who is an Indian citizen.

Citizenship determined solely through documents are an arduous process, where one agency of the state verifies documents as 'proofs' issued by another, as if the state simultaneously doubts and resolves itself through documentary evidences. In this regard, there has been a perceptible shift in India today. In a chapter titled *Settlement*, there is an interesting observation, how even unintended documents were treated as adequate proof for justifying belongingness to a place — of course, after it was accepted by the Court of law. Quoting an incident, the author cites how a housing activist 'had successfully used a previously issued (but unexecuted) eviction order as a proof of tenancy to prevent evictions when the bulldozers came around several years later. The court accepted the document as proof of address and occupation and stayed the demolition' (p. 88). Contrast this incident with a recent court ruling (February 2020),[1] where after submission of 15 documents as proofs, the court rejected the appeal of a 'citizen' to citizenship. Scanning through the pages of this book replete with such anecdotes endows us with numerous insights that, when compared with the emerging realities, reminds us of the dialectical relationship between the state and its citizens in India today.

Spread over six chapters and interludes, an Introduction and an insightful Preface, this book discusses how 3.4 billion litres of water is collected more than a hundred kilometres away from the city to be transferred and distributed in 110 hydraulic zones in Mumbai to hydrate 13 million residents every day — with the help of five hundred water engineers and seven thousand laborers of Hydraulic Engineering Department and 'a mass of silent others' who enable the process (p. 1).

Chapter 1 (*Scarce Cities*) provides the context to the study by highlighting the dissonance in the process of urbanisation and urban provisions to its residents in cities located in colonial heartlands (London, Paris, etc.) and hinterlands e.g. Bombay (Mumbai) (p. 35). In the former, urbanisation catered to 'the needs of an expansive urban public' (p. 35), while in the later, urban provisioning from its inception was based on 'a limited domain of liberal citizens and remaining subjects' (pp. 35-6).

This binary has continued in the post-colonial era as well, where the estimated (!) average of 240 litres of water per person per day (p. 38) does not reach 60% of Mumbai's population residing in slums and chawls (p. 43). The chapter provides a brilliant insight regarding how this approximation of per capita requirement is calculated through a process of 'enduring scarcity' (p. 36) and 'management of silences' (p. 41). Inability to access water by the villagers of Shahpur taluk in the Thane district, a place where water is collected by controlling five dams on three rivers and then transferred to Mumbai with an assumption of '863 million litres of loss in the system per day' (p. 38), illustrates the cross sectionalities of distributive justice (or a lack of it) both between the agrarian and the urban and within the urban as well.

The second Chapter titled *Settlement*, a term which has been used by Anand instead of slums and chawls, describes how water influences the politics in the everyday life of settlers in the Jogeshwari and Premnagar settlements as well as how politics shapes water provisioning in these areas. Moving beyond the duality of civil and political society, the author emphasises the fluidity of urban life and the importance of different kinds of *relations* both formal and informal in shaping the life of the settlers as hydraulic citizens. Beyond the market and the state, this chapter exhibits 'the practices of friendship and helping' which although 'ambiguous are marked by excess — an excess that carries the relation forward into the future' (p.78). Through several case studies these ambiguous relationships are explained. The transformation, on the part of the thought process of the state from advocating slum *erasure* to *improvement* (p. 82) has also been a manifestation in this direction. While the state works hard *not to count* and *not to know* certain populations as liberal citizens for urban provisioning, the settlers through extraordinary social and political work gain access to the same (p. 89). A process that suggest the settlers simultaneously 'live at once in multiple regimes of sovereignty and rationality' (p. 94).

'Residents of Mumbai have long been governed by the time of water' (p. 97) and the third chapter is thereby titled *Time Pe* or *On Time*. Scarcities and excesses mark urban living and a common sensical understanding would be to rationalise both the extremes so that regularity of flow is maintained. But fieldwork quoted in this chapter highlights that settlers are not in favour of 24 hours of water; rather they would prefer limited flows *on time* but with adequate water pressure. Eight hundred valves control the flow and pressure of water operated by *chaviwallas* (key people) (p. 101), who decide the temporality of water availability which in turn determines the everyday life of the city dwellers especially the settlers. The social life in the settlements and the gendered forms of personhood gets determined by water and its time of supply and thereby instead of claiming water, anytime, they prefer to have it at right time' (p. 123).

Where 'relations, kinship and friendship' (p. 133) plays an important role instead of universal citizens' right to public goods, *social work* provides an important alibi for establishing contacts with those 'who matter' for enabling hydraulic citizenship. Social organisations provide

the platform for connecting the 'people who matter' and the settlers, so that a mutually beneficial relationship is generated where the former enables public provisioning of goods and the later sustain them as voters during elections. Many organisations undertaking social work are thereby empowered by 'infrapower' (p. 136). Chapter 4 focuses on one social organisation named Asha and its office bearer to analyse the interplay of infrapolitics in the life of settlers and the 'people who matter'.

In such a huge and widespread network of collection, storage and distribution of water, what is the level of leakage in the system! Chapter 5 aptly titled as *Leaks* analyses this aspect both in terms of reflections of the engineers as well as a social process. Anand explains that 'leaks' are placed in between 'ignorance and not yet known and 'unknowable' (p. 162). Determining the quantum of leaks, where 'over half of the city's water meters remain out of service' (p. 165) and the accompanying 'politics of estimation' falls within the 'gap' of knowledge and ignorance associated with the physicality and the sociality of water. This 'gap', enabling 'leak', 'allow people to live' by placing them 'beyond the accounting regimes'.

How was Mumbai able to sustain itself prior to its present system of water supply? Wells, springs, wetlands and other sources of ground and surface water hydrated the population until the colonial scheme of water supply was instated in 1860, where Bombay became 'urban India's first municipal project' (p. 35). This transformation of the city into a hydraulic city, however, is a process where other water sources gradually became unconnected and later disconnected; so was the case with hydraulic citizenship too, where a large section of the population remain disconnected to its grand water infrastructure. Chapter 6 titled *Disconnected* provides a vivid analysis of this process of everyday discrimination, abjection and deprivation in the life and making of the hydraulic citizenship in the metropolis. It is a story of Premnagar, a largely Muslim settlement. The settlement becomes a lived manifestation of the interplay of 'cultural' and 'real' politics in matters of public provisioning of water and through it, the creation of the 'other' who thereby are perpetually castigated for their 'suspicious' origins and 'questionable' hydraulic practices.

