

Yvonne P. Doderer

SHINING CITIES

Gender Relations and Other Issues
in Urban Development
of the Twenty-First Century

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“Shining Cities: Gender Relations and Other Issues in Urban Development of the Twenty-First Century”

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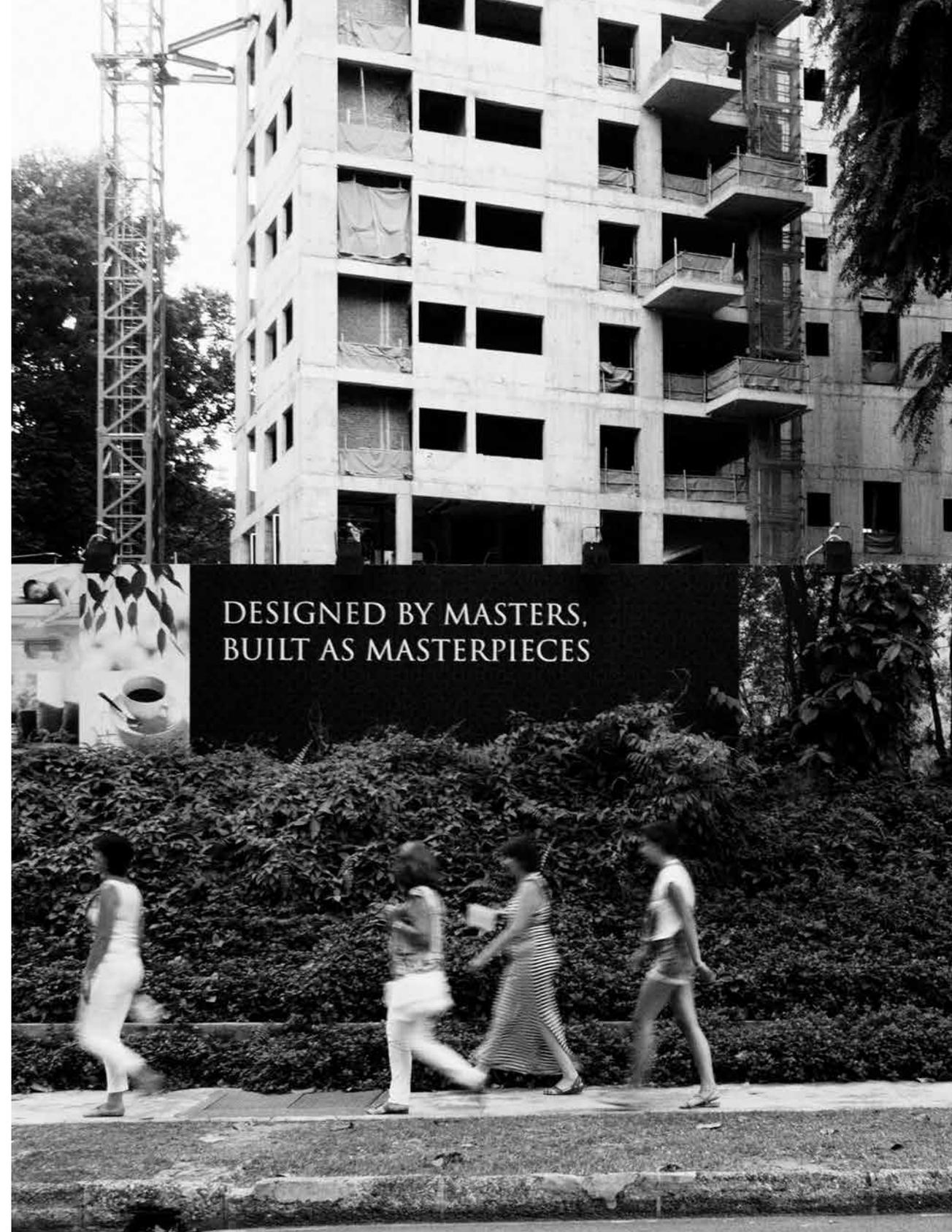
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INTRODUCTION

Ooo coo coo. Golden cities. Golden towns. Golden cities. Golden towns. And long cars in long lines and great big signs and they all say: Hallelujah. Yodellayheehoo. Every man for himself. Ooo coo coo. Golden cities. Golden towns. Thanks for the ride.¹

Laurie Anderson

A hundred years ago, the Frenchman Charles Fourier, one of the first great prophets of socialist ideals, wrote these memorable words: In any society, the degree of female emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation. This is completely true for our present society.²

Rosa Luxemburg

City and Gender



Already in the early twentieth century, Rosa Luxemburg stated that little had changed in terms of the issue of women's rights. Even in the twenty-first century this issue remains highly topical and is still at the heart of prevailing gender relations—in both rural and urban areas. As opposed to the countryside, the city promises its inhabitants an opportunity to shine.

In the twenty-first century, a majority of people are living in cities—at least this is the credo communicated by media and politics, economics and science. This statement has been strengthened by the “urban renaissance” that dawned at the beginning of the twenty-first century and a globally evident increase in capital investment for land purchases, in the creation of new cities and estates, and in the conversion of existing cities. Supported by state funding and private capital, large-scale urban development—so-called “lighthouse” or flagship projects—is being promoted: more or less big urban clusters with housing functions, with units for administration, finance, technology, and business, with shopping malls, entertainment centers, hotels and gastronomy, with facilities for high culture, research, and education. Also seen are investments in high-speed connectivity on land, in water, and in the air.

These projects are associated with many different promises: with increased economic growth and more income-producing jobs, with modernization and appeal, with innovation and a role-model function—in short, with a better life. And ecological criteria must not fall by the wayside, so the promise of sustainability, climate protection, and improved ecological balance must also be considered. These project endeavors must be successfully marketed and communicated—indeed, “the production and marketing of images has meanwhile become an integral part of project development,” as a study by the German Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs (BMVBS) states in relation to large-scale urban development.³ A professional presence on the Internet as a platform for profiling a project is therefore an indispensable and central component of marketing strategies in communicating the planning endeavor to the public, press, and media.

In the publication at hand, these Internet presentations are explored on the basis of examples, most of which are from an international context.⁴ The image and text material from the project portrayals are surveyed: What do they “tell” about the future life in these cities and urban districts? Who will live and work in these cities? Which forms of living and lifestyles are propagated? Which visual means and approaches are used to present and mediate these projects? What design qualities are cited? And most importantly: How do these designs relate to the actual urban realities, including the inhabitants to whom the projects are addressed?

Here, the analysis is situated in a broader context, for despite all local, regional, and national differences between the respective countries, cities, and political systems, one commonality can be discerned: all projects are committed to attaining a return on investment. The objective of creating value is first and foremost a monetary one, although the generation of symbolic capital is also especially found in those projects where state and city authorities are involved. Capital-based production of urban space is not really anything new since the creation of value—aided by the privatization of land and also the building, selling, and renting out of real estate—is of course an essential component of capitalism. New in the twenty-first century, however, is the scope and dynamic momentum that evolve through this capital. Such momentum is known to accelerate significantly through “globalization”—the liberalization of capital investments beyond national borders and the computerization of money flows. Also notable is a politics that ensures, on local-municipal levels as well, that as few obstacles as possible stand in the way of capital investment in the production of urban space.

My special focus here is devoted to the issue of gender relations, especially the living situations of women, although it is important to note that not all women are equally affected by differences, discrimination, and patriarchal structures. Class and ethnic affiliations play a rather significant role in the interrelationships between genders—quite apart from the respective local and national circumstances, from the political, social, and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the term “gender relations” encompasses all people of all orientations that have been found in societies at any given time: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, queer, and intersexual (LGBTQI+). Even in countries where these communities are still persecuted and suppressed, urban life offers LGBTQI+ certain advantages over rural life, such as a higher degree of anonymity yet at the same time more opportunities for community building. Both groups—women and LGBTQI+—are the first to not benefit from urban development and promises of economic growth, especially when they lack the necessary means, as well as access to gainful employment or education. By the way, this also applies to people with unique abilities, to those with physical disabilities and mental illness. If they

are lucky, these individuals can profit from city life. Yet even when a well-established social infrastructure is in place, they still remain one of the most vulnerable groups of city dwellers—as do many of the displaced persons, internal migrants, and emigrants living in urban areas. Migration has many causes, but ever stronger meaning is being ascribed to landgrab owing to expropriation and displacement over the course of the extensive industrialization of agricultural lands, as well as the consequences of climate change and environmental destruction. Therefore, cities and urban development are directly linked to topics pertaining to rural areas and the living situations found there. I will also discuss the relationship between city and land, even if not in quite enough detail, under the premise that these two spaces should not be viewed as separate, but rather, quite necessarily, as interrelated.

A pertinent point to mention at this juncture is the emphasis placed on the sphere of production—to the detriment of the sphere of reproduction, which I will also discuss in more detail later. The meeting of the physical and psychosocial needs of others is a task that is still being assigned mostly to women in the twenty-first century. This is the main reason why I frequently speak of “women”—despite all differences *within* this gender group, and in full awareness of the advancement of feminist theory, especially in the social sciences. The “issue of women” is still pertinent in the twenty-first century, with the whole spectrum of aspects involving the category of “gender” being examined today. For example, the issues related to the role of men and “masculinity” are considered, so that women’s studies has expanded to become gender studies.⁵ Also, emancipation movements spearheaded by women are no longer merely a privilege of the Western world.⁶

The topic of gender equality has long since taken root in Europe, especially on a legal basis. In addition to the respective national laws, the member countries of the European Union have made a commitment to gender mainstreaming. The term gender mainstreaming goes back to the Third World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985, where this strategy was discussed for the first time. At the Fourth World Conference on Women, convened by the United Nations in Beijing in 1995, the foundations were laid,⁷ and in 1997 the commitment to gender mainstreaming was defined as part of the Amsterdam Treaty and turned into a directive for all EU countries. “Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.”⁸ Gender mainstreaming also affects

city planning and urban development. Large cities and metropolises, such as Vienna and Berlin, have meanwhile implemented this strategy in more or less intensive forms. Furthermore, there are quite a few realized projects in Germany and Austria in particular whose breadth ranges from “women-friendly building” to housing projects self-organized for and by women.

Gender mainstreaming in a planning context is also a result of the feminist interest in architecture and urban planning that arose at the beginning of the second women’s movement.⁹ Today, this interest continues not only in Europe, but also on other continents, although many women living in the southern hemisphere are confronted with different power and gender relations than the majority of the women residing in the highly industrialized northern countries. In the scope of this study, I will touch on these relations in more detail and also on relevant research that has meanwhile been conducted by international organizations like UN-Habitat with the aim of furthering gender equality, also in an urban-planning context. But even in Europe there is still a long path to attaining actual gender democracy, especially on structural levels. This pertains to the sphere of employment, for example, which is still characterized by wage gaps between women and men that are at times very substantial, but also by conditions within domestic and social spheres, for which, even in Europe, women are usually responsible.¹⁰ Against this backdrop, the more recent right-wing attacks against the emancipation, equality, and recognition of sexual diversity and against gender research would almost seem ridiculous—if not so many of the attacks were defamatory and undertaken with serious intentions.¹¹

Theory formation and research on the complex of “gender,”¹² as found today in many different scholarly disciplines and sometimes in interdisciplinary contexts, are analytical at heart and thus products of the academic/scientific sphere. Disciplines like structural planning, architecture, spatial, urban, and landscape planning therefore encounter a problem in this regard, for they are predominately oriented to design and practical matters. Precisely herein lies, in my opinion, a central problem in this field, namely, the persistent refusal to interact with other disciplines like the social sciences, cultural studies, or political science. The reason why this is problematic is because planning operates in the very space being researched by these disciplines—within the space of society. The systems and planning theorist Horst Rittel has already pointed out this correlation. “The kind of problems that planners deal with—societal problems—are different in nature than the problems explored by scientists and perhaps even some engineering groups. Planning problems are inherently wicked.”¹³ By employing the term *bösartig* (wicked), Rittel means to highlight the societal dimension of each and every planning endeavor. He asserts that: “The expression of a wicked problem is the problem! The process of problem formulation and that of thinking

up a solution are identical, for any specification of the problem is also a specification of the direction in which one imagines an approach to solving the problem.”¹⁴ So there are no right and wrong solutions, only good or bad ones, to a planning task—and also ever more solutions, which is why Rittel justifiably calls for no plan without a counterplan.¹⁵

However, drawing the conclusion from this dilemma that planning (and planners) need not bother with societal issues or work with the relevant academic/scientific spheres signifies a fundamental defect in this discipline. This issue becomes even more acute when considering the background of neoliberalized urban politics, so that the discipline of planning and its representatives have already experienced a significant loss of meaning. Planning lends structure to public, semiprivate, and private spaces, makes decisions about forms of life, work, and housing, about opportunities for forming communities, about individualization, and also about access to mobility and movement. Moreover, all planning measures require resources and exert influence on the ecological and social climate. So it is not appropriate for planners to avoid dealing with relevant theory formation and findings in their university studies or, later, practice, when they simultaneously want to be (and should be) planning for society. And an integral part of this academic/scientific sphere, and of the discipline of planning itself, is research on women and gender—even if this still today doesn’t conform to the ideas of many male (and female) planners.

The discrepancy between feminism and gender research also begs mentioning here, for any evident difference is due to an academicization of this theory formation, which—and this applies to other topics and disciplines as well—structures, channels, and thus also disciplines the production of knowledge in (pre)determined ways.¹⁶ Such disciplination can lead to depoliticization, and it would be here, if anywhere, that the difference between gender theory and feminism may be situated. Indeed, the concept of feminism implies a (socio)political dimension that is expressed through an offensive, activist practice and also through the demand of a fundamental change in societal relations. And this also informs the issue of space and the question as to which requisite conditions underlie urban development. In almost all countries, women have come together to take a stand against the exploitation, discrimination, and suppression affecting them. Women actively joined in resistance against colonialism, dictatorship, and apartheid. These struggles still continue today, even if the specifics have changed. Feminist content and objectives have also flowed into many social, societal, environmental, and urban-political movements and thus codetermined the related struggles. Feminism has likewise provided an essential theoretical and practical foundation for the LGBTTQI+ movements. However, the label “feminism” is now being instrumentalized at times for purposes and by parties that are anything but feminist, though it would be exceed the scope of this publication to explore the specific

developments here, especially in terms of an international comparison. But let us note that today the term “feminism” encompasses not only a multitude of theoretical approaches, but also, in equal measure, a plurality of activist practices.

In returning to the analysis presented here: the idea is not to demonize every form of urban development or even to sugarcoat life in inadequate and precarious conditions. The decisive question involves the blank page on which urban development is conceived and implemented, for, as Rittel asserts, “planning is a component of politics. No one can escape this truth.”¹⁷ In other words: planning measures and large-scale projects are instruments of policymaking—so often, even in democracies, without considering the needs of the citizens. Resistance against large urban projects is therefore as old as the (modern) city itself. Such resistance is usually vilified as reactionary and retrogressive, or reduced to the statement of “not in my backyard” (NIMBY). But in many (though not all) cases, the criticism accompanying the protests is neither unreasonable nor fully unjustified, as the example of Stuttgart 21 shows.

In my exploration of the city and urban development, influenced by a feminist-queer approach, the Stuttgart 21 project was on my agenda for many years—and was in fact the reason to undertake this research. Compelling here was not only the planning itself, but also the image politics employed in the mediation of the projects. Rosy depictions of construction projects are tools of the trade in a planning context. Digitalization opens up whole new dimensions, although they cannot always be fully tapped. Therefore, it seemed necessary to me that a pictorial analysis of the form and content of the project visualizations be conducted, especially since the contradictions between image and built reality, as well as gender-specific narratives, associated with the images are very rarely discussed and consciously perceived during the planning process or on decision-making levels. The last chapter in this publication is devoted to a more theoretical analysis, with an excursus on the concept of reproduction from a feminist vantage point and, with reference to political scientist Nancy Fraser, a discussion of the question of redistribution and recognition in the context of urban development.

Not given enough consideration in my discourse are alternative urban designs.¹⁸ Although I was educated as a planner and am more than familiar with this métier in both theory and practice, I am of the opinion that planning needs to be turned completely upside down. Without a fundamental change in economic-political conditions for the production of urban space, the ways in which cities are built, even in the twenty-first century, will not essentially change. Of course, this is a blanket statement, which is why I will substantiate the assertion to a certain extent in the following.

The issue of “urban development” alludes to an important problem inherent to the planning of urban space and the production of space, namely, the complexity of the “city” itself. However, this complexity is not only embodied by its architectural and urban-spatial structures as the material part of a city. Significant here are the movements of all people situated in a city, who live, work, and dwell there. City thus becomes a place of “spatial practice”¹⁹ and a relational-social space,²⁰ a space defined by social classes and difference(s). The city is also a governmental space, a space of governing and being governed.²¹ It operates as a market in the network of global economies and functions as a space of production and circulation for goods and services. It is a space of gainful employment and reproduction work, but also of consumption. And, not least, it is a cultural space—as urban space itself, but also as a spatial opportunity for the production of art and culture. Ultimately, the city is a space of discourse, of creating a sense of publicness with all of its various sub- and partial publics. In summary and briefly stated, the city may be defined as a societal space that is constituted by state, economy, and civil society. (I view the latter as “population” in allusion to the artist Hans Haacke.) Faced with such a rich background, urban development gives rise to diverse and manifold lines of demarcation between options for appropriation, utilization, and design, but also in terms of its sense of purpose and its perspectives. Urban development is a power issue along the lines of “Democracy Unrealized,”²² and also a question of interpretational sovereignty over what “development” should mean: In which city do we want to live in the future?

While many aspects of the information presented here may be known, I hope that the analysis and the results of my research will offer readers some new insights. The publication at hand takes a transdisciplinary approach and is addressed to both the general public and professionals engaging in planning processes. I consider transdisciplinarity to be an integrative method of research and analysis that incorporates explorative questions related to lifeworlds and society, but also to science and art. As to how well I have succeeded in applying this aspiration will be up to the readers to determine. With this in mind, I have made a concerted effort to render facts and circumstances in an understandable way; a wealth of references and remarks can be found in the endnotes and the appendix. Ultimately, my objective in publishing this book is to sensitize readers to the connections between the urban production of space and social conditions, especially along the horizon of gender as category. This intention is borne by the hope that, more than ever before, other spaces will open up in the twenty-first century—beyond the confines of normativity, discrimination, and suppression, beyond alienation, exploitation, and exclusion.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

It is quite true that land monopoly is not the only monopoly which exists, but it is by far the greatest of monopolies—it is a perpetual monopoly, and it is the mother of all other forms of monopoly. It is quite true that unearned increments in land are not the only form of unearned and undeserved profit which individuals are able to secure; but it is the principal form of unearned increment which is derived from processes which are not merely not beneficial, but which are positively detrimental to the general public . . .¹

Winston Churchill

Today's cities are far from offering equitable conditions and opportunities to their inhabitants. The majority of the urban population is deprived or limited—in virtue of their economic, social, cultural, ethnic, gender or age characteristics—in the satisfaction of their most elemental needs and rights.²

World Charter on the Right to the City

Urbanization



In the twenty-first century, the phenomenon of urbanization has become the focus of the sciences, the media, politics, and the public sphere. The numbers cited by scientists and institutions like the United Nations sound very dramatic. While during the 1950s only 30 percent of the world's population resided in cities, in the year 2014 this number had already jumped to 54 percent. The UN's future prognosis projects that 66 percent of the world's population—amounting to 6.3 billion—will be living in urban areas by the year 2050. Yet a closer look at the individual continents reveals significant differences when it comes to the degree of urbanization. Whereas in North America 82 percent, in Latin America and the Caribbean 80 percent, and in Europe 73 percent of the population lives in urbanized areas, the rate is presently only 40 percent in Africa and 48 percent in Asia. In Africa, the number of city dwellers is projected to rise from 40 to 56 percent, and in Asia from 48 to 64 percent. Accordingly, Africa and Asia will be at the heart of urbanization, as the large gain in urban population estimated to take place by the year 2050 will be playing out on these two continents. In Asia, this pertains primarily to China with an estimated 292 million new city dwellers and to India with 404 million; in Africa, Nigeria will likely see its population increase by 212 million new residents in urban areas.

Approximately one of every eight city dwellers is already living in one of the twenty-eight "megacities" worldwide with over 10 million inhabitants. The number of these megacities has tripled from 1990 to today. Of these twenty-eight megacities, six are located in China alone, with seven in other Asian countries and three in Africa. Tokyo is the largest megacity with its population of 38 million, a status that it will surely retain in the future. It is projected that the number of megacities will grow by the year 2030 from twenty-eight to forty-one. The most rapid development, however, will likely be seen in midsize cities and in those with less than 1 million residents. At present, half of the world's city dwellers actually reside in settlements with less than 500,000 inhabitants.³ And there are a great number of cities with shrinking populations, such as Detroit, Busan, Bratislava, or Yerevan. Yet in the long term, starting in the year 2045, the rate of urbanization

will surely start to fall, as is already evident today in Europe and the United States.⁴ Also, the rural population has hardly grown since the 1950s. Today, 90 percent of the world's rural population lives in Africa and Asia. India has the largest share of rural population with 857 million people, followed by China with 635 million. These two segments already make up 45 percent of the global rural population. This population is expected to dwindle even further by the year 2050, from 3.4 to 3.2 billion people.

So there we have the bare numbers—which, as numerical data, should be treated with caution, as even the authors of this study are quick to note. These numbers are actually based on figures collected by the individual countries and their various statistical institutes, so it is important to remember that different criteria and calculation methods are being used, quite apart from the fact that not every country or every city is in possession of the same instruments and substantiated data sets. It is also unclear as to what is exactly meant by “urban areas” in each case and where the boundary between “city” and “land” precisely lies. So projections about future development are actually calculations of probability—everything, or at least much, could play out quite differently in the end. Merely whittling urbanization down to the number of inhabitants and to demographic development is not adequate either, considering the complexity of the spatial-urban-rural issue. Geographer Deborah Potts, for example, has pointed to the circular migration patterns found in sub-Saharan Africa. This means that newly arrived city dwellers may actually return to their rural homelands, which critically calls into question the figures related to projected urban population growth.⁵

Although numbers and statistics are helpful instruments (and I will employ them as well), it is still necessary to acknowledge the limitations inherent to such mathematical formalizations and data surveys. For when it comes to these numbers and the related metaphors, urbanization appears to be as unstoppable as a tsunami.⁶ In this context, the systemically rooted political, economic, and social causes of this increase in urbanization and urban population tend to fade into the background or become invisible altogether.

“The city starts with a construction site and can only live from such construction, in a construction site. By deconstructing itself, the city actually constructs,” asserts philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy.⁷ This statement is wind in the sails of all of those involved in urbanization processes, in building or rebuilding cities, and benefiting in the process. From a historical perspective, certainly, many cities have been subjected to continual architectural change. Even just speaking of “urban growth” naturalizes the plans on which urbanization is based, along with their causes as well. The growth of cities does not absolutely correlate with the urban



sphere. In Germany, for example, many core cities will experience negative demographic development by the year 2030, whereas suburban areas will primarily end up benefiting from this progression.⁸ And in the context of discourse on rapid urbanization, Potts in turn points out that some data—such as figures provided by UN-Habitat or the World Bank, for instance on rates of urbanization in sub-Saharan countries—should be referenced only very cautiously. Such figures show that the pinnacle of urbanization rates has already passed and that the rates in almost all African countries will be lower in the future. Yet upon closer consideration, a more differentiated picture emerges, especially when the discrepancies between national population growth and that of individual cities are taken into account. Here it becomes evident that while individual cities of central importance are showing an increase in residents, the population of the remaining cities is dropping, which means that the urbanization rate is even lower in the end or that processes of deurbanization are beginning to evolve.⁹



The Issue of Land

Here it is also important to consider the issue of land and soil. The question “Who does this land belong to?” still plays a pivotal role in the twenty-first century, illustrating how little changes when it comes to certain issues. Today, the Queen of Great Britain still holds first place in the ranking of owners of the most land worldwide, followed by the absolutist ruler of Saudi Arabia and the Catholic Church.

The special role that the issue of land and soil plays in capitalism was already identified by Karl Marx when he noted the break in the course of European history at the transition between feudalism and capitalism. Indeed, it was the expropriation of land—owned either by the church, the nobility, and feudal lords or by the community—that laid the foundation for the creation of a “lumpenproletariat,” on the one hand, and the industrial capitalist class, on the other, for “the last process of wholesale expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil is, finally, the so-called clearing of estates, i.e., the sweeping men off them.”¹ What is more, Marx mentioned the special nature of the capitalist market for land and soil, which fundamentally differs from the other two markets—the commodity market and the wage-labor market—for “legal ownership of land, by itself, does not give the proprietor any ground-rent. It certainly does give him the power, however, to withdraw his land from cultivation until economic conditions permit a valorization of it that yields him a surplus.”² And elsewhere he offered the following remarks on the concept of ground-rent: “Landed property has nothing to do with the actual process of production. Its role is confined to transferring a portion of the produced surplus-value from the pockets of capital to its own.”³ Also warranting consideration is the fact that soil is a limited and also location-dependent resource, meaning that land as a commodity, similar to work and money, is basically fictive, as social scientist Karl Polanyi has stressed. According to Polanyi, land, labor, and money—as opposed to commodities—quite simply represent the “substance of society.” In Polanyi’s eyes, money “is merely a token of purchasing power which, as a rule, is not produced at all, but comes into being through the mechanism of banking or state finance.” And labor is “only

another name for a human activity which goes with life itself," which encompasses—to express it using feminist terminology—precisely those reproduction activities that are excluded from wage labor and thus separated from it. Land, in turn, is "only another name for nature, which is not produced by man."⁴ As Polanyi illustrates by example of England, the enclosure of common lands and the formation of large land holdings were a crucial premise for the Industrial Revolution and market-driven wage labor, since it liberated the labor force previously tied to the communities and facilitated their mobility. The production unit of the "whole house," in which production and human reproduction still played out under one and the same roof, was thus dissolved in favor of the implementation of wage labor and division of labor. In Polanyi's view, the fact that labor, money, and land were turned into commodities—or, vice versa, that the market mechanisms were extended to include this social capital—forms the heart and the fundamental problem of the neoliberal and capitalist economy.





Landgrabbing

In the twenty-first century, land remains a contested resource. Meanwhile, in the wake of globalization and liberalization processes, a global market for land acquisition has emerged. Financialization, as is known to evolve in cities, has thus found its counterpart in the large-scale appropriation of rural regions and yet unused areas of land that are marketed with the aid of “an also vast specialized servicing infrastructure to enable sales and acquisitions, secure property or leasing rights, develop appropriate legal instruments, and even push for the making of new law to accommodate such purchases in a sovereign country,” as economist Saskia Sassen explains.¹ Global estimates assert that, even just between 2006 and 2011, more than 200 million hectares were purchased by other countries and foreign corporations, especially in Africa, but also in Latin America, Russia, and Ukraine, in Laos and Vietnam, for this business is meanwhile conducted across national borders. These stretches of land are primarily dedicated to the large-scale cultivation of biofuels, the industrialized production of plant-based agricultural crops like palm oil or soy, livestock breeding, timber exploitation, but also as a site for diverse industrial facilities leveraging natural resources and for establishing special economic zones. Authors less cautious than Sassen speak of “landgrabbing” in this context.² This seizure of land takes place not only in the countries of the Global South but also in Europe, as is illustrated by the Hands off the Land project and the related study.³ The consequences of landgrabbing, which usually implies an increasing concentration of landownership in the hands of an ever smaller number of large agricultural enterprises, are just as critical in Europe, from a structural perspective, as for instance in African countries or in India, although the humanitarian consequences are much more dramatic in the latter. Over 200,000 farmers committed suicide between 1997 and 2009 in India.⁴ From a global perspective, there are over 500 million smallholder farms in the world. Such smallholder farms produce half of all food globally. In southern hemisphere countries, the rate is even higher, amounting to between 60 and 80 percent of all food consumed there. Depending on country and continent, around half of those working in agriculture are women, yet only a fraction of these women actually own the land that they are cultivating. Strength-

ening the role of these women would be a vital prerequisite for boosting such smallholder agriculture and alleviating poverty. Meanwhile, it is also known that smallholder agriculture in particular is more sustainable, ecologically sound, and diversified than industrialized agriculture. In fact, the argument that smallholders produce less has already been refuted, provided that they receive support from the political sphere.⁵ Indeed, against this backdrop, the issue of land and soil has in no way lost significance—actually, just the opposite holds true.



Forced Urbanization

Urbanization not only results from rural exodus and the targeted displacement of smallholder farmers or from in-country or transnational migration due to impoverishment, military and political conflicts, and environmental catastrophes, although these are certainly important factors as well. A frequently underestimated main factor is urbanization that is carried out quite purposefully.

A prime example is China. The Chinese government wants to impel urbanization with all its might, aiming to combat the declining rates of economic growth and consumption with the help of a new surge of urbanization. For example, the nine metropolises in and around the Pearl River Delta will be united into an urban agglomeration with 43 million inhabitants thanks to investments made in infrastructure development in particular. The region between Beijing and the harbor city of Tianjin are to be likewise expanded to create a single megalopolis. In March 2014, the Chinese government announced the National New-type Urbanization Plan (2014–2020), which sets out to raise the share of urban population from 54 to 60 percent by the year 2020. An estimated 30 million new housing units are to be erected as part of this plan, which will entail further consumption of land and resources. People from rural areas are already being specifically asked to move to metropolitan areas, although to date nearly half of China's population still resides in rural areas. Since the farmers and migrant workers who have moved into the cities do not enjoy the same rights as city dwellers, the established residency registry system must be changed, for whoever is not in possession of a *hukou*, and is thus without city residency, will have a hard time receiving any kind of public services. In order to finance this program, which aims to integrate 100 million migrant workers, other areas such as the tax system must be reformed, for cities and municipalities have, up to this point, received a large share of their revenue from the sale of land.¹ As of yet, according to information provided by the Chinese finance ministry, municipalities have earned more than 500 billion US dollars² in revenue from land sales, although this is land that still requires building. (In the meantime, however, land sales have declined due to the strained financial situation.) In order to regulate such sale of land, a

resolution³ for the People's National Assembly was proposed in early 2015. The background behind this proposal involves the difference between urban and rural land. While urban land is owned by the government, rural land is collectively owned and strictly defined according to utilization, such as building plots, agricultural land, uncultivated areas, or soil reserves. Until now, village households and collectives could neither directly lease out nor convert land; only the local government bodies were allowed to do so, which gave rise to a black market for land rights and related utilization. The proposed resolution is now aiming to start earmarking rural plots of land that will be subject to the same conditions, such as leasing and trading, which were previously reserved for the government only. This gives not only individual collectives but also corporate entities and the agricultural industry the green light to move ahead, even if, according to this proposal, land conversion is expressly forbidden. It remains to be seen as to whether the planned land reform will actually remedy the fundamental problems confronting the farming population, such as corruption, expropriation, or environmental contamination by factories, and balance out the absence of government assistance. Farmers have been protesting against local cadres for many years now. In 2013 alone, there were 130,000 mass protests, according to official data. What is more, in the long term the issue of agriculture becoming industrialized to an even greater degree will likely arise, with effects sure to be even more problematic than before. Phenomena like masses of pig cadavers floating in a river, over-fertilized soil, and contaminated food will surely become, more often than not, the rule rather than the exception. Only time will tell as to whether, in the longer term, food production will be secured through industrialized urban gardening or the planned mass cloning of cattle.⁴

Already, the contradictions of reckless urbanization in China are clearly evident. On the one hand affordable living space is lacking, while on the other there are vacant buildings in many districts with newly erected housing, or even completely empty "ghost towns." An example of this is Kangbashi in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, a new city that was built to accommodate 1 million inhabitants. Both result from state-promoted speculation, in some cases, and the real-estate bubble financed with the help of shadow banking systems. This bubble has not yet burst, and considering that real estate makes up approximately a fifth of China's gross domestic product, the Chinese government is not really interested in implementing changes. Quite the contrary, for declining economic growth rates could turn out to be socially explosive. "Urbanization is a powerful engine for China's sustained and healthy economic growth," said finance minister Lou Jiwei when introducing the urbanization plan.⁵ With many cities having long been dealing with severe environmental and traffic problems, it is doubtful that an optimization of the already existing agglomerations, as detailed by the urbanization



plan, will be successful.⁶ Although the standard of living in China has improved considerably since liberalization, the price has been paid in that China now counts among those countries with the greatest income and wealth inequality. The Gini coefficient, which measures this inequality, rose from 0.28 in the year 1980 to 0.52 in the year 2013.⁷ What is more, China now has over 262 million migrant workers,⁸ amounting to almost 20 percent of the Chinese population, predominately working in cities. There is a Chinese term for this life lived under precarious conditions: *chiku*, which means “eating bitterness.”⁹

Urbanization is being promoted not only in China, but also in India. The prime minister of India, Narendra Modi, has decided—based on his campaign slogan “Minimum Government, Maximum Governance”—to build 100 new technologically upgraded cities, so-called “smart cities,” and millions of affordable homes as part of the Housing for All program. However, this is not the first plan designed to implement urbanization and combat desolate living conditions in this country. Already in the mid-1980s, India introduced neoliberalization policy, not least due to pressure from the World Bank, which was formalized as New Economic Policy



(NEP) in 1991.¹⁰ Policy that, up to that point, had been founded on state-based dirigisme was radically changed. Direct capital investments abroad, customs and trade barriers, were reduced or removed in order to facilitate privatization. In addition, special economic zones (SEZs) were introduced; there are now 590 SEZs in India, though they do cover smaller areas than in China. This turning point played out much more dramatically than in comparable countries like Mexico, Colombia, and Brazil.¹¹ Although the gross domestic product, which reflects the aggregate value of all produced commodities and services, rose after the 1991 reforms according to the International Monetary Fund, a view of the numbers prior to the reforms will show that economic growth was just as high then, during certain years, than after the reforms.¹² Thus, the conclusion to be drawn from these reforms is that “the fruits of that initial success have gone overwhelmingly to India’s elites and its urban middle classes, and upper castes, as was always bound to be the case.”¹³ In India, too, the most wealthy 10 percent of the population has become even richer since the year 2000, now owning nearly three quarters of the total assets in the country.¹⁴



One result of the reforms in India also deals with the issue of land. A law from the colonial era that remained in effect until 2013—the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, which allowed the state to sell private land at a fixed rate when public interest was involved—served to keep supporting land seizure and forced evictions in cities. In 2013, due to ongoing protests, this law was replaced by a different one,¹⁵ introducing, among other things, fair compensation for landowners according to the respective market price. However, the form and effect of this legislative change remains contested for various reasons, not least because only 10 percent of the Indian population is in possession of land. Yet even “after twenty years of ‘growth,’ 60 percent of India’s workforce is self-employed, and 90 percent of India’s labor force works in the unorganized sector,”¹⁶ as the globalization critic Arundhati Roy remarks. Over a quarter of the urban population in the larger cities lives in informal settlements and slums, without or with very limited access to basic resources like clean water and sanitary facilities. It is not uncommon for these settlements to be evacuated by force and destroyed, with the residents cast out without compensation. As the geographer Lalit Batra has noted,¹⁷ the earlier introduction of programs¹⁸ for battling slums has essentially served to further land seizure, the conversion of agricultural land into construction areas, the liberalization of the real-estate markets, the building of closed housing complexes (so-called gated communities), and the privatization of basic services. Since, moreover, growth rates are only recorded by the financial sector, the insurance industry, the IT economy, and the real-estate market, it follows that segregation has been enhanced in large cities like Delhi, with new enclaves from which only a small urban elite benefit, while the rest of the population continues on its road to poverty.¹⁹ Modi’s new urbanization program²⁰ is, as Balit notes, little more than a renewed continuation of previously unsuccessful programs. It would ultimately be much wiser to actually first acknowledge already existing cities as cities, as the law stipulates, and to lend these cities support, especially in terms of social issues, as the former governmental advisor Shankar Acharya notes.²¹

Yet even new modern economic hubs like Rajarhat or Gurgaon have dystopian character, as sociologist Rijul Kochhar has observed, for “you will indeed experience the unsettling horror of its urban logic—endless roads, not a soul in sight, no contact with others, no complexity in the use of space, visual order but psychic anxiety, the uncanny presence of cars whose insides very few of us would want to explore. Our failure to address the brutal experience of women in contemporary urban cities—into which the architectural DNA of Gurgaon has speedily seeped in—is, in a fundamental sense, also our inability to address the brutal architectonics of our public spaces.”²² Kochhar’s assessment is also a reaction to the brutal gang rape in the year 2012, when a young woman was raped by a bus driver

and several passengers in front of her boyfriend, and she later died in the aftermath. Not only since this crime, which incited protests and attracted international attention, has it become obvious that, according to sociologist Pratiska Baxi, “women are targeted in streets, neighbourhoods, transport and workplaces routinely. There have been countless campaigns and appeals to all agencies concerned to think of safety of women as an issue of governance, planning and prevention. However, prevention of sexual violence is not something, which features in the planning and administration of the city. It is not seen as an issue for governance that extinguishes the social, economic and political rights of all women.”²³ It is questionable as to whether this situation will improve under the current administration, despite Modi’s apparent commitment to a necessary empowerment of women. Against the backdrop of a further advancement of neo-liberal economic policy, the projected urbanization will surely continue to exacerbate the already extant extremes within these cities and also the differences between the various classes, caste systems, and genders in India.



Cities as Prosperity Machines

It is not only in India and China that the twenty-first century stands under the aegis of spatial mobilization. The earth with its various geographic spheres is once again being subjected to revision, with the aim of evaluating its exploitability and channeling it into the cycle of value creation under the catchword of urbanization. Such exploitation is legitimated by figures and statistics, although it depends on how they are interpreted and in which political context they are negotiated. The content-related focus on the phenomenon of urbanization can easily shift in this respect, as is for instance illustrated by an analysis of the series of studies regularly released by the United Nations suborganization UN-Habitat called *State of the World's Cities*. While the study for the years 2010–11¹ still demands “Cities for All” and the bridging of the urban-social divide, the subsequent study for the years 2012–13² negotiates the potential of cities with a focus on “prosperity.” In the latter study, life in cities not only ultimately becomes the dominant way of life; indeed, cities are declared to be “engine-rooms of human development as a whole.”³ The metaphor of the city as machine has been used quite frequently, from Le Corbusier to representatives of Structuralism. Yet in the post-Fordist eras, this metaphor no longer implies machines of the bygone industrial age; it rather signifies a sustained ideology of technological advancement and economic growth, which continues to persevere in face of the social and ecological consequences still clearly evident today. This ideology is also mirrored by talk of the city as a prosperity machine, for the twenty-first century cities have been entrusted with the redeeming role of facilitating “global recovery,” as the new study calls it. It is not fundamental changes to prevailing economic systems but rather the cities themselves that “can lead the way with local solutions to global problems.”⁴ For only in a city, according to the message of this study, can the prosperity necessary for the future of humanity be generated.⁵ UN-Habitat, which aims to shine a “fresh perspective” on cities, is of the opinion that prosperity is based on five areas: “productivity, infrastructure, quality of life, equity and environmental sustainability.”⁶ In order to measure this prosperity and to reinforce the idea of the prosperous city, UN-Habitat has even introduced a new measuring instrument, the City Prosperity Index, modeled after and expanding



Computational linguistic: Keywords
 UN-Habitat. State of the World's Cities 2010/2011. Bridging the Urban Divide.
 London: earthscan, 2011

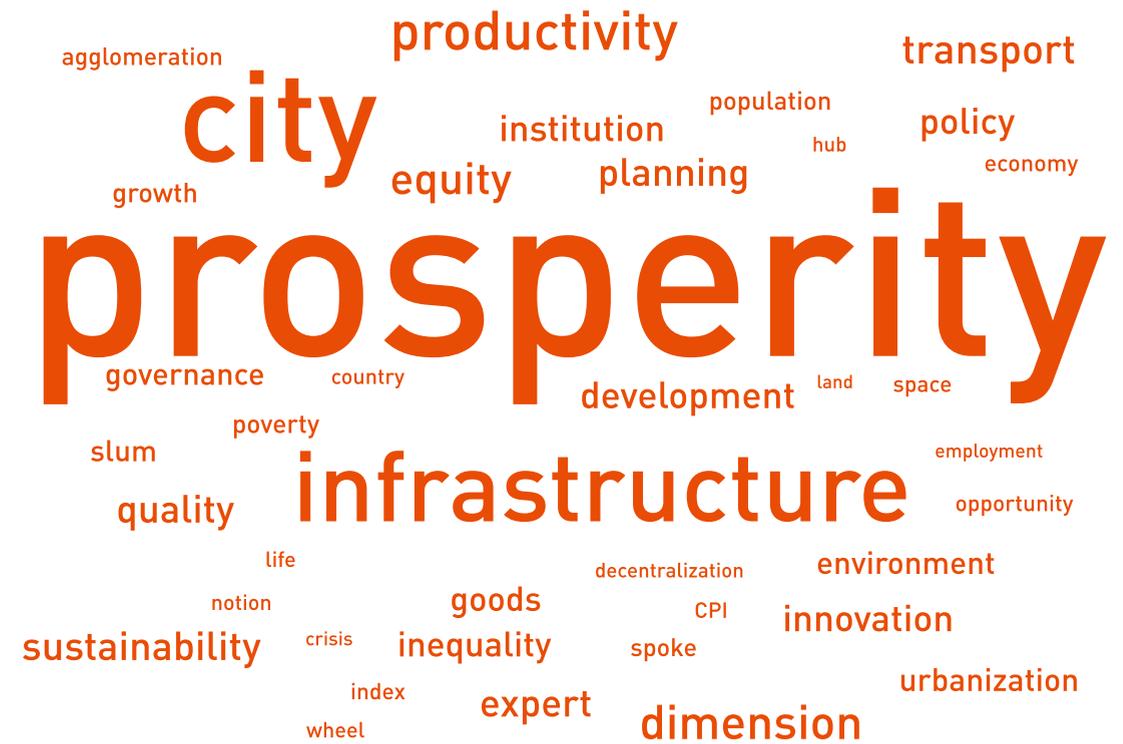
existing indices (such as the Human Development Index). Conceived as a “wheel of urban prosperity,” it presents five spokes, analogous to the specific sections. With the help of this index, the global-urban situation can now be clearly divided into cities with very strong to very weak prosperity factors. However, the axis along which this wheel turns is not the market, as one might surmise, but rather the state. Indeed, even cities of the twenty-first century must be governed—though now under the new auspices of “contentment” and “happiness.” If we look closer at this index, it becomes evident that the differences play out three decimals after the period, sometimes even leading to rather absurd results.⁷

UN-Habitat has defined a clear image as to what constitutes a twenty-first-century city. Such cities should protect their inhabitants from menacing natural catastrophes, create gainful employment locally, promote social diversity while furthering social and economic balance, provide an environmentally friendly environment and public space, offer the necessary infrastructures, and also ensure safety and security, health, education, and recreation for the city residents.⁸ According to the authors of this study, an important instrument for implementing these objectives is urban planning, which needs to “restore it to its rightful position in the public sphere”⁹ and better “defend the ‘public’ against the menace of ever-expanding ‘private’ interests.”¹⁰ However, the idea that the two—urban planning’s loss of meaning and neoliberalized (urban) policy—correlate is ruled out here. Moreover, the growth of production and services is to be promoted and their negative effects coped with, such as traffic congestion, inequality, crime, and violence, as well as “the soaring cost of land and housing.”¹¹ The notion that this could potentially reflect a contradiction is ignored in the study. Apparently, there is no way to elude exponential economic growth, although this curve, when considered more closely, actually turns out to be an illusion, for it runs much more linearly than exponentially.¹²

A comparison of these two studies using computer-linguistic analysis¹³ shows the shifts that are already apparent in the subtitles. In the previous UN-Habitat study, the tone used was completely different, speaking of the “inclusive city” and even of a “right to the city,”¹⁴ the implementation of which was to be in the hands of urban development.¹⁵ Yet not only in terms of these points does the younger study fall behind the discursive niveau of the previous one. Instead of gender inequality and gender gap, the authors now speak of women, youth, children, the elderly and disabled, slum dwellers, who need to be “somehow” taken into account. Even terms from the previous study like “race” and “class” have been fully eliminated. And the notion that a “right to the city” implies a right to a “gendered city”¹⁶ is likewise left out of the more recent study. Finally, it is implied that political movements like Occupy or the 2011 democratic movement in Egypt were

not only seeking “more equality and inclusion; they were also expressing the need for prosperity.”¹⁷ And potential critics who still harbor an “aversion to the urbanization process” are definitively muzzled with the argument that cities “are the engines of growth and centres of innovation.”¹⁸

The gender issue, in turn, has been outsourced to a separate study titled *State of Women in Cities 2012–2013: Gender and the Prosperity of Cities*.¹⁹ An utterly different picture is presented here. A total of seventeen key messages, all listed at the beginning of the study, indicate that the overwhelming majority of women hardly profit from the city as prosperity machine, if at all. For women, existing gender differences are merely perpetuated in an urban context, sometimes even becoming more pronounced. As geographer Sylvia Chant mentions elsewhere,²⁰ this especially applies to women residing in the Global South. Even if women who live in cities form a decidedly heterogeneous group, certain areas are identifiable that pertain specifically to the life of women in cities, as is evident in this study and elsewhere.²¹ These areas relate to the possibility of political and economic participation, the issue of access to living space, basic provisions (food, water, energy), and infrastructures (sanitary facilities, public transport, waste disposal), to property (land, housing) and financial opportunities (loans, banking), to edu-



Computational linguistic: Keywords
 UN-Habitat. *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013. Prosperity of the Cities*.
 USA, Canada: Routledge, 2013

cation and training, to physical health and self-determination (contraception, health care, environmentally friendly everyday technology), to public and informational spaces (means of communication), and to safety. Although such issues also apply to women living in rural areas, certain differences may be noted. This varies from country to country and in the respective cities, yet in many cities there is a higher concentration of female-headed households,²² a decrease in paid employment for women, and, especially in the cities of the southern hemisphere, a high percentage of women who have to work in informal urban economies. Also, there are diverse risks to which women and girls in particular are exposed in cities, such as poverty, sexualized domestic violence, but also violence in public space and means of transport, forced prostitution, work in extreme low-wage sectors, loss of housing, homelessness, and gentrification due to high rent (even in informal settlements),²³ to name just a few examples here. Some

of these points also affect men, for quite a few men, like women, work under utterly miserable conditions or even in bondage. Nonetheless, considerable differences between the sexes are still detectable. Such differences are not biologically founded or the result of a purported physical inferiority of women (indeed, it still seems necessary to spell this out explicitly). The variable differences result from life in societies ranging from modernist ones that still remain gender-unequal and heteronormative in terms of structure and clearly male-dominated societies to authoritarian-patriarchal and distinctly misogynous societies. So, as not only the UN study illustrates, talk of the "city as prosperity machine" needs to be read critically from a gender- and queer-feminist perspective. In contrast to life in the country, life in cities harbors a chance to become liberated from gender norms and experience political emancipation. Yet in view of the further deepening of economic divisions and the concomitant increase in social conflicts in many cities, even these positive opportunities associated with urban life are becoming inverted to something negative for more and more women. This applies to the lives of many queer individuals²⁴ (and other so-called minorities), whose status in cities may potentially and partially hold more freedom, yet proves to be fragile in equal measure.



ECONOMIES OF URBAN SPACE PRODUCTION

Don't invest your money under mattress, do it on the earth.¹

Ali Ağaoğlu

Private real-estate development has much to answer for in terms of its inability to deliver even adequate, much less great, design.²

Vishaan Chakrabarti



Capital over City

The opening sequence of the film *Hands over the City* (*Le mani sulla città*), released in 1963 and directed by Francesco Rossi, shows an entrepreneur who is pointing, with theatrical gestures, to the silhouette of a high-rise estate built along the rim of a hilly landscape. He is trying to convince the politician accompanying him that the gold of today is situated on this parcel of land where they are standing. For it is first the erection of a new city that promises “all profit and no risk,” as the entrepreneur asserts.

As this film illustrates, a capital-oriented production of space is not really anything new, but rather simply part of the logic of capitalism. This logic and the related strategies of accumulation have experienced acceleration thanks to a wave of globalization, neoliberalization, and financialization³ evident since the 1980s, having led to worldwide competition for capital, land, and wage labor. On societal-social levels, this has led to a now clearly perceptible, unequal development in many countries and also to an inequality of wealth and income, thus marginalizing the vast majority of the global population in many different ways, which Sassen demonstrates in her study.⁴ As part of this development, not only nation-states, but of course also cities, have found themselves confronted with intensified competition within a transnational urban system. This has led to a concentration of spatial and urban policy taking the form of all kinds of large-scale projects, with the aim of attracting capital investments and unique selling propositions. This competition is furthered by an occasionally apparent overaccumulation of capital and an intensified supply of fictive (interest-based) capital,⁵ especially in the second circuit of capital,⁶ in the land and real-estate market. As such, in recent years the demand for real estate in the areas of trade, administration, industry, and housing has significantly risen in the popular cities, with a globalized international real-estate market⁷ having become established, which merely perpetuates the unequal spatial development, both on the micro- and macro-levels. The sum of all the financial transactions carried out in this market is almost impossible to determine. Quite apart from the urbanistic and legal differences, there are different economic rents and fluctuating cycles in relation to the various segments

of the real-estate market in the individual cities. For this reason I will add only a note: by the end of 2006, the global trove of real-estate stock already amounted to 26 trillion US dollars, with 10 trillion applying to the United States, of which nearly half was already invested.⁸ Here, not only private investors are directly or indirectly channeling funds into the real-estate market, but also states and municipalities, though to a much smaller extent. The instruments of today's globalized financial markets are, most especially, characterized by a creative approach to inventing ever-new, inscrutable financial products, by computer-based, high-frequency trading and off-market trading platforms, the so-called "dark pools," which only show already completed transactions.⁹ Other investment favorites include the real-estate investment trusts (REITs) that were legalized in the United States in the 1960s and have been also allowed in many other countries like Germany, Finland, and India since the first decade of the twenty-first century. REITs are enterprises, with various legal structures depending on country and legislation, that amass capital in order to invest this money in the purchase of real estate, which is then either leased, rented out, or resold. The special feature here is the unique tax policy regulated by the government, which allows for tax incentives and high profit distribution.

Fundamentally and for both private and public spheres, the borrowing of money and the debt that results play a pivotal role in the real-estate business, for loans continue to represent, from a global perspective, the main source of investment in real-estate property.¹⁰ What is more, the building and real-estate sector has proven to be particularly well suited for money laundering. According to data from the Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) of the United Nations, the total amount of money laundered annually is somewhere between 800 billion and 2 trillion US dollars.¹¹ In Germany, for example, a country that has faced criticism due to its rather lax stance on money laundering,¹² an estimated 50 billion euros are laundered every year. It is, however, difficult to calculate the sum of the funds flowing into the building and real-estate sector. Nonetheless, experts agree that this sector is especially susceptible to money laundering, even if more or less extensive statutory regulations exist in many countries.¹³ The most frequently employed money-laundering methods in the building and real-estate sector are related to price manipulation, undefined funding sources and financial transactions, and also the use of false identities, shell companies, including banks.¹⁴ Money transfer is now conducted transnationally, even via legal companies and professional players.¹⁵ The illegal earnings obtained through the trafficking of drugs, humans (especially women), prostitution, and other criminal activities is preferentially invested in the building or purchase of villas, hotels, or luxury apartment complexes, but also in other building and real-estate projects. This money laundering tends to contribute, rather significantly, to the real-estate bubbles (or, conversely,





to increased purchasing in times of cheap real-estate prices) and to elevated real-estate prices in many metropolitan areas, such as New York City, London, Vancouver, Istanbul, Amsterdam, Berlin, Lagos, and Mumbai.¹⁶ Such investments are also found in the coastal areas of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, which entail large-scale structural and ecological interventions in precisely these coastal landscapes.





Crisis!?

The financial crisis that was sparked in the United States by the mortgage crisis of 2007 did nothing to detract from investment in the secondary circuit of capital.¹ At the root of this crisis was a surplus of capital and cheap loans, but also, most especially, a US financial system² which has been deregulated since the late 1970s and which considerably facilitates the trading of bonds and loans. Preceding the financial crisis was a second-class (subprime) granting of credit, which must be considered unscrupulous if not criminal, for in many cases it was obvious ahead of time that the homebuyers would never be in a position to pay back either their loans or the rising interest rates, and often they could not even afford to provide a down payment.³ Such loans and mortgages, as well as credit default insurance, were then pooled into various packages, so-called collateralized debt obligations (CDOs), in order to be resold speculatively. When both the interest and unemployment rates started to rise again, while the price of residential property plummeted at the same time, the bubble burst. As a result, more than 10 million people in the US lost their homes. They were forced onto the streets—where many still remain today—residing at official or unofficial campgrounds in tents or mobile homes, living with friends, or getting by with considerably less living space. When the real-estate crisis escalated to an international financial crisis, more than 5 million homes transitioned to bank ownership. While various US and European banks were “rescued” by enormous amounts of taxpayer money, the victims of these foreclosures in the United States saw very little of this “bonanza.”⁴



99 Homes

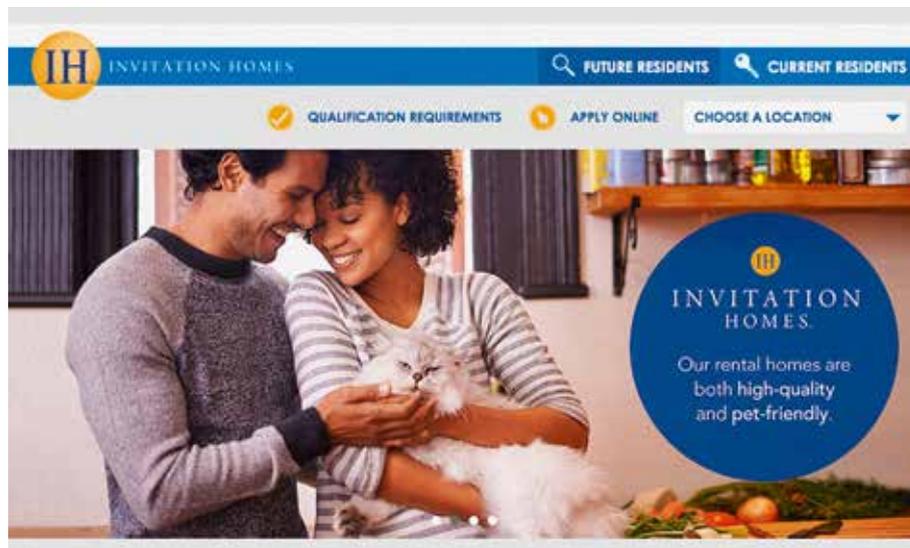
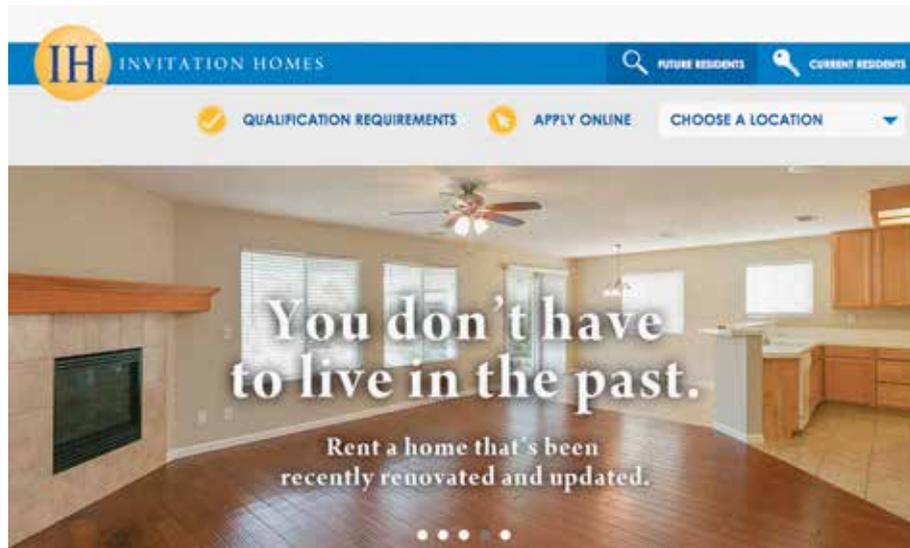
Media representations hardly communicated the gender-specific and racial dimensions of this crisis situation, which particularly affected those who experienced these two aspects at the same time. Indeed, female households and single mothers, African-American women, and Latinos were all strongly impacted by the real-estate bubble.¹ Due to their significantly worse income and financial situation, they were especially susceptible to such “subprime” mortgages. As a result of the financial crisis, their assets were reduced by 50 to 60 percent.²

99 Homes, a US film by director Ramin Bahrani released in 2014 in response to this very crisis, likewise neglects this aspect, for the film mainly focuses on white protagonists. By example of two white men, the director navigates the consequences of the so-called “real-estate crisis.” One of the men, Rick Caver, is a real-estate agent, and the other, Dennis Nash, a construction worker. Nash loses his job and can no longer make his mortgage payments for the house where he lives with his son and his mother. As a result, Caver evicts him, so Nash is forced to move into a small, run-down social housing unit. Nash starts to work for the real-estate shark and, by necessity, is involved in other foreclosures, which in the film mainly, though not solely, affect white suburban families. Although the film does contain some critical commentary, it only marginally thematizes the structural reasons for the foreclosures. The film is ultimately focused on a completely different story, one that revolves around the significance of real-estate property as an expression of (white) masculinity. For both men, owning a home is of pivotal importance. Their male identity stands and falls with this ownership, for it validates their respective role as breadwinner. Caver, the real-estate shark, is a husband and father. As a somewhat dodgy individual, he is climbing up the social ladder, embodying the classic American dream and representing a kind of social Darwinism where there is only such thing as winners or losers. From his point of view, the government, banks, and investors have transformed him from a serious real-estate agent to a corrupt effectuator of foreclosures. As opposed to Caver, Nash as a single father embodies a modernized male father figure. He is emotional, socially oriented, and approachable, utterly devoted to his son, doesn't

have affairs with women, and also takes care of his somewhat naïve mother. Even after he (remorsefully) succumbs to corruption, his sense of empathy wins out in the end. Nash's stance embodies the narrative of the Christian moral of male righteousness, which ultimately forms the basis for both characters, for even Caver considers himself in the film to be a victim of unfettered capitalism. As in many other films made in the United States, neither the system itself nor the underlying gender differences and forms of racism are questioned. Here quite the opposite is the case, for not only is the set of issues touched upon in the film broken down person by person according to individual destiny, but the two protagonists reflect the entire breadth of today's conceptions of the male, which is based, not least, on an exaggeration and valorization of fatherhood. As such, women and mothers play a minor role in this film. Real estate, according to the message of the film, is basically still a male preserve and an issue better dealt with by fathers who either have to provide for useless, foolish wives obsessed with shopping or are otherwise overly willing to sacrifice themselves.



Buy It, Fix It, Sell It



In the meantime, the Blackstone Group, a multinational corporation specialized in investment, financing, and real estate, has found a solution for the foreclosed homeowners and their nuclear families (other lifestyles are not conceivable there). Under the motto "You don't have to live in the past,"¹ the Blackstone Group with its Invitation Homes company is currently buying up many of the homes whose value had plummeted, especially in those districts populated largely by African-Americans, Latinos, and Asians.² Yet instead of being resold, the homes are rented out, with the expected rental funds pooled into newly created bonds and then marketed. Just such a package served the Deutsche Bank as collateral for a loan amounting to 479 million US dollars, extended to Blackstone so that the corporation could purchase more homes.³ Analysts' future estimates place this newly burgeoning market at 70 billion US dollars annually.⁴ This promising and profitable business model—"Buy it, fix it, sell it"—is therefore to be exported to other countries.⁵ For example, the company has already bought up mortgage loans for 40,000 condo- and homeowners in Spain, spending a total of 7.2 billion US dollars.⁶ Like in the United States, the Spanish financial and real-estate crisis has led to countless evictions and, consequently, to suicide rates that are still rising today. In the year 2012 alone, there were over 100,000 forced evictions, and the overall total is estimated to have been at around 400,000 evictions and foreclosures, according to Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca or PAH (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages), which was founded in 2009 as a people's initiative in face of this desolate situation. Its protest measures have been able to stave off evictions, at least occasionally.⁷

The business conducted by Blackstone is just one building block in an increasingly inscrutable market that operates both locally and globally. The figure of the money-grubbing homeowner with his murky transactions, as documented by the conceptual artist Hans Haacke in his 1971 photographic research work *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, A Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*,⁸ does actually still exist, yet the interdependencies are much more complex these days. This makes it significantly more difficult to trace the multifarious

networks among individual investors, real-estate and investment firms, financial institutions, investment companies, building contractors, the involved consulting, planning, and architecture firms,⁹ and, not least, the political representatives. This complexity also has to do with the fact that real-estate markets today are being increasingly controlled by players who want to generate their profits from such stock and mortgage portfolios. Shareholders who for instance invest their capital in open- or closed-end real-estate funds, or in investment or development companies, not only have no control over what is built or how; they usually don't really care so long as the future yields hold up the promised revenue. Even the managers of these funds and companies ultimately hold no responsibility since they are so rarely made personally liable for any losses. So, for this reason, it has been ages since the point was to build quality structures geared to longevity and designed for versatile practical and utility value, buildings tailored to a specific local and urban situation, as was formulated in the eras of modernism and postwar modernism, even if only partially achieved. Also almost completely over are the times in which municipalities carried out their own urban development and housing construction. It is rather certain that the state or municipal estate and housing planning does not per se lead to quality urban development, as a simple examination of the urban-planning criticism of the time shows. Yet today investment decisions are solely based on a "a comparative evaluation of spaces"¹⁰ and on appraisal methods such as discounted cash flow (DCF), a method for determining the real-estate profits to be expected in the future. Playing a decisive role in the financialization of a city, especially in the case of larger cities, is "economic rent," which indicates the symbolic value of a city. This value is then to be further bolstered by the financial support of the state and of municipalities, aided by large flagship projects, however this strategy usually only succeeds in exceptional cases.¹¹ For example, the authors of a study on large-scale urban development projects in German metropolitan areas concluded by asserting "that cities must be examined and it must be considered whether a concentration of resources is tenable, or even necessary, in individual large-scale projects and new districts with the aim of accentuating both the profile and the focused, incisive realization of the city's goals, in order to further develop the local community in general."¹² So not only private capital is invested, built, and occasionally burned in this market, but also, to an equal extent, plenty of tax revenue.

Not least against this backdrop and despite crisis-driven capitalism, the vision of new cities and blossoming urban landscapes continues on in the twenty-first century. And it is even gaining momentum. For example, KPMG International, one of the world's four largest accounting firms, ask the question "Ready for the next big wave?" in a study on the prospects of the building industry.¹³ And Oxford

Economics, a commercial, entrepreneurial offshoot of Oxford University, is very optimistic about the future outlook of the real-estate sector and the building industry through 2025.¹⁴ In this study, a global outlook until the year 2025 is systematically explored. And even if the prospects for Europe are not so favorable according to the study, with only Great Britain showing true promise for growth, it does not undermine the building and real-estate sector from a global perspective. It is estimated that the entire capacity will grow 70 percent by the 2025, from 8.7 to 15 trillion US dollars. The focus here rests on China, India, and the United States, where, according to this prediction, 60 percent of this investment amount will be made. Two others of the four largest global players in this consulting industry are optimistic when it comes to such market forecasts: Ernst & Young sees a "new, post-crisis era" in which "the real estate industry has much to gain both today and tomorrow"¹⁵ and PricewaterhouseCoopers International Limited (PwCIL) likewise predicts very good future prospects for investments in the real-estate sector, especially considering that "urbanisation is proving a key influence on investors as capital starts flowing into the more dynamic secondary cities as well as established gateways."¹⁶

BEHIND THE IMAGES

The eyes have been used to signify a perverse capacity—honed to perfection in the history of science tied to militarism, capitalism, colonialism, and male supremacy—to distance the knowing subject from everybody and everything in the interests of unfettered power. The instruments of visualization in multinationalist, postmodernist culture have compounded these meanings of disembodiment.¹

Donna Haraway

Wherever there is illusion, the optical and visual world plays an integral and integrative, active and passive, part in it. It fetishizes abstraction and imposes it as the norm. It detaches the pure form from its impure content—from lived time, everyday time, and from bodies with their opacity and solidity, their warmth, their life and their death. After its fashion, the image kills.²

Henri Lefebvre

Digital Image Production



Images are so much more convincing than words. This almost banal-seeming statement also applies to the mediation of designs for future urban spaces. Aside from the model, the classic medium of mediation in architecture and urban planning is the drawing. In our present context it would be too expansive to explore the history of architectural and urban drawing dating back to the Hellenistic period, or to elaborate on today's opportunities for digital visualization, whose application fields range from urban and landscape development, architecture,³ and engineering to design, art, film, television, and video, or even the natural sciences and medicine. Historically speaking, as architectural historian Mario Carpo notes, long before the advent of computers, architectural designs were based on notational systems and the use of algorithms, as were to become intrinsic to digital production.⁴ "With the discovery and dissemination of one-point perspective, the act of 'seeing something as something' becomes a methodological procedure. The act of seeing becomes calculable and culturally stereotyped. If we generally consider the perspectively planned representation to be natural and correct, this only goes to show how successful the symbolic form of one-point perspective was able to unfold its topos-forming function. A function that can be accentuated as follows: precisely then it is valid 'as if it were real' when it is symbolically constructed from the perspective of an external observer."⁵

In the age of digital production methods, perspectival representation as a means of visually staging space has arrived at a hitherto unknown zenith and state of illusionary perfection that even surpasses reality. Although within the scope of planerly computer-aided design (CAD) or computer-aided architectural design (CAAD), the creation of plans for cities, sites, and landscapes, overhead and frontal views, sections, floor plans, and detailed drawings still provides an essential basis, when it comes to presenting the planned projects to the outside world, to the political sphere, the public, the economy, and the media, perspectival-spatial visualizations now take center stage nowadays, for the production thereof is strongly facilitated by ever more perfected programs that are easier to use.⁶ In the meantime, a whole new profession of so-called "3D artists" has developed. The

code word here, connecting all of these professional designers, is “to render” (which originally signified the transfer of a sketch or a model to a graphic representation). In a planning context, the graphic-digital pipeline essentially implies the determination of geometry and camera location, the integration of objects, the creation of textures and surfaces, the positioning of lighting, and perhaps even the animation of visualizations. Today the spectrum extends from purely visual representations created with photorealistic effects to the real-time renderings used in video games, virtual and interactive worlds, and model calculations in the natural sciences. Today’s programs are so intertwined that all processes can take place within a single programming world, from design to construction organization to realization. Thanks to building information modeling (BIM), the actual building process can be organized even better and accelerated considerably. In addition to the implementation of geographic information systems (GIS), in the future Big Data (the collection and linking of large, diverse amounts of data) will also keep gaining in importance when it comes to urban planning and the management of cities.

In reality, digital technologies are actually only fully exhausted by relatively few planning offices, for most tend to use such technology simply as electronic drawing tools and to organize planning and building processes. Mathematician and architect Toni Kotnik, for example, remarks that “on representational level there is no real perception of the computational nature that governs the digital environment. Rather, the design process is still in line with the visual reasoning of a conventional paper-based design approach.”⁷ Today, the daily routine in planning offices is determined less by “digital thought,”⁸ which discriminates between digitally generated projects and digital architecture, than by economic thought. Yet early information scientists like Nicholas Negroponte were taking this concept one step further. In an essay penned in 1969, Negroponte summarized as follows the problem that only a small percentage of US homes in urban environments demonstrate well-founded design qualities: “The general concern of machine-assisted architecture is twofold: First, architects cannot handle large scale problems, for they are too complex; second, architects ignore small scale problems, for they are too particular and individual (and, to them, trivial).”⁹ In his view, computers should thus become learning machines: “Currently, a great deal of concern and research effort is placed on the machine-generation of form from a given statement of criteria (a statement that usually narrows the range of goals by being a solution-oriented verbal phrasing). For the eyes of an architecture machine, the problem is the opposite; given a form, generate the criteria . . . learn from the criteria and someday generate new forms.”¹⁰ With the exception of what are usually spectacular showcase projects by a globally operating elite made up of architects and planners, not many of these new forms are evident yet in the

twenty-first century—quite apart from other qualitative leaps above and beyond the economic cycles of exploitation so characteristic of today’s building culture. The much-vaunted state of luxury, along with the frequently fielded argument of sustainability, quickly becomes obsolete when the sheer concrete structures are considered, where not even the partitioning walls are built with masonry. Some roof greenery, curtained façades à la carte, and interior design souped up by Italian kitchens are meant to lend some glamour to the concrete edifices.

As with many other technologies, the military-industrial complex is, in the development of digital visualization technology, the Janus-faced “father of all things.” The computer scientist Ivan Sutherland laid the foundations for present-day computational visualistics with his program Sketchpad,¹¹ which he developed while working at the MIT Lincoln Laboratory.¹² This research center, which still today is commissioned by the US Department of Defense to develop a wide range of defense systems, is based at the well-respected research university Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). What is more, Sutherland also designed his head-mounted display in 1968,¹³ which was the first virtual reality and was even cleverly called the “Sword of Damocles” by some.¹⁴ But MIT is not only devoted to military technology, the natural sciences, the humanities, and, with its famous Media Lab, the computer and media sciences, but also—in equal measure—to urban planning, architecture, and, not least, contemporary art. In the year 1947, the painter, photographer, designer, and theorist György Kepes, who, after emigrating to the United States, taught at the New Bauhaus in Chicago from 1937 to 1943, was hired by MIT to develop a “visual design” program. His work there led, in 1967, to the founding of the Center for Advanced Visual Studies (CAVS) as part of the MIT School of Architecture and Planning.¹⁵ Kepes’s research on light and photography decisively influenced the famous visual urban analysis *The Image of the City*¹⁶ by the urban planner and architect Kevin Lynch.¹⁷ While Lynch, in his pathbreaking study, still took as his starting point real urban space and the perceptual experiences of city residents, today’s architecture and urban planning use the opposite approach. Digital, virtual space simulates real space ahead of time, in a way that is becoming ever more perfected. Physical space is thus anticipated in this way, through surface renderings that appear natural, in 3D representations, and in video animations. The impression engendered here leaves no room for the beholder to even consider critically questioning the supposed veracity of these images or even the meaningfulness of the rendered plans. The asserted proximity to reality conveys the impression that the project itself is already perfect. Even the visualizations published on websites by those involved in projects, garnished with texts and only rarely with blueprints, present the planned project ahead of time in such a way that the respective target groups have a hard time visualizing it themselves, instead encountering an illusion. One of the most

professional software companies for planners quite euphemistically advertises with the slogan “Perfect Illusion” for its “3D modeling, painting, animation and rendering,” for “real or not real, photograph or graphical representation—the developers . . . aren’t satisfied until this is no longer apparent to the mere eye.”¹⁸

Explorative questions about society remain just as excluded from these designs, many of which tend to lack vision, than actual social, real-economic, and urban-cultural conditions in the city spaces and regions onto which these designs are projected. Moreover, computational technology is rarely implemented when it comes to participative, interactive methods—and it is precisely here that this technology would offer the greatest opportunities for engaging city dwellers in the design of future urban spaces.

In order to avoid being misunderstood, the point here is not to condemn technological tools and to demand that planners revert back to pencil, paper, and the correction of plans using a razor blade. But the fact that self-trained experts hardly enjoy any critical distance to their own tools and production methods based solely on algorithms is rather questionable. Project representations, such as those made available to the public via the Internet, surely also share the function of classic advertising messages, for slogans like “Invest in me!,” “Buy me!,” or even “Rent me!” are at the heart of such an Internet presence. However, these renderings are not merely digital, binary symbols or virtual gadgetry, for at the end of these mediation chains built realities are created that, with their designs, orders, and functions, are determinative for future societal-urban life and co-habitation. Ultimately, these renderings are an expression of political and planning-related understanding of the cities in which we will be living in the future and, most particularly, should be living. Against the background of such far-reaching issues, the images and texts on these websites must not be dismissed as mere advertising; instead, they should be taken quite seriously. At first glance, these images and texts speak of modernization, progress, and sustainability, but their subtexts equally reveal power, gender, and class relations. Already the term “master plan” shows that neither policymakers and clients nor those working in planning professions would ever dream of abandoning the digital pen. And the point is certainly not to have future city dwellers actively, or interactively, intervening in the planning process.



Visual Belief Systems



The more photo-realistically exciting the rendering, the higher each respective planning project's power of appeal and persuasion rises, or so it seems. As in the case of photography, the digital visualization of urban projects and building ventures involves a placement of emphasis on a balanced pictorial representation, an apt camera location, visual layouts, and also lighting and visual perspective. But it is much more important, in fact, to address the viewers on an emotional level, for the visualization is meant to tell a story, one that the viewers can immediately identify with. The fact that such narratives usually bypass urban realities and societal circumstances is a topic that is hardly being critically discussed by those working in the planning- or design-related professions at present.¹ In order to trace these image- and also text-based narratives, as well as their formal structure, I have selected twelve projects from an international context, with a focus on Europe, Asia, and Africa. These undertakings are prime examples of the many urban-development projects and building ventures continuously being planned around the globe.² The idea behind the formal pictorial analysis of the 170 visual renderings of these projects, as are to be found in the official project presentations on the Internet,³ was to exploratively question whether and to what extent transnational image production and digital machinery are at play here— which operate using similar visual-formal means despite the various projects being situated in distant places and cultures.

The selected projects are: Stuttgart 21 (Germany), Aspern Urban Lakeside in Vienna (Austria), the Maslak 1453 project and the Westside project, both situated in Istanbul (Turkey), but also Aura Erbil near Erbil (Iraq), Masdar City in Abu Dhabi (United Arab Emirates), Appolonia City of Light near Accra (Ghana), Eko Atlantic in Lagos (Nigeria), Konza Techno City near Nairobi (Kenya), Aura City near Pune (India), Bhartiya City in Bangalore (India), and Tianjin Eco City in Tianjin (China).⁴

Investment projects financed solely with private capital are Westside Istanbul, Aura Erbil, Appolonia City of Light, Eko Atlantic, Aura City, and Bhartiya City, meaning that governmental offices are not involved as contracting entities in these cases.

Instead, commercial real-estate developers have become active here, although they of course also require support from the political realm. Bhartiya City in India is the most sophisticated of the entrepreneurial projects explored in this study. Set along the northern beach of Bangalore on 50 hectares, a densified city district is to be built according to an European archetype, and construction has already begun in certain areas. The project Appolonia City of Light, in turn, which was designed by a Russian real-estate developer to cover 900 hectares, is planned as a suburb for the metropolitan area of Accra, the capital of Ghana. The project Aura City is a typical gated community designed by a real-estate company from Pune, India, under the motto “A premium green living”; the closed housing estate will feature 1,000 housing units for the rising Indian middle class. The project Westside Istanbul, set to be built in Beylikdüzü, a suburban district of Istanbul, is also a residential complex with over 1,100 housing units and a shopping center, quite similar to other projects being designed and built in many parts of Istanbul and in other Turkish cities. The considerably smaller Aura Erbil project in the Erbil region of Iraq is a residential housing, hotel, and business complex planned for a surface area of 20 hectares and designed by the well-known US architecture firm SOMA. Even the largest prime real-estate project Eko Atlantic, situated at the gateway to Lagos, is to be solely funded by private capital. In the case of the mega housing project Maslak 1453, developed by the Turkish entrepreneur Ali Ağaoğlu and already under construction, the state-run Housing Development Administration (TOKI) is also involved, though it is impossible to tell in which capacity exactly.⁵

City politics and state offices play a more obvious role in the other projects explored here. The inner-city urban development concept called Stuttgart 21, with a scope of 100 hectares, goes back to plans initiated by both city and regional governments for the lowering of Stuttgart’s terminus railway station. The 250-hectare Aspern Urban Lakeside is likewise linked to official support, its master plan having been confirmed by Vienna’s City Council in the year 2007; the project is integrated into the City of Vienna’s urban-development plan and is developed and run by the company Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG, which is tied to the City of Vienna. The showcase eco-project Masdar City in Abu Dhabi is supported by the emirate-owned Mubadala Development Company. The planning of the new technology hub Konza Techno City was impelled by the Kenyan government, specifically, by the Ministry of Information, Communications and Technology. The project is headed by the specially created Konza Technopolis Development Authority (KOTDA), but it is still in the process of seeking investors. Finally, the design of the Tianjin Eco City was created at the instigation of the Chinese administration in cooperation with the government of Singapore, with both state and private entities also participating. This model Chinese city is designed to accom-

modate 350,000 residents, making it the largest of the projects mentioned here, followed by Eko Atlantic with 250,000 and Konza City with 185,000 residents.

One commonality is characteristic of all the projects: private capital is involved without exception, for apparently nothing can be built in the twenty-first century without it. An analysis of which cities are created with which qualities will be analyzed later on, along with how “the market” aligns it with neoliberal credo. But the first thing that an interested public encounters are the websites presenting all of these projects in a more or less thorough way, with a focus usually placed on digitally generated, predominantly perspectival visualizations of an urban future. This is accompanied by more or less extensive project descriptions, but also various (sometimes downloadable) materials like brochures, factsheets, press releases, photographs of the premises and the construction progress, as well as videos and animations of the design. The website of Maslak 1453 even offers video recorded by webcams, providing a live broadcast of the building progress. In terms of blueprints, generally the master plans or simple site maps are published online, and sometimes also a considerable number of housing floor plans. Only in the case of Aspern Urban Lakeside does the web presence offer access to elaborate and detailed plans, such as open-space typologies or infrastructure systems. In the example of Stuttgart 21, one master plan and three development plans were published on the subarea.⁶

An analysis of these visualizations is based on certain criteria of formal pictorial analysis that I have deemed important here. Even if it is the design itself that is ultimately decisive, the images are actually what take center stage when it comes to legitimizing a project.

When viewing the images on the whole, it becomes apparent that the projects with strong state involvement are less elaborate—in terms of both execution quality and the number of visualizations made available—as compared to the solely privately funded projects. With Stuttgart 21, it took years until additional visual material was issued. The Singaporean and Chinese website of the Tianjin Eco City project merely offer, aside from a site map and a master plan, four perspectival renderings, which, however, are executed with much detail. In this case, the linguistic representation of the project is dominant, with more value apparently being placed on conveying the fundamental ideas and goals associated with the endeavor. The greatest calculation and visualization effort was made by the project heads of Masdar City. Actually, this is no surprise since not only does Abu Dhabi have access to enough capital, but the well-known architectural firm working on this project, Foster + Partners, would be embarrassed to not adequately provide visual material on their design. Overall, the visualizations studied here

are not characterized by excessive efforts in terms of actual photorealistic representation. In fact, in none of the studied cases do we encounter actual photographs, even if photographic elements, especially pictures of people, have been integrated. So the focus of these digital representations ultimately rests with their narrative function, which is supported all the same by image composition and pictorial elements.

In almost all cases, the new city is visualized in a landscape format at daytime, although some dusk or night pictures do exist.⁷ The selection of landscape format is not just a concession to the ever-wider computer screens; it also accommodates the human range of vision better than other image formats, which is why the portrait and square formats are so rarely implemented, usually only when the idea is to engender a special sense of tension. Only in relatively few cases is the surrounding landscape, or even the existing city, shown and integrated into the renderings. If the landscape present or the building structure is displayed, then it recedes behind the planned project. It appears in less detail or lighting, perhaps functioning purely as background without any references made visible. By the way, the same goes for the few presented master plans, which are usually shown as dissociated from their environment. Such decontextualization of the projects from their surroundings apparently serves to emphasize the unique selling point and the distinctiveness of the projects, yet it is also an expression of the stance taken by the project heads and architects, who hardly assign meaning to an integration of the respective project into the existing situation.

The structuring of imagery follows the “rule of thirds”⁸ or the “golden ratio” in more than half of the pictures, while the image center is emphasized in about a quarter of them. Rarely found is the golden spiral, a symmetrical or L-shaped image composition. By choosing to employ the rule of thirds or the golden ratio, even if most do not meticulously adhere to these principles, a certain tension is generated within the picture, which serves to intensify the perspectives. Two thirds of all pictures follow either one- or two-point perspective, though the number of renderings featuring one-point perspective is slightly higher. Overhead views and worm’s-eye views are rarely present, though roughly a fifth of the pictures display a bird’s-eye view. In the case of a true bird’s-eye view, usually the surrounding environment is represented. While this form of perspectival rendering may give an overview of the entire project, at the same time it also fosters a strong sense of distance, almost making the issue of integrating planning in the area obsolete. In addition to the solidly rendered, more conventional bird’s-eye view, a special sense of drama is engendered by the camera positioning in over a third of the pictures. The camera is strongly tilted, positioned to accommodate a wide angle and short distance, leading to perspectival distortions while

dramatically emphasizing the image center and the rendered project section at the same time. This strategy is particularly evident in the Maslak 1453 project, its structures spectacularly staged from various perspectives. Here, the building formations unfurl like blossoms, and the beholder is literally sucked into the middle of the calyx.

If we disregard the bird’s-eye views and the overhead views, it becomes apparent that in nearly half of the pictures there is a horizon line situated in the lower image third, and in nearly a third this line is centered.⁹ Such a selection of horizon lines lends emphasis to the pedestrian perspective, with the aim of drawing the beholder into the rendered spatial situation, while both the elevated and the very low horizon lines enhance the expanse and the breadth of the respective project. Buildings are visible in all images, with their textures usually executed in a differentiated way so that the façade design is recognizable in considerable detail. However, the buildings are not necessarily the main motif here, for they are frequently truncated or only shown in the image’s middle ground, allowing them to recede in comparison to the spatial staging in the foreground. In only slightly more than a quarter of all visualizations are buildings the dominant pictorial motif. In another quarter, plaza or street situations represent the main motif, followed by shopping and pedestrian zones, parks or inner courtyards, and promenades along water areas. When it comes to secondary motifs in the foreground of the images, pictures of people are most common, followed by trees and greenery, streets and sidewalks, shopping and pedestrian zones, plazas and parks. These motifs are continued in the images’ middle ground as well, for situated directly adjacent to the structural depictions are trees, greenery, and pictures of people. The background in the pictures is dominated by the troposphere—the sky—with an occasional building or landscape visible, as well as a very rare urban landscape.¹⁰

Another important element of the pictorial design involves color and lighting.¹¹ The most intense application of color and light is found in the visualizations of Masdar City and Bhartiya City. The most pale and least expressive images appear to be those of Eko Atlantic, though some slightly more dramatic night shots have been added since. The respective spreads generally remain relatively consistent, adhering to a specific choice of color and to lighting that is sometimes more, sometimes less pronounced. The coloring is enhanced even more by fair-weather renderings, mostly giving rise to bright, friendly visual impressions. The buildings tend to be rendered in light gray, gray-blue, white, or sometimes in a sandy beige, and the glass of the façade elements glows in light blue or light gray or is given a darker gray-blue hue or even a black shine so as to foster a greater contrast. Additionally, the pictorial effect is loosened up by smaller, intensely red, brown, yellow, or orange spots of color associated with certain visual elements.

Frequently determinative for imagery is the color green, however, for the new city is first and foremost a green city. Almost no picture does completely without trees, most of which range in color from light to dark green. Then there is also the green from the lawns and bushes, which reinforces the impression of an eternally green city. Trees are also a favored resource for partially concealing buildings, allowing them to recede into the background, to which one-point perspective also contributes. Trees are inserted in all kinds of places, such as on balconies, roof surfaces, or on the pure concrete slabs projecting out of housing high-rises at lofty heights. Greenery that may already exist plays a subordinate role and at best serves as a framework or background. Apparently, cities cannot do without lush green, regardless of actual geographic, climatic, and seasonal conditions in the respective planning contexts¹²—yet in a desert climate or in areas with long dry periods, the deciduous trees integrated into the drawings would hardly have a chance of survival. And reality shows that the idea of such lush vegetation is actually rather misleading, for small cultivated trees are usually planted instead, since they are low maintenance and “fit for the future”¹³ from an urban-climate perspective.¹⁴

Aside from the color green, it is the color blue that fosters an intensely bright and friendly appearance of the new city. The sky in the background is a defining constant in the pictorial composition, with a broad palette of blue shades—light blue, sky blue, Dodger blue, or cornflower blue—being integrated here, ranging to also include dramatic sky colors like sand yellow or shades of orange at dawn or dusk. In a large majority of the pictures, the sky is beautified with white or light-gray cumulus or cirrus cloud formations.¹⁵ Occasionally, the blue of the sky is enhanced by lighting to such an extent that the actual dimensions of the building structure are concealed in an elegant way.

Water areas likewise repeatedly play an important role in the project renderings, visually expressed through a shining blue and, as in the case of the greenery, also without a connection to the respective climatic and local conditions. There is hardly a plaza, parkway, or inner courtyard without some kind of water. Swimming pools, water fountains, lakes, and artificial streams and rivers are found, or even waterways and yacht harbors if the project is situated along the coast. Indeed, a “harbor front” location, preferably adorned with “high culture” amenities,¹⁶ helps to upgrade any new project and has become a vital signature feature of luxurious urban life. With such a use of lush green, clean water, and fresh air that may almost be considered excessive, the imagery toys with the desire for nature in urban space. Like in advertising for chocolate and milk, which always tends to feature rich green pastures and happy cows (with horns!), it seems that presentations of a new city design absolutely must include purified and cleansed nature. In this

respect, nature is a design-related accessory that is a given but is also controllable, for even birds, which appear on occasion, fly in an orderly manner. Allotment and communal gardens or intercultural gardens are just as little wanted in the new city as undefined open spaces.

Besides natural elements, other objects serve to loosen up urban spaces. Show windows should be mentioned first in this context, usually with hues of yellow, orange, and red, radiating a cozy and alluring effect. Another object frequently employed is a sunshade, which in most cases covers gastronomy furnishings and, depending on the scale, the customers as well. In some renderings, at least, city furniture taking the form of benches is visible, mostly unrelated to consumption contexts. Another popular element for display are yachts that embellish larger bodies of water. Moreover, logos and lettering have been applied to the buildings or flags that reference the project are flying. In only one project—Konza Techno City—does a national flag, in this case the flag of Kenya, draw attention to a plaza. Art objects are also rarely featured and, if so, only in the form of sculptures. Although streets and sidewalks are shown, there is little motor traffic on the roads of the new city. Public transportation is almost completely ignored. Just an occasional (usually male) bicycle rider is dashing along a street or pathway. The new city, so it seems, is almost completely geared toward pedestrians.

As already touched upon above, pictures of people is a key secondary motif and pictorial element. About half of all images show people, some of whom are presented in strong detail.¹⁷ A binary gender model is evident in all of these renderings, which avails itself of conventional gender attributes, regardless of whether the people shown are sketched or photographed before being mounted into the digitally created drawings. The entire habitus of these individuals—from clothing and body language to type of movement, action, and gestures—references gender-related stereotypes and a classification system that precisely differentiates between “women” and “men.” The gendered mainstream depicted here is in no way disrupted by deviations; no potentially different, visually manifest gender identities like transsexuals, transpeople, or queer persons are recognizable. The bodies of the women shown here reflect the established Western model of slenderness; these rather long-legged women move through urban space, usually taking narrow steps, sometimes led by men, who in turn dynamically navigate the city with much wider steps.

Even the dress codes shown serve to emphasize the gender dichotomy and heteronormative gender order. Since it never rains in the new city, with everything awash in pleasant sunshine, light summer and leisure clothing prevails in these images. Men are wearing slacks or jeans with a T-shirt or dress shirt, while

women are seen in dresses, skirts, or capris, preferably with T-shirts or tops. Even the epitome of femininity—the handbag—is rarely missing. This casual modern leisure look is counteracted mostly by men who are usually clad in dark suits. And in the case of Masdar City and Bhartiya City, a clothing style is stressed that conveys dress codes determined by local culture, which actually serves to highlight the gender gap even more.

In view of the total number of people rendered, there is a sense of gender balance in the pictures, despite a small surplus of men. Slightly over a third of the identifiable individuals appear alone, somewhat fewer women. The other people shown—women and men alike—arise in different constellations of pairs and groups, with the couple being the most prevalent constellation. Over a third of these pairs are woman/man, while the rest of the couples are comprised of single-sex pairs, with the number of male couples significantly outnumbering the female couples. A similar surplus is evident in the case of groups of three same-sex people, for here, too, all-male constellations prevail. If men appear in homosocial pairs or groups, the situations are usually professionally connoted, which is discernible due to the clothing worn—suit, dress shirt, and tie—although in several cases there are also male/female constellations or an individual woman in business attire. When it comes to mixed-gender groups of three, the variant with two women and one man is more common than two men and one woman. Only in few cases do we see women—or, more rarely, men—accompanied by a child or children. As in real life, mostly women (or only women, with very few exceptions) are underway with children. On the whole, children are relatively few and far between. The gender distribution here is comparable to that of the adults as outlined above.

Surprisingly, the classic nuclear family—woman and man with one, two, or three children—is rarely seen. This obvious under-representation is also mirrored in the discourses related to the various guiding motifs of the city, for “the attractive city, the creative city and the city as an emancipation machine are examples of urban discourses communicated top-down via reports, debates and media attention. It is argued that these three discourses do not address families as urban citizens nor the very notion of reproduction and its daily manifestation. The exclusionary character of contemporary urban discourses does not only result in a neglect of urban families, it also legitimates non-intervention when it comes to family issues.”¹⁸ Such a discursive and visual under-representation of family in the renderings of the new city is then clearly relativized upon viewing the ground-plan layout, for the blueprints are clearly fully geared toward normative family cohabitation. This is expressed by a hierarchal room division.¹⁹ In this kind of housing layout, the representative living room takes center stage as the largest of all rooms, followed by the bedroom with the classic double bed, one or two

smaller children’s rooms, as well as the bathroom and the kitchen, the latter designed to accommodate household help. Some apartments offer open kitchens that are integrated into the representative living room or larger kitchens with seating options, but in most cases the kitchen is more peripheral. Even in Bhartiya City, where the conceptual design is strongly focused on supporting the Indian extended family, the kitchen takes last place in the spatial hierarchy. In feminist planning theory and practice, such a floor-plan arrangement has long been criticized as spatial organization that cements gender roles and gender-specific division of labor. What is more, a hierarchal housing floor plan significantly curtails the variability of possible living styles. Yet this basic principle of hierarchal organization of living space²⁰ is relativized by the generous dimensions found in high-priced apartments. In the premium segment, which for instance pertains to Maslak 1453 and Bhartiya City, apartments with up to 250 square meters are offered, providing a higher level of spaciousness. Here, several bedrooms are shown, each with a twin bed. But even in such large housing units, this hierarchy ultimately remains intact from a planning perspective. This is also obvious when we consider the number of illustrations, as elaborately rendered views of the representative living room are most common, followed by pictures of bedrooms and various bathrooms, with the count and design likewise suggesting luxury. Finally, as a taillight, there are just a few images of kitchen spaces.²¹

Gender is not the only virulent social category evident in pictures of the new city. In the visual renderings of projects planned for Europe and Turkey, it is noticeable how the future urban population is never presented as ethnically diverse, but rather actually solely white. The projects earmarked for Africa even also show white individuals. Masdar City presents a much more global visage—with a pronounced dichotomy of a traditional Arabian versus a modern Western characterization of people—as compared to the other projects.