Nikhil Anand provides the readers a fascinating collection *on*, *about*, and *for* water and it is accompanying circular politics of ever-increasing estimations of scarcity and thus the perennial requirement for newer sources and engineering structures to keep a city hydrated. This unending circularity, however, falls short in ushering in an era of social contract, where emancipatory hydraulic citizenship is guaranteed.

Notes

[1]https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-assams-citizenship-test-papers-6291710/

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Michael Batty. 2018. *Inventing Future Cities*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Michael Batty's most recent book, 'Inventing Future Cities' deserves more attention from academics, urban planners and policy makers than it has been accorded. One of the key reasons for this is that it largely succeeds at informing both the academic field of urban studies and more practice-related concerns surrounding urban governance by state-related institutions and their representatives. It is, therefore, a testament to Batty's scholarly depth and breadth of knowledge to be able to engage these broad domains as a whole. Readers seeking a singular work that enables one to reflect on the complex issues that cities of both the present and future encounter will find Batty's insights valuable. This is partly because Batty avoids the all too familiar and simplistic approach taken by other writers at promoting grand narratives that too confidently predict the future of cities. Instead, he offers a far more realistic and intellectually humble perspective, claiming that we can never truly know what the future of cities will be like. At best, one can only manage how we should 'think about cities', based on past and present knowledge. Batty subsequently seeks to justify this position throughout the rest of the book, identifying several arguments and providing real-life examples on how one can engage the various possibilities surrounding future cities. A key assumption of his arguments largely rests on the unpredictable nature of the city and the related topic of urban development, as he appeals to a range of perspectives by various scholars from his field and those beyond. Particular theoretical attention is given to complexity theory, which serves as the philosophical foundations of this book and its conclusions.

Challenging rigid and one-dimensional discourses, Batty puts forward the argument of how cities of the future are complex multifaceted living systems that are largely self-organizing from the ground up, an analytical cornerstone of complexity theory. This is combined with a view that cities both today and tomorrow are sites of time-space compression, where diverse and diffused mobility-communication networks are no longer easily defined along geo-spatial boundaries (or as physical artifacts) that rely on measurements like density and size. As a result, he takes inspiration from Glaeser's paradox, where 'proximity becomes more important while the deterrent effect of distance is of lesser significance' to further highlight the qualitative differences that cities of the future will tend towards. He makes his case referencing largely from examples in the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe, showing how post-industrial cities of the present now require a paradigm shift in thinking about the future. As such, it is also important to note that the form of future cities may no longer necessarily follow their original function in a digital age. This is one outcome of the advent of technological advances that signal the emergence of 'smart cities', or what Batty labels the 'sixth Kondratieff wave', referring to the former Soviet scholar in the early 20th century who identified periodic economic cycles leading to 'waves of innovation' in society.

These are important arguments, as the complexity theory approach suggested by

Batty allows for greater dynamism in either scholarly studies of urbanity or policy-making. This is opposed to a kind of linear dogmatism employing a narrow view that privileges an economy-centric view of city growth. This often leads to incomplete analyses of urban systems with little regard for environmental, social-cultural or geo-political constraints and realities. Perhaps one of the best ways to examine the merits of Batty's arguments is to situate them in other contexts that he did not raise. The value of such views certainly finds clear relevance, for example, in the case of Singapore, a unique modern-city state in the heart of Southeast Asia, often heralded as an economic miracle and a model for sound governance. The island-state's urban planners and policy-makers have already taken a complexity theory approach to understand and sustain the layered and intricate factors leading to its economic success and present standards of high livability. Set within the broader context of climate change, this is particularly pertinent in view of Singapore's high population density, limited spatial capital, diverse ethnic makeup and its rapidly ageing population. The insights provided by Batty facilitate an integrated thinking framework to navigate research and policy-making in an increasingly digitized, globalized and culturally diverse world. And as already articulated by Batty, the need to adopt an intersecting and interdisciplinary systems approach is a crucial way forward in dealing with the unpredictable future of 'smart' cities or otherwise.

At the same time, one area that Batty could have elaborated further on was how cities, within and between themselves, are seldom homogenous spaces. In other words, while he does acknowledge the multiplicity of processes and nuances in decision-making within cities, such complexity is often mired in inequalities and power differences that emerge from challenges like digital divides, ethnic enclaves and urban gentrification. Contending social-cultural, political and economic forces further entwine the urban experience of cities and their subsequent transformations. Cities, while the site of disruption, innovation and ambiguity, can be the site of exploitation, conflict and precarity. This is because cities are also lived spaces inhabited by people driven by competing interests and their attempts at sense-making. Batty had an opportunity to contextualize his arguments as such, but did not appear to devote enough substantial reflection on this, and virtually glosses over them. The same thing can be said about the rather marginal attention that climate change gets throughout the book's narrative. Nevertheless, not all this should distract the reader from the obvious and significant contribution of *Inventing Future Cities*. In more ways than one, Batty's book provides a continuation of a far older and ongoing intellectual examination of the connections between urbanity and industrialized society that first began with the emergence of the first urbanized cities in human history. It marks a positive step towards greater dialogue between academics, urban-based professionals and policy-makers that will enable a more grounded and comprehensive understanding about the future of cities.

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Michael Ian Borer. 2019. *Vegas Brews: Craft Beer and the Birth of a Local Scene*. New York: New York University Press.

Michael Ian Borer's *Vegas Brews* looks at how the cultural logics of a city are both created and constrained through interactions and reputations. In particular, he looks at how denizens of Las Vegas try to create a local space in the midst of what many see as the ideal typical transnational city (i.e. one of constant motion, populated by non-citizens whose bodies are not bound by typical geographies but by capital). In response to the question how amidst a city built and run for the tourist class, can inhabitants and workers create a sense of place, his answer surprisingly, is through the interactional potential of the craft beer scene.

Craft beer, and craft in general, has become synonymous with the local; engaging in craft is a way to experience local culture and consume unique goods. The rise in craft has been at the forefront in the fight against globalization and corporate control over a range of products, including foodstuffs. Consuming craft beer is seen as a way to stick it to big beer, support local economies, and regain consumptive control. In many areas in the US, it has also been used as a mean to save downtown areas.

The rise in craft breweries and craft beer in general has been phenomenal. The US alone has gone from about 800 craft breweries to over 8,000 in the last 20 years. There are a number of states in the US that alone have more breweries than entire countries. The US is awash in good beer. And while many breweries have been both pilloried and praised for reappropriating place, Borer sets his book in a unique place, Las Vegas.

Las Vegas is an urban simulacrum; it wants you to feel at home but has been simultaneously created to be a place that is the very antithesis of home. Within craft beer, the fight over craft versus crafty beer (large, macro brands posing products as craft beer) looms large, and there is probably no better place to look at the nuances of that fight than the ultimate crafty city — Las Vegas.

To rediscover the urban, Borer uses scenes as his object of study. Studying a city by looking at scenes, especially when looking at culture, allows Borer to locate both the production and consumption of culture. It allows one to learn the scripts of place and as Borer finds, to locate how people become re-enchanted with place. In doing so, he invites us on his journeys through Vegas, from craft breweries, to bottle swaps, to casinos, to dive bars. In each place we meet denizens of the craft beer scene who are trying to change local culture.

This is not always an easy task. Rather than ignore the elephant in the room, Borer names it—'Las Vegas Syndrome'. The inauthenticity of Vegas produces a representational constraint towards achieving an authentic culture. While most cities would kill for the urban branding and reputation that Vegas has, it constricts culture. The city is the product of a heavy-handed, top-down production of culture, rather than a bottom-up form of urban culture. Here craft beer becomes a symbolic battle over urban culture. Thus, Borer's fellow craft collaborators know

they are fighting a good fight, and that they get to do it with beer.

This battle is largely waged through interaction. Borer shows how taste is performed through tasting with others. His ethnographical pursuit of the meaning of craft beer goes deep into the rituals of drinking to show how Vegas gets reimagined through its 'interactional potential' (p. 91). His craft collaborators look forward to getting together to share bottles, to socializing new members into the craft scene, to building up local bottle shops, participating in craft beer conventions, and starting breweries. Borer notes that this 'reappropriation of place' is part of a 'community found vs community lost narrative' where 'attentive civility' — which is community or interacting with others in an intentional way produces a new kind of community (p. 133). As such, *Vegas Brews* is at the forefront of urban studies, one that focuses on the micro-intentionality of community members while keeping mezo-level barriers on the horizon.

Borer does get into the culture of craft. Here he shows how craft beer drinking is seen as different than other kinds of drinking. Drinkers are often interested in 'Interactional accomplishments', such as earning badges for acts of consumption, ticking off certain places in which to consume, and in earning status for imbibing (or more likely just collecting) whales—the rare one-off beer that immediately raises a brewery's (and the collector's) status. While such behaviour is natural in scenes, Borer also sees it as a tragedy of culture (p. 171). In particular, he sees it as ultimately a problem for bottom-up local culture, where 'neoliberalism and capitalist encroachment on leisure' foster distinction in consumption. Thus, many of the participants in the scene are simply consuming in order to create a difference between themselves and others. This goes against the ethos of much craft consumption, but as others have shown, democracy and distinction are the warp and woof of urban culture.

In Borer's more than capable hands, the craft scene becomes in part a resistance to the dominant other in the city; the 'corporate-driven neon spectacle that most people outside of Las Vegas associate with the city' (p. 6). Vegas is the most inauthentic city imaginable which makes it the perfect place to look for authenticity. Borer's book is an ingenious attempt to look at the negotiations of place-making in the city. It is an academic tome to be sure, but highly readable to anyone interested in things urban, culture, or just beer.

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Barbara Heer. 2019. *Cities of Entanglements. Social Life in Johannesburg and Maputo Through Ethnographic Comparison*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

This thought provoking but at times difficult to read book is based on fourteen months of fieldwork conducted with the aid of three research assistants between 2010 and 2012 in Johannesburg — Alexandra (a less affluent/poor area) and Linbro Park (an élite/affluent area) — and in Maputo — Sommerschield II (an élite/affluent area) and Polana Caniço (a less affluent/poor area) for the author's doctoral project.

Three aspects guided the research. Firstly, the evolvement of everyday lives in the four neighbourhoods. Secondly, the everyday movement of urban dwellers on paths and routes through the city whereby neighbourhoods were linked with workplaces, spaces of consumption and of worship elsewhere in the city. Thirdly, spaces where the lives of people from adjacent neighbourhoods become entangled.

The book consists of eight chapters, a postscript (on comparison in anthropology) and bibliography. The settings are outlined, the histories of the research areas sketched and concepts such as entanglements, space, urban milieus and agency are discussed.

In both cities the urban areas under study were unequal, and in both cases the more affluent neighbourhoods tried to manage the relations of proximity and distance between the insiders and those regarded as outsiders, often by erecting walls and other security measures. However, such measures on the organisation of space are only part of a more complex picture, as they reflect the views of the élites while the views of the less affluent are ignored. Here, these relations between people and spaces, and the attendant different views, are defined as 'entanglements'. These entanglements, mostly recognised by the less powerful, challenge the élite's desire for segregation. Entanglements and encounters are complementary terms, where encounters refer to instances of engagement across difference and entanglements involve the social relationships that come about through such encounters.

As a result of colonialism and apartheid, cities like Johannesburg and Maputo came to be seen in terms of binary categories of difference like Black and White, European and Natives (segregation) and, in spite of changes that have taken place, these binaries still influence how the inhabitants try and make sense of their worlds and how cities are being analysed. Entanglements are shaped by the history of each city but also by the entanglements between the two cities.