In the new city, everyone is healthy and travels on foot. There is not a single image showing people impaired in any form, such as wheelchair users, the visually impaired, or physically disabled persons.²² The omission of such individuals gives rise to the assumption that neither architectural planning nor realization cater to their structure-related or social needs. This is odd considering that, on an international level, there is a Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which explicitly demands that the needs of the disabled be taken into consideration during the construction process.²³ The category of age is likewise neglected, for very few images show the elderly. The average age in the new city lies between twenty and fifty years of age. In many countries, however, life expectancy is projected to continue growing—a demographic development that is meanwhile noticeable even in non-Western countries.²⁴



The urban situations portrayed in the pictures of the new city foster, at first glance, the impression of real everyday, diverse urban life. Yet upon second glance, this view is broken down into a homogeneous plane of middle and upper classes: shown here is a city of contentment, of well-nourishment, and of (relative) wealth. Poverty, by contrast, is virtually nonexistent.

The city that is shown and propagated here is a space of leisure, a place for doing nothing but relaxing, for recuperation, consumption, and recreational hedonism. The women or men who are seen engaging in work can be counted on a single hand.²⁵ Otherwise we can only surmise that people might be working here, due to the aforementioned predominately male white-collar workers moving through the city with their gaze trained straight ahead toward the future. Otherwise the new city is usually ambling and meandering, at times accessed briskly on foot or even jogging. Fully leisure-oriented men and women are sitting outside at cafés or open-air eateries, on benches in parks and green areas, or enjoying water basins and swimming pools. Even grocery shopping is staged solely as a pleasurable act of consumption, rather than as a necessity for everyday sustenance and reproduction. This is evident due to the large plastic bags that women, but also some men, are toting through the new city. On the whole, the images convey a relaxed urban atmosphere with a leisure flair, where factors like gender differences, class relations, and working conditions have been put aside. The new city is orderly and tidy, safe and conflict-free. All areas are planned in full, every single detail purposefully placed and impeccably translated into the design. Drafts of the new city equate to modern mega cruise ships, whence each and every heterotopic moment has been exorcised.





Quality Promise

The visualizations of these new cities are one side of the coin, and the actual designs the other.¹ Therefore, I decided to dedicate another analysis to design quality, yet without defining my own quality standards. Instead, I extracted quality criteria from the project websites and from the downloadable brochures made available by at least one of the projects. This process resulted in a total of seventy-six quality criteria, which can be classified in terms of content into the following sections: participation, design principles, utilization, realization, mobility, housing, facilities, social diversity, and sustainability. It was thus possible to prepare a ranking system based on the number of quality criteria exhibited by each respective project.²

Only in the case of one project, Aspern Urban Lakeside, were gender aspects addressed, which I will go into more detail on later. Moreover, the planning of Aspern Urban Lakeside presented the most quality criteria, so it is for this reason as well that these plans took first place in the ranking. Revealing is the immense gap between Aspern and the other projects when we look at the respective criteria assigned. This project fulfills fifty-eight of the total seventy-six quality criteria, even if some criteria are not addressed, such as the implementation of local materials or water conservation measures. Nonetheless, the other projects trail far behind: Masdar City takes second place with thirty-one fulfilled criteria, Tianjin Eco City third place with twenty-nine criteria. Positioned at the lowest end of the ranking is Maslak 1453 with only four criteria. In the following, I will examine the quality standards of the individual projects in more detail. Some of the endeavors will then be explored more thoroughly in further chapters, especially in terms of their respective societal and economic contexts.

The urban-development project Stuttgart 21 is sometimes called the “chance of the century.” The project promises to deliver inner-city growth on a site 100 hectares in size, which opened up after a former freight yard was shut down, after what had previously been a terminus railway station is transformed into an underground station, and after extra railroad storage space was made available again.³

Part of this land already has structures erected, but the construction of the underground train station will drag on for many years, and the development of the other related areas still remains uncertain today. A zoning plan has been in existence for many years, and there are also master plans for the two largest prime sections. Yet when it comes to commitment to quality, only the general plan drafted in 1997 by the City of Stuttgart's urban planning department is conclusive. This general plan, however, lacks any semblance of binding character. The quality requirements specified there have hardly made their way into the already erected subarea of the site, despite there even having been active and open citizen participation for the first time in Stuttgart, even before the general plan had been drafted, though the results were unfortunately not binding. Still, at least the first subarea features a public educational institution—a newly built city library—in an urban field that is otherwise mostly dedicated to consumer and office utilization, as well as to a much smaller portion of residential use. Noteworthy here, however, is that this involves not only owner-occupied apartments, but also even rental units, though pricey rentals at that. What remains completely unclear is how the other subareas will be developed, leaving open the extent to which the standards specified in the general plan will come to fruition.⁴ If we assume that the quality standards posited in the Stuttgart 21 general plan will be implemented, then Stuttgart 21 assumes position number 4 as compared to the other projects. However, if we go by the qualities listed on its website, then the project is bumped down to position 7, which is more in line with the present reality and “quality” of this new urban district. Basically, only one third of the quality statements have been fulfilled or maintained.

The mega housing project Maslak 1453, which is already under construction, can only offer two main functions: housing and consumption. But it can also boast quite a few different apartment sizes, stacked up in colossal residential high-rises. Words are used sparsely on the website, with a generous amount of visual material presenting the complex and the housing floor plans, as well as a price list of the owner-occupied units. It is for this reason that Maslak 1453 takes last place in the comparison of quality standards.

The explanatory material on the project Westside, developed and built by four Turkish enterprises and also situated in Istanbul, is likewise frugal, though somewhat more extensive than the information offered by Maslak 1453. Proliferated here is data on housing, including the different apartment sizes and floor plans for the total of 1,152 planned units. As in the case of Maslak 1453, nationalist tones cannot be left out when addressing the question “Why Istanbul?” in the project brochure: “Istanbul, the city of civilizations that has been the capital of three great empires and left the world in its awe, the magical city that connects the continents

of Asia and Europe . . .” The future residents are enticed with “a cultural kaleidoscope of culture and sports centers, sailing and diving areas, social facilities, shopping malls, kids’ playgrounds, theater and movie halls and various entertainment venues,” yet without showing in the many project renderings where these promised features are to be found. Only a swimming pool and a ground-level zone are visible, where the “elegant and luxurious” shopping opportunities will be found. Also mentioned here are the cultivated inner courtyards and a total of 30,000 square meters of greenery, so that “while you are living in your home, you will have the grove on one side and the one-of-a-kind mix of green and blue in your backyard . . .” At any rate, two target groups are directly addressed here— young people and families—for whom “apartments with different size options” are available, and there are attractions situated in a green landscape, offering “a different kind of exclusivity for each of your family members.” Placed between the two texts is a bright image showing a woman/man pair from behind, dreamily gazing toward a park-like interior courtyard. The fact that a note is included about surveillance technology and security personnel being employed grants the project an extra point, even if this form of monitoring is not especially conducive to communal life. What is more, an increase in value is promised for the future, in the sense of “luxury will be your new lifestyle . . .”⁵

Whether the “new beating heart of Erbil” will even be built is surely rather questionable considering the conditions prevailing in the Kurdish part of Iraq. In addition to the 269 luxurious apartments, a luxury hotel, an office building, and, on the glass-roofed ground floor, a “high-end shopping and entertainment mall,” there will also be a theater. The header “Life is not measured by the number of breaths we take, but by the moments that take your breath away” conveys the design emphasis of this strongly vertically aligned, two-part complex intended as an “equalizer,” which promises to create “a new iconic skyline in vein with that of other major metropolitan areas” and also “ultimate flexibility of program and area distribution.” The two parallel buildings flank the interstitially situated park with “a series of interchangeable modules which act as pools, tree planters, pavilions, and grass panels of mixed use development.”⁶ Despite the promising design, even if it somehow resembles a fortress, this project only places 9th in the project ranking.

In Masdar City, by contrast, everything revolves around sustainability and energy, for this urban-development project aims to be a global showcase project, a kind of urban laboratory for the implementation of a variety of pertinent new technologies, and a research and entrepreneurial hub for renewable energy. A focus is also placed on suitable architecture for the buildings that is oriented to the climatic situation and, as far as possible, on the use of local and sustainable building

materials, as well as appropriate landscaping. Furthermore, this project is set apart by its use of a “personal rapid transit” system, which is based on the operation of specially developed electric vehicles. In terms of energy efficiency and climate-friendliness, Masdar City offers a very unique selling point, yet social issues and questions related to city life remain totally underexposed. In view of the future of individuals living there, mainly academic and entrepreneurial target groups, the assumption is simply made that a “living city” will be created, providing “high quality of life.”⁷ If the quality criteria related to ecology and energy are omitted, then the ranking takes on a different flavor, with Masdar City arriving only at a lower position.

Life in the new Ghanaian “phenomenal city” of Appolonia – City of Light not only promises “the serenity of lush gardens, reliable supply of water, the provision of electricity and ultra-fast internet service,” services that are not always a matter of course in African countries. This 941-hectare-large city district, comprised mostly of single-family homes and multistory townhouses, is moreover designed to accommodate gainful employment in an office and business milieu, as well as



schools and health facilities. Moreover, around a third of the area is “reserved as conservation areas and public open spaces. These will be architecturally landscaped for family-friendly activities—biking, jogging, walking trails and bird watching.” Another unique project feature is evident in the promise to create a “family park.” Also, high-tech security systems installed here provide for “uplifting and expiring new experiences.” The fact that the company responsible for the planning and realization of the project commits to “social responsibility” and intends to foster “conservation, community, education and health in a sustainable manner”⁸ gives this project an extra point and a unique selling proposition, landing it at position number 5.

By contrast, the sheer size—if not the gigantomania—of Eko Atlantic leaves no room for more specific design-related statements and qualities except for a focus on its function as future financial and business hub, garnished with “shopping complex and luxury residential high-rises,” a harbor with adjacent promenade, multilane access roads trimmed with trees, and the usual program of consumer and service offers. Promised here is the minimization of “Eko Atlantic’s carbon footprint with the use of environmentally-efficient construction methods and locally sourced materials where available and appropriate”—a promise that is, however, utterly counteracted by the visual material presented. Indeed, it never becomes clear why Eko Atlantic is supposed to be “more than a city.”⁹ So Eko Atlantic occupies one of the last spots in the commitment to quality ranking.

The Kenyan planning endeavor Konza City, which is designed to be built on a 2,000-hectare plot for 185,000 residents and a workforce of 20,000 people in the first phase, promises to become “a sustainable, world-class technology hub and a major economic driver for the nation, with a vibrant mix of businesses, workers, residents, and urban amenities.”¹⁰ To realize the project, a master plan was drafted, which formulates the design framework “for a city that functions both globally and locally, today and in the future.” As opposed to Eko Atlantic, which is modeled after Manhattan, here the qualities of “livability, density, and walkability” are considered key. The plan is based on a slightly amended “stitch” framework of access axes and programmatic bands leading to the individual sections: university, housing, science, technology, and offices. Also, a “green boulevard”¹¹ and a corridor for public transportation both lead to the neighborhood park. In the meanwhile, it has been decided that Konza City will be a “smart city” in which all kinds of data on traffic, environmental conditions, services, et cetera, will be collected and evaluated: “The availability of data will enable Konza’s population to participate directly in the operations of the city, practice more sustainable living patterns, and enhance overall inclusiveness.”¹² The execution of this planning strongly relies on investors and public-private partnerships, though as of yet no

a district. Even if this numerical system does not correspond to early Chinese urban-planning principles based on Confucianism and Taoism, the scheme nonetheless reflects a popular tendency in China toward number-based systems of order. On the Singaporean website, the four or now five districts and the entire townscape are upvalued by “six urban nodes” with central facilities. The vision of a model city for sustainable development associated with this project is, from the Chinese end, centered on “harmonies” in relation to social cohabitation, economics, and environment, while the Singaporean end elevates “cleanliness” as the topmost principle, thus listing twenty-six key performance indicators related to clean water, clean environment, and clean energy, which were incorporated into the quality list in summarized form.¹⁷

When considering the projects and the criteria on the whole, it is evident that the theme of participation, even in much reduced form, was only utilized in three of twelve cases. When it comes to design principles, an urban-development guiding principle is found in the “city of short distances” in four projects and qualified density in five projects. And in almost half of the projects the importance of public spaces is noted (even if, legally speaking, this usually pertains to privatized land). Emphasized even more frequently is the significance of park and green areas, whereas neighborhood and communal gardens are only even granted consideration in the case of Aspern Urban Lakeside. In terms of use, with the exception of Aura City, at least two and often several types of utilization are presented, thus ensuring a mixed-use context in almost all projects. Consequently, this also bears on the promise that creating positions of gainful employment will go hand in hand with the respective project realization process. Connectivity with local public transportation is addressed in two thirds of the projects, however the quality of such connections is significantly relativized due to the project location in certain cases. On a positive note, though, half of the designs claim to be pedestrian-friendly, and all projects assert that quality of housing represents an important function, even if the degree of emphasis does vary here. Nonetheless, only two cases even mention rentals, with all other situations presupposing ownership, either explicitly or implicitly. Even in Tianjin City, the Chinese government supports partially subsidized home ownership. This is a pivotal result of this study, for investors apparently have no interest in providing rentals and instead fully support the attainment of returns through the sale of housing units. Only in Aspern Urban Lakeside is the construction of subsidized rental apartments mentioned. It is also notable that only very few projects offer the possibility of different housing forms beyond those typical of the traditional nuclear family, such as single or communal living. Again, it is only Aspern Urban Lakeside that offers a broad range of different housing options. When lifestyles are mentioned, then especially in reference to family- and child-friendly situations. But even these aspects are only



Computational linguistic: Attributes
Projects (without Stuttgart 21 and Aspern Urban Lakeside)

mentioned as a feature at all by a third of the projects. A better picture is provided when it comes to developing educational or cultural facilities, with a main emphasis on educational institutions like schools and sometimes universities as well. Cultural institutions mentioned include cinemas or theaters in particular, which are meant to cover these needs. Underexposed, however, are non-profit organizations, facilities for the elderly including appropriate housing, and facilities for youth and for health-care services. A dedication to social diversity plays out in only two projects, whereas a commitment to any kind of sustainability is found in half of all these endeavors, although the spectrum of the planned implementation measures differs considerably.

Without going into further detail here, we can establish that, with the exception of Konza Techno City, quality standards are most frequently expressed in those projects oriented to guiding principles. Such principles are more likely to be posited when government agencies are especially strongly involved. The exception here is the entrepreneurial project Bhartiya City, since this endeavor, as opposed to other investor-based projects, is based on a clear outlining of guiding principles. Yet the establishment of guiding principles does not actually guarantee their fulfillment, as will become more clear when we explore the example of Stuttgart 21. The new Aspern Urban Lakeside in Vienna, despite its private orientation, leaves all other projects far behind when it comes to guiding-principle orientation and the establishment of quality standards. As will become evident in the following, this can be traced back to a long tradition of social and urban housing in Austria, which had an impact even during times of neoliberalization and the economization of urban development.



Computational linguistic: Multi-word terms
Projects (without Stuttgart 21 and Aspern Urban Lakeside)

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Stuttgart 21 Revisited

An example of the state-municipal investment complex of urban spatial production is Stuttgart 21, a project in Stuttgart, Germany, focused on transportation and urban development that was once touted as the “New Heart of Europe.”¹ From the very beginning, there was resistance to this project, but in the years 2010 to 2012 the topic “Stuttgart 21” featured not only in the German local press, but sometimes even in the national or international media, as far afield as China. The resistance against Stuttgart 21 became a symbol of resistive practice and civic involvement, the likes of which had never been experienced in any city in Germany before. For the first time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, this resistance movement resulted in a fact-check, a so-called “mediation” process between the project responsables and the representatives of the resistance. This event, which took place over a period of nine days, also a first, was broadcast live on national television and also on an Internet platform created by the resistance group. The resistance against Stuttgart 21 was one of the reasons why a representative of the Green Party (Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen) became the Minister President of a German Federal State for the first time, and why the autocratic reign of the conservatives since 1953 in the government of Baden-Württemberg, the third largest state in Germany, came to an end. Because of this shift in power, a referendum was held in the state for the first time.² The opponents of the project lost this vote, albeit with a narrow margin. Finally, in 2012, a member of the Green Party was elected, for the first time, as mayor of a German city (and of Stuttgart). Although the referendum led to a decision that was to the disadvantage of the project’s opponents, the procedures surrounding Stuttgart 21 clearly left their mark in the whole of the Federal Republic of Germany, for since then there has been no further occurrence of a large-scale project being pushed through.³

The resistance against Stuttgart 21 reached a culmination point through the events of the so-called “Black Thursday” when, on September 30, 2010, a peaceful demonstration, initiated by pupils, in a park called Mittlerer Schloßgarten was met with violent police attacks using water canons. Over a period of several

hours, more than three hundred demonstrators were injured, four of them severely. The background behind this police operation was that resistance against Stuttgart 21 had begun to cause such a stir since mid-2010 that even the German Chancellor herself felt compelled to appeal for the sustainability of Germany as an industrial location, including the related large-scale projects. For many citizens, Stuttgart 21 made it clear that the issue pertained to more than just a train station, but rather also to the validity of political space, to citizens' rights such as the right of assembly, and to the premises on which the future development of the city and civil society should be based. The question as to which city we are living in now and in the future gained meaning over the course of the conflicts surrounding Stuttgart 21.

The basic parameters of the projects are relatively easy to explain:⁴ the "Stuttgart-Ulm Rail Project," as it is now officially called, has two parts. The first entails the construction of a high-speed railway line between Stuttgart and Ulm, as a section of the planned "Magistrale" line linking Paris and Bratislava. The other part, the project Stuttgart 21, includes the partial demolition and lowering of the former overground terminus and Stuttgart central station. In the "restructuring" process, a reduction from sixteen overground to eight underground tracks is intended, leading to the construction of fifty-five kilometers of tunnels in the inner city area alone. By lowering the train station and removing the tracks above ground, 25 to 35 hectares are made available, which, in addition to the already open areas, amounts to a total of 100 hectares of inner-city surfaces. On the one hand, then, Stuttgart 21 is a part of the political restructuring and acceleration of the European transportation infrastructure in the scope of the Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T),⁵ and on the other, it is a further example of the politics of investment-oriented urban development, as practiced in many European cities and elsewhere.

The planning for Stuttgart 21 goes back to the year 1985. The considerations received an initial boost in the year 1994 with the founding of the concern Deutsche Bahn AG, privatized on paper though not yet in a material sense, resulting from a merger between the two former German railway companies (from East and West Germany). In 1995, a feasibility study was introduced, and then the master plan was approved by the municipal council in 1997, but for various reasons the official beginning of the construction project was not until ten years later. In the year 2010, the symbolic start of construction for the lowering of the terminus station took place. Until it was partially demolished, the Stuttgart main station, which was a protected building completed by architects Paul Bonatz and Friedrich Scholer between 1914 and 1928, was one of the most punctual railway stations in Europe—a status that has long since been lost. Also certain now is that the future under-

ground station will have considerably less capacity than the previous terminus station.

Financing for the Stuttgart 21 project is provided primarily by the Deutsche Bahn AG, the State of Baden-Württemberg, the City of Stuttgart as state capital, the Verband Region Stuttgart (Stuttgart Regional Association), the Flughafen Stuttgart GmbH, and the European Union. In order to reinforce the project in the preliminary stages, the city bought up plots of land from the Deutsche Bahn AG for the sum of 459 million euros and therefore agreed to waive annual default interest of over 21 million euros.⁶ The planned construction costs of Stuttgart 21 have now been officially estimated at 6.5 billion euros. Information provided to the public about the related costs has been glossed over and falsely stated, as incidentally was the case during the mediation process. The Federal Audit Office has also clearly criticized the official cost calculations on several occasions, most recently in no uncertain terms, albeit without success. Since mid-2016, the Federal Audit Office has predicted that the construction costs will eventually reach 10 billion euros, as long since predicted by the opponents of the project.⁷

The extremely protracted and complex history of Stuttgart 21, including the resistance movement against this project, is impossible to describe in its entirety here. The initiative of the resistance arose from the sediment of the Stuttgart cauldron and was borne by "organic intellectuals" (Antonio Gramsci), by a multitude of different citizens.⁸ After the conservative mayor in office at the time rejected, in 2007, a request for a referendum on Stuttgart 21, which had been signed by 65,000 residents, and thus broke his election promise, the Stuttgart cauldron slowly but steadily began to boil. Once the partial demolition of the terminus station began, the lid that had been resting on the cauldron for decades started to budge, giving rise to a creative resistance movement that is still active today, although quite a bit smaller than it was in its heyday. This movement is expressed in diverse ways. For example, since November 2009 the so-called Monday demonstrations have been held, and since July 2010 a twenty-four-hour vigil, also still continuing today, next to the train station, which also serves as an information point for the public. There have likewise been countless large-scale demonstrations, a wide variety of cultural and artistic contributions, including exhibitions like *Die Kunst nicht dermaßen regiert zu werden* (The Art of Not Being Governed Like That),⁹ lectures and informational events, actions of civil disobedience, and activities of the many groups that had formed.¹⁰ The site fence around the demolished north wing of the Stuttgart train station was made into a wall newspaper, receiving nationwide attention.¹¹ For two years, the Mittlerer Schloßgarten was occupied by a self-administered tent city in order to prevent trees from being cut down. Activists from various social and cultural backgrounds



lived together in this tent city. Although this cohabitation was not totally without conflict, on the whole it was a peaceful coexistence throughout the entire period.

The unique thing about this movement was that it succeeded in exposing the “technocratic background ideology”¹² of a large-scale development project. Through self-organized education and the independent exchange of information, this movement succeeded in permanently liberating itself from its premise, from the state of a “depoliticised public sphere.”¹³ In this conflict about a large-scale urban development project, women were not passive onlookers, but have rather played an active role and continue to sustain the movement through their efforts. Many women from various backgrounds—workers, employees, academics, housewives, pensioners, migrants, women with and without children, women who live alone, lesbian and transsexual women—have actively participated in the resistance against Stuttgart 21. In so doing, a substantial number of these women have moved beyond the inner and outer boundaries defined by the supposed “female domain” and the related household, social, and welfare tasks, especially thanks to actions of civil disobedience. These women refused to be intimidated by water canons, police operations, and the threat of punishment; instead, to this day many continue to engage in persistent and tireless resistance.¹⁴

Criticism of Stuttgart 21 was triggered not only by the railway station issue and the blatant lies with regard to the costs, but also by the large number of statutory exemptions made (for example, in the areas of monument conservation and fire prevention). One particularly contentious issue was the destruction of a section of the park Mittlerer Schlossgarten, situated adjacent to the railway station, with its tree population dating back at least 250 years (which had even survived two world wars), along with numerous other felled trees in different city districts, as well as defects in planning and safety, the potential threat to Stuttgart’s mineral water resources (the second largest in Europe), and the lack of citizen participation, to name just a few main aspects. Another important reason why resistance to Stuttgart 21 developed is the fact that, even in an established democracy like Germany, there is a grave lack of participation policies.¹⁵ Last but not least, criticism was directed at the urban-development project linked to Stuttgart 21. A major argument that contributed to Stuttgart 21 gaining official support was that the railway project was the “chance of a century” for inner urban development. But as early as 1997, when the Stuttgart municipal council adopted the master plan that formed the basis of Stuttgart 21, it was stated that the railway project was not a mandatory requirement for inner city development.¹⁶ All the same, the railway project has been declared to be absolutely necessary and irreversible—reasoning that is still asserted today.

Much of what was outlined in the master plan as principles and specifications reads quite positively: the demands placed on the cityscape (“significant urban character” and “vibrant city image”), on public space (“social space”), on district and spatial design (“station square as a second main city symbol and center”), on greenery and landscaping (“including water as a design element” and “designing and integrating park outskirts”), and on social compatibility (“stable social diversity”). However, as in many other such cases, these guiding images are nullified by the reality of urban spatial production, by the economic interests related to business and profit.

The area that was gained already by giving up the former railway freight yard, the Europaviertel, has now been turned into a complex of banks and new office buildings, sealed-off residential areas, a luxury eighteen-story apartment and hotel tower, and a three-part building complex containing around 43,000 square meters of shopping and office space, with 415 rental apartments situated on the roof of the shopping mall, with almost no unbuilt space left over. The creation of rental apartments was a requirement by the city, which had stipulated a moderate share of 20 percent for the Europaviertel. The company ECE Projektmanagement GmbH & Co KG, the European market leader in operating large shopping centers, gladdened the city with this new consumption temple. The main anchor tenant of this mall, a very cheap Irish textile discounter, makes the hearts of shoppers beat faster, who come in droves on the weekends, mostly from the surrounding areas. No one is interested in where the goods are produced and under which conditions. Since two other indoor malls are being built in downtown Stuttgart, the city will almost be a single shopping zone in the future, which, however, can no longer be mastered by foot. At the same time, more and more urban districts are complaining about store closures, with not even the basic needs for local residents being covered anymore.

As in the rest of the city, each construction plot is optimally utilized here. Every building functions as a solitary structure according to the ideas and usage requirements of the investors.¹⁷ No coherent urban-development ensemble is evident on this section of Stuttgart 21; instead, a blend of pure investment architecture has arisen. Seemingly lost on one of the two plazas in this new urban district are several wooden benches and a sparse number of small trees. The access routes either have real street character or are designed for pedestrians only. Still, the city (and not the investor) built a small water basin on the remaining public area in front of the shopping complex, which provides a sense of diversification in summertime and also the only free leisure activity. Yet demonstrations are prohibited here, for it would anger the management of the consumption temple. Instead, facility regulations with various bans ensure controlled behavior in and around the temple of consumption.



Cultural and social facilities are lacking altogether, however, except for the new city library, which is the only public building in this area.¹⁸ It is a successful example of the contradiction between digitally produced, visually affirmative appearance and built reality, which in the vernacular is commonly known as the “prison for books” or “Stammheim II.”¹⁹ It would have been helpful to have examined the educational situation in South Korea, so strongly shaped by immense pressure to perform, before the design of the new library was approved in order to be able to more critically examine what the architect meant by a “new intellectual and cultural centre” in the form of a “great crystalline cube.”²⁰ The unique visual selling point of this cube, which was initially celebrated, has now been “swallowed” by the other buildings, although the area has not even been completed covered yet. The promise made by the former Stuttgart mayor that the Europaviertel would foster a sense of the European city, including a variety of uses and forms,²¹ has not come true, and even hard-nosed proponents of this urban-development project meanwhile bemoan the flawed architectural and urban-design quality of this new urban district.

Even the “stable social diversity” advocated in the master plan cannot be considered fulfilled due to the rental and purchasing prices. Indeed, the following statement has also long since been outstripped by reality: “In view of a sustainable revival of inner-city living space, a diverse social structure blended according to age, education level, income, and culture, that is, an experienceable variety of living and social manifestations, is considered ideal.”²² The rental apartments on top of the shopping mall cost, according to information provided by the landlord in 2015, an average of 14 euros per square meter, which even for Stuttgart cannot be considered affordable. The returns achieved by investors in Stuttgart’s first luxury residential building, which is situated adjacent to the mall, are even more sumptuous. This sixty-one-meter-high residential tower, which features a first-class hotel, temporarily rentable business apartments, and panorama condos, satisfies the “highest demands”²³—not least because each square meter of living space garners a purchasing price of anywhere between 8,500 and 14,000 euros.²⁴ With such a unique vista, it no longer matters that the Stuttgart cauldron regularly exhibited the highest respirable dust values in all of Germany. And even the postulate anchored in the master plan stating that “social displacement is meant to be counteracted”²⁵ is already obsolete, evident due to the fact that the Nordbahnhof district situated next to the new office and consumption city—an old area from the nineteenth century for housing railway workers, which displays inter-culturally mixed and rather financially weak demographics—is now already subjected to strong exploitative pressure. In 2012, it was necessary to sell 21,500 state-owned apartments, including 2,000 housing units in the Nordbahnhof district because of failed financial speculation on the part of the Baden-Württemberg

state bank. The apartments in the Nordbahnhof district were bought up by the company Patrizia AG, which signed a dubious “social charter” and promised to safeguard existing standards. After raising rent several times and after only three years, the Patrizia AG sold the units at a profit to what is now Germany’s largest housing provider, Vonovia SE (at this time still called Deutsche Annington). Vonovia owns over 350,000 housing units and has been listed in the DAX index since the end of 2015. The Patrizia AG, in turn, used these earnings to purchase a housing package on the roof of the giant shopping center of the Europaviertel of Stuttgart 21, so it all came full circle. Against this backdrop, the Nordbahnhof district will ultimately become gentrified sooner or later. And whether the future Rosenstein district, which is planned for another area of Stuttgart 21 as a purely residential district, will display social heterogeneity and urbanity remains to be seen. Already today it is lauded as a new ecological flagship district, which, at this point still noncommittally, is supposed to be “co-designed” by the citizens of Stuttgart. As in many other large German cities, there is a shortage of affordable apartments and social housing in Stuttgart as well. So far, the newly elected mayor from the Green Party has taken a markedly restrained approach to this issue, contradicting his election promises. The housing cooperatives, still relatively common in this city, and the tenants association complain that they are not being consulted on this matter, for the mayor, like his conservative predecessors, is betting entirely on the free housing market, assuming that it will get the matter straightened out.

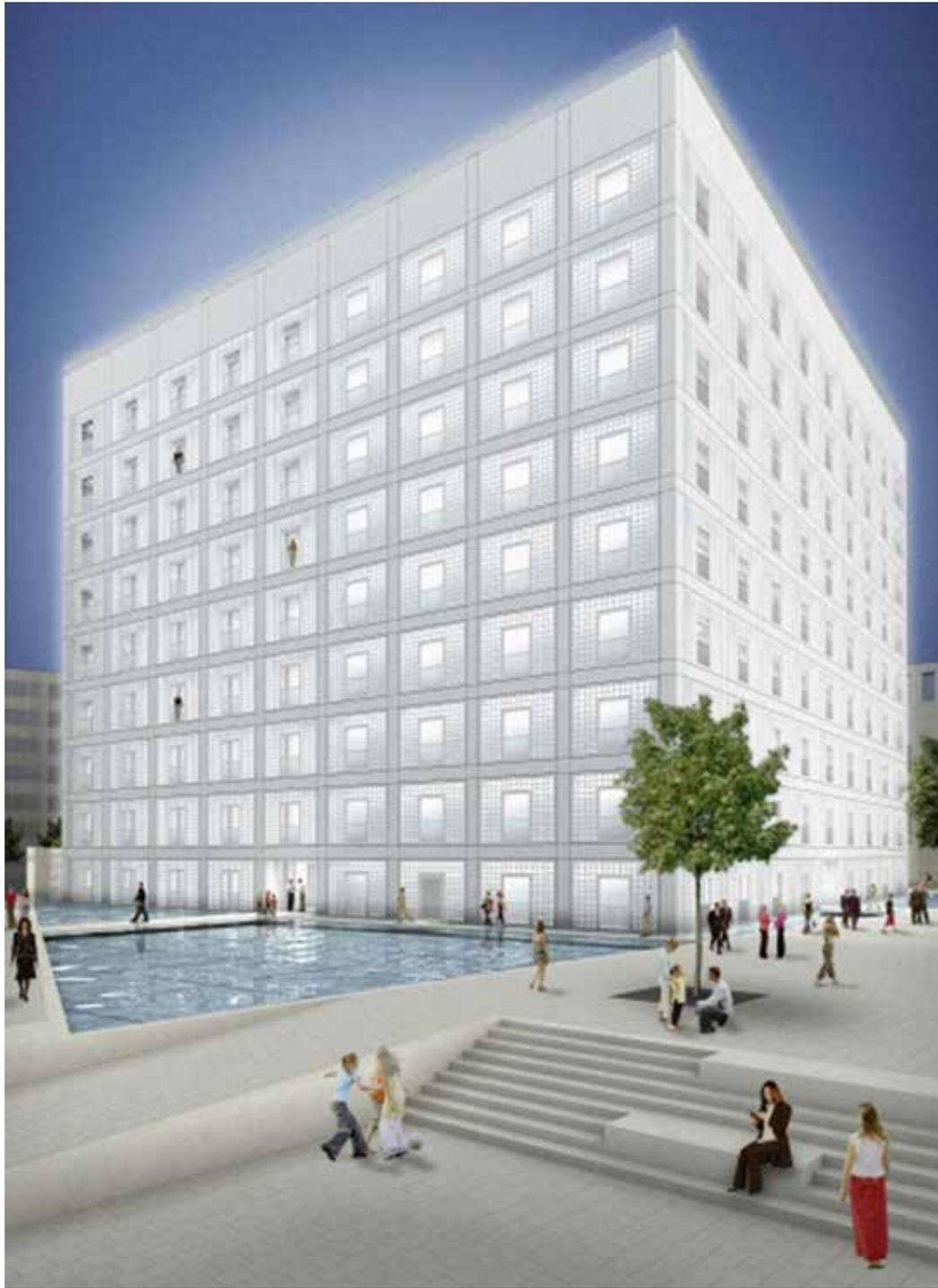
Stuttgart 21 is a typical example of neoliberalized urban politics, and of what has meanwhile become an almost global hegemony of neoliberalized principles, which are deeply rooted in the state, municipal, and even individual structures. It gives the appearance of there being no alternatives to neoliberalism and capitalism, as if the resulting crises (like the climate-related escapades) were a turn of fate. The core of neoliberal politics involves the replacement of the social and commonwealth state with the market-based state. In practice it means that such politics of neoliberalism,²⁶ already discussed at length at many junctures, entails the liberalization of the financial and loan markets, the introduction of deregulatory measures,²⁷ the privatization of previously public companies and services, the tax breaks for corporations, the lowering of income-tax caps, the reduction of services provided by the social state, and the deprivation of power of unions and other organizations. In this context, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu speaks of the “neoliberal utopia” as a “programme of the methodical destruction of collectives,”²⁸ and geographer David Harvey of an “accumulation by dispossession.”²⁹

This politics is flanked by the introduction of economic principles to the spheres of government and administration. With the aid of strategies like “new governance” and “new public management,” the city is restructured as a “corporate city.”³⁰



This restructuring is accompanied by significant loss of control. The new fabric of state-municipal administrations and their service companies (privatized either on paper and/or in a material sense), as well as their cooperative relations with private businesses as part of public-private partnerships in the realization of infrastructural, large-scale, and urban-development projects, leads to a complexity that, even in a democracy, can be grasped neither by the urban public nor by their elected representatives. Although some representatives may have seats on the supervisory boards of state and municipal listed corporations, any influence is forfeited due to the commercial structure and the applicable corporate law. Such complexity and loss of control simplify top-down decision-making and lead to loss of democracy and corruption, even in planning and building processes. Against such a background, it is no surprise that, for instance in Europe, 50 percent of companies from the construction industry are of the opinion that corruption is a problem, whereby, in addition to the building sector, the garbage-disposal and urban-development sectors are especially prone to corruption.³¹ Even in neo-liberal democracies, many decisions related to spatial and urban policy are made without the input of the city residents. Alternative planning measures are not permitted and, as in the case of Stuttgart 21, even systematically suppressed. In fact, Stuttgart 21 illustrates how strongly urban-development projects are today almost exclusively custom-tailored to investor interests and to the needs of high-income classes within society.





Stuttgart, City Library Stuttgart, European Quarter, architect: Yi Architects; visualization: Aldinger Wolf, 2011



Stuttgart, City Library Stuttgart, European Quarter, 2013



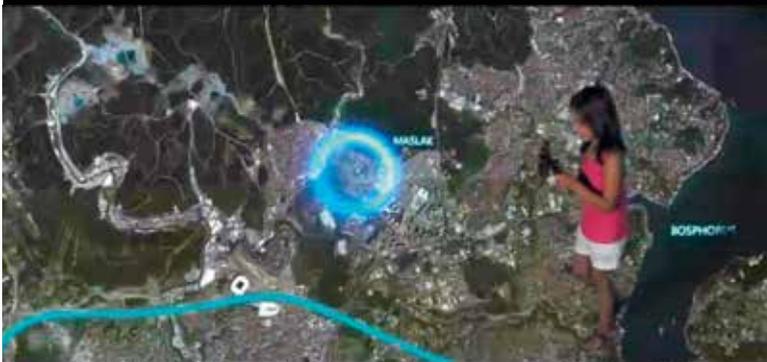
Stuttgart, European Quarter, Parisian Courts,
architect: Office Maier Neuberger Projekte and KSP Engel & Zimmermann



Stuttgart, European Quarter, Parisian Courts, 2013



In 1453 Fatih conquered Constantinople...



Today, Maslak 1453 is another new age for Istanbul



...starting a new age

New Happiness

A prime example of a purely investor-based urban project is Maslak 1453, which has been designed for the district of Sariyer in the northern and European part of Istanbul. On the project website, there are even nineteen perspectival renderings in color, some of which are photo-realistic, showing the project from all possible angles. The complexity and scope of the project visualizations clearly illustrate the heart of this estate construction project, for here the sole objective is to sell luxurious apartments available in all possible sizes.¹ On a plot size of 314 hectares, a total of 5,300 housing units are planned—with some already under construction—situated in residential high-rises arranged as housing blocks with a terraced design. This immense housing complex is grouped around two main plazas and a shopping lane with two shopping malls, boutiques, stores, cinema, amphitheater, and gastronomic facilities. The area surrounding this project is rendered as fully green with a forested landscape, despite this new estate complex directly bordering on existing city districts to the northwest and south-east. Considering the rich visual material and the countless apartment layout plans that have been published on the website, not many words are necessary. Accordingly, the verbal descriptions of the project are rather short-spoken. It is being planned and built by the Turkish real-estate and construction entrepreneur Ali Ibrahim Ağaoğlu, who deems himself an “architect of life.”² Ağaoğlu is one of the ten richest Turks and places number 1,105 on the global ranking of billionaires.³ In Turkey, he is not only famous as a self-made man, but also for his grammatically incorrect sentences. In an advertising video published on YouTube for one of his many building projects, he euphorically and emphatically screams the following: “Me Ali Ağaoğlu. Here is Istanbul Ayazma. Here we building a residential estate with 3,100 housing units. 87 percent of them will have greenery. There’ll even be golf course. I’ve always dreamed of an apartment on the tenth floor with a garden. Now I’ve done it, am making it come true. Cause everyone in this country deserves a high-quality, beautiful home with swimming pool. There will be pools here. One 130 meters long. There’ll be a piazza, stores, the whole works. Here there is life. This place will produce its own energy. Your electricity will be 20 percent cheaper. In our new project, anyone with down payment of

10,000 liras will become homeowner. We've already started with construction work." And at the end, an unfamiliar voice from the off adds: "Ağaoğlu My World Europe: down payment of 10,000 and the house is yours."⁴

On the website of Maslak 1453, which is the largest project by this entrepreneur by a long shot, there is no immediate mention of the first down payment. Instead, it gets straight to the point with housing prices. An apartment with nearly 65 square meters runs, depending on location, between 155,000 and 260,000 euros; an apartment with 100 square meters costs between 280,000 and 360,000; and 360 square meters sell for almost 1 million euros. The target group meant to reside here is clearly defined by such housing prices, namely, the new middle and upper classes that have benefited from Turkey's successful economic ascent in recent years. However, there are not many that fall into this category, for even if the annual disposable household income is higher in Istanbul than in other cities and regions of Turkey, it was still only the equivalent of 11,000 euros in the year 2012, according to official figures.⁵ And it goes without saying that Maslak 1453 already carried the seal of sustainability, granted by an association by the name of the U.S. Green Building Council (USBGC), a constellation of building professionals, real-estate firms, and bank representatives that have even certified themselves as being sustainable and green.⁶

The video integrated on the Maslak 1453 website is also worth seeing. It begins with a pink-colored bedroom, with a girl clad in pink sitting on the edge of the bed holding a globe. The camera pans to the globe and zooms in on the city of Istanbul, while the subtitle references the "New Age" that began in the year 1453 with the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman ruler Fatih Sultan Mehmed. This explains the name "Maslak 1453," for this project is meant to usher in a new age for Istanbul, as the subtitle indicates. The girl now enters the picture from the right, holding a Barbie doll in her hand, and walks toward a map of Istanbul while happily smiling and looking upward. The sound of a helicopter drawing near is audible, which then moves into the picture ready to land, while concrete panels are piling up in no time at all, trees are growing on the balconies, a plaza takes form, and the whole project is visible from a bird's-eye view, accompanied by the text: "Happiness is to go beyond expectations . . ." The virtual camera subsequently encircles the project with the invitation: ". . . and share that vision." The obligatory zoom onto the new cityscape follows with the statement: "Happiness is to have energy." The girl with the doll is seen briefly again—"To turn Imagination on"—and then, holding her father's hand, walking toward her mother who is just entering the picture: ". . . and make a dream come true." Another cut, and then a drive along one of the project streets, while "Happiness is an endless state of mind" is shown as a subtitle. Another cut, and the mother wearing a

sunhat and a short dress buoyantly strolls along with a big smile, carrying a full glass in either hand, approaching father and daughter who are sitting alongside a swimming pool filled with blue water. The mother extends a glass to the smiling father and raises her glass for a toast. Yet another cut, and the camera zooms in on a bedroom with a stylish white double bed next to tasteful furnishings: "Happiness is to feel that your home . . ." Cut, and a view of a living room decorated in shades of white and gray, with the father standing in front of the window, seen only from behind: "is the mirror of your soul." Another zoom shows the man with a drink in hand, still smiling with sparkling eyes. He sets the glass down on a tray extended by a headless waiter. Another cut, and four happy women amble into the picture and into the shopping mall, accompanied by the subtitle "Happiness is to have friends." Now several teenagers are seen (two male and one female), who give the little girl walking into the picture a kiss on each cheek. Subsequently, father, mother, and daughter go to a movie and find themselves immersed in, as the subtitle reads, "A new age of happiness." They are sitting in the cinema—"Happiness is the talent to tell a story"—then a new cut, and a view a city plaza and the directive "To share your story . . .," while the father runs



toward his daughter to give her a high five: "Happiness is knowing how to manage your life . . . Suddenly, the tone takes on a serious note: the father is in an office, where he fastens his tie: "Is to get perfect balance." Cut, and a view of the residential high-rises—"Between work and pleasure . . ."—while the camera zooms away from the complex. Then it is nighttime, with a picture of a disco featuring dancing people, then the brightly lit buildings of Maslak 1453. Finally a long shot, and the concluding message: "Maslak 1453 – A new age of happiness." No words are spoken during the entire video; only music is played, sometimes sounding buoyantly modern, other times composed in a dramatic classical manner.⁷

Although at the beginning of the video the owner initially aligns himself with the idea of President Erdogan, whose politics is of course designed to revive the glorious age of the Ottoman Empire, as the advertising video goes on, more and more concessions are made to a European way of life. With the housing towers, visually rendered in a glossy blue and curved toward the top, and a large rooftop plaza with shopping pavilions, where consumers wearing casual Western clothing are enjoying themselves, this project correlates with the image of Western modernism and contemporary modernity, even if slightly architecturally skewed.



As represented by the pink-clad girl in the advertising video, whose "female, childlike innocence" is an excellent advertising vehicle, Maslak 1453 stands for the promise of domestic bliss, although the mother plays only a marginal and ancillary role in a video that is highly patriarchal despite modernity, while the main protagonist is the father who "feeds" the family. After all, he is the only one with the necessary means to not only buy an apartment, but also to make it possible for his wife to have an enjoyable shopping experience. The happiness of the man, according to the message of the video, rests in his home, where his wife takes care of his needs and fulfills her marital obligations, also in bed. Fully in line with the concept of hierarchical floor plans, the living room is the husband's domain. In the video, this room mirrors his soul: after a hard day's work where he has to struggle to maintain balance, it is finally possible to attain a sense of well-deserved relaxation first in his living room, and later while dancing at night, dazzled by the lights of the new city. And as a short text on the Maslak 1453 website suggests, Istanbul appears to be in dire need of such a city. This text references Pera, the early name for the city district of Beyoğlu, situated further south along the Golden Horn and famous for its extended history. It is suggested that the urbanity and quality of this district were destroyed by immigrants, which is why the project Maslak 1453 seeks to offset this loss and to again finally fulfill the nostalgia-laden desire for resurrection of this lost sense of metropolitan life.

Such a statement can only be called cynical, and not only due to the sheer exorbitant and faceless dimensions of the planned city complex of Maslak 1453. Even the chamber of architects unsuccessfully protested against the realization of this project. The building sector and forced urbanization have given the political party in power since 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), an opportunity to prompt an economic upsurge of neoliberal nature, although recent numbers indicate that not many households are benefiting from this policy. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), figures for 2014 show that over 22 percent of households in Turkey are below poverty level;⁸ and according to TURK-IS, the country's largest labor association, which uses a different poverty line in their calculations, this number is actually half of all Turkish households. For women it still remains difficult to participate in working life, as demonstrated for instance by the Gender Gap Index. According to this index, which measures women's participation in working life in 136 countries, Turkey ranked 127th in the year 2013.⁹ If all four subcategories (economy, education, health, and politics) are included in the analysis, then Turkey takes spot 120 in the ranking.¹⁰ Turkey even falls behind the United Arab Emirates in terms of gender equality, at least according to this survey, since the latter took 109th place in the 2013 ranking. But this is not all, for even more cynical is the assertion of an alleged drop in quality due to immigrants in light of the destruction and gentrification that for years have characterized various urban districts in Istanbul and in other Turkish cities.¹¹ Already in the year 2005, the AKP administration voted on new urban renewal legislation that has loosened the protection of historical monuments and paved the way for forced expropriation.¹² The destruction of the former Romany district of Sulkule in Istanbul even made its way into the international news.¹³ But other districts have also been affected by "urban renewal." Buildings are destroyed and the residents forced to leave, becoming homeless or being relocated to the city outskirts.¹⁴ Over the course of neoliberal economization, evident in Turkey since the early 1980s and to which many *gecekondu*, informal settlements, were sacrificed, Istanbul has been treated as an abstract blank page, a tabula rasa, as a Turkish urban researcher describes it.¹⁵ The city is gladdened with ever more shopping malls, faceless commercial districts, and housing complexes for financially sound citizens, all arbitrarily built without regard to the existing urban fabric and the people dwelling there. Even today, the urban population and the public are not asked to define their ideas and needs, nor are they included in the planning process in any shape or form.