Using entanglements as a point of departure, it is argued, helps to address shortcomings in urban anthropology and urban studies. First, Heer points to what she calls mosaic thinking in urban research that focuses on the single neighbourhood. Space is understood to be absolute and cities thereby seen as consisting of distinct parts, each with their own identity and with clear boundaries between them. Entanglements show how these different urban worlds are not totally disconnected and segregated. Second, Heer criticises the division between an emphasis on location and place-making and one on networks. Looking at the city through entanglements, she argues, will provide a new understanding of the reality of urban life between urban segregation and mobile, connected lives. Third, '[...] scholarship of conviviality in urban spaces often overemphasises the significance of interactions in publicly owned public spaces [...]' (p.30). In her view, analysing entanglements helps us to understand that the different spaces of urban life — suburban homes, religious spaces and shopping malls — are linked to each other and are seen in relation to each other. The fourth shortcoming relates to the

methodologies of comparisons. Amidst all the debates about the politics of urban theorising, epistemologies and typologies of comparisons, Heer maintains, few practical answers are given as to how comparison as a qualitative ethnographic method can be used.

There is a spatial dimension to urban entanglements. Three interrelated concepts — namely, space, milieus and agency — need to be used in order to understand ethnographically and analyse such urban entanglements.

Space can be relative (the spatial relationship between objects), relational (the space brought about by relationships) and absolute (such as a fixed geographical space or bounded phenomena). Heer bases cities of entanglements on a relational and relative understanding of space. Social space, she writes, '[...] is constructed, negotiated and experienced in the situations of everyday life through the interplay of three dimensions, namely, through (1) the material, (2) the conceived and (3) lived space.' (p.32). What needs to be taken into account is that there is a difference between Western and African forms of knowledge production regarding space.

Urban social milieus (groups of like-minded people) found in an urban area are brought about by entanglements through the social situations in which people interact with one another in everyday life. Therefore, because of people's agency, entanglements are fluid, shifting and subject to chance while also being influenced by patterns from the past.

Chapters two, three and four address the entanglements regarding Alexandra and Linbro Park respectively and examine how the urban populations of the two areas became entangled in spite of apartheid. Heer explains how neighbourhoods, urban dissimilarities and entanglements become reconstructed as material, social and imaginary realities. In Maputo, two main issues direct the discussion. One concerns the efforts by the élite property owners of Sommerschield II to close off their neighbourhood from Polana Caniço by building a wall across the common access road and turn their neighbourhood into a condominium. The wall was later demolished by the inhabitants of Polana Caniço. The second concerns a gentrification process whereby Sommerschield II expanded into Polana Caniço, due to the latter's closeness to the city centre, beach and malls.

In chapters five and six the realm of religion and shopping malls are discussed as urban spaces which may provide the possibility of equality, with symmetrical relations and the unfolding of sociality and community across boundaries. Heer discusses how religious encounters between Indian and African Muslims in Maputo brought about mutual stereotypes and prejudices, and how the Christian churchgoers from Alexandra experienced informal micro-segregation.

In African cities, shopping malls are important spaces of public life that stand in particular relations to other urban spaces. They have layers of meanings and different forms. Heer discusses shopping malls as entangled spaces of heterotopia that involve multiple logics, an interplay between various binaries (public-private, normal-extraordinary, imagined-real, similar-dissimilar), and are, therefore, ambivalent

and antithetical. She focuses on the following aspects: (1) spatial practices by users, (2) representations of the malls, (3) encounters in malls, and (4) the relationship between the mall and the rest of the urban settings. Due to the nature of interactions and behaviours in the mall, people become more aware of the reality of urban society and of their social position in it.

The mall becomes a place where there is a chance of encounters across social boundaries linked with domestic work, religion and street life generally. There is variation among urban residents and lifestyles as to whether a mall is regarded as a normal place and whether it is part of the daily routine.

In conclusion, the lives of urban dwellers are intrinsically entangled, in spite of the fact that they lead different lives in adjacent but separate neighbourhoods.

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Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (eds). 2019. *Legitimacy: Ethnographic and Theoretical Insights*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Series: Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology.

The most significant aspect of this edited volume of thirteen essays and an introduction is its timeliness. The legitimacy of the state, the moral authority of those in charge of the lives of the masses has never been under so much scrutiny as now. In the present times the ruler is ideally a representative of the people and as stated by Pardo authority without legitimacy is seen as authoritarianism and evokes equivalent response. All states are founded upon some criteria of legitimacy, the least of which is election to power by a popular vote; yet these elected or selected authorities are not acceptable only by the legal and judicial process that gives them an overt right to rule. They can be and are actually challenged when they fail to deliver what the citizens cognitively understand as their cultural, economic and social rights. Rights and responsibilities are filtered through a moral screen of evaluation and judgment that connects the formal and the substantive, the legal and the emotional and the structural with the constructed reality. Pardo and Prato (p. 8) clarify this aspect as the distinction between the normative and empirical dimensions of legitimacy related to the social construction of legitimacy; in turn informed by the normative, the subjective, the daily experiences on the ground and the dreams and aspirations of ordinary citizens.

The essays in this volume, skilfully negotiate the relationship between the theoretical and the empirical as they interrogate legitimacy and the finer processes of governance. Several taken-for-granted concepts are dissected and analysed to provide a depth of understanding illuminating the varied dimensions and levels of empirical reality. For example, Prato (p. 37) takes up the concept of 'integrity' and how it is understood differentially by those ruled and those ruling, while Pardo (p. 62) clarifies the fine moral distinction between collective organized protest and that made by individuals for self-seeking goals, thereby bringing out the plurality of 'being with' and 'being in' community.