Against this backdrop, in May 2013 protests took place, including the occupation of the Taksim Gezi Park located in the city district of Beyoğlu. The plan was to build a shopping mall on the park lands in barrack-style architecture. Gezi Park is one of the few public green spaces in downtown Istanbul. Already in 2011,



Image analysis: Ağaoğlu Maslak 1453

Minister President Erdoğan announced these plans, and when the first trees were to be felled on May 23, 2013, a small group of environmental activists initiated a sit-in and a tent camp that was flattened by the police. This led to a new occupation of the park, in which more and more people from all social backgrounds participated, spanning all identity, religious, and political boundaries, with the wave of protest quickly expanding to over eighty other Turkish cities due to the massive use of violence by the police. The protest, which was initially directed against the destruction of city and environment, escalated within a very short period to become a more fundamental protest against the neoliberal and Islamic politics of Minister President Erdoğan—against censorship of the press, suppression of minorities, privatization, corruption, and misuse of power.¹⁶ In particular, many women were involved in the protests, slightly over half of the individuals participating. Especially influential here for the content and form of organization and expression (particularly language) were various women's groups—including feminists, sex workers, and Muslimahs—and the participating LGBTTQI+ communities. This disrupted the otherwise prevalent masculine culture of dominance¹⁷—both within the movement and projected toward the outside—in an offensive, solidary, and creative way.¹⁸ The protests were thus trained against Erdoğan's backward-facing, misogynous policies on family and women's affairs, against state apathy toward sexualized violence, and against the suppression of LGBTTQI+. For example, the rate of sexualized and domestic violence in Turkey is 40 percent, which is very high compared to the global average of 30 percent. And the number of women murdered in a family setting has risen since Erdoğan came into power by 1,400 percent (!), according to official sources.¹⁹ Although homosexual relationships among consenting adults are not prohibited in Turkey, LGBTTQI+ individuals continue to suffer from social discrimination and stigmatization.²⁰

In the Gezi Park protests—which were quelled with brutal police, water canons, highly poisonous tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets, live ammunition, cudgels, and the violation of basic civil rights—at least eight people died throughout all of Turkey, according to other sources eleven, and over 8,000 people were injured and many arrested.²¹ Even in the subsequent years 2014 and 2015, the protests carried out in memory of the Gezi Park movement were brutally curtailed. The construction of the replica artillery barracks, though at one point cancelled, has now been once again included in the agenda of Istanbul's urban-development plan for 2015–19.²²

The other projects will likely also continue considering that AKP has been reelected and Erdoğan will remain in power. In order to turn the metropolis of Istanbul into a global city, Erdoğan is planning several mega projects—“crazy projects” as he

himself has called them. A new Istanbul canal, forty-three kilometers long and with six new bridges, is supposed to connect Marmara with the Black Sea. The European part of the city will become an easy-to-control island in the process. However, in terms of the planned construction of three additional cities along this new canal, Erdoğan has had to make concessions. The structures along the canal cannot be higher than six stories and, as a nod to Erdoğan's sensitivity to the history of hegemony, must be built in “Seljuk” style.²³ This reduces the number of originally planned residents for these new cities from 1.2 million to 500,000. Also planned is the construction of the largest airport in the world: a gigantic mega airport for 150 million passengers per year, on 7,500 hectares of forest land and accessible via six major highways. Considering such mega large-scale projects, the palace built by Erdoğan in the middle of an environmentally protected area—with its 1,150 rooms and its “horrible architecture” (as Tezcan Karakus Candan, president of the chamber of architects in Ankara, said in an interview)²⁴—seems almost humble. Other mega projects in the works include an undersea tunnel, a third bridge over the Bosphorus, and the erection of a giant mosque for 30,000



worshippers on Çamlica Hill in the Asian part of Istanbul. This rather controversial mosque, which is already under construction, was designed by the two Muslim women architects, Bahar Mizrak and Hayriye Gül Totu, who won the related competition in 2012. The design for the Çamlica mosque, which is a gargantuan copy of the Sultan Ahmet mosque from the seventeenth century, will give special consideration to Muslimahs. Special areas for praying and washing, including child-care, are planned so as to make it possible for more women to visit the mosque. This "positive discrimination toward women," as Metin Külünk, president of the Mosque Foundation, calls it, fits well with the double moral standard of a religiously motivated, Islamic neoconservatism à la Erdoğan, for women are, according to Erdoğan, different than men due to the laws of nature, and their calling lies in motherhood. Although Erdoğan wants to kiss the feet of his mother, violence against women has actually risen in Turkey, as noted above. What is more, women hardly profit from the economic upswing since it predominately benefits the upper class. Although the share of gainfully employed women rose in Turkey from 28 percent in the year 2000 to 33.5 percent in 2014,²⁵ their income remains lower



than that of men,²⁶ although the average income, viewed as whole, has fallen substantially since 1999 due to a combination of high influxes of capital and a liberalization of the financial markets and trade agreements.²⁷ And as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports for the year 2013, Turkey is the third highest on the list of income inequality and relative poverty in comparison to the other member states, meaning that every fourth Turk lives in a state of poverty.²⁸

In contrast to this, entrepreneurs partial to Erdoğan in a Turkey under AKP rule can express themselves without restraint, even if some of them, like the builder of Maslak 1453, were detained in 2013 (for only a brief period) as part of an investigation into cases of corruption. Yet this incident did nothing to hinder Ağaoğlu's business dealings, for in the same year he was able to sell two of the nine residential high-rises planned for Maslak 1453 in advance to the Saudi investor holding company Abduljawad Group.²⁹ This holding company then signed a contract with the Singaporean company The Ascott Limited in 2015,³⁰ which is the world's largest service company for buildings with "serviced apartments."³¹ It is a subsidiary of the Singaporean CapitaLand, and here the globally operating real-estate world comes full circle, as is discussed in more detail later. However, such political-economic networks, which are ultimately a part of every large urban-development and construction project, are only alluded to, if mentioned at all, in the project descriptions and official statements.

Made in Singapore



A couple—a man and a woman—are standing close together, emanating a sense of physical familiarity, against a glass balustrade that delimits a terrace paneled in wood. The man has placed his right arm around the shoulder of the woman and is gently pulling her toward his body. He has dark hair, is wearing a light-blue short-sleeved shirt, and his casual beige slacks are trimmed by a dark belt. The woman, who is half a head shorter and thinner than the man, is resting her bare right arm on the man's hip, just above the belt, holding on to him with soft pressure. Color coordinated with the man's shirt, she is wearing a navy-hued dress, almost floor length, which is accentuated by a gently encircling cloth belt. The man's right arm, brightly lit by light shining from above, is extended outward, gesticulating toward something with his pointer finger. He is pointing to a skyscraper construction, part of a comprehensive ensemble of glazed, subtly landscaped high-rises spread across the image from left and right, meeting in the middle. The sky is a pale blue, slightly cloudy, and gains in color intensity toward the top. The structures, twenty to thirty stories high, are free-standing but still relatively close together. Some of the buildings featuring protruding balcony slabs, while others have a smooth, suspended façade which is so transparent that the empty stories are visible from behind. Most residential towers are based on two semicircularly arranged cylinders that are interconnected through an access system. Another striking element is found in the large concrete slabs with intermittent openings, which, situated on the roofs of the high-rises at a 30-degree angle, cast shadows onto the penthouses below. The lower stories, in turn, are, at times, lent emphasis by base constructions.

The couple on the canopied terrace, which is furnished with grey shell chairs and a glass table, is standing in the left image foreground. Beyond the balustrade, the terrace is framed by a meadowy green area, which appears to seamlessly transition into the cobble path situated far behind. Strolling along this path, which runs through a park planted with trees, giving off an authentically natural feel, are pairs and groups of people. The image foreground, ranging approximately to the middle of the picture, is dominated by the color green—from the

floral tendrils at the left to the grassy terrace bordering, from the trees in the park to the landscaped high-rise on the right. The blue sky, in turn, harmoniously corresponds to the light-blue shirt of the host and the navy dress of his partner, and also to the slate blue and light-gray of the suspended façade of the multi-story structures. The only factor disrupting the harmony of this visual impression is the view from below of the upper balcony slab, paneled in wood and framed in white, protruding into the picture at the upper left. This scene could be found anywhere. Neither the type of trees (compact deciduous trees as might be found in many parts of the world) nor the architecture of the multistory structures display specifically local or geographic characteristics or features. Only the man's particular type of haircut and the landscaping of the high-rise façades, which are reminiscent of new buildings in Singapore, indicate that this might be a planning project somewhere in Asia. Also noticeable is the obviously male-patriarchal gestures of the man, who is not only protectively taking possession of the woman, but is also showing her, with a gesture emphasized by lighting, the urban world opening up in front of them.

Perhaps this well-cared-for woman is a "Singapore Girl," which is the name used for female flight attendants employed by Singapore International Airlines. Like many of their colleagues, the Singaporean flight attendants are required to comply with certain requirements regarding their appearance. The special feature, in fact, is that they must wear varicolored "sarong kebayas," a uniform designed by the French fashion designer Pierre Balmain. Still today the "Singapore Girl" is a national symbol and part of a sexualized strategy for marketing Asian women: "she can be seen as the Other of a global modernity through which Asian women are imagined as service providers for a global hyper masculinity."¹

This symbolic (and also real) exploitation of the "Singapore Girl" is an expression of a politics of economic ascendancy and the establishment of Singapore as a "global city." After the virtually uninhabited island was conquered by a representative of the British East India Company, Thomas Stamford Raffles, in the year 1819, Singapore began its ascent as trading post and entrepôt. Yet actual economic success was first experienced in 1963 after Singapore attained independence under the rule of the People's Action Party with Lee Kuan Yew as the first governing prime minister (1959–90). Today, Singapore has one of the most modern container harbors in the world, making it the fifth largest shipping and trading hub worldwide. It is also one of the largest bases in the oil refining industry, the biggest producer of drilling platforms, and the fourth largest financial center. Over 7,000 multinational companies are represented in Singapore, accompanied by countless smaller firms, especially from China and India. The country is also a tourism magnet, a gambling casino paradise, and a favored place to come for



medical treatment. Demographically, almost three-quarters of the residents are of Chinese origin, with the remaining quarter originating from Malaysia, Indonesia, or India. Plus there are around 1.2 million migrant workers.

The rendering of a childless couple in the image is reminiscent of a campaign initiated by the People's Action Party in 1959 and of the politics of the "one man – one woman" relationship.² This campaign was designed to tidy up any unregulated relations still remaining from the British colonial period and to establish the Western-Christian model of the nuclear family, for during British colonial rule a significant number of men had emigrated from China, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia. There were also numerous British soldiers stationed in Singapore. This surplus of men inevitably entailed increased prostitution, homosexuality, opium consumption, and gambling, with Singapore being more or less considered a hotbed of vice prior to the Second World War. What is more, polygamous marriage was widespread among Malaysian immigrants, and some Chinese immigrants were involved in gay or lesbian marriages, as was found in Cantonese society.³ A means of bringing order to this situation was the "Women's Charter" legislation enacted in 1961, which stipulated (with the exception of Muslim marital forms) monogamous marriage and the related legal framework, including rights and duties, as well as punishable offenses against women and children.⁴ With this

background in mind, the rendering of the couple on the terrace references the fundamental meaning of heterosexual marriage for the establishment of a modern capitalist economy which is based, for one, on production that is as rationalized, efficient, and profit-maximizing as possible, but also on domestic and care-oriented labor that is liberated from the monetary value chain, namely, the sphere of reproduction. Singapore, a parliamentary, illiberal democracy, which is today considered to be one of the most “free” neoliberal economic zones in the world, is also a prime example of the interlacing of a capitalist economy with state-supported family policy.

The quite impressive economic upswing and the modernization realized by Singapore in such a short amount of time can be traced back, not least, to the work performance of the residents, immigrants, and foreign laborers. For example, between 1934 and 1938 there were over 200,000 Chinese female immigrants who moved to Singapore, called “Samsui women” after their place of origin, the Sanshui District in Guangdong. Well into the 1970s, these women made significant contributions to the buildup of Singapore through their hard work, especially at construction sites. A special quality of the Samsui women, besides their unique clothing, was the fact that they remained unmarried.

The economic rise of Singapore has led to a relatively high employment rate of 42 percent, but also to sinking birthrates.⁵ Official family politics reacts to this development in a contradictory way: on the one hand, women are expected to contribute to economic productivity by pursuing gainful employment, yet on the other hand, they are supposed to fulfill the traditional role of getting married, having children, and taking care of their parents, to which the parents even have a legal claim.⁶ Such expectations represent a special challenge for Singaporean women, especially those from lower-income classes within society. As in many countries, and not only in Asia, the family is considered to be most important, rather than the state, when it comes to fulfilling social responsibilities and needs. At the same time, the Singaporean state has been trying, since its founding, to regulate social life through legislation, directives, programs, and campaigns with the aim of promoting the formation of heterosexual families. In the 1970s the population of Singapore reached 2 million, thus having nearly doubled since the end of the Second World War, which led to the implementation of strict immigration and residency laws. On television, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew called for a lower birthrate, though not without consideration of the economy.⁷ This was rooted in the need for well-trained laborers who were preferably not engaged in the reproduction cycle, because, starting in the 1970s, a transition evolved from purely Fordist production to high-tech and process industries, but also the continued expansion of the transport and service markets, and, not least, the tourism

industry. In order to curtail population growth, a campaign with the title “Stop at Two” was developed, and it was so successful that the birthrates started to significantly drop in the mid-1970s, which caused an about-face on the part of the government in the 1980s. Then, in 1983, the “Graduate Mother Scheme” was introduced, a program meant to encourage well-educated women to have children, while simultaneously trying to prompt poorly educated women to consider the option of sterilization. After public protests, the campaign was cancelled a year later and replaced, in 1986, by the campaign “Have Three or More, If You Can Afford It.” Even just the phrase “if you can afford it” underscores the blatant subtext and the objective pursued here.

Such campaigns still today remain a popular approach in Singaporean politics and affect almost all public and private areas. The spectrum here ranges from campaigns devoted to health or environmental protection, to “Make Politeness Your Way of Life,” or even to nursing a baby. In the 1980s, an attempt by the Social Development Unit (SDU) to help students fall in love elicited quite a bit of laughter. As a result, the SDU was ridiculed as “single, desperate and ugly.” And the government made yet another attempt to up the birthrate in the year 2004. Under the administration of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, the son of Lee Kuan Yew, a “Romancing Singapore” campaign was started to this end, with the aim of supporting the love life of a nation, but to no avail. Following a small upswing in 2012, the birthrate fell back to 1.19 children per family in the year 2013—and this despite the inclusion of ethnic groups from China, Malaysia, and India in the statistical analysis.⁸ Singapore is thus situated at the top of the global list of countries with the lowest birthrates.⁹ Another cause of distress for the government is low immigration (although most Singaporeans are happy with this low rate), the threat of an aging population, and the growing number of unmarried individuals.¹⁰

Such double-sided politics—on one side, a strong government trying to regulate the birthrate, and on the other, the responsibility of family-based self-care—cannot remain without consequences for those who do not fit into this narrow family model. For example, it is almost impossible for lesbians, gays, queers, and non-married individuals to enjoy public social programs, such as home-ownership subsidies.¹¹ Nonetheless, and despite sustained discrimination on the part of the state and mainstream society, there are quite a few gays, lesbians, transsexuals, queers, and transgender persons living in Singapore. In fact, Singapore is known for having made possible the first gender-reassignment operation in Asia during the 1970s.¹² All the same, Section 377A of the Penal Code of Singapore still prohibits male homosexuality, making it punishable by up to two years of prison, even if this law has not been actually used in years. Since the recognition

of queer communities is an essential hallmark of urban cosmopolitanism and part of the “branding” of a cosmopolitan city, the government in Singapore has even been known to occasionally make public statements on this issue. For example, in the year 2001, the incumbent Prime Minister Goh Chok Gong told the press that gays and lesbians could be appointed to certain public positions. However, this statement sparked furious discussions in the conservative Singaporean public. Even if it may be unofficial common knowledge that someone is gay, lesbian, transsexual, or queer, it remains uncommon for this to be outed in a family, or even public, context. Since 2009 an event called Pink Dot has been held, inspired by Christopher Street Day in the US and Europe, but it is still impossible for queer-activist initiatives and organizations to obtain officially registered status and they are repeatedly subjected to restrictions. In 2014, the Pink Asia Award was, for the first time in Singapore, bestowed upon various activists from the Asian region, though it was only possible to hold this ceremony as part of a private event. The postulate “Our Population, our Future,” as posited by the government, basically implies the following in reference to LGBT communities: we leave you be, because you’re there and work, but giving you rights, recognizing you as a minority, goes too far, for our society is based on the traditional family and its values—as paraphrased from an unexpected speech given by the prime minister to parliament in 2007.¹³

The emphasis on the role of family as a national matter is also mirrored in Singapore’s housing politics, which has played a state-supporting and important economic role since independence and has explicitly promoted the heterosexual family.¹⁴ In the year 2013, 83 percent of the Singaporean population was living in state-subsidized housing, which is built by the state-owned Housing Development Board (HDB) and sold to Singaporeans.¹⁵ In addition, there is also private capital being invested in housing construction in Singapore. The Housing Development Board was founded in 1960, one year after founding father Lee Kuan Yew and the People’s Action Party (PAP), which is still in power today, had won the election. Since the establishment of HDB, approximately one million apartments have been built. Already during the British colonial period, the Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT) was founded, with the objective of addressing housing shortages, poor hygiene, and the lack of sanitary facilities. The residential construction project Tiong Bahru Estate was the first such project pursued by this government agency. Already in 1952, building began on the new city district of Queenstown. The first master plan, which was approved in 1958, envisaged the construction of simple slab blocks, usually with ten stories, but also the slow destruction of existing districts with their traditional homes, called kampongs. These districts—a combination of rural and urban spheres featuring densely inhabited, slum-like settlements or so-called “shop houses”—had sprung up around the city center

established during colonial times. Although density in these areas is very high and the housing situation was catastrophic in places, almost no one wanted to move into the new apartment buildings erected by the HDB program. It wasn’t until a fire broke out in one of the largest kampongs in 1961, Bukit Ho Swee, in which four people died and over 2,000 buildings were destroyed, that the state-run housing construction program gained more public acceptance.

By building new housing estates according to the British model, the New Towns, the Singapore government was not just trying to improve housing standards and eliminate the pressing housing shortage. Housing policy was in fact employed as a central means of creating a united nation “in the unity of culture, territory, and political administration.”¹⁶ In the era of disengagement from Malaysia shortly after Singaporean independence, there were several ethnic conflicts, some of which played out violently. It is for this reason that Singaporean politics places highest priority on, besides family policy, the avoidance of ethnically or religiously motivated conflicts. Very early on, in 1962, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew summed this up as follows: “If the country is not stable, economy can not grow.”¹⁷ The government is devoted to this principle still today. With the aim of preventing potential ethnic conflicts, a new housing allocation policy was introduced in 1989 that assigns residents to housing according to an ethnic quota, which ensures distribution of the individual groups in the respective housing estates according to the demographics of society as a whole.

Already in the year 1964, moreover, the possibility was created for purchasing apartments instead of just renting them, modeled after the British tenancy system. The first buyers purchase the apartments from the Housing Development Board and are allowed to sell them again after a certain period. Non-married individuals living alone are not permitted to buy a HDB unit until age thirty-five, and they pay a higher price than married couples and families. If a couple separates, then the apartment has to be sold, although there are exceptions for single parents depending on the circumstances. In order to finance such housing purchases, Singapore residents can take out loans based on premiums already paid to the Central Provident Fund (CPF). The CPF, which was founded in colonial times, is a state-run fund focused on aging and social welfare to which all Singaporeans are required to contribute. Since residents finance their housing purchases with such loans, they are reliant on permanent, long-term employment. This is one reason why they still support the neoliberal government politics, despite various points of criticism. This acceptance applies to the guidelines of family policy sympathetic to authority and paternalism, and also to the narration of nation as a familial community. And although in reality the financial and time-related burdens have risen, especially those weighing on working women, the

“logic of neoliberalism”—competition, rivalry, and governmentality based on meritocracy—is rarely questioned.¹⁸ Although any attempts to shake these foundations are not usually punishable by prison, they are met with censorship or, fully in line with the logic of the economy, penalized with a steep fine. This was the case, for example, with the film *Sex. Violence. Family Values* by director Ken Kwek, which was marketed using the slogan “Three dirrrty stories from the world’s cleanest city.” The movie was censored and only allowed to be released following international protest and the cutting of several scenes, and even then with restrictions. The film, which was produced in 2012, actually only expresses, despite its somewhat sensational title, harmless and humorous criticism of the contradictions existing among official family policy, hostility toward sexuality, and social reality within Singapore.

More serious was the case of the blogger Roy Ngerng, who had actually also come out as gay. In 2012, he dared to question, in his blog “The Heart Truths,” the financial practices employed by the Central Provident Fund when financing HDB apartments.¹⁹ Even after having been sentenced to pay a high fine for this



infraction, he went on to co-organize a protest against these practices in 2014. Ngerng’s critique is directed toward the credit and interest practices related to taking out a loan from the Central Provident Fund. His view and analysis see the CPF in conjunction with the Housing Development Board as a kind of capital restructuring engine, because the monies spent by the state for subsidizing housing construction is refinanced by the CPF through the purchase of government bonds.²⁰ In the end, the citizens alone end up paying for the seemingly good deeds of state and government.

To date, twenty-two new city districts have been created with the HDB program. Typical for the older housing complexes is an empty ground floor, which can be used as a common room; sometimes preschools or other social infrastructures are housed there. Access to the individual apartments in the older HDBs goes through what is usually a broad open pergola, which functions as a semipublic space. The apartments built in the early years of the HDB program are up to 75 square meters in size, with the kitchen often situated in or near the entryway. A factor that should not be underestimated when it comes to living quality—considering the permanent subtropical climate with up to 85 percent humidity—is the possibility of allowing air to circulate transversely. In subsequent years, larger, more luxurious apartments were built, including an extra room for the domestic help. In the 1980s, the average living area was already at 90 to 100 square meters. Later, the especially large apartments, with five or more rooms, usually ended up being subdivided, and many of the aging HDB complexes have been completely renovated or some even demolished. The HDB housing complexes have at least one so-called food court, modeled after the early mobile kitchens, such as those still found today in Vietnam, for example. Situated in these food courts, which also serve as social spaces of encounter, are various small cookshops, each offering different dishes and specialties. For the residents, food courts are a favored alternative to cooking and eating in their own apartment. Today this multiethnic concept is found in the West in shopping centers and malls. Noteworthy here is the fact that the unskilled labor in these food courts, like clearing tables and washing dishes, is predominately carried out by older women and men—a sign that there certainly is poverty in Singapore, especially among the elderly. For example Singapore has the third largest gross domestic product in the world, but a Gini coefficient of 0.43.²¹ Also integrated into the housing complexes, depending on location, are stores, which are called “mamashops” in the vernacular, for they provide an opportunity to shop so close to home.

With Asian financial crisis starting in 1997, the construction of new estates was almost completely halted, and there were also unoccupied housing units. Once the situation calmed down again, the “build to order” principle was introduced, as

had already gained acceptance in other countries. In the case of HDB apartments, this means that the complexes are not erected until at least 70 percent of the available apartments are sold. Even the largest HDB project, Pinnacle@Duxton, which is also one of the most recent, was created according to this principle, including one of the most expensive apartments in HDB history. This project, which has enjoyed international reception, includes seven residential towers with 1,848 housing units. The towers are interconnected on the 26th and 50th floors by a long “Skybridge”—a semipublic, circumferential space that winds around almost all of the tower structures. The complex was designed by two Singaporean architectural firms.

An early precursor of such projects was the People’s Park Complex, which opened in 1973.²² This Brutalist complex was part of the planned modernization of what at the time was a densely populated Chinatown. It was erected on the premises of a former park that had been used as an open-air marketplace. The government intended to have the multifunctionally designed structure be mainly privately financed. In 1967, the commission was granted to the young building contractor Ho Kok Cheong and the firm DP Architects, which was headed by William Lim, Loh Show Chuan, and Tay Kheng Soon. The complex is made up of a twenty-six-story slab block resting upon a three-story, rectangular construction containing stores, kiosks, and office space, with common rooms like a day-care center planned for the roof area. At the time, the People’s Park Complex was the first and largest center of its kind in South East Asia and became a model for other buildings. The design idea followed principles from the CIAM group, the Metabolists, and Team 10, although the architects did set out to develop their own concept here. The design, instead of resembling the concept of a US shopping mall, is actually much more like an open market and densified city. In the large, rectangular hall, a view of many small stores and kiosks opens up via the atria, staircases, and galleries, thus fostering a sense of public space, a “city room.”²³ Access to the individual apartments is routed through broad, open corridors, which function as semipublic spaces. Even if William Lim, who was also decisively involved in the founding of Singapore Urban Planning Research (SPUR),²⁴ meanwhile takes a critical view of the urban destruction and lack of participation associated with the building of the People’s Park Complex, including its private financing and commercialization, this multifunctional housing, shopping, and business complex is still today appreciated and intensively used by the local population.

Similarly, the Pearl Bank apartment complex has become a local-national icon, designed by the Singaporean architect Tan Cheng Sing and finished in 1976. This complex, too, was originally supervised by the Housing Development Board, which sold the apartments according to the leasehold principle.²⁵ In the 1980s, the

housing tower’s reputation was tarnished by being a seat of the red-light district, and in the 1990s it was predominately occupied by migrant workers. Whether the building should be demolished or rededicated has been an issue debated in the media. In the meantime, the complex has been renovated, and the owner-occupied apartments are now so strongly in demand that prices are skyrocketing.²⁶ These examples show that, over an extended period, even Brutalist architecture can gain acceptance, provided that the urban-development, architectural, and functional design concept meets a certain quality standard. Although the examples cited here surely cannot stand as role models for the handling of existing urban structures, in these cases intensive use and strong identification with the spaces have been attained nonetheless.

The question remains as to whether this will also be the case for the complexes built in the twenty-first century. An example in Singapore is the housing structure called The Interlace, commissioned by the Singaporean real-estate company CapitaLand Singapore and completed in 2013. This company is a subsidiary of CapitaLand, one of the largest real-estate and investment corporations in Asia, which runs several real-estate investment trust (REITs) and, according to the company, is active in 110 cities and 20 countries.²⁷ The Interlace was designed by the German architect Ole Scheeren and his team, who at the time was working at Rem Koolhaas’s famous Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). This housing complex with 1,040 units was erected on a plot of eight hectares, which is part of a hilly stretch of green where park areas are now connected by a walking path. In the case of The Interlace as well, allusions to Japanese Metabolism from the 1960s are evident; however, this project is basically a prime example of modern investor architecture and the related objective of becoming as spectacular and emblematic as possible so as to garner plenty of attention. Indeed, this project is celebrated in relevant magazines and other publications. After all, it also promises to radically renounce the concept of individually positioned high-rise housing structures and to create “an intricate network of living and social spaces integrated with the natural environment”—according to the project description published on the OMA website.²⁸

From an urban development perspective, this complex will continue to strongly determine the city silhouette. Whereas the stacked structures in the near vicinity appear relatively clear, when viewed from a distance they turn into a blurred, bulky mass of grayish black, like an oversized mausoleum enthroned atop a hill. In sharp contrast to the choice of name, here a compound was created that neither integrates into the surrounding urban environment nor contributes to social sustainability.²⁹

Also, foreigners who work in Singapore need somewhere to live. The expatriates (or “expats”) make a considerable contribution to the sustained urbanization of Singapore, as well as to other popular Asian cities. Expats no longer come primarily from the United States and Europe, but also from Asia and other countries around the globe in equal numbers. They are part of a well-educated elite that conform to the demands of the economy for more mobility and flexibility. This class includes not only the super rich³⁰ (who are, at best, concerned with the administration of their wealth), but also qualified individuals who work in the various branches of international and globally operating companies. Due to job requirements, temporary absences, and relatively short stays, this class of white collar worker is especially in need of housing forms where residents need not bother with things like cleaning, repairs, building maintenance, security, and care of their apartments. In order to provide this service, there is a class of contract workers ready to carry out any such work that may arise. Often housing units in such service-oriented housing complexes are rented, but sometimes even purchased. The simpler variant of this principle involves furnished apartments, as are today found more and more frequently in economically attractive European cities. Such apartments, rented out temporarily for limited amounts of time, and secondary residences, which often remain empty, are thus removed from circulation in the local rental market, with lasting consequences. They are one (though not the only) main reason for the housing shortages and rising rental prices seen in many cities.

The construction of service-oriented estate and housing complexes, both for non-local mobile groups and local, well-earning classes, also leads to processes of displacement in Asian cities and to increased fragmentation of urban everyday life.³¹ This fragmentation pertains to both sides—the white collar workers and the service class—though in very different ways. In Singapore, too, there is a large network of intermediaries, agencies, and organizations that recruit household workers from poorer countries, charging high fees for this mediation work, which means that many women are already heavily in debt when they arrive in the country. The number of household workers in Singapore has already reached over 200,000 women. Many of these women are separated from their own children, partner, relatives, and home environment for months at a time. Household workers who become pregnant are usually sent back to their country of origin. What is more, there are work-related accidents to contend with: according to official data, seventy-five female household workers died between 2000 and 2012 by falling out of residential tower windows. And it wasn’t until 2011 that women were ensured the right to one free day a week.³² Household workers do attain a certain sense of independence, however, which they wouldn’t have achieved in their home country, for they frequently become the sole breadwinner for their family or can make the most of themselves fully away from the constraints of family ties,

which is one reason why they rarely complain, for instance when having to wait to be paid for months. Singapore has relatively strict regulations, but if no one complains, then these laws cannot be applied properly or are easily circumvented. “Divide and rule” also applies to this market.³³

Life in Singapore is also difficult for the male migrants. Like the women household and factory workers, they are not allowed to bring family members into the country and are only allowed to marry a Singapore residents with the approval of the Ministry of Manpower. Over 300,000 workers from countries like Bangladesh, China, and Myanmar were employed at countless construction sites on the island in the year 2013. In many cases, they have to finance their own education or training and then pay high sums in advance in order to be sent to Singapore for employment and to obtain a work permit there. The climate for foreign workers is not favorable in Singapore, even if it is not as hard as life for those working in the United Arab Emirates, for example, where competition and exploitation have taken on even more pronounced forms. Nonetheless, when it comes down to it,



in Singapore the interest of the Singaporean nation and its economic growth will always take precedence over human and labor rights.

Promising for economic growth is also the export of Singapore itself. The Global City Singapore has now replaced US cities as a model for creating urban enclaves of prosperity around the globe, for Singapore unites everything desired by financially strong target groups in the globalized real-estate market. In addition to the often mentioned five Cs—cash, car, credit card, condominium, and country club—the example of Singapore promises the five Ss, namely, safety, sanitary, service, sustainability, and system. The latter can also be understood as a functional, controlled unit, which is characterized by a convenient size, transparency, order, and smooth operation. In this way, the Singaporean government serves as a door opener for the export of urban “Made in Singapore” master plans to companies that want to implement urban-development and infrastructural projects in close cooperation with state and municipal governments. The advertising used highlights the experience gained during the formation of Singapore, which will continue in the future since the country has plans to keep up economic and structural upgrading. In line with the expansion of Singapore, not only as hub for *entrepôt*, finances, and trade, but also for biotechnologies and the life sciences, the idea is to create a greener and more productive Singapore in the twenty-first century. It is no coincidence that “Build Smart for a Future Ready Singapore” was selected as motto for the Singapore Construction Productivity Week (SCPW) in 2015.³⁴ The competencies acquired during the expansion of Singapore promise to deliver an urban and project development that is based on the newest technologies and the height of scientific knowledge—at least if we believe statements made by consulting firms like Surbana Corporation Pte. This company, which has a total of 2,200 employees, was founded by privatizing a subgroup, the Building & Development Division, of the state-run Housing and Development Board. Today, the Singaporean company CapitaLand owns 40 percent of the shares of the Surbana Cooperation, with the other 60 percent held by Temasek Holdings, an investment company owned by the state. With this background in mind, Surbana proudly points out that it helped Singapore to ascend “from a third-world country to a vibrant, sustainable first-world city state,”³⁵ and that, in this capacity, it has created urban design and master plans for over ninety cities in thirty countries, impacting over 100 million people. The focus of the planning activity in which this company was significantly involved was placed on the countries of South East Asia, but plans for projects in China, India, Russia, the Arab states, and northern Africa are also on the list of successes. According to the company’s self-representation, the success story of Surbana is based on an interdisciplinary team³⁶ and also on the opportunity to access state expertise in accordance with various municipal authorities, such as the Housing and Development Board (HDB) and the Urban

Redevelopment Authority (URA). The planning approach pursued by Surbana is “holistic,” in their own words, a triad of economic, social, and ecological sustainability. Every plan drafted by Surbana is not only “visually impactful,” but also an “economically viable blueprint of a city designed for people to live, work, play and grow.”³⁷

With an “integrated masterplan” that unites traditional planning principles with innovative urban-planning paradigms,³⁸ each city can embark upon, fully in line with the Singaporean dictum, a path to economic growth, to constructive collaboration between private and state entities, to identification between urban residents and their city, and to the formation of community spirit. In order to attain all of the above, value is placed on the integration of divergent disciplines and aspects during the planning process. The scope of this integrative planning approach ranges from sustainable and environmentally conscious design to sociocultural or demographic studies, research on ethnicity, and establishment of brand identity.

Here, the drafters of this self-representation are surely aware that terms like “eco-city” or “smart city” are pure catchphrases meant to attract international attention in order to entice investors and, not least, tourists. Nevertheless, they find the planability of such cities convincing. Planning from the vantage point of Surbana is sensible and operates from higher vantage point which succeeds in motivating both private and state parties to work toward better, more sustainable growth.³⁹ In order to achieve this, a basic ethical approach is necessary, which according to Surbana is founded on three principles. Surbana lists the first principle as the necessity of defining clear policy objectives and long-term milestones; the second as the possibility of secondary legislation approved by respective ministries independently (!) of parliament; and the third as faith in the innovative power of the private sector. This “Singapore Ethos,” which directly derives from governmentality à la Singapore, lays the foundation for the export of targeted “urban planning services.”⁴⁰ In concretizing this ethos, five main points are broken down. The first involves the need to value the planned city through interviews, diverse studies, GIS spatial modeling, and data collection. Second, the new city must be “positioned” on the basis of sustainable and unique visions in the context of international competition: for example, a newly planned Congolese city is declared to be the “Green Capital of Congo.” Third, it is important to “brand” a city in order to enhance its identity and attractiveness. The fourth task is to create models and guidelines, such as land use as a foundation for master plans. Fifth—so that these efforts be understood—Surbana aids in conveying know-how to investors and to the urban public.

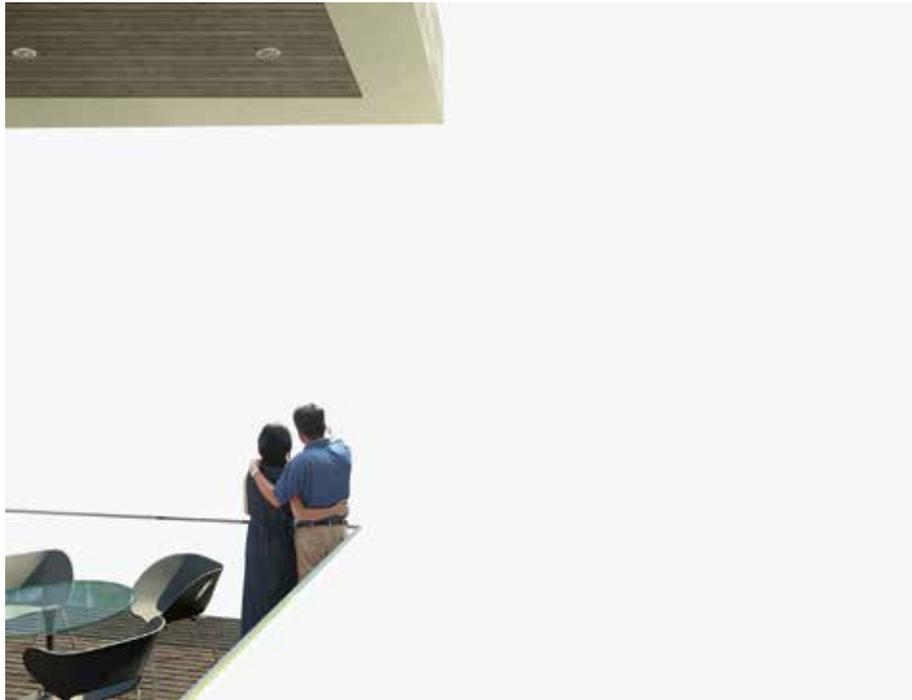
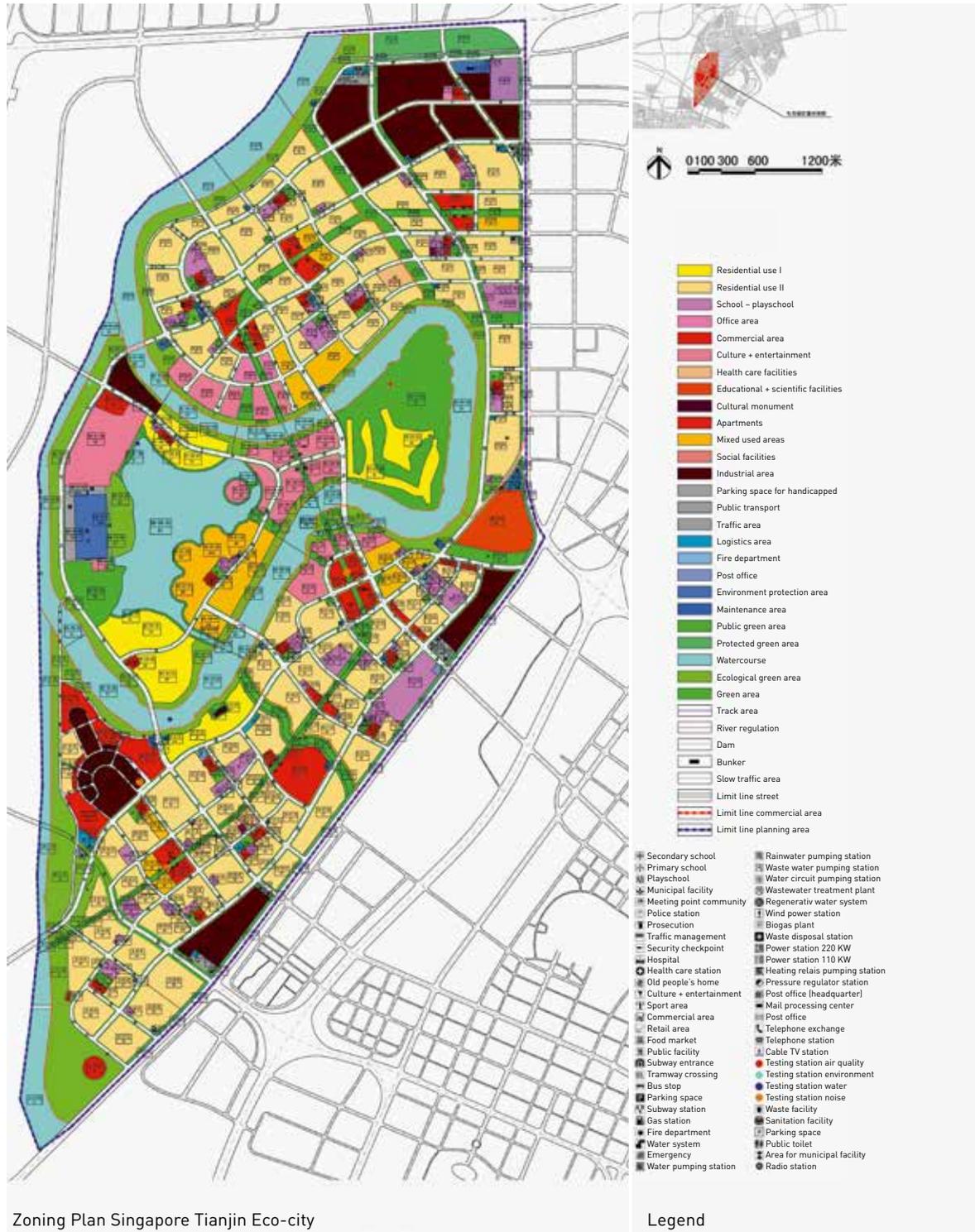


Image analysis: Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-City





Urban Resurrection

Aided by this kind of ethos and the “Singapore model,” troubled waters (in the truest sense of the phrase) and *tristes tropiques* (sad tropics) become dynamic, upwardly mobile, attractive, socially harmonious, green, and environmentally friendly cities with satisfied and happy residents, as in the case of the Chinese model city Tianjin Eco-City, whose planning team also included Surbana.

In this city, “resurrected from a salt lake,” 350,000 people are supposed to live and work on thirty square kilometers.¹ A total of 110,000 residences will be built, along with an area containing an eco-city country club, and commercial and industrial zones, with the intention of creating 200,000 jobs. All buildings are designed to be 100 percent green.² Planning for this new Chinese city—located 150 kilometers southeast of Beijing and 45 kilometers from the center of Tianjin, in the Tianjin harbour area Bohai Bay—began in 2007. The settlement axis of Beijing and Tianjin, as well as parts of Hebei Province, the “Jingjini megalopolis,” is already one of today’s largest urban agglomerations in the People’s Republic of China, and has a total population of around 110 million. As a metropolis, Tianjin, with the Tianjin Binhai new area along the Bohai Sea, is a hub for shipping, logistics, research and development, as well as a variety of industries. It’s one of China’s most heavily industrialized zones, and it suffers from massive environmental pollution.³

The Tianjin Eco-City project is based on collaboration between the Singaporean and Chinese governments and their various ministries. The Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore (URA) hired Surbana to consult. Besides the governmental cooperation, there is also a private business level. In 2007, the Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-City Investment und Development Co., Ltd. (SSTEC) was founded to act as the general contractor that would coordinate and finish developing the project. One-half of it consists of a Singapore consortium under the leadership of the Keppel Corporation; the other half is a Chinese consortium under the leadership of the Tianjin TEDA Investment Holding Co. Ltd. Founded in 1968, the Keppel Corporation is one of Singapore’s state-run conglomerates, dealing in real

estate, shipbuilding, oil platform construction, and infrastructure development. The Chinese TEDA Investment Holding Co., Ltd. is also a conglomerate that focuses on urban and infrastructure development, as well as real estate. In addition, there are other project developers ready to cultivate parts of the new city.

One of the few visualizations of the project design available to the public is the picture of a couple looking out over the newly built Tianjin Eco-City previously mentioned in this book. Since the Singaporean half of the concern released this picture, it makes sense to analyze the subtext of this image. This picture can be found on the SSTECS's repeatedly renewed website, under the rubric "Eco Vision."⁴ But it's not solely about ecology; instead, the aim is to create a vibrant economy, offering a home to future residents who will be able to fulfill "our collective desire for a better life in harmony with the environment," as the authors remark in their text.⁵ And entirely in the sense of the previously mentioned ethos, emphasis is placed on the practicability of this kind of planning; reference is made to twenty-six key performance indicators that are supposed to ensure sustainable development of this city. The master plan for the city is pragmatic, yet also very detailed.⁶ Based on Surbana's proposals, it was developed in collaboration with the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design, the Tianjin Urban Planning and Design Institute, and the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore. Hence, the planning for Tianjin Eco-City clearly has the signature of state authorities. The master plan, which even includes fixed locations for public toilets, refuse disposal stations, and citizens' meeting places, shows the strong will of the ruling parties not to leave anything to chance, and to control as much as possible.

Confronted with massive environmental pollution caused by industrialization and urbanization, Chinese state leaders have long been supporting the construction of so-called eco-cities. One of the first was to have been the Dongtan Eco-City; commissioned by the Shanghai Industrial Investment Company (SIIC), Dongtan was planned for an island near Shanghai by the British engineering and planning offices of Arup. This city was never realized. Instead, *Ethical Corporation Magazine* gave Arup its Greenwasher of the Year Award.⁷ Tianjin Eco-City⁸ is meant to be a new attempt. What is special about this project is that the area earmarked for this plan is made up of salt evaporation ponds, salinized earth, and heavily polluted bodies of water. So the project not only serves as a model way of dealing with climate, energy, and raw materials, but it's also an example of how to convert polluted areas of land into a green, habitable oasis of harmonious coexistence in the city for an upwardly mobile middle class, a promise of a healthier life in the eco-city. According to the description of this project on the Singapore government's website, the city's basic principles rest upon the three pillars of social, economic, and ecological harmony, out of which can be derived practicability, reproducibility,

and scale.⁹ In this way, the eco-city will not only set the tone for the unification of social life, ecology, and business, but the program developed here is meant to be translated and applied to other cities, entirely in the sense of Singapore as export model.