Although all the essays play around the central theme of legitimacy, each one of them brings a different historical and temporal context to the forefront. The empirical substantiation of the present draws meaning and validity from the linear and horizontal dimensions of historical and political events. An added merit of this volume is the widely dispersed ethnographic material brought together under one cover. Economic downslides and structural adjustments in Greece (Spyridakis), post-1990 financialization in Turkey and the state's involvement in legitimization of the financial exploitation by the banking sector (Atalay), upwardly mobile class formation in Colombia with deflection of authority to local communities in the urban housing sector (Hurtado-Tarazona) are some of the instances that indicate how economic liberalization and the increasing influence of international economic institutions like the World Bank are predatory influences on state authority. The direct relationship between the state and the people is fast turning into a three-way relationship with the state losing its power as compared to corporate entities. The interplay of local, national and global is seen in the essays on neighbourhood relations in Kerala, India (Abraham), in local urbanization in Kisumu, Kenya (Koechlin), and in the tensions of national, supranational loyalties in Lebanon (Mollica). A local political party in Lebanon, also doubles up as a semi-military organization and gains legitimacy through trust, thereby invoking Pardo and Prato's discussion on the link between legitimacy and trust. It is not legality, a point raised repeatedly in the various essays in this volume, but trust and discharge of responsibility that evokes a sense of legitimacy on the ground. As described in the essay on the sinking of a boat in Korea (Sarfati), the leaders lose trust when they fail to empathise and relate emotionally to the people, especially at the time of crises and tragedy.

The overall aspiration of this volume is to dissect concepts and philosophical ideas into their multifaceted and multifarious aspects, levels and significance. Legitimacy for example may mean different things to different people, depending on their location in the power field and their goals and moral universe. The case of the Viger Square in Montreal (Boucher) illustrates how a park may have multiple meanings distributed among various stakeholders. The reason why the rulers and ruled may not agree even on formal and legal issues is that they often occupy different experiential and moral universe since cognitive perceptions are shaped by daily life experiences as well as by received history and generational narratives (Andrews, Krase and Krase).

This is a continued conversation that Pardo and Prato have been having with their readers and the academic world. Over several volumes and papers, they are engaged in elaborating on legitimacy as a specific dimension of urban life and governance taking off from Weber as the base.

Legitimacy of governance is at stake at many locations around the world like the Black Lives Matter protests erupting globally and there are threats and challenges to political regimes, striving to keep their stronghold in a dynamic and increasingly aware world. The true meaning of

urbanization probably can be seen in this awakening, questioning and not taking things as they are; in the search for equity, inclusion, diversity and justice.

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Marco Zumaglini, Lucia Bozzola, Roberto Einaudi (eds) 2018. *Modern Rome: From Napoleon to the Twenty-First Century*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Rome is not just another urban agglomeration. For centuries, even millennia, it defined what a city should be. Its powerful allure should offer precious lessons to city planners and place-makers, which is why the supple translation into English of Italo Insolera's classic *Roma Moderna* is such a welcome event

Insolera was an urban planner based in Rome for over fifty years until his death in 2012. He expanded his first history of how the city evolved as capital of united Italy, published in 1962, through many editions until the final one in 2011. This translation of that edition, *Modern Rome*, in turn includes much additional information provided by the translator-editors, Lucia Bozzola, Roberto Einaudi and Marco Zumaglini, along with Insolera's collaborators Vezio De Lucia and Paolo Berdini.

The latter, in his account of the current state of 'spatial management' in Rome, makes a disconcerting remark suggesting the paradoxical challenge underlying the whole enterprise, one which tempted Insolera himself to wonder if he should not add a question mark to his title: *Roma Moderna?* Rome, Berdini writes, 'is smothered by missing rules.' Ultimately, the problem lies in the fact that key figures in municipal structures lack 'any sense of the public good.'

Urban planning in Rome has never been a smooth process, and historically its spectacular successes were often marked by violence since its foundation, or under the emperor Nero, the papal rulers and Napoleon. Insolera opened his final edition of *Roma Moderna* with an account of Napolen's planning, which entailed humane social reforms along with grand physical improvements.

The real chance for renovation of the ancient papal city came about when Rome was made capital of a finally united Italy in 1870. Its new role naturally entailed significant expansion. But this is where the paradox mentioned above first appeared. Rome had given a system of law to much of the civilized world two thousand years earlier, and continued legislating for Christendom ever after. Yet now the city failed to come up with any effective plan for its own imminent growth.

Rome's history both as seat of the Catholic Church and as a city whose élite had long competed in its embellishment might have led one to expect resistance to the lure of real estate speculation. That was not to be the case. Both the Vatican and the land-owning Roman aristocracy vigorously eluded any restrictions on profiteering.

With the Roman élite and the Vatican itself pursuing profit through unregulated development, Insolera's account of the fate of urban planning in Rome could make for melancholy reading. And yet his tale is a

compelling one, because progress was made, even if only in fits and starts.

After unification, a most successful of outsider, Ernesto Nathan — who had been born in London of Jewish parents and did not become an Italian citizen until age 40 — became mayor of Rome in 1907, and unclasped the aristocracy's hold on affairs. A city plan was approved, whose 'technical and planning precision', Insolera observes, was to 'remain unique throughout the history of urban planning in Rome.' After six years as mayor, however, Nathan was replaced by a Roman prince, Prospero Colonna.

Benito Mussolini, another outsider, made an impact of a different type. Four years before his 1922 rise to power, the principle that Rome's historical core should be preserved intact had been made official. Yet, Insolera deftly recounts, rational urban planning got no more traction during the following two decades than before. Mussolini's massive interventions were governed by one criterion: the cult of appearances. The *duce* had stated that 'Rome must appear wonderful to all peoples in the world…'

Insolera's attention to how urban planning, or its absence, affected the humbler classes is evident throughout *Modern Rome*. In both ancient and papal Rome, the poor had been co-opted into the civic whole by various means, bread and circuses under the empire, charity and religious rites under the popes. The Napoleonic master plan had been conceived not only in terms of place, but also of people, with humane provisions for both male and female labourers.

But after 1870, the presence of a potentially rebellious proletariat in the new capital had been viewed as risky, and peasants drawn from the countryside as construction workers found little provision had been made for their housing, which consisted at best of hovels. This situation worsened under Mussolini, whose demolition of entire neighbourhoods entailed displacement of tens of thousands of poor people, whom he sent to distant *borgate*, some of them in malaria-ridden countryside.

The notion that an old city could be improved by destroying pieces of it lingered even after World War II. Additional demolitions, euphemistically called 'thinning', were in the works.