The design is based on an "ecological valley" with a river that defines the residential area, and industrial and commercial zones arranged around the periphery. The environmental program presses all of the right buttons: from the use of solar panels and wind turbines to energy creation through recycling resources, limiting carbon dioxide emissions, and conserving water, to "green transportation." The architectural structure for this large residential area is based on the classic separation of functions: live, work, and play. Most of the residential areas are composed of individual high-rises and three-story multifamily buildings.¹⁰ Construction on the first sections began in 2011, but by 2014, only 3 square kilometers had been built, with 6,000 residents living within those confines.¹¹ Surrounded by abandoned, treeless areas and a few bigger connecting streets, it is anything but a vibrant city. And the scale of the buildings, some of which are four times as large as a typical block in Manhattan, leaves much to be desired, as one urban scientist has remarked.¹² Despite the planned commercial streets and a neighborhood center, the city seems suburban and contributes to isolation, especially women's, if they aren't employed or employable.¹³ It's questionable if the industrial and commercial zones planned for nearby will actually offer enough paying jobs, especially for women. Opportunities for women to find paid work are also hindered by the peripheral location of the residential area and the lack of transportation. Although the Tianjin Eco-City master plan includes buses and even a subway station, this new city is still laid out to be dependent upon automobiles,¹⁴ and it is equally questionable if a functioning, local public transportation system will ever be realized.

In addition, there is the fact that paid work for women has rapidly diminished, especially in cities, ever since the introduction of special economic zones and state-controlled capitalism. Even though it's true that the number of employed women in China is pegged at 74 percent—far above the global average of 53 percent—but this number includes women employed in agriculture.¹⁵ In 2010, the number of women in Chinese cities who had paid work was still barely 60 percent, which is 20 percent lower than the number of men. To compare, the number of women in Chinese cities with paid employment was over 90 percent in the late 1970s.¹⁶ As is the case in other post-communist countries, Chinese women were the losers when capitalism was introduced and urbanization surged. Considering the surplus number of men in China,¹⁷ which reinforces competition for jobs, and due to the sinking birthrates, especially in cities,¹⁸ the government, media, and even the

All-China Women's Federation has begun to massively push for the return of women to marriage and family.¹⁹ Even though the number of well-educated and professionally successful women has risen, unmarried women are denigrated as "leftover women" by a still very patriarchal, family-and-marriage-oriented Chinese society.²⁰ This conservatism is also reflected in the number of property owners. According to a study conducted in a few large Chinese cities, the husband is listed 80 percent of the time as the owner of the condominium, so that in divorce cases, the home goes to the husband, according to Chinese law. This makes many women even more dependent upon having a husband, and they also do not profit from any real estate booms.²¹ Additionally, the Chinese population is noticeably aging, to the point where there is now a 4-2-1 family structure, because for every couple with one child, there are also four elderly to care for.²² This results in immense burdens, especially for working women.

At least the Tianjin Eco-City master plan contains schools, kindergartens, medical centers, facilities for senior citizens, and a nursing home, as well as public institutions and shopping—none of which, however, have been realized. As far as conditions in China go, the layout of the Tianjin Eco-City is not unusual, because its structure is barely distinguishable from the many other residential projects that have already been erected in large numbers. It is doubtful, however, that a real, unified community will form here over the long term. This question arises not only because of the plan's size, situation, and insularity, but also, above all, because of the lack of "social resilience."²³ What kind of price women in particular must pay when they move to Tianjin Eco-City needs to be more carefully researched over time. A remark to the effect that the future of this city is a blank slate, made by a journalist visiting Tianjin Eco-City, may prove to be negative, especially for women.²⁴ All of this becomes even more questionable against the backdrop of two big explosions of highly dangerous chemicals that took place on August 12, 2015, just a few kilometers away from Tianjin Eco-City in the port of Binhai. 173 people died and 797 were injured. This "accident"—a result of massive corruption in the treatment of dangerous materials—points out the limitations of partial interventions, such as the construction of model environmentally friendly cities. Indeed, they are of little use if there no fundamental change in industrial production occurs, in the way that natural resources are used, and not least, in land-use policy. In China, too, an increasing number of people are becoming aware of the social and ecological consequences of unlimited economic growth and unbridled consumerism. It remains to be seen if Chinese leaders will succeed in meeting the increasing dissatisfaction with constructive changes, or if they will continue to make use of familiar means of suppression.



Sustainable Smartness

It is not only in China that “eco-cities” (also called sustainable cities) and “smart cities” are becoming trailblazing models for the future, in order to deal with the environmental destruction resulting from climate change, environmental pollution, and vanishing resources. The term “eco-city” was coined by the American architect Richard Register, who, along with other activists, initialized the group Urban Ecology in 1975, to combine urban planning with ecology and citizen participation, in order to design and build “healthier cities.”¹ The idea of the eco-city is based on critique of environmental and urban planning from both environmental and feminist movements. In contrast to today’s approaches to the eco-city, this was about planning from the “bottom up,” as well about the building of communities that practice an ecologically aware, alternative lifestyle. Following in the footsteps of grassroots and civil rights movements in the United States, Germany and other Western European countries have consequently developed many different projects, communities, and businesses that rely on a holistic understanding of the environment, “soft” technology, and, last but not least, on other forms of gender-sensitive, social coexistence.

Supported by reports such as the Brundtland Report,² published in 1987 by the United Nations’ World Commission on Environment and Development, and the introduction of (non-binding) programs of action such as Agenda 21,³ a guideline for sustainable development signed in 1992 by 172 nations, the theme of the eco-city was also adopted by governments and business later on. Definitions, demands, and measures that go hand in hand with the label of eco-city⁴ were, however, laid out very differently, so that it became more of a general umbrella term whose ultimate forms were left dependent upon national and business interests. By 2011, according to a study by the University of Westminster, there were more than 174 initiatives around the globe that were actively planning and realizing eco-cities. Of these 174 plans, forty-five have already been realized, sixty-nine are under construction, and sixty are in pilot or planning stages. Of the planned and partially realized eco-cities, twenty-seven are entirely new cities. Fifteen of these planned new cities are also in the Asian-Australian region, two are in Europe,



four in the Middle East and Africa, and six in the United States.⁵ One of the largest planned cities is Tianjin Eco-City in China, which has already been described.

Unlike alternative approaches, initiatives run by a blend of state and private business assume that economic growth and high tech can be combined with environmental protection and social justice. Hence, systems and power structures are not questioned, so that economic growth and the fetishization of high tech form the real core of these initiatives. In short, it's solely about "green capitalism." So it is also no surprise that global concerns such as Cisco, IBM, and Siemens, city developers such as Gale International (Songdo Eco-City), companies like Mubadala Development Company (Masdar City), and organizations like the Ecological Sequestration Trust (TEST, founded 2011) are at the forefront of new, ecological-technological planning and urban transformation for the future. TEST financed the rebuilding of Surat, India's first "smart IT" city, with five hundred million euros. Singapore was also the role model here.⁶

In addition, countless development and consulting firms, such as the previously mentioned Surbana Corporation, are active in this field. Internationally operating architecture and planning offices such as MVRDV (Gwanggyo Ekon Hill), Foster + Partners (Incheon Eco-City), and Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (Meixi Lake, Changsha) are significantly involved in these plans. Supplementing this are numerous associations, universities, and research institutes, such as, for example, the German Fraunhofer Institut, whose joint research project propagates Morgenstadt as the "city of the future market." For them, "the central, guiding question is: How can companies support sustainable and forward-looking urban development through new solutions and models of society?"⁷ Yet what seems downright modest in the case of the Fraunhofer Institut's Morgenstadt has already developed a far greater dynamic in the international context, as the example of the Tianjin Eco-City shows. The eco-city has, however, in the meanwhile, receded into the background somewhat, in favor of so-called smart cities. Whereas eco-cities emphasize sustainability and the realization of environmentally friendly criteria such as the use of renewable energies, the avoidance of emissions, and energy-conserving ways of building, the smart city initiatives accentuate the principle of sustainability, but with other strategies besides the almost now-conventional methods that are meant to be implemented in eco-cities. When it comes to smart cities, the use of digital technology is the main focus, with the intention of "intelligently" steering resources, energy, traffic, and, last but not least, the populace.⁸

Whether eco-city or smart city, the "sustainable city" promises booming business in every case. For instance, in a study done for the British government, the

Arup Group Limited, a global player in technological planning and consulting for the building industry and builders, estimated that the global market for smart city solutions could amount to 408 billion dollars by the year 2020.⁹ In order to assert this kind of market and to colonize cities with digital technologies, this branch of potentially profitable business relies upon support from both state and government, because, with help from the label "smart city," it is not merely about (re)building cities to be sustainable; above all, it is about continuing to privatize public property. Because, entirely by the way, this market promises to unlock gigantic amounts of data—"big data"—which could be used elsewhere, for instance, to research consumer habits or for the social welfare and health systems. For example, this study reckons that, by 2030, chronic illnesses will have doubled in groups of people over the age of seventy-five, opening up yet another profitable market under the concept of "assisted living."¹⁰ At the same time the authors of this study naturally assume that the state budgets for health care will not suffice, due to a "continual recession."¹¹ The use of new technologies in telemedicine, tele-health, and tele-care is supposed to save one billion pounds annually in Great Britain. Here, though, "tele-health" means nothing more than, in the future, medical diagnoses and care will be done with the help of the Internet, which will again generate a great deal more data. In addition, in the future, "smart water" will flow through our pipes—water that has been purified of pharmacological pollution by private companies—while, of course, the allegedly far too low prices for water will be subjected to fundamental revision.¹²

Yet, these are by far not the only possibilities that a "smart" city has to offer. There is potentially more economic profit to be made in constant, real-time surveillance of public spaces and traffic, in registering people's patterns of movement (including facial recognition and identification), all the way to continual surveillance of garbage cans. The increased number of terrorist attacks provides an additional sales pitch. Not only the entire urban outdoors, but residential buildings will also be networked in the smart city, because the focus is, above all, on "private space" and its inhabitants, because they are the consumers that will be asked to pony up, above all else.¹³ This includes, for example, built-in electronic meter readers that will measure energy and water usage. This "smart metering" sounds reasonable at first, but it will lead to extra costs for individual consumers and, as the accounting firm of Ernst & Young confirms,¹⁴ those costs will not be in proportion to the conservation of energy. Even the home energy management systems (HEMS), which will be found everywhere, from energy consumption to stereo equipment, and will control it all, promise not only more profits and data, but also serve to discipline residents, both individually and collectively, as can already be seen in the example of the "intelligent" city of Songdo in South Korea. In addition to her other tasks, the domestic worker will find a new field of activity

here, because the constantly busy resident can always read not only her own usage, but that of her neighbors on the system's display. The new tasks that will confront the domestic worker in the future's "intelligent household" will not, however, diminish the amount of her work, but simply shift it. In the automatized household 4.0, the "Internet of Things" reigns, networking all apparatuses, including humanoid domestic robots, which make sure that things are clean and orderly. Yet these expansions cost not only money, but also so much energy that they make the argument of energy conservation obsolete again, as shown in a study from the International Energy Agency (IEA).¹⁵ They also have to be maintained, controlled, and monitored, so that the domestic worker of the future will also have to be able to repair more than just a broken washing machine in the future.

Besides these challenges, work that involves caring for others, emotional and communicative work, will also have increasing significance in the future, but the eco- and smart city concepts do not take these into account, just as they ignore social questions that have yet to be posed. Ultimately, only a very small portion of the population will be able to afford this kind of techno-ecological "progress" and life in one of these green urban containers, because eco- and smart cities are primarily based on entrepreneurship and investment. In order to heighten their attraction, tax advantages such as those offered in the special economic zone of Tianjin Eco-City will be offered to residents and businesses, along with reduced sales prices for property and special financial support programs. "Sustainability" is the label used to sell these model cities, and it serves the purpose of opening up new fields of business and building international economic relationships. As a concept, sustainability has become an empty symbol, a concept void of meaning, because only in the smallest number of cases is the chain of resource consumption, the ecological footprint on the environment and climate,¹⁶ actually calculated in its entirety. Also, when it comes to energy production, there is hardly any reliance on local autarchy, decentralization, and freedom from dependence upon for-profit corporations, even though this has long been possible.¹⁷ Of course there are occasional attempts to use sustainable, ecologically friendly systems instead of high tech to build urban supply systems—such as, for example, using plants and wetlands in water treatment, or deploying strictly local energy production systems. But the overwhelming number of eco- and smart city projects are based on equipping them with ever more technology and the ideology of uninterrupted growth, which, in turn, causes even more destruction of the environment. Eco- and smart cities are privatized enclaves where the wealthy sectors of the population believe they can live in safety. Encounters with "others" and "foreigners," which the sociologist Georg Simmel has identified as still being one of the essential signs of urban spaces, are no longer provided for here. The

fantasy of an environment that can be controlled by technology, which is the foundation for these types of plans, is also in accordance with re-traditionalized family policies, because the "low carbon eco-family"¹⁸—the healthy, energy-conscious, heterosexual, small family is at the heart of the lifestyles in these kinds of cities.



Superior Cities



A figure shrouded from head to foot in a black robe, viewed from behind, stands on a terrace. The type of clothing, the shape of the body, and the uncovered hand curved slightly inward with a golden ring clearly recognizable on the ring finger all indicate that it is a woman. Rays of sunshine streaming diagonally from above through a terrace roof made of wooden beams and glass panels strike the head and upper body, thus giving the body somewhat more contour and three-dimensionality. The woman is standing on the outer right in the foreground of the picture, in a dark corner of the terrace, and at a distance from a low, solid, light-brown balustrade. The position of her head indicates that she is looking into the distance, although it is not possible to recognize at what exactly she is looking. In front of her, a plain, partially forested with palm trees and with a solar farm erected on it, in the distance extends to a hazy horizon. To the right and sideways in the picture one can see four-story concrete buildings in simple stack construction, whose protruding terraces lead toward green, forested groves. In front of her, and at the center of the picture, situated below this terrace, it is possible to see another rooftop terrace, on which men in white robes and men and women in Western clothing are casually standing around in small groups. To the woman's left, on the same terrace, which extends further at a right angle, one sees a couple illuminated by the sun in a frontal view. The man is wearing a short-sleeved orange shirt and khaki trousers, the woman a light-blue blouse with half sleeves and trousers made from the same material. They are standing directly next to one another, both leaning slightly forward, with their faces turned to the girl standing at their side gazing up at the two of them. In her arms, the girl is holding a white pillow taken from one of the wicker chairs that are arranged around a round tray with an oriental-looking teapot and tea service. The man has placed one arm caringly on the girl's shoulders. The picture with couple and child is rendered in a photo-realistic manner and is visually enhanced by the direction of the lighting. In the background, it is possible to see yet another rooftop terrace, on which two men are talking to one another, both of them wearing the traditional red-and-white-checked kaffiyeh.

The woman dressed in black is isolated and depersonalized as a result of the back view as well as her clothing. She is neither part of the gathering on the rooftop terrace, at which apparently only Western women are permitted, nor is she part of the small family or the pair of men in the background. The way she is presented contrasts distinctly with the almost mythically illuminated small Western family on the left side of the picture and with the gathering on the rooftop terrace in the middle of the image. On the one hand, the depiction conveys a harmonic encounter between the “Occident” and the “Orient”; on the other, it tells of the Arab woman, who remains excluded from this harmony. What is being addressed with this picture is not a modernized version of Orientalism. What is generated instead is a staging charged by gender and family that establishes a contrast between the depersonalized, excluded Arab woman and the small European family.

The other renderings¹ for Masdar City, the emission-free city of the future, which was designed for the most part by the British planning firm Foster + Partners, on behalf of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, also play on the keyboard of cultural opposites—Eurocentric-Western internationality versus local traditionality, which is expressed in the clothing and habits of the individuals portrayed.

Masdar City, located in the hinterland of the center of the city of Abu Dhabi, is supposed to become a hub for scientific institutions and businesses in the ecological sector: a free-trade zone without corporate or individual taxation or other restrictions—a place to live and work for 40,000 inhabitants, an additional 50,000 commuters, as well as 2,800 students. A small portion has already been built, and some Western corporations such as Siemens AG or the space, aeronautics, and defense company Lockheed Martin have already leased space.

Visible in the visualizations of Masdar City are predominantly Western businessmen in business suits and local men in traditional white robes with head covering.² If local women are depicted, they wear the abaya, the traditional black robe, as a matter of principle—and it is also possible to see some women in Western clothing, sometimes in business pantsuits. The atmosphere that is constructed here focuses on business activity and hustle and bustle. The role of local women is limited to shopping and caring for children.

In reality, the government of Abu Dhabi, the capital of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and of the United Arab Emirates, has actually long since recognized that it is not possible to do without the participation of local woman in working life in the long term. Their employment rate therefore rose from 9.6 percent in 1986 to 33.4 percent in 2007.³ The equal participation of women in work and business life is stipulated by law, and women have in the meantime come to be represented on a political level in the government cabinet and above all in the Federal National Council.⁴ Nonetheless, the situation of local women remains a balancing act

between Western-oriented modernization and a patriarchal, Islamic-tribal family model, since: “The Arab family can be described as patriarchal, pyramidically hierarchal with regard to age and sex, and extended. Despite movements toward a more Westernized nuclear family, the extended family remains important. Although families may have established their own households, they nevertheless maintain the concept of extension by considering their own kin as being worthy of the most attention, of being confided in, and of their allegiance.”⁵ The importance of family is also indicated by the birthrate of local women, which, with 31.6 births per 1,000 citizens,⁶ continues to be comparatively high; in the European Union, this rate stands, in contrast, at 10.2 births.⁷ The family model, which is widespread in the Arab world, is also reflected in the Sharia legal system, which is also applies to private affairs in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi: a federal constitutional monarchy (with an estimated gross domestic product of 402 billion US dollars in 2014), which predominantly adheres to Sunni Islam. While polygamy is permitted for men, extramarital sex is still a crime. Women who have illegitimate children can be put in prison, or expelled from the country.⁸ Presumably as a reaction to the growing number of women who are now working and studying, a law requiring mothers to breastfeed for two years was passed at the end of 2014, ostensibly in order to protect the rights of children.⁹ Violence against women is permitted, provided that, as a Sharia court recently determined, it leaves no physical scars. Female non-citizens also have barely any chance of receiving state or legal support in the case of domestic violence.¹⁰ And homosexuality, cross-dressing, and transsexuality are criminalized by both the secular and the Sharia legal system, and are punishable with fines, expulsion from the country, imprisonment, or even the death penalty.

All the groups who make up the majority of the population in Abu Dhabi and the United Arab Emirates as a whole are excluded from the visualizations of Masdar City. In the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, only circa nineteen percent of the population are citizens. The rest of the 2.65 million people who live there (of them 62 percent in the Abu Dhabi region) only have temporary work and residence visas,¹¹ in part even over generations, or are there illegally. Due to the large share of male migrant workers, above all from Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent, men comprise 66.5 percent of the population in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi. Furthermore, according to a report released in 2014 by the Human Rights Watch organization, at least 146,000 women work in the United Arab Emirates as domestic workers; they are predominantly recruited from Asia and Africa with promises of high wages and good working conditions. In contrast to local women, quite a few of these domestic workers experience special forms of abuse. Their passports are withheld, they don’t receive their wages or the free days to which they are entitled; they are robbed of their freedom, deprived of food, receive no proper

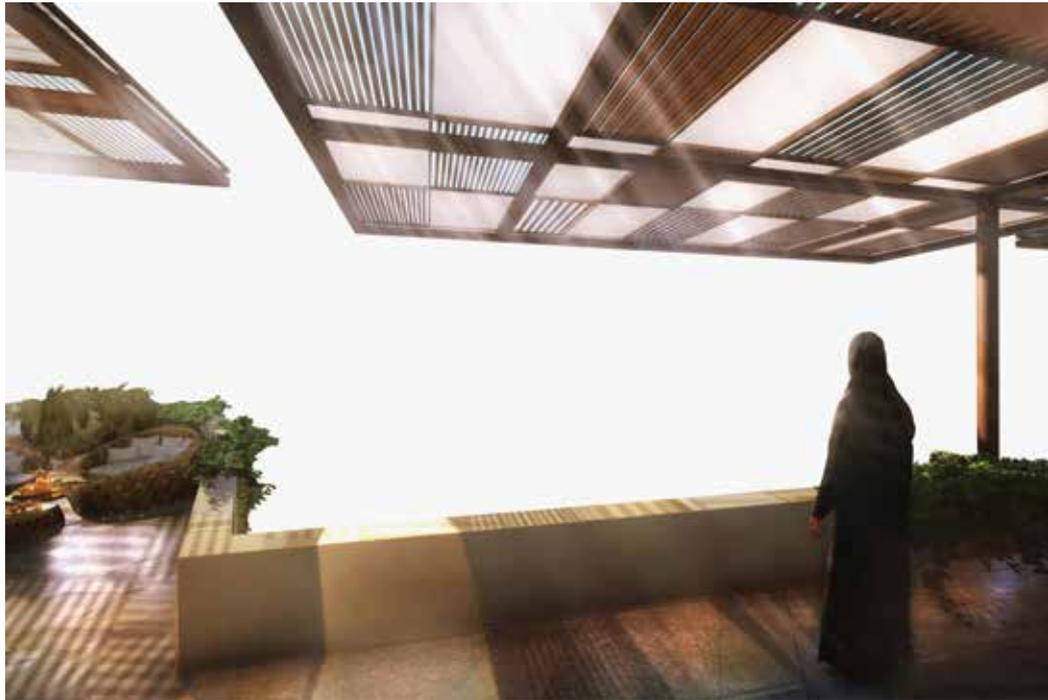
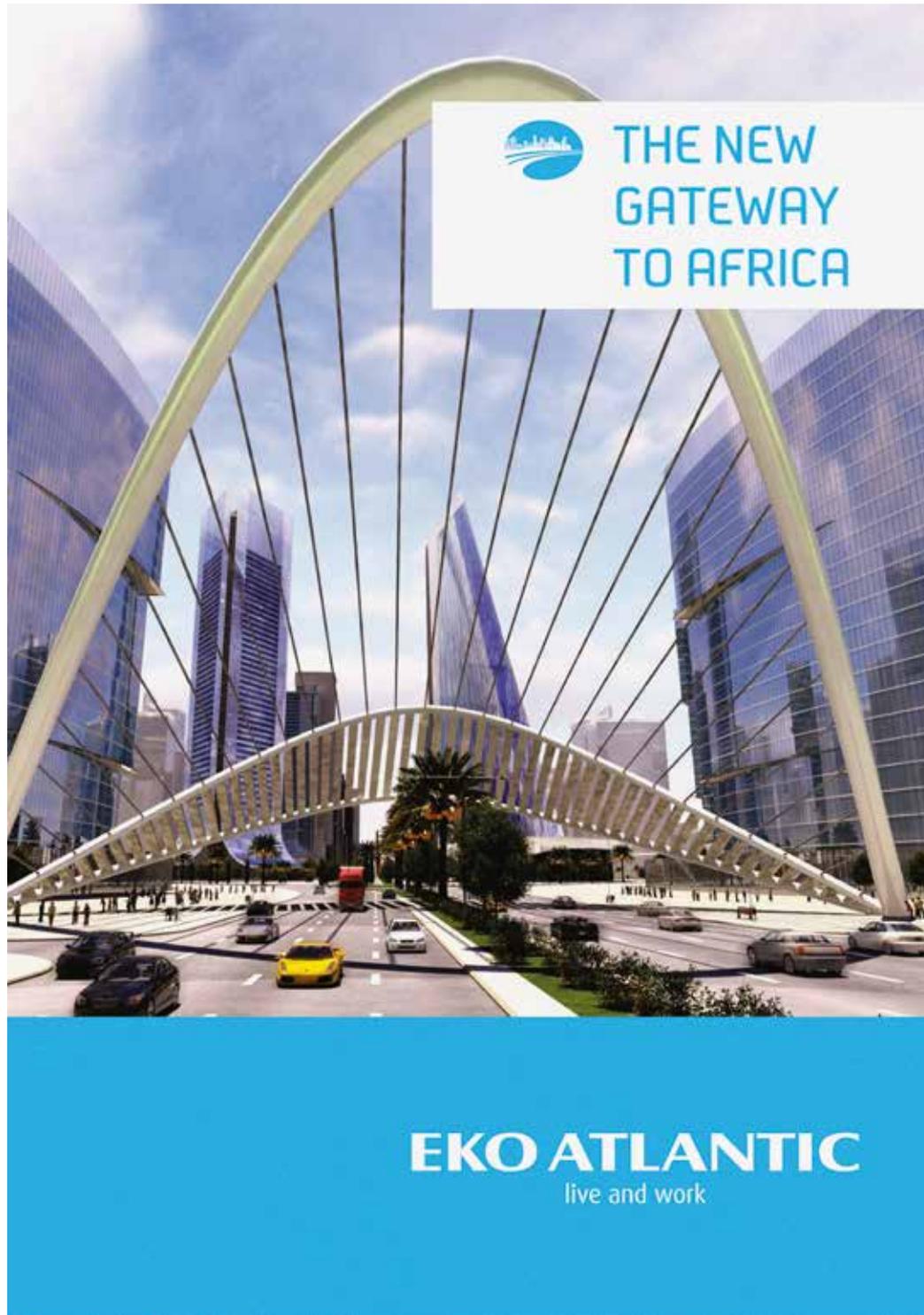


Image analysis: "Masdar City - What's Next?"

medical care in case of illness, are poorly housed, or become victims of sexual violence. Domestic workers are also exempted from the applicable employment protection laws.¹² These conditions, as described by domestic workers, are officially contested, just as are the frequently catastrophic working conditions for male workers. While woman migrants are subjected to exploitative and violent circumstances within the home, male migrants have the advantage that they are not isolated, so that strikes do take place on construction sites from time to time. Their working conditions are poor, as already the third investigation by Human Rights Watch shows.¹³ Following massive international criticism¹⁴ of the working conditions at the construction sites on Saadiyat Island, the future destination for education, tourism, and culture—the Louvre and Guggenheim Museum Abu Dhabi are being built here, among others institutions—the government erected an exemplary container camp for 7,500 workers, the Saadiyat Accommodation Village. Many other workers, however, continue to live outside of this exemplary camp, and Saadiyat Island is not the only construction site in the Arab Emirates or on the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁵ The undignified, in part slave-like life of domestic and other workers¹⁶ is accepted as regrettable, but necessary collateral damage. The Masdar City construction site has at least seen the introduction of heat stress awareness campaigns for workers.

Masdar City is supposed to become another highlight of contemporary architecture and urban planning, with which Abu Dhabi presents itself as a modern international center for trade, finance, and tourism, as a techno-ecological showcase city of the twenty-first century.¹⁷ Masdar City is part of a new economic strategy to free the Emirates from their reliance on oil exports.¹⁸ Another reason for building Masdar City is the huge damage to the environment that United Arab Emirates cause, since they not only have the worst CO₂ footprint worldwide, but also produce the most waste. The luxurious lifestyle of the local population and the progressive suburbanization due to the construction of villas, which are allotted to every local family, also results in an immense consumption of water. From an international perspective, Masdar City is therefore supposed to represent a square, compact prime example of environmentally sustainable urban development, and also assume a role-model function within the Emirates. In light of the economic crisis, which also affected Abu Dhabi, the master planning for Masdar City has been modified multiple times since 2008, including a reduction of the ecological requirements, and only a small part of the planning has been realized thus far. The social dimension of Masdar City is also questionable, since, in this new, delimited and segregated city, homes and lives for the service personnel required for its upkeep are not envisioned. They will probably, as the others up to now as well, be housed outside the city in special segregated workers settlements.

Much more promising in this respect is the planning for the new Capital City District, which is supposed to accommodate 370,000 inhabitants on an area of forty-five square kilometers, and, separated by a highway, also partially borders Masdar City. In this new city, “complete communities” and all the income groups in the heterogeneous population of Abu Dhabi, including guest workers, are supposed to find a home.¹⁹ This master-plan-based city has, entirely in keeping with the ideal type of Arab-Islamic urban planning, a circle framed by ring roads as its center, which can be reached via seven boulevards, as a reference to the seven emirates. Envisioned here are a central business center and, opposite it, a souk district in low construction. Above the central axis in the direction of the main island of Abu Dhabi is a government district and, next to it, a district with sports facilities is planned, while in the other direction on this axis, there is a residential district and below it a mosque district with a central mosque, which is supposed to represent the national Islamic identity of the Emirates. Cultural and governmental institutions are foreseen in the center of the circle. The southern section consists of residential districts in low construction, whereby mosques and women and youth centers, all reachable on foot, are planned for each district. Naturally, in this new city, the fundamental principles of sustainability and a “natural environment, economic development, and cultural heritage” are also supposed to be made reality.²⁰ According to the plans of the now deceased Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan and his currently governing son, Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, this “grand design” is supposed to finally make Abu Dhabi into a global city.²¹ The design of this new city, however, resembles a kind of enlarged Bentham’s Panopticon, at whose center stands a patriarchal neopatrimonialism that solicitously plans, organizes, administrates, and monitors his subjects and their lives. The designs for Masdar City and Capital City District are based on an idea of city that was already described by the Arab philosopher Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (circa 870 to 950): “The excellent city resembles the perfect and healthy body, all of whose limbs co-operate to make the life of the animal perfect and to preserve it in this state. . . . The heart comes to be first and becomes then the cause of the existence of the other organs and limbs of the body, and the cause or the existence of their faculties in them and of their arrangement in the ranks proper to them, and when one of its organs is out of order, it is the heart which provides the means to remove that disorder. In the same way the ruler of this city must come to be in the first instance. . . .”²² In Abu Dhabi, it is also unlikely that anything fundamental will change in the future.



Urban Visions

African countries also want to finally connect with Western standards and plug into the success stories of Arab and Asian countries. In Nigeria, for example, plans are in place for “a new gateway to Africa” at the portal to Lagos with support of the government and planning by South Energyx Nigeria. The new city promises to rise “like Aphrodite from the foam of the Atlantic,” in the words of the Nigerian Nobel Laureate in Literature Akinwande Oluwole “Wole” Babatunde Soyinka, as printed on the website of the project Eko Atlantic.¹ Funded purely through private investment, 150,000 income-producing jobs and housing for around 250,000 residents are planned. The South Energyx Nigeria as a subsidiary of the Chagoury Group, a multinational business conglomerate with headquarters in Lagos (founded in 1971 by a white Lebanese-Nigerian entrepreneur), was granted a license by the government to develop and plan this new city. The project is to be financed with capital from local banks and the involvement of Belgium’s largest bank, BNP Paribas Fortis (a subsidiary of BNP Paribas, based in Paris, one of the biggest internationally operating banks in the world). The design of Eko Atlantic provides for ten districts with business centers, downtown areas, and residential areas, as well as a “high-end” harbor with waterpark. It goes without saying that this new city will also offer a broad selection of upscale hotels, shopping malls, bars, restaurants, theaters, cinemas, and seaside promenades. The rather visually diffuse design of this new enclave with its skyscrapers is reminiscent of Manhattan; and on the recently updated project website, one of the ten future districts is even advertised as a “Mini Manhattan.” And the name “Eko” does not originate from the term “ecological” but was actually the old name of the City of Lagos, which means “manioc plantation” in the Yoruba language.² Naturally, the project also advertises the intention to build in a sustainable way and to minimize the ecological footprint “with the use of environmentally-efficient construction methods and locally sourced materials where available and appropriate.”³ This noncommittal is even surpassed by the circumstance that this new city—according to the project website, a “master-planned” city—is being built on a peninsula, which has already been separated from the Atlantic by a man-made wall and connected to the already existing financial and business center

Victoria Island. To erect the wall alone, 35,000 tons of stone were needed, and for the backfill behind the wall over 140 million tons of sand.⁴ Sand from the sea and from rivers (desert sand is not suitable for mixing concrete) has meanwhile become a hotly contested and quickly waning resource due to a global construction industry on the rise. Environmental expert Kiran Pereira notes that: "World-wide sand consumption amounts to 15,000,000,000 tons per year. This amount is so enormous that it actually exceeds the powers of imagination. How much are 15,000,000,000 tons per year? We don't know because no other resource is consumed in such giant amounts. Except perhaps water."⁵ Both the official and the illegal removal of sand along the coasts of Africa, but also Australia, Asia, and countless rivers and river deltas, leads to the destruction of fish populations, permanently erodes the beaches and coastlines, and affects the water supply. The ramifications of this practice are already noticeable and will eventually lead to the total disappearance of beaches in the long term, as 75 to 90 percent of beaches are already immersed in a process of retreat and reduction today, as geologist Gary Griggs has determined. The construction of Eko Atlantic will likewise lead to a change in the complex coastal and marshland situation in Lagos with yet unforeseen consequences. Indeed, even before this area was targeted for building the coast had been plagued by flooding. Yet this did not stop the former US President and founder of the Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation, which is committed to climate protection among other causes, from supporting the future construction of Eko Atlantic.⁶ As Bill Clinton stated during the official ceremony celebrating the commencement of construction on the "Great Wall": "It is a commitment that will eventually not only help to brand Nigeria as a country of the 21st century, but by having people come here from all over the world, it will help people understand that there are affordable even profitable ways to live in harmony with a new natural reality and make it work for ordinary people."⁷

This large-scale project stands in sharp contrast not only to basic ecological principles, but also to the urban structure of Lagos and the circumstances of most city residents. The metropolis of Lagos, which is comprised of sixteen Local Government Areas, is part of the State of Lagos. The actual number of people living in the metropolis is disputed. Various figures are available, ranging from 10 to 17 million residents. Even if the immigration rate has dropped, Lagos is still considered to be one of the fastest growing cities in the world. According to estimates, there is actually a lack of 8 million housing units, and in all of Nigeria 17 million housing units are still needed. Lagos is considered to be one of the "slum capitals" of the world, for in Nigeria between 60 and 70 percent of the inhabitants live in informal settlements. Over 72 percent of households have only a single room available. In the year 2006, only around 19 percent of households had running water, only 38 percent a flushing toilet, and nearly 73 percent had to

dispose of their own refuse somehow.⁸ A decade later, not much is likely to have changed. Many people are forced to buy drinking water at high prices or to accept long distances to reach a water supply location. Air pollution is very high because of the many industrial plants. Lagos is situated at the Atlantic Ocean and is moreover built on undrained marshland, which regularly leads to flooding, now worsened by climate change.

Although the Nigerian economy has grown, what has risen even more is the unemployment of youth, especially of young women, even if statistics on employment are controversial.⁹ Most Nigerians have to somehow keep themselves above water, which is why many people, notably women, work in the informal sector. Rental and home prices are extremely high, with 60 percent of the (recorded) residents of Lagos living in rental housing, for which they must expend between 50 to 70 percent of their income.¹⁰ Even land prices have risen enormously, so that not even people from the middle class can afford to build a house. There is also the high and still rising prices for building materials like sand and cement, about half of which is imported. Corruption and inadequate legislation likewise contribute, among other factors, to heightened land speculation.

The formation of slums not only results from migration, but also from a lack of political will and misdirected bureaucracy, corruption, inadequate legislation, and defective financial and planning instruments. Moreover, in Nigeria's largest cities a politics of displacement has been prevalent, which is frequently enforced by armed police. This was the case in the year 2010, for example, when a settlement in the Makoko region of Yaba-Lagos was violently demolished, leading to one death and numerous injuries,¹¹ and also to the displacement of 100,000 people.¹² Even today, informal settlements are still being destroyed (such as Badia East in Lagos near the end of 2015) and their residents left behind without compensation, or very little, in almost all cases—and this despite millions of dollars being funneled into slum upgrading projects, such as those financed by the World Bank. However, when it comes to improving the conditions prevalent in informal settlements, a top-down political approach that ignores the local circumstances, the needs of residents, and the issue of gender will inevitably prove counterproductive since it exacerbates the situation rather than improving it. This especially applies to women dwelling in such areas, who struggle with a variety of problems in an attempt to secure their survival and that of their children. Like in other sub-Saharan countries, a disproportionate number of poor households in Nigeria are headed by a single woman.¹³ Women make up 75 percent of Nigeria's impoverished population, the highest share. Poverty is a gender issue, and not only in Nigeria, since women and men are affected by poverty in different ways. So when informal settlements are destroyed, women are deprived not only of

exceptionally modest living space, but also of their access to informal economies, for under the label of urban renewal more than just settlements are destroyed—and also markets and informal trading opportunities, which frequently signify the only means of income for these women.¹⁴

Considering this background, the large-scale urban project Eko Atlantic is an example of the utterly excessive planning of an enclave for the wealthy. And not only scientists and coastal experts have offered resistance to the project. In Nigeria, the human rights organization Legal Defense and Assistance Project,¹⁵ founded in 1997 by several lawyers and now boasting 1,700 activists, has filed suit in the Federal High Court of Lagos because the statutory Environmental Impact Assessment is missing—out of concern that the very existence of the communities living along the coast could be in danger due to potential environmental damage.

Kenya, too, wants to get into the game. About 64 kilometers from the Kenyan capital—“where the African savanna begins”—an African technology hub is to be created: “Konza Techno City will be a sustainable, world-class technology hub and a major economic driver for Kenya with a vibrant mix of businesses, workers, residents, and urban amenities,” as is announced on the official project website.¹⁶ Under the supervision of the state-run Konza Technopolis Development Authority (KOTDA), and with the support of a limited amount of seed capital from the International Finance Corporation (a financing company belonging to the World Bank that promotes economic development and combats poverty), only a 20 square kilometer area has been fenced in and a construction sign erected, nothing more to date. Yet the satellite city Konza Techno City was designed to create 100,000 income-producing jobs and to house 185,000 people. This planning endeavor is the flagship project of Vision 2030, a development plan drafted by the Kenyan government with the aim of creating a “globally competitive and prosperous nation with a high quality of life,”¹⁷ which includes, following the model of China, the establishment of special economic zones (SEZ). And in order to become a “world-class African metropolis,” a vision was also developed for the Kenyan capital, called Nairobi Metro 2030, which has meanwhile been replaced, however, by a revised version¹⁸ issued by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a Japanese development organization. Yet both plans are characterized by a “jaundiced optimism” that fails to address the actual problems, “from housing to traffic to service delivery, let alone poverty,” as a specialist for sub-Saharan countries notes.¹⁹ Part of the vision for Nairobi Metro 2030 is the erection of a satellite city called Tatu City on 1,000 hectares to accommodate 70,000 residents in the future, situated on the site of a former coffee farm in the region surrounding Nairobi. This multibillion investment-based real-estate city will be made up of a housing district and an industrial area. The housing district

for Nairobi upper- and middle-class nuclear families promises an “ideal environment for a family” (visually rendered as father, mother, and two daughters) and a life in a “serene and tranquil gated community” in the style of villa-like US suburbs.²⁰ The husbands can then work in the companies based at the planned park for light industry and logistics. Meanwhile, the Dutch consumer goods company Unilever has signed a memorandum of understanding with Rendeavour, the project developer of Tatu City.²¹ Rendeavour was founded by Stephen Jennings, who was born in New Zealand. In 1995, Jennings moved from Boston, where he had been working as a consultant for Credit Suisse, to Russia and founded, together with three other partners, the private financing and investment bank Renaissance Capital.²² Jennings, who is well networked internationally on the highest political levels, also founded one of the two largest land holdings in Ukraine, the Russian company Ukrainian Agrarian Investments.²³ In the year 2007, the now billionaire Jennings left the Renaissance Group²⁴ and went to Africa, where he founded Rendeavour.²⁵ With a total of 120 square kilometers of owned land, Rendeavour is now, according to their own advertising, Africa’s largest land-development company whose objective is to strengthen economic growth in Africa along with its nascent middle class.²⁶ With this background in mind, it would be petty to remark that the same image material for Kenya’s Tatu City is also used for the project Appolonia – City of Light in Ghana. “Ghana’s Contemporary Urban Oasis,” as the brochure is subtitled, is also an example of “master planning” developed by Rendeavour in the region around Accra. To be established here is a city with 22,000 housing units—with mixed demographics in terms of the income groups living there in the future—built in bungalow and multistory architectural styles. No precise information is given as to what “mixed income groups” actually means. At any rate, the project developer Rendeavour promises, to cite the announcement on their website,²⁷ that Appolonia will be carried out in “partner-based dialogue” with Paramount Chief, the head of the six royal families. The company also vows to take social responsibility and to not abandon the future residents to informational sheets, but to empower them to achieve independence.²⁸ Yet concealed behind these concepts, which are modeled after US gated communities, is a whole other business field, namely, bank lending. However, only 10 percent of all Kenyans earn enough to be able to afford the average monthly mortgage for a simple home, let alone a house in Tatu City.²⁹

In Africa there is also already a ghost town of sorts, the Nova Cidade do Kilamba Kiaxi in Angola, located 30 kilometers from Luanda. This project was designed by the Portuguese planning office TPF Planege and built by the Chinese state-owned CITIC Group Corporation³⁰ for 3.5 billion US dollars in the scope of an oil-for-infrastructure deal. Conceived to house 200,000 residents, only 80,000 have moved in so far according to official estimates. And this only happened after the

sales prices were reduced and purchasing was no longer limited to government employees. The “typical resident is a thirty-year old, well-educated Luandan, employed in the formal sector, often with a young family.”³¹ However, over 50 per cent of Luandans remain impoverished and subsist on less than 2 US dollars per day, meaning that only very few can afford to live in this new city.

A heavy burden thus rests on the urban revolution evoked by state elites and businesses in Africa, for “poverty, informality and the absence of a strong local state with a clear and unchallenged mandate to manage the city are the leitmotifs of African urbanism today.”³² Even colonialism is still virulent in out-of-date planning legislation, land law, and in the supremacy of cities that originates from the age of colonial rule. The question of land was already a central issue in colonial times, especially during the period between 1880 and 1960.³³ In the early twentieth century, the British crown ruled “over a fifth to a fourth of humanity on this planet; France was in possession of an imperium spanning 11 million square kilometers with 100 million citizens and subjects; Belgian Congo was 73 times as big as Belgium.”³⁴ The latter case even involved private property, for the Congo Conference held from November 1884 to February 1885, by invitation of Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, legitimated the privatization of this area by the Belgian King Leopold II. His reign as an independent gentleman over a slave state has gone down in the history of European colonialism due to the extreme brutality with which the Africans living there were exploited, mistreated, and massacred.³⁵ The German Reich, in turn, was a latecomer to the imperial competition among the European powers. In 1884, it bowed to pressure from the colonial associations and, in no time at all, the Wilhelmine realm was governing an area of land that with its “2.9 million square kilometers was six times as large as the ‘motherland’ itself.”³⁶ Going hand in hand with German colonial rule in East and Southwest Africa was the genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples to which 100,000 fell victim.³⁷ In fact, in German and European historiography, the participation of the colonized peoples in the First and Second World Wars is hardly ever thematized, for they are still interpreted as European-white wars.³⁸ Usually mentioned only as an aside is the fact that colonialism was a homosocial-male project³⁹ associated with the projection that non-Europeans, viewed as immoral, abnormal, sexually driven, and erotic, were just waiting to be penetrated.⁴⁰ This sexualized projection, which was based on a patriarchal, misogynous, and racist practice of forced servitude, sexual exploitation, and annihilation, was then packaged as “literary” and “artistic” exoticism and orientalism. Even a whole generation of so-called researchers, medical experts, and scientists of various provenance were involved in the colonial project.⁴¹ White, middle-class women, by contrast, were not integrated into colonial rule on site until much later, in order to avoid miscegenation, “racial blending,” and immorality and to prevent the *Verkafferung*⁴² of

white masculinity. Colonial discourse is still alive today, evident for instance in statements made in 2007 by the President of the French Republic at the time, Nicolas Sarkozy, to young Africans in Dakar.⁴³ He was following the old narrative that Africans lack history and are naïve in a childlike way. Another fictional idea sees the African continent as wilderness with great desolate stretches of land and hardly any people, or none at all. Less well researched, in turn, is the history of precolonial African cities,⁴⁴ including their specific dynamics, elements, and urban structures, as well as the relationship between local urbanism and colonial urbanization.⁴⁵ The treatment of land and land laws was also based on other principles, as land acquisition was embedded in a network of social relations—quite different from the Westphalian national system, the introduction of which went hand in hand with colonial landgrab and was based on the concept of private and state ownership.⁴⁶

In Africa, urbanization processes⁴⁷ take a different course, not least due to colonial history and the legacy of colonial urban planning, than for instance in Asia, where state control and administration act in a much more pronounced and targeted way than in many African countries. Lacking here is often an appropriate political consciousness and a coherent strategic planning politics⁴⁸ in dealing with urbanization: “Taken together, the complex urban governance regimes, diffuse fiscal interests, rapid growth of the population and pent-up poverty create a volatile cocktail that should make the African urban revolution a key global issue.”⁴⁹ This also applies to historically shifting viewpoints and to politics in relation to the informal urban sector, as Deborah Potts points out.⁵⁰ Underlying this is a dualism that considers the spheres of informal economies and the modern capitalist production spheres based on wage labor as being separate. Such dualism continues to provide the backdrop for structural adjustment policies, especially in the sub-Saharan countries, as initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund starting in the 1980s. This was nothing more than the implementation of neoliberal principles of austerity politics, including wage cuts and privatization. Even if the consequences of this approach differ from country to country, the politics of opening markets while simultaneously reducing state expenditures leads, when viewed as a whole, to declining gross domestic products and, at times, to the dramatic loss of regularly paid jobs, in both rural and urban settings. At the same time, in the sub-Saharan countries, participation (of women and children especially) in the informal work sector rises, and even individuals with regular jobs often must also carry out informal work on the side. State politics promoting “market freedom” does not apply to forms of informally ensuring survival, as Potts demonstrates with reference to numerous studies. For example, street trading, which is usually run by women, and beer brewing are monitored as illegal activities, traders banished, and markets closed in favor of registered

marketplaces and stores, the rents of which many women cannot afford. Even if the source data situation is insufficient and does not lend itself to comparison, it is still possible to determine, according to Potts, that a rise in urban population is accompanied by a rise in jobs in the informal sector, so that more people than ever before are engaging in informal economies. Potts also points out that labor and its categorization in formal/informal, as is often undertaken in allusion to the European/US model, is insufficient in describing the situation in Africa because even paid jobs are neither economically adequate nor guaranteed.

Achieving balance between national and local-municipal politics likewise proves challenging in many African countries, meaning that the division of functions and tasks between government and administration remains highly problematic on many different levels, which leads to conflicts, misalignment, and inefficiency.⁵¹ And this against the background that most Africans cannot rely on support from the state but are instead forced to navigate a plexus of power relations, which additionally impedes the assertion of their interests through civic organization. In view of decades-long economic stagnation “as a result of active mismanagement, highly disadvantaged connections with the global economy, rent-seeking and profligate elites and limited fixed investments manifesting as systemic dysfunctionality,”⁵² a critical stance is called for when it comes to the way in which Africa’s elites have embraced the private sector or the many privatizations and direct investments from foreign sources seen in recent years. These investments pertain not only to the construction of new urban estates, but also to the building of dams and harbors for the container shipping industry, at which China excels in particular.⁵³ For example, in the Republic of Congo a dam project is planned called Grand Inga at a projected cost of 80 billion US dollars and with the support of the World Bank. The dam, with its hydroelectric power station, will exceed the performance of China’s Three Gorges Dam by more than twofold.⁵⁴ The fact that there are problematic issues related to dam building is nothing new, and today renewable and decentralized systems of energy generation that are also much more sustainable could be implemented. Even the planned harbor projects, for instance in Tanzania, Mozambique, or Cameroon, which were justified to the public as serving the ends of advancing industrialization, economic upswing, and the creation of gainful employment, actually provide more of a means for benefiting from public subsidies and creating new import markets for foreign companies, instead of introducing sustainable economic development. The African public has expressed criticism that many of these projects are utterly oversized, that the local and national conditions and needs of the people are being ignored, and that these projects are pushed through without transparency and citizen involvement. However, this hardly concerns investors, for “whoever has the cranes, has the continent,” as a French corporate representative once declared.⁵⁵ In

face of the continuing poverty and insufficient housing conditions to which many Africans are still subjected out of necessity, the examples of urban projects explored here appear to be an expression of postcolonial, neoliberalized, and at times phantasmagoric urbanism.⁵⁶ Also, the city planner Vanessa Watson critically notes the following in reference to this speculative urbanism and her own related research: “Africa’s larger cities seem to be entering a new era of change, driven by the continent’s own economic growth and emerging middle class as well as an international property development and finance sector in search of new markets. The urban visions and plans that this confluence of interests has produced stand in dramatic contrast to the lived reality of most urbanites, and while their impacts are likely to be complex and contradictory, what seems most likely is that the majority of urban populations will find themselves further disadvantaged and marginalized.”⁵⁷

City of Joy

THE GREAT INDIAN FAMILY HOME.

A big family needs a big house. One with enough bedrooms so everyone, including the help, can have their own space. And more than two bathrooms, because nobody likes to fight early in the morning. At Bhartiya City, we've built a Nikoo Home that has all that and more. It has a spacious living room perfect for spending time together, and an Italian kitchen that anyone would love to cook in. To know more, walk into the Discovery Centre on location. *Rs.90 L onwards.*



A woman is standing on a wood-paneled terrace framed by a balustrade of transparent panes of glass. She is tall and is wearing a floor-length sleeveless dress in shimmering red flowing around her body toward the back. She has long black hair, bound together at the back of her head. Her posture is erect, with her right arm along her back, turned slightly inward, the back partially exposed. The woman is gazing off into the distance. Her face is not visible since we see her only from behind. Visible along the left edge of the picture are trees and shrubs with blossoms in white and a delicate shade of pink. Behind this greenery, quite proximate to the woman, is a young girl who is partially concealed by the blossoms and the lush green leaves of the fern. Like the woman, the girl is clad in red and has the same black hair, though worn open instead of tied. Her face is shown in profile. The girl is watching the woman gazing into the distance, or she is looking into the distance herself. Clothing, appearance, and hair all seem to indicate that she is the woman's daughter. The girl remains at a respectful distance to her mother, perhaps because she would rather not disturb her reverie. The mother is positioned at the beginning of a visual axis that runs at a slant to the right, extending deep into the picture. This visual axis simultaneously forms the central axis of a park. The terrace on which the mother and daughter are standing is sufficiently high to provide an overview of the park and its design: the flourished basins filled with clear blue water, reminiscent of natural lakes due to their irregular, meandering course, and the almost white, brightly radiating pathways leading around the water, bordered by lawns on which various species of trees are planted. The red of the blossoms on a tree situated in the right image foreground corresponds to the red of the clothing worn by the two individuals. The green-blue park is framed by strictly vertical, tiered residential towers in a gentle shade of gray-white, positioned adjacently in a semicircle that rounds off the end of the park. The pale-blue sky is permeated by misty clouds of transparent white, and the white light, which almost seems to magically attract the flocks of birds flying over the park, enters the picture from the upper right. Discernible on the façades of the residential towers are concrete slabs that project outward horizontally again and again, serving as a repository for trees. No one disrupts the peaceful and rapturous idyll, which only abruptly comes to an end at the frame of the picture.

This rendering is part of a visual and textual narrative about a city—“Bhartiya City – City of Joy”¹—which has been planned by the company Bhartiya Group in India. The construction work, however, is still in its early stages, because like many investor-funded cities, this project is likewise using the “build to order” principle. This means that building commences only after a certain number of apartments have been sold (as many as possible). The entrepreneur Snehdeep Aggarwal, who earned his first money by selling carpets in Germany, founded the Bhartiya² Group in 1987. At the time, it soon grew to become India’s largest manufacturer of leather clothing and leather accessories. Meanwhile, it is a stock-listed company and produces products for many well-known European fashion retailers. In 2008, Aggarwal founded another company, Bhartiya International SEZ, in accord with the government of the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, so as to establish a special economic zone (SEZ)³ for leather processing.⁴ Already two years earlier, Aggarwal had entered the real-estate market; he purchased a plot of 51 hectares to the north of Bangalore and started planning Bhartiya City. Bangalore or Bengaluru, the capital city of the southern Indian state of Karnataka, is the third largest city in India with its 8 million inhabitants, an economic center for the aviation and aerospace industries and also for IT and biotechnology. Bangalore is considered India’s Silicon Valley, which is why a relatively well-earning middle class has become established here, which forms the target group for Bhartiya City.

With the erection of master-planned “communities,” the successful self-made entrepreneur Aggarwal, whose company boasts an annual turnover of over 20 billion USD, wants to expand his business segments and to leverage “his successful learnings in customer-centric design.” Well aligned to the trends of the time, the urban concept of Bhartiya City is therefore based on sustainability and, most especially, on the belief that good design promotes and enhances the happiness of the residents.⁵ For six years, six teams of architects (some from Europe) worked on the planning of Bhartiya City in order to develop a perfectly well-thought-out and designed city along with the accompanying master plan, with no wish left unfulfilled. Inspired by Aggarwal’s stays in Europe, the European urban model—with its mixed usage, densifications, public spaces, and pedestrian-based access systems—and also, according to a website update, “the best parts of the best cities from around the world” served as inspiration and design fundament for his new city.

The area of Bhartiya City is divided into two sections by a main access road. On the whole, the now already developed layout plan features eight districts. One such district, called Nikoo Homes, is designed to offer a densified housing situation augmented by parks, and amphitheater, and an outdoor swimming pool. Two districts are planned for mixed use, including residential buildings, commercial

and service facilities, a conference and financial center, a “Rambla” and a “Celebration Plaza,” and also a cinema. And another two districts will provide space for IT companies. These areas are meant to form the creative-technology center of the city, additionally equipped with a Pencil Park, a Central Park, and a Sports Corner. Finally, there are three other districts: West, East, and South. The West Village functions as a child-friendly residential area with an open market, a school, and residential buildings with luxury apartments. The East Village is advertised as a quiet housing area with a “world-class hospital” and a Carnival Park, in order to utilize the “psychological benefits of colour and natural light.” The South Village will be a bit more lively with parks and play areas, schools, sports facilities, a hotel, and a library. Additionally, there will be “individual elements designed to create a unified and compelling whole.” The spectrum of these elements includes, for example, the Flipside Plaza, South High Street, East Village Park, South Waterfront, Village Park, Riverview Park, Village Walk, Surprise Park, and Village Woods.⁶

Who wouldn’t want to live in this city with its enticing promises? Life in Bhartiya City is colorful, relaxed, and urban—at least in the renderings on the website and in the related brochures published on the Internet. People can live in the luxurious Leela Residencies with spacious apartments and services provided by on-site personnel—or in a less spectacular residential area like the residential high-rise estate Nikoo Homes, which is grouped around the park complex that the woman is viewing in the image described above. This housing estate with a clear vertical emphasis is glorified with the header “The Great Indian Home,” for here the owner and planners have given consideration to the various stages of life of the future residents. The range of apartments offered is “made to fit” and follows the life story of a young, of course male professional who is just now embarking on his career and who, according to a video on the project featuring black-and-white sketches, has just signed a work contract in Bangalore. This well-educated, suave urbanite named Shankar, who thanks to his father was already able to experience some of the world’s large metropolises, is initially somewhat frustrated that he is now back to living in a chaotic Indian city. Luckily, he is able to reside in Bhartiya City after his return, where he can walk through the park to work at the IT technology center. It is also here in Bhartiya City that he meets his future wife; they drink coffee, go shopping together, and enjoy parties at the Black Swan Club. Then comes the inevitable. They get married, and his wife becomes pregnant with twins, who are born at the hospital in Bhartiya City of course. And since the housing options in Bhartiya City are so diverse, it’s no problem for them to move into a larger apartment. Their children can walk to school through gardens and parks. Ultimately, the grandparents even move to Bhartiya City, which makes Shankar particularly happy, because he knows that everything desired is closeby—



Image analysis: Bhartiya City, Nikoo Homes



from art galleries and sushi bars to a waterside promenade and a helicopter pad. Thus Shankar contently lives out the rest of his days in one of the “greatest cities in the world.”⁷

The description of the apartment floor plans of the “Great Family Home” likewise follows the narration told in the video. When the smaller apartments are described, it already becomes clear that the studios and two-room apartments are not planned for singles, but rather as an interim solution for men before they start a family or, at best, as guest apartments.⁸ The three- to four-room apartments, in turn, are “perfect for a small family,” first with one and later with at least two children. The four- to five-room apartments are designed to accommodate extended family with parents, grandparents, and even grandchildren, because “the more options you have the harder it is to arrive at a consensus,” as is asserted in the floor-plan descriptions. This gives the male head of household a great deal to consider: “First, you need to move into a city that has something for all ages. You need to ensure that the city is a safe haven for all. You need a home that can accommodate all comfortably and has the ability to expand. Guests could come in any time, a new grandchild can show up within the matter of a year.”⁹

This gently rendered family ideal underlying the Bhartiya City project is not merely an expression of the owner’s stance. It also reflects a traditional family ideal prevalent in India, which includes three to four generations and, positively connoted, is based on collectivity, family integrity, harmony, and mutual support. However, often hiding behind this image is a patriarchal ideology that insists on decisive gender-differentiated socialization and emphasizes male dominance. This family ideal in fact conflicts with real developments within society. Due to processes of advancing industrialization, technologization, and modernization, traditional family systems in India are also immersed in a state of upheaval.¹⁰ The nuclear family is on the rise, especially in cities, and the number of households run by women has also risen. Even in informal settlements in Bangalore it is notable that 72 percent of families have four family members, 23 percent two family members, and only 20 percent up to seven family members.¹¹ These changes are also reflected by the design of Bhartiya City, which is based on a modernized form of familial ideology, which, for example, certainly presumes that the wife will be working. However, an advertisement for an additional construction phase does without such subtexts; advertised instead is a Home 3.0, with an emphasis on comfort and facilities.

The brightly illustrative and colorfully refreshing design and advertising concept of Bhartiya City is directed toward financially successful classes and their desire



for a city complex that meets Western standards. The owner takes a patriarchal, fatherly approach to thinking about the lives of the future inhabitants of “his” city. However, considering the photographs of the shell construction of the first section of Nikoo Homes being built, now published on the official website, the question arises as to whether life here will really be as luxurious as promised in the descriptive material. Also questionable is whether the diverse offers rendered will actually be realized, and who will finance their maintenance. After all, the housing prices are not easy to afford, even for strong earners. With higher monthly incomes, which in Bangalore runs between 400 and 1,000 euros per month, a buying price of 45,000 euros for an apartment with 58 square meters or almost 120,000 euros for an apartment with 164 square meters may not be totally exorbitant, but it is still high-priced, especially considering that living expenses in Bangalore (without rent) for a single person amount to around 250 euros for an individual person, and around 1,000 euros for a four-member family.¹²

Despite continually rising economic growth and an average increase in household income, inequality has risen in a more pronounced manner in Indian cities



than in rural areas.¹³ New slums and informal settlements have formed, which, however, are frequently left out of statistics. For instance Bangalore, which is part of the Mumbai-Bangalore Industrial Corridor, has 597 acknowledged slum areas, of which only 386 are officially recognized, meaning that residents can register with the state. Meanwhile, the numbers in Bangalore alone have almost doubled to reach 1,000 slums, and this in parallel to a booming real-estate sector, as is found in many larger Indian cities,¹⁴ often going hand in hand with the eviction and displacement of slum residents. Such evictions and “resettlements” are carried out based on a violation of valid national and international laws, as the most recent cases,¹⁵ including those in Bangalore,¹⁶ show. Destroyed in the process are not only accommodations, but also jobs and local supply structures that contribute to the urban economy of Bangalore. As the Housing and Land Rights Network notes in respect to urban development in Bangalore, such acts of illegality apply not only to the informal settlements or unplanned segments of the city, which comprise the largest section of Bangalore’s city area, but also to the planned areas: “It appears that the entire millennial city itself is fundamentally constituted of illegalities. But, unlike unauthorized constructions in the planned city that can be ‘regularised’ and protected by the state, the urban poor in Bangalore, as elsewhere, have to continuously live under the threat of planned eviction and dispossession by the state.”¹⁷

According to the official census of 2011, in India there are 14 million households living in urban slums, both registered and unregistered. This means that 26 percent of the urban residents in India live below the poverty line. The statistics also indicate the decline in poverty rate in urban areas is slower than in rural areas.¹⁸ Moreover, according to the population census of 2011, nearly 11 percent of Indian households are female-headed, that is, households run by women living alone or single mothers, widows, and divorced or displaced women, although their share within the statistics of urban households is slightly higher than in rural settings. Of these households, over 13 percent have no permanent housing, 45 percent are living in one-room accommodations, and 79 percent of the workers who work “at home” and in the informal sector do not even receive the state-mandated minimum wage. At a rate of only 33 percent, the number of women who are able to pursue gainful employment in India (with significant differences notable between the individual Indian states) is very low compared to other national economies. The proportion of employed women has decreased considerably since the mid-2000s, although this decline is stronger than in the case of men¹⁹ and is evident in both rural areas and cities.²⁰ Therefore, economic growth has had a contrary effect on women, at least as regards their engagement in paid employment.²¹ Yet this by no means implies that it is no longer necessary for many of these women to work; rather, they labor in the informal sector and in homes.

Although since the country’s independence the Indian constitution has stipulated equality for men and women, patriarchal structures within class- and group-related affiliations are, despite progressive legislation, still today deeply anchored in society, state, and administration. Even the emphasis on a religiously motivated dichotomy, extending back to colonial times, between house (*ghar*) and world (*bahir*)—between an inner spiritual world (for which women are declared responsible) and an exterior material world—is still prevalent. Such gender symbolism is kept alive by nationalist Hindu movements.²² The spectrum of different local and decentralized women’s movements therefore also ranges from Hindu-nationalist and religious-rightist women’s groups²³ to feminist-autonomous and/or leftist women’s movements, having arisen since the 1970s, that combat the multidimensional discrimination against Indian women.²⁴ Also, the rights of LGBTTQI+ communities and traditional hijras—who are legally recognized as a third gender, even though the highest court in India has stamped them as an obsolete class—still represents contested terrain. Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code in Indian law prohibits not only homosexual sex, but also any form of sexuality besides coitus. An attempt to change this law was once again rejected by India’s national parliament in 2015. Despite modernization attempts and diverse forms of activism, many long-known problems remain in place, and some are even on the rise. This pertains mainly to sexualized violence in the family, but also in public space and on public means of transport.²⁵ According to the official statistics of the National Crime Records Bureau,²⁶ every single day over 900 Indian women were victimized by sexual harassment, kidnapping, dowry killings, violent husbands, rape, and murder in the year 2014, although the actual rates are likely much higher. Not only poor safety, but also a lack of social housing and residential construction, inadequate supply of fundamental infrastructure like water provisions and sanitary facilities, affects mainly women, children, and groups deviating from the norm. What is more, ignorance, corruption, and a lack of efficiency on the part of municipal authorities, as well as flawed urban planning, curtail their “right to city and land.”

Even residents of informal settlements have very clear ideas about their needs and about what is necessary—provided that they are even asked to begin with. The program Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY),²⁷ implemented by the Indian government in 2013 in order to make India slum-free by the year 2022 and which also, besides financial support, promises the free allocation of houses, will more than likely fail—not only due to bureaucracy and corruption, but also because of a top-down planning approach. Although the program provides for the direct participation of the respective communities, experience has shown (not only in India) how easy it is to make such participation ineffective. Upon closer consideration, the suspicion arises that only one thing is important here: freeing up additional

attractive city areas for the urban elites and banishing unwanted segments of the population—lawfully and in consultation with the affected parties—in order to thus further advance profit-motivated urbanization in India.



Image analysis: Bhartiya City, Nikoo Homes



Good Life

Back to Europe and to a planned project that, in terms of the qualities it features, offers the most parameters. Set for construction on 240 hectares at a large former airfield on the eastern side of Vienna is “a new, multifunctional urban district with high class apartments and broad areas for offices, production and service business, science, research and education.”¹ To be built here are 10,500 “high class apartments” for 20,000 residents, and 20,000 paid jobs will be created—in short, “A worthwhile investment!,” as the project-development corporation Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG declares on their website. This corporation is a conglomerate of purely commercial entities and entrepreneurial companies owned by the state, making it a kind of private-public partnership project.² On the whole, 5 million euros must be invested in order to realize Seestadt Aspern—or Aspern Urban Lakeside—by the year 2028.

Already in 2003 a strategic environmental assessment was conducted, which was included in Vienna’s urban-development plan (STEP 05) issued in 2005, followed by a two-tiered urban-planning negotiation process.³ The first stage involved a Europe-wide call for proposals, from which ten teams were selected that participated in the second stage by drafting and presenting an urban-planning design, which was in turn assessed by an evaluation commission.⁴ The design by the Swedish planning firm Tovatt Architects & Planners won the competition and was officially adopted, in its revised form, as the “Master Plan for the Aspern Airfield” by the Vienna City Council in 2007.

From the outset, the project and the concept of the master plan were not without controversy. Essentially, the project is a kind of densified container city with an inner ring road and closed block perimeter developments, some of which are open to the inside. The design is based on relatively strict urban planning and urban order/compactness that is “modelled on the image of the late 19th century metropolis”⁵ and is combined with garden city elements—an approach that is also pursued by representatives of New Urbanism. At the heart of this city is an artificially created lake, counteracting the urban structure with a natural element

that is continued along two axes, disrupting the development as green areas.⁶ However, it is questionable as to whether such a central element actually represents an identity-fostering urban center.⁷

As compared to many other twentieth-century city projects, the planerly guiding principles of Aspern Urban Lakeside accordingly follow a program firmly root in urban planning, a “system of urban planning values.”⁸ In addition to the almost obligatory mention of sustainability, the essential guiding principles are: “the city of short distances” (an early feminist demand), density and compactness, compartmentalization, functional diversity⁹ and mixed utilization,¹⁰ the establishment of both public and private open spaces, road areas as “shared spaces,” structural orientation for public spaces, and good accessibility of public transportation.¹¹

However, such a program in this situation—and in a suburbanized environment, which also encompasses agricultural areas, estates with single-family homes, and a factory site bordering the premises—appears highly deliberate and staged. As a commentator critically notes: “Although it makes sense to resort to time-



honoured and universally known patterns, this approach risks underestimating the essential impossibility of generating contemporary structures that are able to comply with their models at deeper systemic levels. The analysis of typical European urban development processes should entail more profound conceptual consequences than mere motivic reminiscence.”¹² Also questionable is the guiding image of “the social mix resulting from the different project histories and financing models”¹³ is actually brought to bear in the case of Aspern Urban Lakeside, or whether this will ultimately become an urban district for the middle class only and for the more prosperous income classes.

The future Aspern Urban Lakeside is ultimately a project planned from the top down, which moreover is marketed and managed by an outsourced private-entrepreneurial organization, as is usually the case these days. However, there are certain differences to comparable projects (such as Stuttgart 21), where no attempts beyond the master plan were made to implement an ambitious agenda. Despite all valid criticism, the Aspern example takes a somewhat different angle. Even just considering the web-based mediation of the planning initiative, this



project deserves positive attention as compared to similar endeavors. The website composition is easy to grasp in terms of both visual and text/language material, with qualified information and readable plans published on the various aspects of interest, such as traffic infrastructure and open-space planning. Even the visualization strategies, which otherwise often tend to seem much too rosy, appear to be well reflected. Under the keyword “Quality Assurance,” the instruments of urban development are elucidated as follows: “Obviously, the central values formulated by planners, i.e. urban qualities such as small unit development or functional diversity, are interpreted quite differently by the various stakeholders of any urban expansion project, such as potential tenants and flat owners, investors and operators. While visual depictions might steer this interpretation into a specific direction, it was decided to exclude architectural design from all communication at this stage and to focus instead on emotional and social values.”¹⁴ And even if the formation of a brand (“asperm Die Seestadt Wiens” or “asperm Vienna’s Urban Lakeside”) and the related claim “The Full Life” warrant critical interpretation, Aspern displays a sense of groundedness geared toward everyday life as compared to other projects. It is noted in the project publication that this



“choice to position the project by addressing life’s realities is certainly not a common one.”¹⁵ This remark illustrates the state in which the field of urban production presently finds itself, where reality and life itself must already be extolled as unique selling points.

In view of the marketing pressure that encumbers this project, the authors seem to be ambivalent about whether the value propositions associated with the project will actually come to fruition, for they also state that “the decision taken favours an issue related to society may be interpreted as a continuity of ‘Social Vienna’ values.”¹⁶ This continuity can—but doesn’t have to—be interpreted in this way, which makes it clear (in somewhat convoluted wording) that here, too, they are betting on the free market.

However, the building of Aspern Urban Lakeside does not totally abandon the Austrian tradition of public housing politics. In this case, four different models of financing the residential construction are applied. Some of the apartments will be freely financed and built as owner-occupied units. Others will be a part of a new building program initiated by the City of Vienna in 2011, in which loans are given to property developers according to certain criteria.¹⁷ As part of this new program, 1,600 apartments have already been built by nine different developers at Aspern Urban Lakeside.¹⁸ In addition to 300 student housing units, 760 apartments have been built as subsidized housing, the classic instrument of Austrian housing policy. Cooperative housing in particular enjoys a long-standing tradition in Austria, which goes back to the mid-nineteenth century when the first cooperative housing associations were founded. Around every sixth resident of Austria lives in an apartment that was built by a cooperative housing association. The last share of apartments in Aspern will be erected by self-organized building groups—a model that, as opposed to Germany, is not widespread in Austria.¹⁹ Building groups or joint building ventures are a consortium of people interested in building a home, who usually organize the financing of their own housing unit and have a desire to realize both individual and collective housing ideas. Generally speaking, this presupposes that the involved persons have an above-average income and the necessary equity. In Germany, there are already many such projects developed by building groups. In this context, the idea of a building cooperative has also experienced something of a revival. Numerous alternative housing projects have been developed in Germany under the catchphrase “women’s housing projects.”²⁰

Austria is also moving in the same direction, for instance Europe’s largest women-friendly urban-development and housing project, Frauen-Werk-Stadt I, was realized in 1997, with a total of 357 apartments in a multistory design, thanks to the initiative of the City of Vienna’s office for women’s affairs. And due

to strong interest, the project Frauen-Werk-Stadt II followed in the year 2004.²¹ Such “women-friendly housing” is meant to take a targeted approach to addressing the complex everyday situations experienced by women that result from household, family, and other caretaking work, as well as gainfully employment, and the concomitant spatial needs. This practical and implementation-oriented approach plays out against the backdrop of feminist analyses as already compiled during the 1970s and 1980s.²² Such concretization was (and is) not uncontroversial. A fundamental point of critique when it comes to “women-friendly planning” relates to the construction of the gender group “women,” with “any planning that explicitly refers to ‘women’ or to individual groups of women” contributing to “precisely this constant reconstruction of dual gender culture” and thus stabilizing “the hierarchy of (constructed) genders that is based on this dual structure,” as Ruth Becker already noted in 1998.²³ This critique also applies to gender mainstreaming,²⁴ which facilitates the enforcement of gender-friendly model and exemplar projects, which I will explore later in more detail. With the Amsterdam Treaty that went into effect in 1999, this obligation also became legally binding for Austria,²⁵ and Austria has even anchored gender budgeting in its constitution.²⁶ Vienna as Austria’s capital city has been paying particular attention to such issues for a long time—gender mainstreaming in urban development, housing that is women-friendly and appropriate for everyday life, gender-sensitive open-space design, and gender-friendly design of public buildings—so that all housing projects that want to tap into public funding are evaluated according to their suitability for women and everyday life.²⁷ During the years 2006 to 2009 in particular, Vienna’s main office for Alltags- und Frauengerechtes Planen und Bauen worked on model projects related to gender mainstreaming, one of which involved the planning of Aspern Urban Lakeside. At the time, the master plan had already been completed, so the drafting of the accompanying gender mainstreaming expert opinion could be commissioned only afterward. Anyhow, this solicitation of expertise²⁸ is a successful example of how the reservations against gender mainstreaming, so widespread among planners, are unjustified, for the goals and measures suggested in this case will likely end up benefiting most Aspern residents if they are realized. The drafters of the expert opinion defined pivotal quality goals “that should contribute to the equality of women and men through urban-development and planerly means.”²⁹ This entails, for example, housing that addresses various target groups like single parents and the elderly, and that displays usage-neutral apartment floor plans as well as both minimalist and large apartments for shared use. Moreover, measures are to be taken to integrate all population groups, diverse life-forms, and alternative types of housing, as well as for a “dovetailing of planning for urban development with planning focused on housing needs and social aspects.”³⁰ The fact that the necessity of social planning is referenced in the expert opinion is a positive



development: community and social work, which is intended to encourage diverse social and demographic groups to actively participate in societal life within a city, is ascribed significant meaning in the twenty-first century since it is characterized by increasing processes of individualization, differentiation, and diminishing solidarity. The question as to whether all of this can be ensured through “city district management,”³¹ as has already been established in Aspern, still remains open. Also, the goal, so often mentioned in this context, of creating “socially mixed, integration-capable living quarters”³²—so-called “balanced communities”—remains relatively vague and also calls to mind a long-standing discussion in urban planning about homogenous versus heterogeneous city districts.³³ Discourse on “social diversity” is usually rhetoric, so in the case of Aspern Urban Lakeside strong focus has to be placed on who can and will be living there in the future. While the expert opinion calls for “integrated and ethnically homogeneous housing offers for immigrants and minorities (not forced integration, but rather intelligent, diverse concepts)”³⁴ and “opportunities both for homogenous social, cultural milieus of different needs and also for deliberate interethnic neighborhoods,”³⁵ it is still not clear how these demands will actually be achieved. Another goal formulated in the expert opinion is the availability of social, cultural, and sociocultural infrastructures of all kinds, including the guarantee that these infrastructures remain reachable and accessible with a view to the different lifestyle, gender, and age groups. In terms of public space and planning for open and green areas, it will be important to provide a “high potential for community-oriented appropriation and cultural self-awareness.”³⁶ It is notable here that the City of Vienna subsequently committed to integrating “the new circulation areas of aspern Urban Lakeside into the public patrimony,” as well as the “publicly accessible open and green spaces.”³⁷ This commitment has, for one, resulted in the assertion that “playgrounds for children under twelve in housing projects must be built as common playgrounds for the respective estate.”³⁸ This is also remarkable because a general trend is observable relating to a departure from the principle of veritable public space taking the form of children’s playgrounds. Instead, these playgrounds are usually moved into private areas, making them only accessible to certain children. When it comes to mobility and traffic, besides the “short-distance principle” and the “reduction of traffic through a mixed-use system,” other goals include giving “consideration to gender-differentiated mobility patterns and options” as well as “ensuring that the entire district is reachable and offering equal opportunities for selecting forms of mobility.”³⁹ And what is called for in terms of gainful employment is a “compatibility of working and living,” a “broadly ramified selection of jobs in close proximity,” and a “high share of qualified gainful employment for women.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, special attention should be paid to “attractive spatial offers for family and care contexts.”⁴¹ Finally, the defined goals will be supplemented by the guarantee of safety, freedom of

movement, positive social control, and consideration of “the heightened safety needs of women.”⁴²

It would go beyond the scope of this book to enter into more detail on the concrete suggestions phrased in this list of objectives. In summary, however, we may say that both the goals and the criteria, as well as the suggested measures, would surely prove easily implementable if not so many points were subsumed under the header “Memorandum for Implementation.”⁴³ And if even the audit office criticizes that the City of Vienna’s control function “is no longer met because of the partial privatization of the project-development company,”⁴⁴ then it is definitely questionable as to what extent both the values associated with the master plan and the list of criteria for gender mainstreaming will actually be applied.

On a positive note, however, there has at least been foundation laid for urban-development planning thanks to the commissioning of an expert opinion, which at least provides a chance for gender-sensitive implementation. The authors of the expert opinion moreover remark that the “process goals also relevant to gender



equality in urban planning”⁴⁵ and the “process qualities,”⁴⁶ such as for instance the issue of involvement and participation, are assigned just as high of meaning as the content-related, functional goals and structural aspects of the project. Especially in view of participation, the field becomes limited in the case of the planning of Aspern Urban Lakeside, particularly as relates to professional and institutional parties. It would be conceivable to implement stronger participative procedures instead of only drawing on city district management. “Permanent participatory structures aimed at ensuring consistent quality and participation opportunities for as many target groups as possible”⁴⁷ are called for in the expert opinion, and not only in relation to gender goals. The Aspern Urban Lakeside planning example moreover points to the problematics associated with master plans that set a design- and planning-related emphasis ahead of time that can only be corrected later with great difficulty. The progressive planning and building culture evident in Vienna in particular gives hope that much that has remained on paper until now will be realized at least in part.

An important premise here is social housing, which is still very strongly rooted in Austria: there are 190 public housing associations, of which 99 are building cooperatives, 81 limited liability companies, and 10 corporations with shareholders.⁴⁸ Building cooperatives are usually aligned to the self-sufficiency principle, which allows personal housing ideas to be considered. A historical example is the Heimhof cooperative founded by Auguste Fickert, a representative of the radical bourgeois women’s movement, with the aim of providing housing for single working women. In 1911, she also established the first *Einküchenhaus* (one-kitchen house) in Vienna.⁴⁹ Public housing associations, in turn, operate at the juncture between public service and private-business organization, although they are better integrated into the respective communal-state housing politics with its diverse instruments like tax breaks and subsidies than the building cooperatives based on self-sufficiency.⁵⁰

Yet regardless of which organizational forms taken, the Austrian housing market is distinguished by a high share of public housing, which had already reached 24 percent of the entire available housing in Austria for the year 2012.⁵¹ This share was at only 10 percent in the early 1980s. So public housing in Austria has proven to be a successful model in terms of new building activity and creation of living space. This especially applies to multistory housing in urban areas, as the share of utility services used by public housing associations rose from 18 to 41 percent in the year 2014.⁵² Still decisive for this politics today is the fact that Austria has a gross wage levy of 1 percent that goes toward housing subsidies. This tax revenue is then distributed by the Austrian federal government among the individual states to support housing subsidies and urban rehabilitation, although

these funds are no longer coupled with the funding of public housing. Also decisive for public housing is the fact that Austria still prefers the “valorization of objects” (subventions for building construction) versus the “valorization of subjects” (financial support for households, which is more prevalent in Germany, for instance). Instead of supporting individual households by providing financial aid to reduce the financial burden of housing, the valorization of objects supports the construction of new buildings and the renovation of already existing ones. But while municipalities in the era of “Red Vienna” built their own housing, this possibility appears to not longer be considered feasible, even in Austria.

Although the baseline situation—a desolate state of municipal finances caused by the First World War—was much less favorable, the social-democratic federal and state governments succeeded in creating over 61,000 apartments in city-owned buildings during the short time span of 1920 to 1934. Many Vienna residents still benefit from this housing today. The prerequisite for the success of this program was the firm protection of tenants and a tax system that was called “Breitner taxes” after its initiator Hugo Breitner, a social democratic financial policymaker and, from 1919 to 1932, the Councillor of Finance in Vienna. This tax revenue—which not only helped fund the housing program, but also the electrification of the city railway line, the creation of new parks, and the installation of diverse social facilities in social and health areas—came from various sources. Staple foods, alcohol, luxury goods, and domestic help were taxed, and most of all an earmarked *Wohnbausteuer* (housing tax) that was explicitly and progressively tiered, so that expensive rental objects brought in considerably more tax money.⁵³ This housing tax for instance partially funded the creation of so-called *Volkswohnpaläste* (people’s residential palaces) constructed in a large-scale block style—the most famous and largest example is the Karl-Marx-Hof. These housing complexes were extremely progressive, for in addition to the small apartments they also offered a multitude of shared facilities like “laundry rooms, swimming pools, kindergartens, lecture halls, city libraries, clubhouses, maternity care centers, outpatient dental clinics, tuberculosis treatment offices, and business premises.”⁵⁴

After Austria “joined” National Socialist Germany in 1938, the model of cooperative housing associations was imported, which successively replaced municipal social housing.⁵⁵ Today, Austria with its high share of socially bound rental units is at the top of the list in Europe along with the Scandinavian countries. This it achieved by retaining the housing tax, though in altered form after 1945, and also by maintaining a relatively consistent housing policy that still today adheres to the social and subsidized principle and has always done without the deregulation of rental protection and the privatization of social housing holdings. The advantages of public housing are also evident in the rental costs, for the price per square

meter of public housing space in Austria is still less expensive than on the free housing market, despite increases in rent. A sufficient number of public rental units on the free rental housing market thus has the effect of moderating rent. Austria is also significantly below the EU average in the percentage of housing costs taken from the available household income.⁵⁶

Not least due to the still well-established Austrian housing subsidy program, Aspern was able to bring together a group under the umbrella of the initiative Que[e]rbau Wien – Verein für Gemeinschaftliches Bauen und Wohnen. This group wants to erect a co-housing project, aided by a woman property developer, called the Que[e]rbau Stadthaus with and for LGBTTTQI+ individuals, which will offer subsidized rental apartments and a participative planning process.⁵⁷ It would be favorable if other such projects were to follow, that is, if the respective property-developing societies would embrace the needs of LGBTTTQI+ persons. Their quite heterogeneous needs require, first and foremost, affordable housing and common areas if these communities are to include other groups than just the high-income ones. Indeed, the basic point is that this nonconformist segment of the population not be forced into the conventional heteronormative planning approaches oriented to nuclear families, because “it is important to be comfortable with the professional issues raised by gay, lesbian, and queer populations.”⁵⁸ This also entails understanding the diversity of these communities (similar to the very generally viewed undifferentiated group of “women”). The initiative Que[e]rbau Wien is obviously very aware of these differences, for their approach includes a “social concept for queer asylum seekers and refugees.”⁵⁹ Many, though certainly not all, European countries meanwhile legally recognize same-sex lifestyles in the form of registered partnerships. However, this does not imply that most LGBTTTQI+ strive to attain this state, nor that it makes the many different forms of open or subtle discrimination obsolete, as determined by a study commissioned by Vienna’s anti-discrimination office for same-sex and transgender lifestyles.⁶⁰ Therefore, when considering the overall project of Aspern Urban Lakeside, it is to be feared that this project represents an exception to the rule. Although the urban-development planning of “aspern Vienna’s Urban Lakeside” has addressed the gender issue (retrospectively), the danger still remains that it won’t go beyond female names for plazas and streets or just a few model projects.

In conclusion, and despite all points of critique, it can be stated that this project—from the perspective of realpolitik—likely represents the maximum possible qualitative urban development at present. As the analysis of the other examples has shown, urban development in the twenty-first century cannot be considered particularly progressive. Although individual projects claim and follow certain standards, for example, ecological sustainability or a diverse range of services and





structures, all projects ultimately remain within the narrow framework of spatial production oriented to the creation of added value. Supported by well-drafted visual material and more or less snazzy advertising slogans, those who can even afford to live in these new cities in the first place are promised a “good life” that is free of heterogeneity and the conflicts usually associated with city life. On the structural level, these new cities are well organized and orderly. They are planned down to the very last detail as is to be expected from this field and this discipline. Yet due especially to their enclave character and what is usually a homogenously designed demographic structure, it is doubtful whether the promised urbanity—regardless of how this is understood in detail—will actually evolve. Furthermore, in almost all cases the social aspects remain totally underexposed. The majority of the projects are lacking facets like self-organization, formation of neighborhoods and communities, open spaces and facilities for health care, childcare, youth and social work, et cetera. What is more, the projected target groups are not involved in the planning process, and their needs are not analyzed beyond the purely monetary. Instead, it is just quietly assumed that the investors and their „experts“, the planners, know best. They automatically presuppose urban sociality to be an effect of their planning or else simply refrain from examining it altogether—let alone seeing it as their duty. Social issues are most likely to be thematized by projects where the municipality or the state is more strongly involved. Also proving to be underexamined is the economic dimension. Aside from the ignorance displayed toward reproductive work, the creation of paid jobs is simply presumed and already calculated into the promises made by the respective projects. The more splendid the project, the more promising it seems in economic terms, which above all pertains to the earnings of the investor. It is not taken into account that a design might fail to live up to its promises. This is taken care of by time alone.

OTHER CITIES ARE POSSIBLE

Many of us are afraid that it is not possible to live in a radically different way. But isn't that because the utopias have become invisible, concealed by the shadows that capitalism casts over everything that is not created in its image?¹

Isabelle Fremeaux and John Jordan

Is the goal the creation of a "good city" and if so whose definition of good? Is the goal the promotion of a "just city" and if so then whose sense of justice should be applied? Such reevaluation is not impossible, but it does require greater openness to change and the ability to undertake reflexive analysis of the inclusive nature of the aims of planning.²

Petra Doan

It's All Urban!?



The twenty-first century differs from the twentieth not only in terms of the triumph of capitalism, neoliberalism, and technological thrusts of modernization. The essential difference lies in the inevitability of confrontation with precisely those problems that originated in the twentieth century, the escalation there of being appreciably experienced today. Atomic energy should be mentioned first, with susceptibility to failure and contaminated sites that will have effects far beyond the twenty-first century, even without other large accidents being anticipated in the future (like 1986 in Tschernobyl and 2011 in Fukushima). Mentioned here as a second point is climate change caused by power generation, traffic, industry, and extensive agriculture. Global warming in consequence of climate change in turn causes a change in the sea level following the melting of the polar ice caps. Since many cities are built along seas or oceans, more catastrophic flooding is to be expected. Even air pollution is increasing at a rate that is adversely impacting humans and ecosystems more and more severely. According to the newest calculations by the World Health Organization (WHO), approximately 7 million people worldwide died from exposure to air pollution in the year 2012 alone.³ Not only the continuously growing motor traffic but also the increased production of concrete contribute to the emissions situation, quite apart from the already mentioned consequences of sand depletion on the coasts. Progressive urbanization causes ever more ground area to be used for building and thus be sealed off, a process that takes away the basis of life for plants and animals, while also depleting reservoirs for water and contaminants. Climate change and the destruction of natural bases of life have led to the extinction of thousands of plant and animal species, with the tendency still accelerating.⁴ This list of devastation could go on and on. It is undisputed that industrialization has led to progress and innovation in countless countries, as for instance the decline in hunger crises shows, though such crises are basically now concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet such partial successes are counteracted by the consequences of advancing industrialization and technologization already evident today. A growing number of people on this planet pay for hard-won benefits with the loss of life energy and time, with impoverishment, neglect, and precarious circumstances. Social division, destitution, and the

emergence of “lumpenproletariats” is not a new phenomenon, as demonstrated by Friedrich Engels’s descriptions of abject conditions in British industrial cities in the mid-nineteenth century. What is actually new here is the global scope—and the exponential destruction of vital natural resources. This situation leads to even greater flows of migration, which, as migration researchers have been predicting for years, have now even reached supposedly secure enclaves like Europe. “The reality of poverty and inequality in itself might be a serious cause for the growth of social violence, political and social instability, ethnic conflicts, and civil and international wars that shape the global system,” as the political scientist Arie M. Kacowicz pertinently notes.⁵

Against this backdrop, the question of the city must be posed from a different angle than in the twentieth century. A future-oriented approach to this issue was for instance already fielded by Lefebvre with his postulate of an “urban society.”⁶ Urban development runs from the traditional (European) city—as developed based on the Greek city-states, but also the cities of mercantilism and feudalism—to the industrialized city to the “critical zone”⁷ of 100 percent urbanization, which Lefebvre describes as “urban concentration, rural exodus, extension of the urban fabric, complete subordination of the agrarian to the urban.”⁸ This process of urbanization does not proceed without conflict, for the city “explodes” and “implodes” at the same time, causing it, for one, to expand across the territories in the form of urban fabric, but also to change in terms of its centrality. While the workers from the city center are pushed off into the suburbs and peripheries, the core cities are, according to Lefebvre, being converted into hubs of consumption and concentration of power. Spreading urbanization also changes the land, although here “islets and islands of ‘pure’ *rurality*” remain in place, “stripped of what had been the nobility of peasant life in times of greatest misery and of oppression,” as Lefebvre notes elsewhere.⁹

Playing out in the twenty-first century as well, asserts urban theorist Neil Brenner, is an exploration of the phenomenon of urbanization modeled after such statements by Lefebvre. Brenner’s main thesis, in this respect, is that the entire planet is being subjected to a process of urbanization, which he summarizes as “planetary urbanization.”¹⁰ Viewed on a global scale, urbanization processes, in his mind, lead both to areas of concentration and of extension, which serves to operationalize the hinterland and even remote territories like wilderness—from seas and oceans to rainforests, alpine and arctic regions, or even the atmosphere—as purveyors of further economic-industrial expansion. Brenner thus advocates a radical reconception of the analytical and theoretical foundations of urban theory and research. The city, previously portrayed as limited, must therefore be replaced by the visage of an open, multiscalar urban landscape and the former model of

territorial organization replaced by a dialectical-processual perspective that integrates capitalism, governmental strategies, and social struggles. Brenner also notes that the historical view of geographic shifts over an extended period of time is ultimately no longer linear, but must instead be considered discontinuous and uneven.

Brenner’s observations represent progress as compared to what are generally apolitical planning-related interpretations of urbanization processes. However, in the course of this “methodology of models,”¹¹ to again cite the words of Henri Lefebvre, the capitalism-critical flavor increasingly becomes lost when being framed within a formation of knowledge geared to an academic university context. And when everything is labeled as “urbanization,” then political and economic interrelations as well as the often considerable discrepancies and unequal developments, which still exist on both micro- and macro-levels, can easily slip out of view. What is more, the economist David Harvey has already contradicted Lefebvre’s assertion that the processes of urbanization dominate those of industrial capitalism. Harvey establishes that “the growing concentration of fixed capital investment, the creation of new needs and effective demands, and a pattern of circulation of surplus value that rests upon appropriation and exploitation, all emanate from the internal dynamic of industrial capitalism.”¹²

And even if Lefebvre considered the processes of urbanization to be “global reality,”¹³ he was simultaneously meaning to understand this phenomenon as one that involves “the entire range of social practices.”¹⁴ In this respect, the socio-spatial transformations cited by Brenner, for example, prove to be much less dynamic than his reconception of urban analysis would appear. This is evident for instance in the French banlieues, the *quartiers difficiles* (difficult districts), as they are called in French administrative and planning language. Not much is really moving and “transforming” here yet. Although these districts are certainly very nuanced in terms of their social structure and spatiality, as a whole they continue to be seen as marginalized and, socially speaking, split off like a kind of no-protest zone. This becomes clear in an impressive scene from the 2001 film *Pierre Bourdieu: La sociologie est un sport de combat* (Sociology Is a Martial Art) by filmmaker Pierre Carles. In the film, Bourdieu engages in discussion with banlieue residents, who in turn field the accusation of having been extensively researched for decades, yet without their desolate situation and the negative perception by French society actually changing.¹⁵

Brenner ultimately remains rooted in the satellite perspective as is so frequently assumed in urban planning—after all, the big picture is important here. However, entering into discourse with the inhabitants of this planet is left to others, in

which case even Lefebvre repeatedly returned to the foundations of urban and social practice. It is no coincidence that, in concluding his discussion of an illusory urbanism,¹⁶ he comes back to the “user” as the “überflüssige Dritte” (unnecessary third)¹⁷ excluded from the scientific world, planning, and politics.