In 1951, to facilitate traffic, the city was preparing to raze an extensive historical area near Piazza di Spagna. But Insolera reports that by now the concept of integral preservation of Rome's core had 'permeated the cultural mood.' Here the tireless activity of Insolera's great friend and fellow activist, Antonio Cederna, came into play. Cederna's passionate press crusade soon aroused public opinion from its torpor, and an effective environmental and preservation association, Italia Nostra, was founded. The planned demolitions were cancelled.

Yet city plans continued to be sabotaged, and the early 1960s witnessed the triumph of profiteering over planning. In an assault on Rome's surviving crown of green hills, echoing its destruction of Villa Ludovisi eighty years earlier, the Società Generale Immobiliare — of which the Vatican was a major shareholder — built a huge Hilton hotel atop Monte Mario in an area intended for parkland. This time,

however, there were consequences. Rome's mayor lost his seat in the uproar, and the Vatican ceded its dominant financial interest in the SGI to Michele Sindona, a shady financier who bankrupted the company (and in 1999 was poisoned in prison).

Insolera analyses the shift in the capital's situation in the 1970s, beginning with Pope Paul VI's affirmation that the shanty dwellers on Rome's outskirts were living in 'as yet private protest' against 'the consumer city's shameless luxury.' Rome's parish priests and Catholic organizations have followed through with actions to improve life in the chaotic periphery.

Efforts to expand and protect public green spaces and to limit motorized traffic continued and often succeeded in the following decades. But implementation of city planning, of an overall vision of what a better Rome might be, was no easier than before. Unauthorized housing continued to be the norm rather than the exception, and progress, such as it was, was entrusted to the preparation of 'special events' like the 1990 soccer World Cup or the 2000 Holy Year Jubilee.

Urban advances brought about in function of special events were perforce fragmentary, and Insolera laments 'the annihilation of planning' after 1990. He nonetheless kept alive a high sense of what might give Romans a better urban experience, despite the haphazard quality of the city's daily governance. Here, as throughout this generous chronicle, he focuses on both material and cultural improvements.

Materially, his ideal for the Rome to come would be the enhancement and enlargement of the wedge of archaeology and greenery that begins at the very centre of Rome, the Capitoline Hill, and extends through the imperial forums, reaching the Circus Maximus and the Baths of Caracalla, and then widening on either side of the ancient Appian Way to the foot of the Alban Hills, giving a clear form to the city midst the otherwise encompassing sprawl.

The cultural shift that engendered hope in Insolera was Rome's increasing multi-ethnicity. The city historically has been extraordinarily open to immigration, with its original inhabitants coming from all over and citizenship open even to children of freed slaves (The more sophisticated Greeks were astounded at this openness). Roman emperors often hailed from distant provinces, and the Roman church welcomed all and sundry by its very nature. Insolera caught a glimpse of an enriched future in the harmonies created by a multi-ethnic ensemble, the Piazza Vittorio Orchestra, whose members and music and instruments come from a picturesque variety of places.

In addition to an abundance of photographs and maps, along with an excellent index, this meticulous book has a useful glossary of terms of urban planning in Rome, as well as a concise description of local and national governmental bodies.

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FILM AND VIDEO REVIEWS

A New Era. Directed by **Boris Svartzman**. 2019. 71 minutes. Colour.

A New Era follows the struggle of Guanzhou's villagers — between 2008 and 2015 — against the eviction of their lands in order to build an 'ecological island' composed by a large number of buildings and urban infrastructures. Boris Svartzman filmed a located experience of these peasants' everyday life with expropriation threat, their resistance to urban planning, and how Chinese's authorities justify their urbanization.

This documentary is particularly relevant about showing people and environment on a change, by pressure. Urban developers are here supported by Chinese State. They are transforming an area mainly dedicated to family farming and wild-developing vegetation to a leisure and urban island committed to the recent and growing Chinese middle class. Both sides are observing these changes, and each other, men are coming everyday early in the morning close to the habitations in order to mark their presence and to put under pressure the last farmers of the land.

The remaining families are watching and hearing the sounds of works in progress, cranes, pneumatic drills, cement mixer trucks and notice every day the rise of improbable black and white high buildings on the horizon.

Authorities had started to destroy some of the houses of the village, justifying that they don't have building permit. The film shows how these destructions are part of a campaign of intimidation. Demolitions are surrounded by police officers and military units; protesters are regularly arrested. Authorities are targeting the heart of the village in order to erase a sense of community and changing a village's life into a living among the ruins. Urban planners are making lousy deals with the less tenacious farmers and then unweave the community's unity, risen up against one another. This desolation is followed by another one: the knocking down of the meanings of words in order to achieve the authorities' aims.

A New Era shows silently the lack of meaning that is surrounding the idea of an ecological island for the authorities and urban developers. By putting side to side shoots taken from the new neighborhood and the ones from the point of view of remaining families, it highlights how the Guanzhou's project has no connection with the specificities — human or non-human — of such island. The long walks between destroyed houses in the village in which the filmmaker is taking us are like a wandering through museum, presenting a outlook of old Chinese world.

The Guanzhou's urban project seems to be one of these mega-city projects that is beyond all current justifications, besides real estate speculations. It embraces an on-trend concept, the ecology, without any ideological basis to it.

As one of the peasants says, the ideal of Chinese Communist Party is to put in people's minds that they are entering a new era, and the Guanzhou International Ecological Island is one of his paragons, a hollow shell idea as the late-capitalism produces it so well.

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Diz a ela que me viu chorar (Let it burn). Directed by **Maíra Bühler**. 2019. 82 minutes. Colour. Produced by Klaxon Cultura.

In the centre of the largest city in South America, São Paulo, which is located in southeast Brazil, is a place known since the 1990s as *Cracolândia*, where the sale and use of drugs, especially crack, occur. The film directed by Maíra Bühler presents the daily life of drug addicts at the 'Dom Pedro Park Social Hotel', as the shelter for these people is known. The space was created by city hall as part of a harm-reduction policy. The dehumanisation that these individuals experience and the desire to understand the world from their point of view was the impetus for the creation of this film. The material is important to whoever is interested in the day-to-day aspects of such institutions and subjects, who are commonly represented as disabled, dangerous, or even 'zombies', according to the director. The film is also useful for ethnographic studies as well as urban studies addressing drugs and even the field of emotions.