In the twenty-first century, too, the view “from below” is urgently necessary. For example, Brenner calls for “the qualitative significance of the label ‘urban’ as an analytical basis for demarcating and interpreting sociospatial transformations,” yet without going into any further depth.¹⁸ Urban researcher AbdouMaliq Simone sums it up in a nutshell by citing the example of urban-development processes in African cities: “Finally, Africa is a striking example that urbanization does not equate precisely with city life.”¹⁹ In this context, Simone for instance references existing local and transregional trade networks, which, despite a lack of infrastructure and other obstacles, have unfolded in and between African cities, regions, and purely rural areas. Only if this potential of a (perforce) constantly mobile urban population organizing across many perimeters is recognized and made a point of departure for further (planerly) development—only then can “city” and urban community emerge, as Simone determines. Precisely this difference and this divide between “the city as a built form and urbanism as a way of life”²⁰ are at issue here. Indeed, from the vantage point of the respective city residents, urbanization can for instance end up meaning “de-urbanization”²¹ when existing urban qualities (and here I don’t only mean the projection of the “European city”) are destroyed or when the potential of urban subjects is marginalized. It is important not to factor out the issue of the qualitative dimensions of the city and the (urban) production of space when potential developments are being explored. Here, the analysis of urban-territorial configurations and transformations not only must take place in conjunction with a critique of present-day ideas of what a city is. Moreover, the perspective must be shifted toward urban subjects with their potentials, practices, and needs.

Gender Matters

Gender mainstreaming as a transnationally promoted and at times legally established strategy doubtlessly opens up the potential to keep furthering urban development in terms of quality, for it is directed at the societal dimensions of urbanization. Nonetheless, this strategy encounters boundaries in practice and limitations in theoretical formulation.

In terms of spatial planning, “gender mainstreaming means that an awareness of the varying types of living situations and interests of future users of all ages and origins be awakened and their consequences respected throughout the entire planning process.”¹ And in view of the different existing lifestyles, this means “to provide room for them and their needs in all phases of life in order to develop cities where life is truly ‘worth living,’”² as is detailed in the handbook *Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Development* published by the Senate administration of Berlin. But the idea here is not to work through “a checklist of standardized specifications”³ but to develop a sensitivity for gender-relevant aspects and their relevance in the planning process. In another handbook, in this case published by the City of Vienna,⁴ emphasis is placed on gender mainstreaming being “a process-oriented strategy for ensuring the quality of planning-related tasks,”⁵ which, in order to be successful, must be integrated into the entire planning process, into “the planning analysis, the formulation of objectives, and the implementation and evaluation of the measures.”⁶ It is here that the fundamentally problematic nature of gender mainstreaming as a top-down strategy becomes apparent. For one, the implementation of the stipulations is dependent on the will of the players on site. Promoted here, moreover, is administrative action on an institutional level, which remains bound within and does not go beyond a regulatory framework. Further, when gender mainstreaming is practiced as a equal-opportunity and target-group-oriented strategy, there is always a danger of perpetuating predominant gender ideas and also of continuing institutional planning thought, yet without questioning their underlying ideological parameters.



This problematic situation is evident, for example, in the topic of safety, which in the framework of gender mainstreaming is broken down into concrete measures like “sufficient lighting, avoidance of secluded areas, clear wayfinding, or the alignment of the apartments’ common rooms toward the street.”⁷ Such demands are surely justified in the case of cities and informal estates where not even a minimum of urban infrastructure like street lighting is to be found.⁸ At the same time, we are reminded here of discussion about so-called *Angsträume* (spaces of fear), where it is frequently overlooked that women and girls who have fallen victim to sexual violence are usually subjected to this violence *inside* the home, and that, in terms of safety, other groups of city residents are also affected. It is for this reason that, in the continuation of this discussion, the Vienna handbook calls for “freedom of movement for women and men, young and old, both day and night.”⁹ However, a desire to ensure safety in public spaces through planning measures alone is not enough. It does not release planning from a necessary exploration of the issue, for sexualized violence in public spaces remains a virulent topic. Yet in this respect, not only the sphere of planning but also that of city politics and urban society are equally called upon to establish a municipal culture that clearly positions itself as viewing sexualized violence as unacceptable (and a criminal offense). As reactions to the group raping of women in India or to the sexual harassment at Cologne’s main train station on New Year’s Eve 2015–16 show, sexualized violence is easy to instrumentalize in the context of racism, right-wing populism, and nationalism (in response to this violence and abuse, many citizens took a stand by protesting against such instrumentalization). Sexualized violence is found in all social classes and therefore must be considered a topic pertinent to society as a whole, which means that it is vital to sensitize the political realm, the government, the executive branch, and the legal realm to the problem and to thus create appropriate laws and cooperative relationships. Planning measures are but one building block here, albeit a necessary one.

Yet even beyond immediate party-political appropriation, the topic of safety proves to be instrumentalizable with a view to gender, as geographer Leslie Kern notes, citing the example of urban revitalization in Toronto and the related advertising. If the city as a space of industrial production was still male-connoted, then this connotation has now shifted to signify a city of consumption, leisure, and safety. This phenomenon is also evident in relation to the examples I have cited in this book. Fielded here in the promotion of urban-development projects, as Kern illustrates, is a certain female-sexualized and heteronormative visual symbolism, with the aim of fostering the narration of a safe, clean, and consumer-oriented city, which is so “female”-connoted. At the same time, implicitly, these features help “developers to open up areas of the city that would otherwise be deemed too risky for investment, because they are assumed to be undesirable to

key segments of the target market.”¹⁰ With respect to this ambiguity, Kern arrives at the conclusion that “although the postindustrial city is ostensibly less concerned with regulating middle-class women’s activities and movement, the emphasis on defining liberation through consumption, and the continued objectification of particular women’s bodies in the promotion of revitalization does not represent a feminist reworking of gendered norms, or a feminist vision of women’s (all women’s) ability to participate in urban life.”¹¹

Such a functionalization of this topic of gender is then continued in city marketing strategies, for “in interurban competition, gender matters,”¹² as sociologist Marguerite van den Berg thoroughly studied based on the example of Rotterdam. She makes the point, among others, that, as of late, young middle-class families with children, so-called YUPPs (Young Urban Professional Parents), are being considered a favored target group for urban politics. This group is supported by family-friendly planning, which turns them into agents of gentrification processes. Van den Berg terms this approach “genderfication,” whereby “genderfication means to establish gentrification in the end, but it has specifically gendered features, uses gendered strategies and thus works differently and produces specific gendered outcomes. Intersectionality perspectives thus demonstrate how Rotterdam’s efforts are not only about class upgrading and gentrification, but also consist of gendered strategies to attract ‘desired’ new inhabitants.”¹³

Meanwhile, in accordance with the sociological concept of intersectionality, reflection on the interplay between gender and other societal categories like class, age, or ethnicity is also found in the context of gender mainstreaming. This concept helps us to understand “how people experience urban space, how social inequalities manifest in space and stereotypical concepts of categories of people shape the appropriation of space.”¹⁴ This awareness is expressed through the recommendations for action related to gender mainstreaming, when it is pointed out that “other differences based on various dimensions of discrimination, such as age, sociocultural origin, religion, or mental and physical abilities, should be considered if possible or advisable,”¹⁵ and that “the process does not examine the issues of gender in an isolated way, but in its reciprocal relationship with other social, demographic and cultural features.”¹⁶ From an analytical perspective, this approach sets out to identify states of inequality with an aim to demand “equitable distribution of resources through the consideration of different spatial needs, . . . and to strike a balance between the interests of many groups when it comes to the distribution of the limited resource of space and the related investments.”¹⁷ Apparent here is a fundamental problem with the intersectionality concept, to which theorist Tove Soiland draws attention when she notes that this approach originally dwelled in discrimination discourse and category formation can only

serve to pursue “equality in disregard of underlying segregation mechanisms.” Indeed, there is a difference between an approach that is limited to the description of groups with their differences and states of inequality and a sociotheoretical understanding which uses the categories of class, gender, and race to “understand the involved mechanisms of hierarchization and, moreover, to substantiate the idea that these central structural characteristics of production and reproduction represent Western capitalist societies, that they are one of the pivotal conditions that are embraced and in which they are simultaneously reproduced.”¹⁸ So without systemic-structural changes in circumstances, states of inequality will simply be shifted from one group to another, for “as long as the macrostructural reasons for segregation remain in existence, then any developmental measure, regardless of how intersectionally aligned it may be, will inevitably only lead to a new distribution or redistribution of states of inequality.”¹⁹ This background also lends itself to critically questioning the correlation between use or mix of uses and spatial appropriation in gender mainstreaming,²⁰ namely, when this is viewed not only sociologically but also politically. Indeed, how can space be appropriated beyond tolerated use and temporary, interaction-guided modes of use? In capitalist societies, the possibilities of spatial appropriation are first and foremost determined by ownership status and then by the related legal rights. This issue is seen, for example, as part of the discussion about the privatization of public spaces and even goes so far as to include the question of who can still afford to live in city districts that display good social, cultural, and infrastructural features.

It is surely too much to ask of a state-implemented strategy like gender mainstreaming to resolve such fundamental contradictions arising from these conditions. Even the information that “the supply of different apartment sizes, ownership and rental relations or possession models” promises a “high degree of appropriation potential for different user groups”²¹ is pointing in the right direction. Although it must be said that here there are no explicit demands being formulated, such as for communal housing or even for far-reaching systemic changes.

Yes, urban space is a space of conflicts about spatial claims and a space of social struggle, which cannot only be resolved consensually but must also be considered dissent. In other words, the issue of space cannot be harmonized and, in the sense of an ostensible egalitarian principle that forgoes further-reaching demands, glossed over. The issue of space is always political, for it is associated both with the question of the power of definition and agency and with the question of social and economic distributive justice. This relationship is also determinative for demands made in the framework of gender mainstreaming like “equal participation and involvement of all groups in development and decision processes”²² in the

planning and urban development context. While such demands are essentially appropriate, often the question still remains open as to how they should be addressed and implemented due to participatory procedures that are usually non-binding. Even a reference to planning that is meant to assume a “representative function for the interests” of groups “when they are underrepresented in the participation process”²³ can only be ensured when the state/communal planning itself can demonstrate sufficient capability to exert influence. Under the credo of neoliberalized urban politics, this is only very rarely the case. And even if state/communal planning occupies a strong position, the structural-institutional lines of difference and boundaries between planning representatives and parties affected by the planning are not automatically lifted—quite apart from the fundamental problematics of a domestic politics of representation, which usually ignores subaltern groups when setting goals.²⁴ A more far-reaching concept, notes spatial planner Sandra Huning, involves “multi-optional performative planning approaches,”²⁵ which focus on immediate participation rather than on conventional planning logic. However, here the issue also arises as to the extent of the available individual and collective resources necessary for even engaging in participation to begin with. In the meantime, a range of alternative participation procedures have emerged, including advocacy planning, planning cells, round-tables, future workshops, and community organizing.²⁶ Yet such procedures are not free of gender relations, which means that a vital moment must include collaborative reflection on individual and structural limitations. What is promising here, however, are participatory approaches that take form explicitly in feminist-activist contexts.²⁷

Against the backdrop of criticism of gender-specific labor, as formulated at the outset of the second women’s movement, another pivotal theme of gender mainstreaming in urban planning is reproduction work, especially its impact on the everyday life of women. Since women still continue to do the predominant share of house- and family work, gender-sensitive planning must therefore still “train the gaze especially on homes and the housing environment from the perspective of a workplace, in order to support the everyday lives of people engaging in family- and home-related work.”²⁸ This approach is not uncontested, for if the sole point is to promote the “compatibility of gainful employment and family work,”²⁹ then the traditional gender-specific division of labor will simply be perpetuated. In fact, spatial planner Ruth Becker has determined that gender mainstreaming, which “helps women to fulfill the tasks ascribed to them by a gender-differentiated society” when meeting practical demands, cannot simply be accepted, but that “strategic challenges” must likewise be taken into consideration that are aimed at “shifting the gender balance within society.”³⁰ Therefore, according to Becker, the question that arises in connection with gender mainstreaming in the

planning context is less one of planning goals than that of an “epistemological concept which, based on knowledge about structural discrimination against women, reveals the implications of architecture and planning not thematized or recognized by the mainstream.”³¹ Nonetheless, here the answer remains open as to which basic principles might underlie such an epistemological concept and a necessary “(re)definition of the feminist view of planning,”³² because “whether here the theory of the everyday orientation of feminist approaches (in contrast to the economic-technical orientation of the mainstream) is enough remains just as up in the air as the question of which planerly measures are suitable for abolishing discrimination based on ethnicity, class, sexual orientation.”³³ In the end, this can only be decided and developed according to the situations and circumstances on site. After all, gender mainstreaming is just one building block on the path to a gender-sensitive planning culture, which means that this strategy cannot be the last contribution to the establishment of gender-democratic urban development.

Excursus on Reproduction



At this point in time, it would make sense to recall the beginnings and continuation of feminist discourse on reproduction work. Trailblazing here were early writings, especially those of Selma James and Mariarosa Dalla Costa. In *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*,¹ Mariarosa Dalla Costa already puts forth the basic definition of domestic reproduction from a feminist perspective: “This is not only a *quantitative* but a *qualitative* difference from other work, and it stems precisely from the kind of commodity that this work is destined to produce.”² Reproduction work not only involves practical activities like cleaning, straightening up, cooking, doing laundry, but also, in equal measure, the “production” of future wage labor. Housework and caretaking, as well as psychosocial work with a husband and children (as well as other family members), forms the heart of the reproduction work carried out by women. Moreover, the family functions as a catch basin in times of economic crisis.³ Work done in the home appears to be a personal service because it is not part of wage labor, since it is not paid. At the same time, however, it is indispensable to the capitalist organization of wage labor and to the generation of added value. Dalla Costa thus speaks of “social services” that are transformed into supposedly private activities, which are in turn provided by women free of charge. Housework is therefore a “masked form of productive labor.”⁴ Dalla Costa brings to our attention that when women start engaging in wage labor, they are by no means liberated from the exploitation of their manpower. Nor would “wages for housework” (or in its adapted form, such as a temporary parental benefits) be a real solution, since this would merely serve to solidify women’s responsibility for housework. For this reason, the demand for “wages for housework” actually signifies, from her perspective, the beginning of a struggle, the forms of which “immediately break the whole structure of domestic work, rejecting it absolutely, rejecting our role as housewives and the home as the ghetto of our existence, since the problem is not only to stop doing this work, but to smash the entire role of housewife.”⁵ Ultimately, Dalla Costa intends that “all those other excluded people, the children, the old and the ill, can re-appropriate the social wealth; to be reintegrated with us and all of us with men, not as dependents but autonomously, as we women

want for ourselves.”⁶ Dalla Costa considers the fact that this struggle affects the conditions not only of housework, but also of wage labor, to be “the dividing line between reformism and revolutionary politics.”⁷

The activist and sociologist Silvia Federici, who was involved in the founding of the “wages for housework” campaigns in Italy during the 1970s, further developed Dalla Costa’s statements while taking Italian “Operaismo”⁸ or Workism into consideration. For Federici, the separation between reproduction and production is very fundamental, even if reproduction work has shifted and changed, in the era of globalization, through “a series of political measures through which the international capital reacted to the labor and accumulation crisis of the 1960s and 1970s.”⁹ In contrast to other theorists who postulate on financialization and new production methods in the context of computerization, knowledge society, and cognitive capitalism or, more recently, on an “end of work”¹⁰ or an increase in informal work,¹¹ Federici sees the consequences of the accumulation crisis as resting more in the “ability of capital to sink the costs of production through the workers by strongly broadening the world labor market.”¹² The computerization of labor, according to Federici, allows for the global shifting of production plants and leads to an increase in competition for paid work. Financialization results in the complete deterritorialization of capital and reinforces an “original accumulation,” as has been thematized by the so-called “Bielefeld School.”¹³ Additionally, there are strategies of “recolonization” (exploitation of natural resources, demonetization of the population in the former colonies, landgrab), as well as deindustrialization and flexibilization of wage labor in the North, to cite just a few of the points made by Federici. The ramifications of such economic restructuring lead, on a global scale, not to an increase in employment of women, but actually to just the opposite. Even the technologization of the household, says Federici, has not contributed to a decrease in reproduction work; instead, the demands have simply changed. From a global perspective, women are also forced to cope with the negative effects of globalization and crisis-driven capitalism, for example, those caused by cuts in public infrastructure and in the health and education sectors. Federici thus calls for the “collective recommencement of the struggle for reproduction, with the aim of regaining control over the material conditions of production for people and developing new forms of cooperation situated outside of the rationale of capital and market.”¹⁴ Federici does not consider this struggle to be utopian but rather references the many approaches and movements that apply both to different gender relations and other forms of the collective. In this context, she cites the danger of the idea of the commons being seized by capital interests, for the topic of the common good was already taken up by the World Bank and the United Nations in the 1990s and, ever since, has also been circulating in market-friendly and neoliberal circles. The author sees a practice of the

commons, for example, in the creation of urban gardens (going back to the initiative or migrant communities in the US) and in women-led initiatives in Africa, India, and Latin America. Here, women install communal kitchens or found self-administered credit unions, which, unlike the microcredits extended by banks, are based not on humiliation but rather on mutual trust. Borrowing from sociologist Maria Mies, Federici also argues for community formation, collectivization of reproduction work, and for the establishment of the appropriate housing forms and communities in urban districts as undertaken by the early feminists in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁵

Discussion about the role of reproduction work has further advanced in very recent times thanks to the term “care economy.” Not only housework is included here, but also, equally, unpaid and paid personal care and nursing, as well as people-oriented services, although it is still open to debate as to what exactly this entails (also discussed in this context is whether sexual work should be integrated into the future perspectives of care economies). As the economist Mascha Madörin has noted, for example, this is essentially dependent on the interest in knowledge, and she suggests differentiating between “paid and unpaid care activity for people who themselves are not in a position, either partially or completely, to care for themselves financially and through unpaid labor (children or infirm and ill adults) and the care activity that is vital for everyone.”¹⁶ A fundamental issue, according to Madörin, when considering reproduction and care economies is the difference between subject-subject relations and subject-object relations as found in the production of goods. Work that is based on human relationships and emotions is considerably less easy to rationalize than is meanwhile (though not everywhere) the case in the production of goods.

However, these characteristics do not hinder the attempts to adapt care work to the value-adding criteria in order to make this work more efficient and profitable. This is evident, for example, in the introduction of business-management criteria to caretaking and social work, which is broken down into individual work stages like “products” and “services.” The argument of performance enhancement and efficiency, for example, is also used to legitimize the introduction of privately financed preschools, daycare centers, and schools as a supposedly qualitatively better alternative to the communal facilities suffering from budget cuts. And quite a few service industries have meanwhile emerged under the postulate of time savings and workload reduction for households, such as coffee, fast-food, and restaurant chains, ready-made food and frozen food industries, and online mail-order companies (the selection of the name Amazon was surely no coincidence). Even the reemergence of the “maid issue” is ultimately an expression of the attempt to increase work productivity both individually and in society as a whole.

When studying the concept of reproduction, other forms of reproduction work become apparent, for example, “embodied work” as carried out by women not only in the form of sexual work, but also in the form of “clinical work.” Examples of this include egg and tissue donations, artificial insemination, participation in medical studies, and surrogacy. Such use of the female body meanwhile takes place across national borders and has developed into a lucrative market. Even demographic and family politics are once again garnering attention and, accordingly, also the diverse state-funded measures which, with a focus on especially coveted population groups and on an improvement of societal “human wealth,” try to raise the fallen birth rates.

By this stage at the latest, a queer perspective comes into play, for both sexuality and biological “procreation” are subsumed under the term reproduction, although the two cannot necessarily be equated. Modern reproduction technologies prove to be a possibility for questioning and for “queering” both heterosexual practices of procreation and the female body as a parturient body. In view of the capitalization on and dispossession of the female body as resource supplier, an issue that goes hand in hand with the development of reproduction technologies, these options are not completely unproblematic, quite apart from the fact that their queer appropriation is usually not desired on the (demographic) political end.

In summary we may note that perception of the sphere of reproduction is diverse and also controversial at times. While many approaches subsume reproduction activity under the keyword “labor,” this foundation has also been questioned.¹⁷ From a purely monetary perspective, it is possible to calculate reproduction work, as Madörin demonstrated by the example of Switzerland.¹⁸ Nonetheless, it could be argued that this work is covered by wages and thus is not to be viewed as “labor.” To a certain extent, this also shines through in Marx’s theories, for he uses the term “necessary labor,” meaning the work that is necessary to satisfy fundamental needs—which is not inevitably coupled with wage labor situations. In the capitalist system, however, the state of pure self-preservation—as still practiced today in the subsistence economies on the basis of bartering, especially in the Global South—is only tolerated at the price of marginalization and devaluation. This small-holding rural economy has been “declared to be a primitive life form”¹⁹ and its productivity remains unconsidered in economic calculations. However, “even non-market-based subsistence and reproduction economies are certainly not authority-free, harmonized spheres, but rather characterized by asymmetries of power and law, for instance in accessing resources, by contradictions and conflicts,” as sociologist Christa Wichterich explains.²⁰

From a systemic point of view, in capitalist societies this results in an obligation to engage in wage labor, for only this creates added value, namely, through the part of the workday that remains unpaid, where laborers work more than is necessary for their reproduction, for their livelihood. This dichotomy of capital and wage labor is “sweetened” in industrialized societies by (partial) participation in prosperity and (technological) modernization. Additionally, it is vital to have consumers who will buy the goods. However, this participation should not lose sight of the still-extant dichotomy or of the price of this (partial) progress, which, upon closer consideration, other people pay for with precarization. What is more, the value of the labor can be reduced by lowering living standards, meaning that which is morally and economically considered to be the lowest possible subsistence level within a society, even if this decrease plays out at the other end of the world.

In conclusion, let me note that the reproductive sphere still remains excluded from the economic calculations and reflections, because it supposedly contains no productive or monetary value. Yet at the same time, it is “constantly being presumed to be an invisible supply and safety network that services the market free of charge and continually subsidizes it as a reproduction and safety cushion while compensating the risks and insecurities produced by the market,” as Wichterich determines.²¹ The dissociation of reproductive work still remains a main feature of today’s economies, despite the many differences between the individual countries, regions, and cities. But this work, including the concomitant gender-specific division of labor, provides the foundation for wage labor, for production (of goods), and the accumulation of capital.

Hiding behind this fundamental divide between the spheres of reproduction and production is yet another relationship, for human life (and survival) is based on the processing of naturally occurring substances, which, aided by labor, are used to sustain human life.²² The ecological consequences of the industrialized exploitation of naturally existing resources were already touched upon earlier. This utilization of natural capital usually ensues in particular at the cost of many of those women responsible for everyday survival, especially women living in the Global South who struggle in everyday life with the consequences of the destruction, expropriation, and privatization of natural resources. Against this backdrop, too, the “crisis of social reproduction”²³ takes on a much larger and global dimension.



Feminist-Queer Perspective(s)

The two aspects of “human and ecological productivity” are considered by the feminist economy to be related,¹ with the idea being to “replace the previously valid, abstract, quantitative concept of productivity with a qualitative concept of (re)productivity that adheres to social-ecological criteria,”² as called for by economist Adelheid Biesecker and environmental planner Sabine Hofmeister. In the course of creating what is also a discursively, participatively, and cooperatively mediated system of regulation, which evaluates reproduction services and ecology from a different angle, “cooperative gender relations” can arise, according to the authors. They also point out three dimensions that should be considered within such a process of transformation: a material-technical dimension (primarily the material industry), a sociocultural dimension (integrating into the economic sphere all human activity and nature-related services), and a cultural-symbolic dimension. Remaining open, however, is the political dimension and the question as to how such a transformation, especially in an international, sub-national, and transnational framework, might be enforced (Lefebvre opens a perspective here, when he references, due to a capitalism that has reached its limits, the necessity of a new form of production, “which is neither state capitalism nor state socialism, but collective management of space, the social management of nature, and the transcendence of the contradiction between nature and anti-nature”³).

The fact that undertaking such an adjustment “through conscious processes of social regulation” had to play out “on all levels (business, local, regional, national, global)”⁴ also affects the spatial dimension. This would mean self-developing other forms of spatial production beyond conventional dichotomies like “city” versus “land” and in relation to the urban, however, today’s configurations of “city” can only meet this need in part.⁵ In view to the material-technical dimension, this primarily implies a different treatment of land. It would have to be successively be removed from processes of further privatization and capitalization in favor of collective utilization and value aligned to the common good. On the basis of actual ecologically sustainable and recycling-oriented building materials, as

well as the appropriate building technologies, it is fundamentally necessary to develop other building types. These new building types should first and foremost be centered on everyday life needs and the demands of reproductive work, so that varied forms of life and work, from individual to collective, become possible. The economic sectors must be reorganized in such a way that they become an integral part of the socioecological *and* reproductive spheres by orienting and subordinating themselves to the requirements of these spheres. On the basis of a critical review of previous technical concepts and developments in technology, this would lead to altered production methods and to a decentralization of production units. The prerequisite for such a transformation would be a fundamental shift in the labor concept, allowing for a rescission of the increasing alienation of the “unemployed” along with an exclusive orientation towards profit maximization to the benefit of just a few individuals. Mass production would also have to be replaced by a production of higher-quality, more durable, and explicitly sustainably produced goods and promoted by regenerative circular economies. Under such auspices, mobility could also change, in both temporal and technical respects. Other production methods and (gainful) labor oriented to other time patterns would facilitate a deceleration of transport and movement. Preferentially, means of transportation would be employed that have a positive environmental footprint and are democratically set up, in lieu of those favoring certain user groups seen to date. Even the relations to the “hinterland” could be changed. An essential premise would be the establishment of equitable economic and trade relations on all cited spatial levels, thus allowing the North–South disparity to be dissolved in the long term. What is more, rural lifestyles and smallholder production methods are in dire need of much stronger valorization. “City” and “land” could—from an economic, political, social, and cultural perspective—become established as equal units, which would make collaborative action possible.⁶ Moreover, the decentralization of production and supply units would be a means of shifting spatial disparities and territorial inequalities on all levels of scale.

Although such a fundamental transformation appears unrealistic at the present time (and due to tendencies of renationalization, religionization, and retraditionalization), even the German Advisory Council on Global Change of the German Federal Government recognizes a “dysfunctional capitalism”⁷ and notes the following: “Already up high on the global agenda is the transformation of modernity, which has plummeted into deep existential crisis.”⁸ In this context, the advisory council even references the issue of power,⁹ yet without going into more detail. The council also critically encounters the neglect of issues “like quality of life in cities, participation and justice, appropriation of public space, sociocultural identity and the potency of city dwellers, as well as reactions to such challenges with sustainability questions.” It also notes that “the participation of affected demo-

graphic groups and civic initiatives is usually just described as an additional option and not as having a say on equal footing when it comes to planning and implementation processes.”¹⁰ Such insights are gratifying, as becomes generally clear not least through the examples discussed here. Warranting criticism, however, is the fact that gender relations and the reproduction issue are (once again) granted too little attention.

Against this backdrop, and as a point of departure for a fundamental transformation, even when it comes to qualitative spatial development, the demand for social equality¹¹ is absolutely essential in my opinion. Indeed, this category—neglected under the aegis of neoliberalized politics and pushed into the background—creates the necessary conditions for constructive, equitable, and productive cohabitation that includes all subjects in an (urban) society. In this regard, the remarks of the political scientist Nancy Fraser, from a moral-philosophical, sociotheoretical, and political angle, offer possible connectivity, which could be subsequently harnessed for urban-development issues.¹² Fraser argues for equality along two supposedly mutually exclusive lines of discourse, which in her view need to be pooled together: one evolves in accordance with the call for redistribution, which is related to social equality, and the other with the call for recognition.

Redistribution pertains to the economic end, although Fraser here takes as a basis an economic concept that integrates reproduction work and its impact on wage labor. Recognition, in turn, strives for a “difference-friendly world,”¹³ whereby both gender-specific differences and those evolving along sexuality and ethnicity are meant here, as well as the elimination of the concomitant injustices.¹⁴ Yet from a purely Marxist vantage point, the demand for redistribution cannot be considered far-reaching enough “because it neglects the relations of production and fails to problematize exploitation, domination, and commodification,”¹⁵ as Fraser herself notes. In the sense of the transformation cited above, the call for redistribution may ultimately be a weak approach, but at least it is a step in the right direction (although here, to make it eminently clear, the redistribution is meant to go “down” not “up”). Considering that, from a purely economic perspective, the symbolic-cultural dimension remains factored out—for it cannot only be ascribed to economic conditions—the demand for recognition makes sense. The politics of recognition is first and foremost “assimilated to ‘identity politics,’ which is equated in turn with struggles over gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, and ‘race,’”¹⁶ as Fraser predicts. From the viewpoint of post-structuralist feminism, in turn, there is a danger of stabilizing differences instead of overcoming them or even eliminating them altogether. Fraser is aware of the essentialist limits of identity politics when she emphasizes that the “recognition

paradigm” cannot only involve mere valorization but must also include “deconstructive tendencies, such as queer politics, critical ‘race’ politics, and deconstructive feminism.”¹⁷ Fraser thus considers the demand for recognition not only to be an intersubjective question. She also poses it in connection with an institutionalized, cultural value system: “interaction is regulated by an institutionalized pattern of cultural value that constitutes some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior: straight is normal, gay is perverse; ‘male-headed households’ are proper, ‘female-headed households’ are not; ‘whites’ are law-abiding, ‘blacks’ are dangerous.”¹⁸ For in the case of redistribution, the class affiliation is most important, but when dealing with questions of recognition, the societal status order is most vital. Fraser considers status, in this context, to have normative meaning: “One should say, rather, that it is unjust that some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated.”¹⁹ This status hierarchy ranges into the social and legal constructions, such as those pertaining to families, asylum law, or disciplines like medicine (but certainly also planning)—however, remaining somewhat underexposed here are the social-symbolic-representative dimensions beyond institutionalization.

In this context, the social gender is understood by Fraser to be a social category that connects both class and status, which involves a “two-dimensional social division.”²⁰ This is because, for one, capitalism is based on a gender-specific distribution of labor and thus gives rise to a “class-like division.” But in terms of gender and binary gender differences, the codifications also create “gender codes [and] pervasive cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation, which are central to the status order as a whole.”²¹ Such two-dimensionality also becomes operative in the case of “race” and even class, so that, as Fraser notes, “virtually all axes of subordination partake simultaneously of the status order and the class structure, albeit in different proportions,”²² whereby she simultaneously identifies the “analytically distinct orders of subordination.”²³ Lack of recognition and economic discrimination can go hand in hand, but they do not necessarily have to in every single case. Fraser conceives “the economic and the cultural as differentiated but interpenetrating modes of social ordering,” which she phrases as “perspectival dualism,” which “appreciates that neither claims for redistribution nor claims for recognition can be contained within a separate sphere.”²⁴ The author posits this against the background of today’s society, which she considers pluralistic, transcultural, institutionally differentiated, hybridized, and civilly contested, although “parity-impeding value patterns continue to regulate interaction in most important social institutions” and thus “define axes of status subordination.”²⁵ In relation to the economy, Fraser references the markets that,

in her view, do not fully occupy and dominate social spaces in modern capitalism. By taking this angle, she is keeping a perspective open on the political role and design-related possibilities of civil society (for even if social or emancipation movements find themselves repeatedly confronted with economically motivated processes of appropriation, they are actually what drives or first enables modernization within society). Fraser also speaks out against positions that refuse to differentiate between culture and economy, for in her opinion “this approach surrenders the conceptual tools that are needed to understand social reality.”²⁶ She ultimately arrives at the heart of her argumentation: “*no redistribution without recognition*”²⁷ and “*no recognition without redistribution*.”²⁸

As strategies for overcoming inequality, Fraser discusses *affirmation* and *transformation*. While affirmative strategies (e.g., the already discussed gender mainstreaming) set out to correct and compensate, but also operate in a regulating way, transformative strategies aim to effectuate fundamental, systemic change. According to Fraser, the latter are preferable yet more difficult to implement in political practice. It is for this reason that she argues for a context-dependent application of these strategies and, as middle ground, for the implementation of “nonreformist reforms”²⁹ (such as, for example, the introduction of a general claim to welfare instead of assistance for the poor only).

To what extent can these remarks be transferred to the issue of space?

The demand for social equality, for redistribution and recognition, presents itself in this context as a requirement and pragmatic means of achieving a fundamentally altered, social-reproductively oriented *and* sustainably aligned spatial and urban politics, as I alluded to above. In view of redistribution, this pertains to the land issue, but also to housing and infrastructure policy. For a start, redistribution can for instance mean that municipalities once again arrive at ownership of land, in order to pursue common-welfare-oriented spatial and urban development. Here, public service must remain in the hand of local authorities or, in the case of its privatization, must be recommonalized. Redistribution can also mean that municipalities refrain from forgoing their scope of agency and instead use it more intensively or demand it more emphatically. Many municipalities are meanwhile prematurely bowing to pressure and making various advance commitments when faced with potential investors. They slash useful stipulations (such as share of residential space), waive existing regulatory instruments, and also forgo tax revenue. What is more, they employ tax funds to promote senseless showcase projects that are hardly even economically relevant, instead of using such monies for urban upgrading, evenly distributed in terms of the city at large. This goes along with an appropriate organization of taxes, such as property tax, which is raised in Germany and several other European countries.³⁰ Redistribution can also mean

redistributing public spaces to accommodate means of transportation that are both ecological *and* socially sustainable.³¹ Even local, urban-regional “micro”-economies should be favored and perpetuated. Principally speaking, redistribution can mean a strengthening of municipal self-administration and its sovereignty under the premise of its (further) democratic configuration.

Redistribution is also possible and necessary in a housing context. A municipality is in a position to especially support nonprofit building societies and housing associations and even to encourage their founding. For example, a tax can be levied on particularly solvent property owners in order to financially support such projects, or municipally owned land can be allocated on a preferential basis to such associations. Other strategies, too, can lead to the goal of creating housing without engaging investors. An example in Germany is the Mietshäuser Syndikat, an affiliation of 111 housing projects and 18 project initiatives spread across the entire country.³² In this solidarity-based community, new housing projects ideationally benefit from knowledge transfer and, financially, from the passing of financing from the older projects (with the rents continuously declining as the mortgage costs decrease). This nifty model, which follows and practices a cooperative basic principle, ironically avails itself of the legal form of a corporation (according to German law, it is a GmbH or company with limited liability). On the basis of an appropriate company agreement, an equal share of votes is guaranteed between the autonomous housing association and Mietshäuser Syndikat. This “separation of powers” leads to the circumstance that the respective house cannot be reprivatized and marketed but must instead remain in collective ownership.

Further examples of other forms of spatial production can be found, especially in Germany, under the category “women’s housing projects.”³³ Here, a wide range of projects have been developed, as mentioned earlier. These projects were conceived against the background that women without sound financial means have a particularly hard time obtaining living space, and thus also self-determination and self-sufficiency. This encumbrance also applies to other groups, such as, for example, immigrants seeking protection. Even in a wealthy country like Germany, the issue of housing shortage³⁴ and even forced eviction has once again landed on the housing-political desk. The task of social housing policy for the benefit of a “free” housing market became apparent in Germany once the number of individuals seeking protection started to rise. The situation of refugees³⁵ in Europe, however, is nothing new, with the refugees residing in makeshift self-built tent cities or as “sans papier” on the streets or in neglected residential buildings in large cities. The right to housing is universally considered to be a human right that must be effectively provided against the backdrop of difference(s).³⁶

It is at this point that the issue of recognition comes into play, for a socially just spatial and urban politics cannot avoid offering marginalized groups, such as inhabitants of informal settlements or more destitute residents, a “right to the city.”³⁷ Here, recognition means, first and foremost, no longer marginalizing, devaluing, and negatively stigmatizing these inhabitants, but rather accepting them as equal urban residents and recognizing their potential. It also implies that these individuals and their respective organization³⁸ *commit* to participating as *equal* partners in processes of valorization and urban development. Therefore, in lieu of planning from the top down and creating professionalized NGOs, it is important to support local civic and self-organized initiatives in their autonomy and activism.³⁹ Decisive in practicing spatial and urban planning oriented to the common good is active participation, the form of which likewise requires participative discussion and decision-making.⁴⁰ Various methods can be employed to this end, as noted earlier, but what remains decisive is the commitment to participation.



Pursuing a politics of recognition along the horizon of a changed production of space also involves acknowledging other forms of life beyond prevalent heteronormative gendering. Such spatial politics open up spaces of free determination of lifestyle, but also of protection, and conversely fosters the free configuration of other spatial forms.⁴¹ Other battle lines within society will surely arise with regard to identities extending beyond prevailing gender norms and in view of issues related to the recognition thereof. These conflicts reach all the way into the individual communities, since the definition of gay, lesbian, queer, or transsexual identity strongly differs depending on the respective continent-related cultural context. At the same time, transboundary universal interfaces emerge, provided that education and emancipation are viewed as necessary, and not only as localized in the context of European modernity. Ultimately, the respective protagonists, theorists, and activists themselves understand best how to approach the respective conditions and, most importantly, change them.⁴²

Concealed behind the discussions on recognition and redistribution is a necessity that Lefebvre already mentioned: “Moreover—and more importantly—groups, classes or fractions of classes cannot constitute themselves, or recognize one another, as ‘subjects’ unless they generate (or produce) a space.”⁴³ Being able to spatialize means becoming visible and meaningful within society. At the same time, especially when space is taken to mean more than just built space, spatial appropriation signifies the need for freedom, political emancipation, and self-determination, for a life beyond alienation, exploitation, and political oppression. The existence of such needs continues, even in the twenty-first century, in the form of diverse social, civic, and emancipatory movements.⁴⁴

Against this background we can tentatively note here—in conclusion—that the social, political, and ecological crises already so evident today will warrant a fundamental transformation of cohabitation within society and economic activity in the twenty-first century.⁴⁵ Yet such a transformation cannot be successful and sustainable if the dominating hierarchy is not reversed. Not until natural *and* social-reproductive-human capital are put first will such a transformation actually be effective. An inversion like this would mean, in short, that life itself is moved to the center of thought, speech, and action (Hannah Arendt). Ultimately decisive is the political-societal will and the readiness to embrace change in the sense of a solidary, democratic, and emancipated (urban) society. Exemplary here are the many resistance movements, initiatives, and projects that have already sprung up along the lines of the “right to the city.”⁴⁶ What unites all of these movements is the necessity and the yearning for “another city for another life,” as the Situationist artist Constant, already in 1959, aptly stated. Under these auspices, the twenty-first century might indeed become an “urban” century.



INTRODUCTION

- 1 Cited from "Big Science," a song from the eponymous debut album by Laurie Anderson released in 1982.
 - 2 Cited from "Frauenwahlrecht," (Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle) propaganda writings on the 2nd Social Democratic Women's Day, Stuttgart, May 12, 1912.
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City and Gender

- 3 See Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung (BMVBS), *Stadtentwicklung und Image: Städtebauliche Großprojekte in Metropolräumen*, vol. 150: *Forschungen* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 1–111, esp. p. 67.
- 4 Whether these projects will actually be realized, and to what extent, was not a selection criterion. Some of the selected projects were cancelled over the course of the research period; in other cases, it remains unclear how they will proceed; while still others are already in the middle of the implementation phase. Based on extensive research, twelve projects were ultimately selected for closer examination—they serve as examples for my theories on the ways in which, it may be presumed, urban development and urban politics will be carried out in the near future. The selection process was also guided by the quality and the scope of the accessible material.
- 5 Here I am invoking the concept of male hegemony, which meanwhile seems rather outdated, because even if gender relations are thematized today, especially in the social sciences, in order to be able to explore all the constructions of "manhood" and "womanhood," along with their interdependencies, these relations are still distinguished by a more or less open state of asymmetry.
- 6 On Africa, see Aili Mari Tripp, *African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes*, 1st publ. ed. (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009). On India, see Raka Ray, *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) and Maitrayee Chaudhuri, ed., *Feminism in India*, in the series *Issues in Contemporary Indian Feminism* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, Women Unlimited in association with the Book Review Trust, 2004). On China, see: Lydia He Liu, Rebecca E. Karl, and Dorothy Ko, *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, in the series *Weatherhead Books on Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
- 7 See, for instance: http://www.un.org/depts/german/conf/beijing/beij_bericht.html (06.10.2015)
- 8 International Labour Organization. Source: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/newsite2002/about/defin.htm> (10.09.2016).
- 9 This conflict was already experienced by their predecessors in the first women's movement. See Katia Frey and Eliana Perotti, *Theoretikerinnen des Städtebaus: Texte und Projekte für die Stadt* (Berlin: Reimer, 2015). For information on more recent discourse, see the notes in the individual chapters of this publication.
- 10 Even the demand for equal payment for the same work, as asserted in the first women's movement, has still not come to fruition. In this and other matters, the Federal Republic of Germany remains in one of the last ranking positions as compared to other European countries. On this issue, see: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics (08.10.2015).
- 11 This became clear latest in the case of the organization Patriotic Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West, PEGIDA), founded in Dresden in the year 2014, and its offshoots in other German cities. The only position statement published by this "movement," comprised of nineteen points, not only

calls for resistance against misogyny—which is, however, exclusively ascribed to Muslims resisting integration—but also promotes sexual self-determination. Yet it remains totally open as to what this encompasses and to whom it should actually apply. Point 17 then polemizes “AGAINST this ludicrous ‘gender-mainstreaming,’ also often called ‘genderizing,’ this almost compulsive, politically correct gender-neutralization of our language.” Source: <http://www.ifinger.de/pegida-positionsapier.pdf> (06.06.2016)

Meanwhile Right-wing groups call advocates of gender research “genderists” and attack them. For example, against Elisabeth Tuidier, a sociology professor based in Kassel, who was threatened with gang rape and murder in a blog, among other places. Source: <http://junglewelt.com/artikel/2014/30/50269.html> (30.06.2016). See also Andreas Kemper and Isolde Aigner, *Die Maskulisten: organisierter Antifeminismus im deutschsprachigen Raum*, 1st ed. (Münster: Unrast, 2012). On this, see also Regina Frey, Marc Gärtner, Manfred Köhnen, and Sebastian Scheele, *Gender, Wissenschaftlichkeit und Ideologie: Argumente im Streit um Geschlechterverhältnisse*; Schriftenreihe des Gunda-Werner-Instituts, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, January 1, 2014. Source: <http://www.gwi-boell.de/de/2013/11/20/gender-wissenschaftlichkeit-und-ideologieargumente-im-streit-um-geschlechterverhaeltnisse> (06.10.2015). Also the men’s rights movement, which had already formed in the United States during the 1970s and has been active in Germany since the year 2000, should not be mistaken for the men’s movement that is basically the emancipatory counterpart to the women’s movement. See: Robert Claus, *Maskulismus: Antifeminismus zwischen vermeintlicher Salonfähigkeit und unverhohlenem Frauenhass*, July 2014. Source: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10861.pdf> (06.10.2015). See also Andreas Kemper and Isolde Aigner, *Die Maskulisten: organisierter Antifeminismus im deutschsprachigen Raum*, 1st ed. (Münster: Unrast, 2012).

- 12 See for ex.: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, in the series *Thinking Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1990). Butler herself responded to criticism of her remarks in the publication *Bodies That Matter*, explaining that her point was not only to negate the role of the (female) body, but also to draw attention to the fact that the field of biology is not an ineluctable absolute. Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- 13 Horst W. J. Rittel, *Thinking Design: Transdisziplinäre Konzepte für Planer und Entwerfer*, ed. Wolf D. Reuter and Wolfgang Jonas, Board of International Research in Design (BIRD), rev. ed. (Basel: Birkhäuser/De Gruyter, 2013), p. 20.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 15 Horst W. J. Rittel, *Planen, Entwerfen, Design* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), p. 302.
- 16 On this, see Sabine Hark, *Dissidente Partizipation: Eine Diskursgeschichte des Feminismus*, in the series *Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005).
- 17 Rittel 2013, p. 38.
- 18 References to several projects can be found in the endnotes of the final chapter.
- 19 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1974), p. 38.
- 20 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Sozialer Raum und “Klassen,”* 3rd edn. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995).
- 21 See Michel Foucault and Ulrich Bröckling, *Kritik des Regierens: Schriften zur Politik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010).
- 22 “Democracy Unrealized – Demokratie als unvollendeter Prozess” was the title of the Plattform 1_Documenta 11, Vienna, 2002.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

- 1 Winston Churchill, speech made to the House of Commons on May 4, 1909.
- 2 World Charter on the Right to the City, Social Forum of the Americas (July 2004), World Urban Forum, Barcelona (September 2004).

Urbanization

- 3 All numbers cited here are taken from: United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights* (New York, 2014). This study also notes that 54 percent of the urban population of Africa dwells in cities of less than half a million inhabitants, almost 10 percent in cities between half a million and a million, slightly more than 26 percent in cities between 1 and 5 million, and only 7.5 percent in cities with over 10 million inhabitants.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 5 See Deborah Potts, *Circular Migration in Zimbabwe and Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013).
- 6 The United Nations Population Fund writes on its website: “The world is undergoing the largest wave of urban growth in history. More than half of the world’s population now lives in towns and cities, and by 2030 this number will swell to about 5 billion. Much of this urbanization will unfold in Africa and Asia, bringing huge social, economic and environmental transformations.” Source: <http://www.unfpa.org/urbanization> (15.11.2015). It is in fact true that the vast majority of large cities are situated at the sea or rather proximate to the sea, at least along a river or other large body of water. Water has always played a major role in urban history: as a transport route, as a supplier of food like fish, mussels, or algae, as a resource for drinking water and for the irrigation of fields, or simply for enjoyment and relaxation.
- 7 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Jenseits der Stadt* (Berlin: Brinkmann + Bose, 2011), p. 100.
- 8 See Hermann Breuer and Ansgar Schmitz-Veltin, eds., *Szenarien zur demografischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung in Städten und Regionen* (Cologne: Verband Deutscher Städtestatistiker, 2013).
- 9 See Deborah Potts, “Whatever Happened to Africa’s Rapid Urbanization?,” *Counterpoints*, ed. Edward Paice, Africa Research Institute, February 2012. Source: <http://africaresearchinstitute.org/files/counterpoints/docs/Whatever-happened-to-Africas-rapid-urbanisation-6PZYPRMW7.pdf> (09.12.2015).