The film depicts its characters without stooping to stereotypes, showing complex individuals with a chemical dependence living in situations of social vulnerability. Moments of conflict are shown, but also moments of togetherness and expressions of the suffering, anguish, affection, and dreams of each individual. The film records subjects in a 'social hotel' that serves as a shelter for drug addicts, offering a place to live and share experiences. The shelter is managed by professionals from diverse fields that ensure the operational functioning of the place as well as the mediation of internal conflicts, the organisation of vacancies, and various logistic concerns. Although the film does not delve into the work routine of this team, we can see their presence briefly, as in pieces of a conversation about a fight between two residents as well as a moment of negotiation regarding a room exchange in order to take in a new family on its way to the shelter.

However, the fundamental issue of this film is precisely the fact that it avoids a focus merely on chemical dependence and the effects of drugs on these individuals. The director leaps this barrier and tells us about love and feelings in this context, presenting complex subjects and their daily experiences. Throughout the film, it is evident that the director's focus is on the relationships of two couples, one of which involving two black women. The narrative is conducted mainly by documenting their daily practices, showing these people also when not under the effects of chemical substances, at moments when they express their feelings, talk, sing, and celebrate. The work is important because it presents moments of considerable closeness with these subjects, which reflects an interesting contribution from the director to this field.

There is a clear incentive for us to rethink current drug policies and prejudice, avoiding repression and compulsory hospitalisation as solutions. An example of this was the change in the management of the city of São Paulo after the municipal election that resulted in the exiting of Fernando Haddad (Workers' Party) and the instillation of João Dória (the neoliberal 'PSDB' party), followed by his replacement by his vice Bruno Covas, who

made significant changes in this public policy over the years, such as the closure of a large part of the 'social hotels', leaving people on the streets and in the so-called 'flow' — a word that is used to designate a place (generally a street) with a larger concentration of individuals consuming drugs as well as selling them and other items. The current president, Bolsonaro, also changed national instructions to motivate abstinence from drug addicts, believing in other controversial processes based on hospitalisation. While harm-reduction policies are no longer part of the national drug policy, these people remain in a situation of social vulnerability.

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Nightshift Spitalfields. Directed by **Julius-Cezar MacQuarie** 2020. 10 minutes. Colour. Produced by Night workshop.

Nightshift Spitalfields focuses on Ali, a Bulgarian-Turkish migrant night worker, who does long nightshifts, often up to 16 hours, six nights a week, loading and transporting goods in London's New Spitalfields night market. He is trapped between the impossibility to find a day job due to lack of English language skills, poor competencies in other areas of work, lack of free time to look for jobs and the tiredness imprinted on his body after five years of nightshifts. The film was shot mostly during 2015, the year when the filmmaker conducted night ethnography in this market and worked as a loader next to Ali.

This film makes visible a type of work and a category of migrant workers that even the emerging field of urban night studies obscures, despite their essential contribution to the economy and society. Night workers' plight is brought to the foreground through the story of Ali, a migrant who has no choice but to do the 'graveyard shift.' Like Ali, many other migrants live invisible and precarious lives. They cannot take proper part in society and cannot organise to improve their conditions. They are just exhausted and worn down.

The turning point in the film is the threat of homelessness. Ali and his family, which includes two children and his pregnant wife, spend three nights in the emergency accommodation offered by the Metropolitan Police, while their housing application is being processed. In the end, the family is given accommodation in North London. Though they have a roof over their heads, they face new challenges. The pregnant wife and two children will have to commute to attend school. Ali will have to commute long hours to do the nightshift at Spitalfields in East London and rest in a one-room flat while the children play and the mother cooks and cleans. Nightshift Spitalfields narrates how this migrant manages to stoically rise above challenges and continue in this city.

The filmmaker sought a participatory approach throughout production, post-production and editing phases. It was Ali who chose the shooting angles, depending on how he drove the forklift within the market's premises. More, he controlled the filming as he thought fit, via the GoPro camera installed on the roof of his forklift,

and decided what and whom to capture as he moved around the market. It was Ali who directed the camera at one of these co-workers, poking fun at how that man dozed off on the forklift while waiting for the customers and interrupting the monotony of the long nightshift. The protagonist-turned-filmmaker experimented with visual tools in a non-traditional documentary style, creating a poetic depiction of a gloomy working place.

Nightshift Spitalfields (2020) is the third short film in a trilogy about night work in London, next to Invisible Lives (2013) and Nocturnal Lives (2015). Invisible Lives documents the co-existence of formal and informal work, featuring night workers in the construction and hotelier industries, a sex worker on the street and a night market trader. Nocturnal Lives explores how people deal with sleeplessness while carrying out precarious labour at night. Nightshift Spitalfields condenses all the aspects of night work approached in the previous films through the story of one night worker. In all these films, the filmmaker allows his research participants to portray their lives, without much interference. However, MacQuarie gently points out the mainstream society's lack of engagement with these night workers' plight. Researchers of night, sleep, cities, migration, labour and precarity are likely to find this film useful.

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Parque Oeste. Directed by **Fabiana Assis**. 2018. 70 minutes. Colour.

In Latin America, the struggle over the right to housing is a constant in the various cities throughout the region. The documentary aims to show the collective resistance and resilience to a process of violent eviction and forced eradication that was imposed on many families in Parque Oeste Industrial (Goiania, Brazil) more than a decade ago, precisely in 2006. This film shows the path from the Parque Oeste to the 'Real Conquista' neighbourhood, the long and violent process that involved the struggle for an 'own house' in the city of Goiania.

The documentary highlights the right to housing as an inalienable right of human life. Through a reconstruction of public accounts and first-person stories, the film seeks to appeal to the viewer on two matters. Firstly, about the experience of a city devastated by political lies and police violence and, secondly, over the popular organization and struggle to create an affordable place to live. The tussle for land continues.

The film story is organized around the figure of Eronilde who narrates this journey from Parque Oeste to the 'Real Conquista' neighbourhood based on the experience of her husband Pedro, one of the leaders of the collective struggle for the right to housing in Parque Oeste. Pedro was murdered by the police forces amid the struggle for the right to land. Pedro and Wagner — the other lead member of the social movement also murdered — life testimonies become the repertoires for fighting and transform the pain into communal hope.

The visual narrative is articulated almost choreographically with a sound strategy to situate the observer in that place, in that unequal space. Progressively, we move from dark images with flashes of light, the sound of sirens, the crying, the shots and the songs at funerals to the neighbourhood under construction, the houses in project, the squares, the children leaving school, the music, the colours, the song of praise and the construction of a community library. A gentle passage that shows a deeply collective and collaborative work and commitment.

In this context, producing life seems almost an odyssey that confronts the political walls and the desires of a few: those local elites with exclusionary projects. The collective resistance faces a deepening of inequality manifested in the city's scarce infrastructure where the opposite of progress and development was the eviction.

The struggle as a long-term process is now embodied and mixture in this new neighbourhood named 'Real Conquista'. Perhaps one of the main conquests of this thread is to condense in 70 minutes several contemporary urban issues: inequality, violence, politics, lack of infrastructure and the right to housing. For this purpose, say those who are in the documentary, it is necessary to return to a premise stated in the constitution: the land must fulfil a social function.

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Survivors. Directed by **Arthur Pratt**. 2018. 84 minutes. Colour. Produced by WeOwn TV.

Survivors was made by a collective of West African filmmakers living in Freetown during a state of emergency caused by Ebola. The outbreak lasted 21 months (2014), and over 28,000 people were infected. Only half of the infected survived. The aim of the documentary is to celebrate the survivors of Ebola. The focus, as we will observe, is positive: to celebrate life. However, I have to confess that the vision of *Survivors* generates a strange feeling in me — now — that we are confined at home because CoVID-19 is a global issue. The images in the documentary resemble the ones we are living -deferred way- through the screens: people disinfect the streets, in 'space suits', double gloves and strange masks; health professionals without resources, who fight daily against their fears and with the terror of infecting their family: 'I have quarantined myself and I don't mingle too closely with them' explains Margaret (0:22:31-0:22:33). Army and police controlling, guarding, delimiting the territory in the Red-Zone and the politicians giving trivial lessons about life, using war terminologies to explain the emergency situation. The event of the virus is not only a personal, but a collective experience and transforms vision of *Survivors* into reflections that slide in the synchronic and diachronic line. This sense of belonging and non-strangeness generated by Otherness allows us to review the privileges of our lives (in greater or lesser measure) gender-andro-ethno-hetero-able-elite-age(centr)ism. CoVID-19

is teaching us humility (hopefully, it lasts), the meaning of fear, the crumbling of the securities as Ebola. 'Ebola […] touches my life, it's touched my faith, it touched the very foundation of my being' (Arthur 0:03:35-0:03:37). We are forced not to respect traditions of burying our dead, sharing the mourning and happiness of a birth, taking care of our sick ones, but we can recover the value of life and being together. 'I need to tell the Word how my people survived Ebola — explains Arthur — We've seen people making sacrifices; sacrifices worthy of mention. These are the stories I want to tell' (Arthur 0:05:23-0:05:43). Building on the daily practices of Arthur — Pastor and Filmmaker; Nengue — the senior ambulance driver, who has started voluntarily when Ebola started killing his people; Foday, twelve years old, who has been living on the street for 5 years, when his meets the father, he dies shortly after; and nurse Margaret, who attends in stores Emergency Ebola Treatment Center patients. With them, anthropological places are explored, that construct the identities of survivors/heroes/ heroines: '[…] to see things happening; to see you contributing to making a change […] in somebody's life' (1:21:38-1:22:11). *Survivors* shows with direct narration the fragmentation of the materials, the precariousness, the architectural and urban instability of Freetown (Kroo Bay Slum district). Without doubt, *Survivors* includes the lack of economic, environmental and political sustainability; the social inequalities in health, and the conflicts and international political ambiguities too. However, the aim is the presence of daily relational practices between the interviewed subjects and their social groups, without ever falling into victimization or in the use of images to generate compassion. The documentary is thought and elaborated from within the Sierra Leone reality: the heroes and heroines who have fought for life and for the country, marked a change, focused on life. Their strategies, their beliefs, their way of moving forward: 'in Sierra Leone we don't have Spiderman, Superman or Capitan America. Our heroes are people who make sacrifices we can see' (Arthur 1:08:19-1:08:36). They are visual narratives: interviews and visual fragments of where they live, work, their social and cultural contacts, their extended families. The city, observed from different perspectives of bird's-eye view or ascending traveling mono cameras, is narrated through a characteristic dynamism and constant movement.

At last, as a weakness, I point out the lack of a gender perspective both in the ideation and in the shooting/development of the interviews. Being a Survivor as a woman is not the same as being a man.

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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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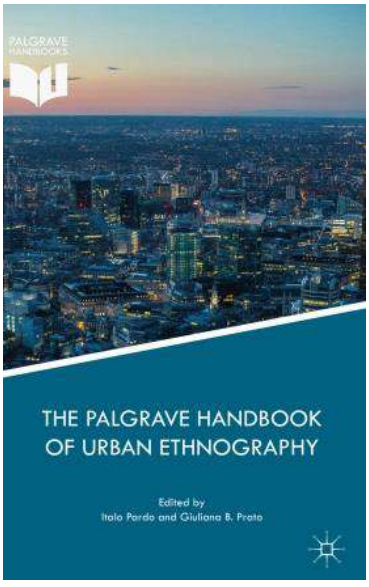

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- Presents a range of topics, such as work, employment, and informality; everyday life and community relations; marginalization, gender, family, kinship, religion and ethnicity; and political strategies and social movements in historical and transnational perspectives
- Encourages reflection on the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research and its centrality to mainstream academic debates
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