The Issue of Land

- 1 Karl Marx, *Capital*, abridged edition, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 371 and 369. He summarizes this transition elsewhere as follows: “The spoliation of the church’s property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation. They conquered the field for capitalistic agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a “free” and outlawed proletariat.” *Ibid.*, p. 371.
- 2 Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume III*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 891.
- 3 Marx 2008, p. 471.
- 4 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), pp. 75–76.

Landgrabbing

- 1 askia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2014), p. 81.
- 2 See Fred Pearce, *The Landgrabbers: The New Fight Over Who Owns the Earth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012).
- 3 Transnational Institute (TNI) for European Coordination Via Campesina (ECVC) and Hands off the Land (HOTL) alliance, "Land concentration, land grabbing and people's struggles in Europe," 2013. Source: www.tni.org. [24.11.2015].
- 4 At the root of this issue, in addition to the systematic acquisition of land and displacement, are cultivation areas that are too small, sinking producer prices, and the rising cost of seeds.
- 5 See Miguel A. Altieri, "The scaling up of agroecology: spreading the hope for food sovereignty and resiliency," *SOCLA's Rio+20 position paper*, May 2012. Source: www.weltagrabericht.de [24.11.2015].

Forced Urbanization

- 1 Jack Maher and Xie Pengfei, "China's New Urbanization Plan: Obstacles and Environmental Impacts," May 2014. Source: <http://www.thenatureofcities.com/2014/05/11/chinas-new-urbanization-plan-obstacles-and-environmental-impacts/> [12.03.2016].
- 2 "Land sales slow in China," china.org.cn, April 5, 2016. Source: http://www.china.org.cn/business/2016-04/05/content_38179266.htm [07.04.2016].
- 3 The exact phrasing reads: "Opinion of the State Council Secretariat on Guiding the Healthy Development of Markets for the Transfer and Exchange of Rural Property Rights."
- 4 Felix Lee, "China baut weltgrößte Klonfabrik," *TAZ*, November 26, 2015.
- 5 The World Bank, "China: A New Approach for Efficient, Inclusive, Sustainable Urbanization," press release, 2014. Source: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/03/25/china-a-new-approach-for-efficient-inclusive-sustainable-urbanization> [25.11.2015].
- 6 In order to effectuate this optimization, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang agreed upon a German-Chinese urbanization partnership in 2013. Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/China/Wirtschaft_node.html [18.02.2016].
- 7 See Serhan Cevik and Carolina Correa-Caro, "Growing (Un)equal: Fiscal Policy and Income Inequality in China and BRIC+," *IMF Working Paper* 15, no. 68 (March 2015).
- 8 See "Statistical Communiqué of the People's Republic of China on the 2012 National Economic and Social Development," National Bureau of Statistics of China, February 22, 2013. Source: http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/NewsEvents/201302/t20130222_26962.html [08.03.2016].
- 9 Michelle Loyalka, *Eating Bitterness: Stories from the Front Lines of China's Great Urban Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
- 10 See Purobi Sharma, "Politics of Urban Development in India," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 19, no. 3 (March 2014), pp. 45–52.
- 11 See Prachi Mishra and Utsav Kumar, "Trade Liberalization and Wage Inequality: Evidence From India," *Review of Development Economics* 12, no. 2 (2008), pp. 291–311
- 12 See "GDP growth of India," *Statistics Times*, February 18, 2016. Source: <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/gdp-growth-of-india.php> [30.01.2016].
- 13 See Stuart Corbridge, "The political economy of development in India since Independence," in *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal*, ed. Paul R. Brass (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 305–20.
- 14 See Credit Suisse, *Global Wealth Databook 2014* [Zurich: Credit Suisse Group AG, 2014].

- 15 The law is titled "Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act."
- 16 Arundhati Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014), p. 10.
- 17 See Lalit Batra, "A Review of Urbanisation and Urban Policy in Post-Independent India," *Working Paper Series: Centre for the Study of Law and Governance*, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance CSLG/WP/12, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi, 2009).
- 18 Examples include the program called Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and the program Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT).
- 19 See Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar, and Suhit K. Sen, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination*, series: *Cities and the Urban Imperative*, ed. Sujata Patel (New Delhi: Routledge, 2013).
- 20 The Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) program.
- 21 The law called "74th Constitutional Amendment Act," passed in 1992, actually dictates this equality. See Shankar Acharya, "India's urbanisation challenge," *Business Standard*, May 7, 2014. Source: http://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/shankar-acharya-india-s-urbanisation-challenge-114050701457_1.html [10.03.2016].
- 22 Sunalini Kumar, "Desires of planning and the planning of Desires: Vignettes of a Rape Culture and Beyond: Rijul Kochhar," *Kafila*, December 30, 2012. Source: <http://kafila.org/2012/12/30/desires-of-planning-and-the-planning-of-desires-vignettes-of-a-rape-culture-and-beyond-rijul-kochhar/> [09.03.2016].
- 23 Pratiksha Braxi, "Rape Cultures in India," *Kafila*, December 23, 2012. Source: <http://kafila.org/2012/12/23/rape-cultures-in-india-pratiksha-baxi/> [09.03.2016].

Cities as Prosperity Machines

- 1 UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2010/2011: Bridging the Urban Divide* (London: earthscan: 2011).
- 2 UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013: Prosperity of Cities* (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2013a).
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 4 "Cities have a central role to play in contributing to national and global recovery. And as the world seeks a more people-centred, sustainable approach to development, cities can lead the way with local solutions to global problems." Ban Ki-moon, "Secretary-General's Foreword," in *ibid.*, p. iii.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 12. "Prosperity implies success, wealth, thriving conditions, and well-being as well as confidence and opportunity. . . . In general terms, a prosperous city offers a profusion of public good and develops policies and actions for sustainable use, and allows equitable access to 'commons'."
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. xii.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 146–47.
Interestingly, when considering all five dimensions, Vienna (0.925) ranks first, followed by Helsinki and Oslo (both 0.924), Dublin and Copenhagen (both 0.913), Tokyo (0.905), London (0.904), and Melbourne (0.903). In terms of the productivity index, only New York (0.940) and London (0.923) reach a 9 following the decimal point. Tokyo (0.931) takes first place (!) in the quality of life index, followed by Barcelona (0.912), Toronto (0.907), and Seoul (0.903). In the infrastructure index, an impressive number of cities have achieved the 0.9 status, yet for those who have recently visited the cities of Mexico City and Hanoi, the question arises as to why they have deserved this distinction. In the environmental index, Toronto (0.963) is ranked first,

followed by Dublin (0.958) and, surprisingly, Shanghai (0.950), which is astonishing since air pollution is nearly as high as in Beijing.

(Air quality in Shanghai was actually measured at a level of 162 and Beijing at 184 on December 4, 2015—definitely extremely unhealthy levels. Source: <http://aqicn.org>.)

In the equality index, Copenhagen (0.922) takes first place, followed by Oslo (0.903) and Bucharest (0.900), with no other cities reaching the 0.9 cutoff. If we ignore this particular index, however, the overall chart displays a somewhat different ranking. Then Vienna (0.936) still ranks first, followed by New York, Toronto, London, and Stockholm (all 0.934).

8 Ibid., p. xii.

9 Ibid., p. xviii.

10 Ibid., pp. xix and 130ff. "As a decision-making tool, urban planning must better defend the 'public' against the menace of ever-expanding 'private' interests and its consequences: shrinking public spaces and reduced provision of public goods, which in turn affect more collective, intangible dimensions, such as quality of life, social interaction, cultural identity and social values."

11 Ibid., p. 111.

12 See the reports provided by the Institut für Wachstumsstudien (Institute for Growth Studies, IWS), an independent association of scientists from various fields and different German universities. Source: <http://www.wachstumsstudien.de> (14.03.2016).

13 This computer-linguistic analysis was thankfully undertaken by Dr. Katina Bontcheva. For more information on the methodology, see:

OANC (<http://www.americannationalcorpus.org>) was chosen as the reference corpus for the English texts to determine the keywordness of the keyword-candidates. The raw texts (OANC as well) were analyzed with open-source dependency parsers. From the analyzed texts were extracted the base forms of all nouns, since keywords are predominantly nouns. The frequency counts were normalized to a common basis (occurrences per 1,000,000 word tokens) and were calculated for each noun in each file. The keywordness value was calculated according to the formula:

$$\frac{\text{freq-per-million-in-focus-corpus} + 100}{\text{freq-per-million-in-reference-corpus} + 100}$$
 where "focus-corpus" is each of the files and "reference-corpus" is the OANC.

This approach to determining the keywordness value is superior to the approaches using statistical methods (see Kilgarriff 2012). The keywords were ordered (for each file) according to their keywordness value. From the top 100 keywords were removed manually proper nouns, toponyms and acronyms and words that were wrongly classified by the parser. For each file, a visualization for the top keywords was made.

Multi-word terms of keywords and attributes were extracted. The multi-word terms as well as the attributes alone were ordered according their simple frequency counts and visualized.

Adam Kilgarriff, "Getting to Know Your Corpus," in *Text, Speech and Dialogue*, ed. Petr Sojka et al., vol. 7499: *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer, 2012).

14 The term "the right to the city" harks back to the eponymous publication by the philosopher of space Henri Lefebvre. Originally published as: Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville: Société et urbanisme* (Paris: Éditions anthropos, 1968).

15 See UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2010/2011*, p. 57.

16 See p. 133.

17 See UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013*, back cover.

18 Ibid., p. 111.

19 UN-Habitat, *State of Women in Cities 2012–2013: Gender and the Prosperity of Cities*, United Nations Human Settlements Programme (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2013c). Source: www.unhabitat.org/publications (28.07.2016).

20 Sylvia Chant, "Cities through a 'gender lens': a golden 'urban age' for women in the global

South?," *Environment and Urbanization* 25 (April 2013), pp. 9–29.

21 See Ruth Becker, "Forschungsperspektive 'Stadt' mit Beiträgen von Aylâ Neusel," in *Berichte aus der Frauenforschung: Perspektiven für Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, ed. Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur (Hannover: Referat für Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 1997), pp. 453–94.

22 Ruth Becker, "What's Wrong with a Female Head?," in *City and Gender: International Discourse on Gender, Urbanism and Architecture*, ed. Ulla Terlinden (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003).

23 See Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), *Women and Housing Rights Programme, Women, Slums and Urbanization: Examining the Causes and Consequences*, May 2008. Source: http://globalinitiative-escr.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/women_slums_and_urbanisation_may_2008.pdf (accessed September 25, 2015).

24 In the following, the term LGBTTQI+ denotes: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, queer, and intersexual. Different variants of the terms and their acronyms are in existence.

ECONOMIES OF URBAN SPACE PRODUCTION

1 Source: <http://www.myhomemaslak.com/en/> (04.09.2014).

2 Vishaan Chakrabarti and Norman Foster *A Country of Cities: A Manifesto for an Urban America* (New York: Metropolis Books, 2013), pp. 140–41.

Capital over City

3 Financialization denotes processes within society that are characterized by an increasing significance of the capital, loan, and financial markets, including their decoupling from the real economy. See Bob Jessop, "The Narrative of Enterprise and the Enterprise of Narrative: Place Marketing and the Entrepreneurial City," in *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime, and Representation*, ed. Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), pp. 4–99.

4 Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2014).

5 See Fulcrum, *Real Estates: Life Without Debt* (London: Bedford Press, 2014).

6 See David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

7 See Piyush Tiwari and Michael White, *International Real Estate Economics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Also see: Jones Lang LaSalle, "Global Corporate Real Estate Trends 2015," 2015. Source: <http://globalcretrends.jll.com> (24.04.2016). Thierry Theurillat, Patrick Rérat, and Olivier Crevoisier, "The Real Estate Markets: Players, Institutions and Territories," *Urban Studies* (2014), pp. 1–20.

Igal Charney, "The Real Estate Development Industry," in *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning*, ed. Randall Crane and Rachel Weber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 722–38.

8 Ibid., pp. 63–64.

9 See Sassen 2014, pp. 168–69.

10 Ibid., p. 84.

11 WEED e.V., "Money laundering and the reform of the Money Laundering Directive," *WEED – World, Economy, Ecology & Development*, September 2013. Source: http://www2.weed-online.org/uploads/factsheet_money_laundering.pdf (15.11.2015).

- 12 Jens Rosbach, "Deutschlands Problem mit der Geldwäsche-Bekämpfung," February 10, 2014. Source: http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/kriminalitaet-deutschlands-problem-mit-der-geldwaesche.724.de.html?dram:article_id=277124 [12.03.2016].
- 13 See Julie Walters, Carolyn Budd, Russell G. Smith, Kim-Kwang Raymond Choo, Rob McCusker, and David Rees, "Anti-money laundering and counter-terrorism financing across the globe: A comparative study of regulatory action," *AIC Reports*, vol. 113: *Research and Public Policy Series* (Canberra: Australian Government, Australian Institute of Criminology, 2011).
- 14 See OECD, "Report on Tax Fraud and Money Laundering Vulnerabilities Involving the Real Estate Sector," CTPA – Centre for Tax Policy and Administration, 2007.
- 15 See FATF/OECD, "Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Vulnerabilities of Legal Professionals," June 2013. Source: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org> [15.11.2015].
- 16 Aditi Shah and Swati Pandey, "India's uphill battle against 'black money' in real estate," *Reuters*, November 20, 2012. Source: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/20/us-india-blackmoney-realestate-idUSBRE8AJ1GY20121120> [21.10.2014].

Crisis!?

- 1 See Kevin Fox Gotham, "Creating Liquidity out of Spatial Fixity: The Secondary Circuit of Capital and the Subprime Mortgage Crisis," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, no. 2 (2009), pp. 355–71.
- 2 See Matthew Sherman, "A Short History of Financial Deregulation in the United States," July 2009. Source: <http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/dereg-timeline-2009-07.pdf> [20.11.2015].
- 3 See UN-Habitat, *The Sub Prime Crisis: The Crisis of Over-Spending and Overly-Supply; The Global Urban Economic Dialogue Series* (Nairobi: UN-Habitat, 2011b).
- 4 For example, the German news program *Die Tagesschau* reported the following on September 15, 2009: "The bailout package for the American economy amounting to 700 billion US dollars caused a great deal of excitement, even if just because of its scope . . . 50 billion dollars for the Citigroup, 35 billion for the Bank of America, 25 billion for JPMorgan Chase . . ." Four years later, the same newscaster reported: "In the USA, victims of foreclosures can expect to receive a windfall from banks. Ten financial institutes that had initiated foreclosures as mortgage service providers have made themselves liable for paying 8.5 billion dollars to the injured parties, according to the regulatory authority OCC." *Tagesschau*, January 7, 2013.

99 Homes

- 1 Johanna Montgomerie and Brigitte Young, "Home Is Where The Hardship Is: Gender and Wealth; (Dis)Accumulation in the Subprime Boom," *CRESC Working Paper 79* (2011), Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change (CRESC), The University of Manchester.
- 2 See Rakesh Kochhar, Richard Fry, Richard, and Paul Taylor, "Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks and Hispanics," July 26, 2011, Pew Social & Demographic Trends, Washington, DC. See also Debbie Gruenstein Bocian, Wei Li, and Keith S. Ernst, "Foreclosures by Race and Ethnicity: The Demographics of a Crisis," June 18, 2010. Source: www.responsiblelending.org [16.03.2016].

Buy It, Fix It, Sell It

- 1 Cited from an Invitation Homes website advertising banner. Source: <http://invitationhomes.com> [09.03.2016].
- 2 See <http://invitationhomes.com/market/chicagoland/> [20.11.2015].
- 3 See Sarah Edelman, with Julia Gordon and David Sanchez, "When Wall Street Buys Main Street: The Implications of Single-Family Rental Bonds for Tenants and Housing Markets," February 2014, Centre for American Progress. Source: https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WallStMainSt_Report.pdf [20.11.2015].
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Cited from an Invitation Homes website advertising banner. Source: <http://invitationhomes.com/> [09.03.2016].
- 6 Sharon Smyth, "Blackstone Said to Offer Debt Forgiveness on Spain Mortgages," July 1, 2015. Source: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-07-01/blackstone-said-to-offer-debt-forgiveness-on-spanish-mortgages> [24.08.2016].
- 7 This applied only to families with three or more children, single parents with two or more children, and parents living together with one child under three years of age. All others are excepted, especially single mothers and migrants. See "Shattered Dreams: Impact of Spain's Housing Crisis on Vulnerable Groups," May 27, 2014, Human Rights Watch. Source: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/05/27/shattered-dreams/impact-spains-housing-crisis-vulnerable-groups> [20.03.2016].
- 8 "The work consists of 146 photographic views of New York apartment buildings, six pictures of transactions, an explanatory wall panel, and maps of Harlem and the Lower East Side. Each photograph is accompanied by a typed text that describes the location and the financial transactions involving the building in the picture. Haacke discloses the transactions of a real-estate firm between 1951 and 1971. Harry Shapolsky, the key figure, who is well protected by influential friends, is guilty of an assortment of fraudulent practices of which the judicial system has been exceedingly forgiving. Haacke's one-artist show at the Guggenheim, of which this work was to be part, was canceled by the director of the museum six weeks before the opening, and artists occupied the premises in protest against this censorship." Source: *documenta X short guide* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1997), p. 84.
- 9 Firms that are famous for their spectacular flagship architecture projects—including Forster & Partners, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, and Zaha Hadid Architects, but also the German global player Gerkan, Marg & Partner—have long been exceeded by lesser-known planning companies like Aecom (USA), Gensler (USA), IBI Group (Canada), Niken Sekkei (Japan), Aedas (China, USA), DP Architects (Singapore), HOK (USA), and Surbana International Consultants Pte Ltd (Singapore) when it comes to turnover and number of employees. Counting among the largest construction companies are Vinci (France), Grupo ACS (Spain), Bechtel (USA), Hochtief (Germany), Skanska (Sweden), Balfour Beatty (Great Britain), and Bouygues Construction (France), though also found at the frontline are Chinese governmental firms like the building enterprise China State Construction & Engineering (CSCEC) and the China Railway Group. See Vanessa Quirk, "The 100 Largest Architecture Firms In the World," *Arch Daily*, February 11, 2013. Source: <http://www.archdaily.com/330759/the-100-largest-architecture-firms-in-the-world/> [24.08.2016].
- 10 Thierry Theurillat, Patrick Rérat, and Olivier Crevoisier, "The Real Estate Markets: Players, Institutions and Territories," *Urban Studies* 1–20 (2014), p. 10.
- 11 See Lorraine Kennedy, "Large-Scale Projects Shaping Urban Futures: A Preliminary Report on Strategies, Governance and Outcomes Based on Eight Case Studies in Four Countries," March 2013, EADI, Chance2Sustain, Bonn.
- 12 Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung, Berlin / Bundesamt für Bauwesen und

Raumordnung, *Stadtentwicklung und Image: Städtebauliche Großprojekte in Metropolräumen*, vol. 150 (Berlin: BMVBS, 2011). See also: Fernando Diaz Orueta and Susan S. Fainstein, "The New Mega-Projects: Genesis and Impacts," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 4 (December 2008), pp. 759–67.

- 13 KPMG, "Ready for the next big wave? Global construction survey," 2013. Source: <http://www.kpmg.com/Gl/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/global-construction-survey-2013.pdf> [24.08.2016].
- 14 Oxford Economics and Global Construction Perspectives, "Global Construction: A Global Forecast for the Construction Industry to 2025," 2013. Source: <http://www.globalconstruction2025.com> [13.06.2016].
- 15 EY, "Global market outlook 2016: Trends in real estate private equity," 2015, pp. 1 and 33. Source: www.ey.com [20.03.2016].
- 16 PWC, "Emerging Trends in Real Estate: A global view," March 2016, p. 18. Source: <http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/industries/financial-services/asset-management/emerging-trends-real-estate/global-outlook-2016/download.html> [20.03.2016].

BEHIND THE IMAGES

- 1 Donna Haraway, *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective; Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: the Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 187.
- 2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1974), pp. 96–97.

Digital Image Production

- 3 See Yehuda Kalay, *Architecture's New Media: Principles, Theories, and Methods of Computer-Aided Design* (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 2004).
- 4 See Mario Carpo, *Alphabet und Algorithmus: Wie das Digitale die Architektur herausfordert*, vol. 6: *ArchitekturDenken* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012).
- 5 Sybille Krämer, "Zentralperspektive, Kalkül, Virtuelle Realität: Sieben Thesen über die Weltbildimplikationen symbolischer Formen," in *Medien-Welten-Wirklichkeiten*, ed. Gianni Vattimo and Wolfgang Welsch (Munich: Fink, 1998), p. 28.
- 6 The favored software is still Photoshop, although there are quite a few other specialized programs like MAXON and Cinema 3+4D, as well as various applications and plug-ins. See Kunsmann, "Neben der Realität: Über Architekturvisualisierung," *Baunetzwoche: Das Querformat für Architekten* 397 (February 2015). Source: <http://www.baunetz.de/baunetzwoche.html> (February 13, 2015). See also Philip Ursprung, "Photoshop und die Folgen: Das Dilemma der Architekturdarstellung," in *Die Realität des Imaginären: Architektur und das digitale Bild*, 10th International Bauhaus Colloquium (Weimar, 2007), pp. 197–202. Source: <https://e-pub.uni-weimar.de/opus4/frontdoor/index/index/docId/1322> [13.02.2015].
- 7 He continues as follows: "What exists is merely an awareness of a potential extension of the traditional geometric language of architecture that is present in the invisible mathematical description of digital design tools, i.e. the recognition of the existence of a relationship between specific input and unique output." Kotnik notes that more advanced firms employ the use of the computer on parametric or even algorithmic levels: in the former, the function is used for generating geometry, for example, of a building (as in the case of the Mercedes Benz Museum in Stuttgart by UNStudio); on the algorithmic level, the geometric construction is generated directly from the formal description and utilization of f (as with the

Serpentine Gallery by Toyo Ito and Cecil Balmond). See Toni Kotnik, "Digital Architectural Design as Exploration of Computable Functions," *International Journal of Architectural Computing* 8, no. 1 (January 2010).

- 8 Asmaa Abd Elgawad Elsebae, "Computer technology and its reflection on the architecture and internal space," *Image* 16 (July 2012). Also see Kotnik 2010.
- 9 Nicholas Negroponte, "Toward a Theory of Architecture Machines," *Journal of Architectural Education* 23, no. 2 (March 1969), pp. 9–12, esp. p. 9.
- 10 Ibid., p. 12.
- 11 Ivan Edward Sutherland, *Sketchpad: A Man-Machine Graphical Communication System (Outstanding Dissertations in the Computer Sciences)* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980) and Ivan Edward Sutherland, *Sketchpad: A Man-Machine Graphical Communication System*, vol. 574: *Technical Report*, University of Cambridge Computer Laboratory (1963; repr., Lexington, MA: MIT Lincoln Laboratory, 2003). Source: <https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/techreports/UCAM-CL-TR-574.pdf> [12.07.2016].
- 12 See Eva C. Freeman, *MIT Lincoln Laboratory: Technology in the National Interest* (Lexington, MA: MIT Lincoln Laboratory, 1995).
- 13 A head-mounted display (HMD) is a visual output device that is worn on the head. Sutherland developed this device at Harvard University together with his student Bob Sproull. See Ivan Edward Sutherland, "A Head-Mounted Three Dimensional Display," *Proceedings of AFIPS 68* (Fall 1968), pp. 757–64.
- 14 These developments were funded in part by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA, today DARPA), a section within the US Department of Defense that also played an important role in the development of the Internet. In parallel to the research conducted by Sutherland, other research was pursued at the MIT Lincoln Laboratory in the scope of the Semi-Automatic Ground Environment (SAGE) program, including military airspace monitoring systems and radar technology. Sutherland later headed the Advanced Research Project Agency's Information Processing Techniques Office (IPTO). See *Lincoln Laboratory Journal* 19, no. 2 (2012). Source: <http://www.ll.mit.edu/publications/journal/journalarchives19-2.html> [18.03.2016].
- 15 The Visual Arts Program, which was run by Ute Meta Bauer from 2009 to 2012, and the Center for Advanced Visual Studies were consolidated in 2009 to a new program department, the MIT Program in Art, Culture and Technology (ACT).
- 16 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1960). A publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies, a cooperative venture of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.
- 17 From 1954 to 1959, Lynch and Kepes had already researched the city as part of their study "The Perceptual Form of the City" and already compiled a comprehensive collection of photographs, field notes, interviews, and data on urban renewal in Boston.
- 18 Source: <https://www.nemetschek.com/marken/maxon/> [02.02.2016].

Visual Belief Systems

- 1 A rare exception to this is the article: Wolfgang Christ, "Stadt hinter Glas," *Deutsches Architektenblatt* (2015), pp. 12–16.
- 2 Previous to initiating this study, I had already conducted research on urban-development projects as part of the project *Die Kunst nicht dermaßen regiert zu werden* (The Art of Not Being Governed Like That). This project was part of the exhibition *Re-Designing the East: Political Design in Asia and Europe*, which ran at the Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart from September 25, 2010, to January 9, 2011. It was developed and produced by the co-directors

- of the Württembergischer Kunstverein, Iris Dressler and Hans D. Christ, as well as by the artists Sylvia Winkler and Stephan Köperl, and myself. One of my contributions entailed researching and compiling animated urban designs, as can be found on YouTube, in order to illustrate—through a journey across the globe—the dimensionality and prevalence of urban-development projects, but also to analyze their computer-based methods of representation.
- 3 These renderings were retrieved when the research was initiated in the year 2014. Some of the websites have been overhauled in the meantime, others augmented or completely redone.
 - 4 For a list of the individuals projects, see the chart in the Appendix.
 - 5 At any rate, the TOKI logo is found on the website in question.
 - 6 These plans were not taken into consideration during the analysis of images, nor were renderings of only interiors or occasionally implemented pictures such as aerial photographs.
 - 7 Information about the exact respective (rounded) percentage of the individual aspects is found in the charts in the Appendix.
 - 8 The “rule of thirds” is a simplified form of the “golden ratio,” whereby the image is divided by two vertical and two horizontal lines to create a total of nine equally dimensioned fields. Depending on the case, the visual composition is aligned either to a vertical or a horizontal line, which causes a third of the image to be highlighted especially.
 - 9 If we consider all images, the horizon line is situated in the bottom third in over 30 percent of the renderings. In around a quarter of the cases it is almost centered, and more rarely set low or in the upper third. In some bird’s-eye views, the horizon line is omitted entirely.
 - 10 The bird’s-eye views work a bit differently. Shown here, besides the sky, are primarily landscapes with or without water areas, depending on the respective horizon line. Only in exceptional cases are already existing urban landscapes shown.
 - 11 This includes contrasts that shift according to the monitor resolution and are difficult to define, which is why I refrain from discussing them in more detail. In general, the daylight renderings present a relatively balanced relationship between contrasts in quality, light-dark contrasts, and discrepancies in quantity. Found less frequently are intensive color contrasts, cold-warm contrasts, and complementary contrasts.
 - 12 Only in one case—the fortress-like and totally isolated residential hotel and service complex Aura Erbil—is the landscape, which is in reality utterly barren, reproduced in a completely honest way.
 - 13 Source: <http://lve-baumschule.de/service/stadtbaeume-fit-fuer-die-zukunft> (13.04.2015).
 - 14 In addition to several small trees, planted for instance in the new Europaviertel of Stuttgart 21, some (rather unobtrusive) roof greenery dots the newly built mega shopping center, which is partially why, in the year 2013, it won the “Best Futura Mega Project” prize at the real-estate trade fair Marché International des Professionnels de l’Immobilier (Mipim).
 - 15 A third of the studied daytime images show a clear blue sky.
 - 16 This is the case, for instance, in the Hamburg Hafen City or the new Harbor Front in Oslo.
 - 17 The following analysis pertains to those rendered persons who are clearly recognizable and identifiable.
 - 18 Lia Karsten, “From a top-down to a bottom-up urban discourse: (re)constructing the city in a family-inclusive way,” *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 24, no. 3 (September 2009), pp. 317–29.
 - 19 This is apparent in those projects where such a large scale is relevant. Even if this applies to only some of the projects, it still goes to show, like many already realized projects, that a hierarchal organization in terms of housing floor plan will continue to be the rule rather than the exception.
 - 20 Only the Indian project Aura City displays a somewhat different floor-plan arrangement for the apartments. The buildings of this housing complex are designed as semi-detached houses, connected by a common stairwell with elevator. The apartments do without a hallway in the

entrance area; instead, we find ourselves directly situated in a large living room, which is connected to an equally spacious kitchen with dining area, separated only by half of a wall. The kitchen gives way to a small corridor, providing access first to bathrooms and then to bedrooms on each side.

- 21 Four of the twelve studied projects provide floor plans. Also, four of twelve projects offer perspectival representations of the living space on their websites. Of the thirty-nine interior space renderings total, eighteen show living rooms (one of which is a living room with open kitchen), nine show bedrooms, seven show bathrooms, and only five renderings show kitchens.
- 22 Only in the case of Stuttgart 21—and after the mass protests among the population, in which wheelchair users and other people with disabilities regularly took part—was, after many years and rather ashamedly, a wheelchair-bound person standing in front of an elevator penciled into the design in order to at least visually prove that the new underground station would also be barrier-free.
- 23 See the sources: <http://www.un.org/disabilities/convention/conventionfull.shtml#top> and http://ec.europa.eu/justice/newsroom/discrimination/opinion/111207_en.htm (24.08.2016). In the European Union, too, preparations have been made in recent years to enact Europe-wide accessibility legislation, which has not quite succeeded to date.
- 24 In China, more than 12 percent of the population is over sixty, and by the year 2050 this number is projected to arrive at 34 percent or even higher. In Europe, the dynamic is different depending on the country. Germany ranks first in people over 65 years with 21 percent in the year 2010, followed by Italy and Greece. See, for example this source: <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/Bevoelkerungsstand/BlickpunktAeltereMenschen1021221119004.pdf> (18.04.2015).
- 25 This includes workers in open-air eateries, a kiosk operator, a concierge, and a security guard. In one picture of Masdar City, we look through a windowpane to see two women in white coats working in a laboratory.

Quality Promise

- 1 The point of departure here is also the information communicated by the project organizers on the respective websites, with the exception of the Chinese website, which was—except for the appendix of the master plan—not translated, so only the data in the master plan was available for study.
- 2 See table in the appendix.
- 3 Source: <http://www.bahnprojekt-stuttgart-ulm.de/details/stadtentwicklung/staedtebaukonzept/> (06.03.2016).
- 4 It still remains to be seen as to how the Rosensteinviertel will actually be utilized and built, for its areas allotted to new construction actually belong to the City of Stuttgart, thus giving the city the right to unrestricted planning. For this reason, it was not possible to take quality statements into account concerning the realization.
- 5 All quotes have been taken from the English-language brochure on the Maslak 1453 project. Source: <http://www.westsideistanbul.com.tr/catalog.aspx> (06.03.2016).
- 6 All quotes from the English-language brochure dated 2013, which were published on the now no longer accessible website.
- 7 Cited from “Exploring Masdar City: Tour Booklet” (06.05.2016).
- 8 All quotes from the Appolonia – City of Light project brochure. Source: <http://www.appolonia.com.gh/resources/downloads/> (23.03.2016).
- 9 Cited from the 2012 Eko Atlantic project brochure. Source: <http://www.ekoatlantic.com> (06.03.2016).

- 10 See the source: <http://www.konzacity.go.ke> (12.06.2016).
- 11 All quotes taken from the source: <http://www.konzacity.go.ke/the-vision/master-plan/> (13.06.2016).
- 12 Source: <http://www.konzacity.go.ke/the-vision/a-smart-city/> (13.06.2016).
- 13 In the year 2015, negotiation talks were initiated with a large Kenyan software company, which was interested in moving their business to this area. Source: <http://cio.co.ke/news/top-stories/ges2015kenya-offers-local-software-firm-founder-opportunity-to-meet-equity-investors> (05.03.2016).
- 14 All quotes taken from the Aura City brochure. Source: http://www.jalangroup.info/page.php?pageId=3&projects_id=78 (12.06.2016).
- 15 All quotes taken from the Bhartiya City project brochure. Source: <https://issuu.com/bhartiyacity/docs/bhartiyacitybook?backgroundColor> (12.06.2016).
- 16 Source: http://www.tianjinecocity.gov.sg/bg_intro.htm (05.03.2016).
- 17 Source: http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/SinglePage.aspx?column_id=10316 (14.03.2016).

Stuttgart 21 Revisited

- 1 Stuttgart is the capital of the State of Baden-Württemberg, which is the third largest German state in terms of population. At the end of 2015, the city had more than 600,000 inhabitants. The metropolitan region of Stuttgart, with its population of 2.67 million, is one of Germany's core industrial areas with a focus on the automobile industry, plant construction, and mechanical engineering, as well as high technology and the service sector.
- 2 In the referendum, residents voted on whether the state should back out of the Stuttgart 21 financing agreement—on “legislation pertaining to the exercise of redemption rights in the contractual agreements for the railway project Stuttgart 21 (S 21-Kündigungsgesetz).”
- 3 For example, plans for the partial development of the former Tempelhof Airport in Berlin were rejected in a referendum. Hamburg's application to host the Olympic Games was also rejected by the population in a referendum.
- 4 On the project, see, among others, Wolfgang Reuter, “Öffentlich-privates Partnerschaftsprojekt ‘Stuttgart 21,’” *DISP* 145 (2001), pp. 29–40, as well as various other publications, including crime novels involving Stuttgart 21 that have been published over the years, especially from the resistance camp.
- 5 Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/transport/infrastructure/tentec/tentec-portal/site/en/abouttent.htm> und <https://ec.europa.eu/inea/en/ten-t/ten-t-projects> (27.07.2016).
- 6 Source: <http://www.s-oe-s.de/archives/2011/07/27/was-kostet-die-stadtebauliche-chance-transparente-zahlen-zu-den-grundstuecksgeschäften-bei-stuttgart-21/> (10.03.2016). This waiver does not improve the budgetary situation of the City of Stuttgart. Even in the automobile metropolis Stuttgart, where everyone and everything is dependent on the motor industry, it has for instance resulted in the postponement of urgently needed roadwork by several decades.
- 7 To put these costs into context: the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) of the United Nations General Assembly wrote the following in its 2015 annual report: “In January 2015, the UN and its partners appealed for \$16.4 billion to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to 57 million people in 22 countries. By the end of 2015, the humanitarian situation worldwide had worsened, and it was estimated that 87 million people required urgent humanitarian assistance at an estimated cost of \$20 billion.” Central Emergency Response Fund 2015, Annual Report 2015, p. 5, Source: https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/CERF/CERF_AR_2015_FINAL_compressed.pdf (23.07.2016).
- 8 The majority of the insurgents actually did not originate from the bourgeois class living on the hills of the cauldron as was asserted by the press and some academics.

- 9 As mentioned earlier, the project *Die Kunst nicht dermaßen regiert zu werden* [The Art of Not Being Governed Like That] was developed in a cooperation between Iris Dressler and Hans D. Christ, the directors of the Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart (one of the largest art associations in Germany), the artist couple Sylvia Winkler and Stephan Köperl, and myself. It was shown from November 8, 2010, to January 9, 2011, as part of the exhibition *Re-Designing the East: Political Design in Asia and Europe* at the Württembergischer Kunstverein, and later as part of the exhibition *The Lucifer Effect* at the Center for Contemporary Art (DOX) in Prague. See: <http://www.wkv-stuttgart.de/en/program/2010/exhibitions/the-art-of-not/> (23.07.2016).
- 10 To begin with, only the following two large platforms of this resistance movement are referenced: <http://www.bei-abriss-aufstand.de> and <http://www.parkschuetzer.de> (12.06.2016).
- 11 This even led to the texts, drawings, and objects published there being later moved to the “Haus der Geschichte” (Museum of History) in Stuttgart, where they became museum exhibits.
- 12 Jürgen Habermas, *Technik und Wissenschaft als ‘Ideologie’* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968), p. 100. See also: Jürgen Habermas, *Critical Theory and Health*, ed. Graham Scambler (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 5.
- 13 Habermas 1968, p. 100.
- 14 The activism of these women engaged in resistance tends to be overlooked. To me, this observation was the starting point for conducting interviews with the activists in the year 2012. See Yvonne P. Doderer and Württembergischer Kunstverein, eds., *Rote Rosen statt Zerstörung: Frauen im Widerstand gegen Stuttgart 21* (Stuttgart: Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, 2013).
- 15 This is also reflected by the stance of planners, for as the architect of the future underground station stated: “I am skeptical about whether all citizens can imagine the station based on the plans alone and thus evaluate the urban-development qualities.” Source: Michael Isenberg, “Keine Angst vor Volksabstimmung,” *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, November 20, 2011.
- 16 Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, Stadtplanungsamt, ed., *Rahmenplan Stuttgart 21*, enacted on July 24, 1997, by the local council of the City of Stuttgart (1997), p. 16. The master plan (in the sense of a reference framework) describes only the rough guidelines of an undertaking and makes basic statements regarding building density, usage, infrastructure, development, and the planning of green spaces. Source: <http://www.stuttgart.de/img/mdb/publ/2735/58825.pdf> (08.05.2016).
- 17 For example, ECE, Strabag, Bayerische Hausbau, Schwäbische Wohnungs AG, Reiß & Co Real Estate, Hamburg Trust, and Fay Group.
- 18 The fact that a social facility for youth is lacking in this city district becomes evident through their use of the library as a space for recreation and staying warm.
- 19 Stammheim is the name of a high-security prison where the first generation of the Red Army Faction (RAF) was incarcerated in the mid-1970s. Their trial also took place there.
- 20 Cited from the commemorative publication *Stadtbibliothek am Mailänderplatz: About Architecture and Space* by the architect who designed the library, Eun Young Yi, on his project. Source: <http://www1.stuttgart.de/stadtbibliothek/druck/nb/FestschriftEnglish.pdf> (12.12.2015).
- 21 See Hildegund Obwald, “Stadtviertel mit Mut zur Lücke,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, December 16, 2010.
- 22 Stadtplanungsamt 1997, p. 44.
- 23 Source: <http://www.cloudno7.de> (08.01.2016).
- 24 See Sven Hahn, “Cloud No. 7: Der Wohnturm der Superlative,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung Online*, April 7, 2015. Source: <http://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.print.4dba7761-b0fa-4303-ae9c-8a4e365f4b82.presentation.print.v2.html> (06.01.2016).
- 25 Stadtplanungsamt 1997, p. 44.

- 26 Chile under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet was the first country to implement and practice neoliberalism, notably with the support of Chilean economists who had studied under Friedrich August von Hayek and Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago. Even if politics has meanwhile transitioned to a "pragmatic neoliberalism," nowhere else in Latin America is economic and social inequality as great as in Chile. Even Germany has one of the highest inequality rates in Europe at this point.
- 27 Deregulation here refers to the elimination of legal obstacles for the market. An example is the "Legislation for Simplifying Planning Projects for the Development of Cities," which was added to the German Building Code (BauGB) in 2007. This legislation is a typical example of deregulation, for it further restricts already existing regulations, such as environmental reviews and the participation of both the general public and government authorities.
- 28 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Essence of Neoliberalism," *Le Monde diplomatique*, December 1998. Source: <https://mondediplo.com/1998/12/08bourdieu> (08.05.2016).
- 29 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 30 See Yvonne P. Doderer, *Räume des Politischen. Dimensionen des Städtischen* (Münster: Monsenstein and Vannerdat, 2013).
- 31 See the European Commission, Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: EU anti-corruption report (Brussels: COM, 2014) pp. 7, 17, and 28. Source: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/organized-crime-and-human-trafficking/corruption/docs/acr_2014_en.pdf (09.05.2016).

New Happiness

- 1 The stated costs amount to 1,422,323,365 euros.
- 2 Source: <http://agaoglu.com.tr/en> (20.01.2016).
- 3 Source: <http://www.forbes.com/profile/ali-ibrahim-agaoglu/> (19.01.2016).
- 4 Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBK0wL_PFI (13.04.2015).
- 5 Source: <http://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/tuerkei/187255/einkommensverteilung> (28.04.2015). In Germany, wages are almost twice as high.
- 6 Source: <http://www.usgbc.org/profile> (28.04.2015).
- 7 The whole continuous text reads:
 In 1453 Fatih conquered Constantinople
 . . . starting a new age
 Today, Maslak is another new age for Istanbul
 Maslak 1453 . . . 320,000 sqm of total area
 Happiness is to go beyond expectations
 . . . and share that vision
 Happiness is to have energy
 To turn Imagination on
 . . . and make a dream come true
 Happiness is an endless state of mind
 Is to know that someone thinks of your needs
 Happiness is to feel that your home . . .
 is the mirror of your soul
 A caring one . . .
 A social one . . .
 Happiness is to have friends
 Is to get what you want . . .

- Is freedom of choice . . .
 Happiness is to feel your life lighted . . .
 Is to give light to a smile . . .
 A new age of happiness
 Happiness is the talent to tell a story . . .
 To share your story . . .
 Happiness is knowing how to manage your life . . .
 Is to get perfect balance
 Between work and pleasure . . .
 Happiness is to dancing in the moonlight
 Is to feel dazzled . . .
 Maslak 1453 – A new age of happiness
- 8 Source: <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18624> (19.01.2016).
- 9 See World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013: World Economic Forum*, 2013, p. 13. Source: <http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2013> (19.01.2016). Here, Germany takes place 46.
- 10 In comparison, Germany ranks 14, although as compared to the year 2009, Germany has moved down two spots.
- 11 See, among others, Mehmet Penpecioğlu, "Urban Development Projects and the Construction of Neo-Liberal Urban Hegemony: The Case of Izmir," *METU JFA* 1 (2013).
- 12 Yasar Adnan Adanali, "Istanbul brennt: Geschichte einer brutalen Stadtentwicklung," *Le Monde diplomatique*, 2013. Source: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.de/pm/2013/07/12.mondeText.artikel,a0039.idx,8> (12.08.2013).
- 13 See, among others, Ulke Evrim Uysal, "An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The Case of Sulukule, Istanbul," *Cities* 29 (2012), pp. 12–22.
- 14 See, among others, Merve Çevik, "Forced Evictions in Istanbul," in *4 Cities Unica Euromaster in Urban Studies*, ed. Mathieu Van Criekingen (Brussels: ULB, 2011).
- 15 See Yasar Adnan Adanali, "The Reign of 'Madness' in Istanbul: Economies of Scale of Urban Transformation," *Trialog* 108 (2011), pp. 42–45.
- 16 See, among others, Pelin Tan, "A report from Gezi Park," *domus*, June 1, 2013. Source: http://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2013/06/1/gezi_park_occupation.html (12.06.2016).
- 17 See Zeynep Korkman and Salih Can Açıksöz, "Erdogan's Masculinity and the Language of the Gezi Resistance," *Jadaliyya*, June 22, 2013. Source: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12367/erdogan-mascul> (20.01.2016).
- 18 Tuğçe Ellialtı, "'Resist With Tenacity, Not With Swear Words': Feminist Interventions in the Gezi Park Protests," *CritCom*, January 8, 2014. Source: <http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/resist-with-tenacity-not-with-swear-words-feminist-interventions-in-the-gezi-park-protests/> (19.01.2016).
- 19 See The Clarion Project, "Domestic Violence in Turkey at 40% Says New Gov't Report," February 12, 2015, and "Turkey: Epidemic of Murders of Women Seeking Divorce," November 24, 2014. Source: <http://www.clarionproject.org> (19.01.2016). See also "Is life getting worse for women in Erdogan's Turkey?," *BBC*, March 4, 2015. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-31709887> (12.06.2016).
- 20 See, among others, Human Rights Watch, "'We Need a Law for Liberation': Gender, Sexuality, and Human Rights in a Changing Turkey," May 21, 2008. Source: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/05/21/we-need-law-liberation/gender-sexuality-and-human-rights-changing-turkey> (19.01.2016).
- 21 See Amnesty International, "GEZI PARK PROTESTS: Brutal denial of the right to peaceful assembly in Turkey," October 2, 2013. Source: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR44/022/2013/en/> (13.06.2016).

- 22 See Ömer Erbil, "Artillery Barracks project in Gezi Park back on municipal agenda," *Hurriyet Daily News*, November 18, 2014. Source: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/artillery-barracks-project-in-gezi-park-back-on-municipal-agenda.aspx?pageID=238&nID=74517&NewsCatID=340> [20.01.2016].
- 23 Architectural style of the Turkish-Persian Seljuk Empire ruling the Middle East between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.
- 24 See Hasnain Kazim, "Architektin über Erdogans Palast: 'Er steht isoliert da, autoritär, allein und einsam,'" *Spiegel Online*, November 28, 2014. Source: <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/palast-in-ankara-architektin-im-interview-zu-erdogans-protzbau-a-1005206.html> [13.04.2015].
- 25 Source: "Labour force participation rate," <http://stats.oecd.org> [30.12.2015]. The information varies here; elsewhere the number mentioned is 29.8 percent.
- 26 See, among others, Burak Günel, Seyit Mümin Cilasun, and Elif Öznur Acar, "Male-female Labor Market Participation and the Extent of Gender-based Wage Discrimination in Turkey," *Economics: The Open-Access, Open Assessment E-Journal* 56. Source: <http://www.economics-ejournal.org/economics/discussionpapers/2015-56/file> [13.08.2015].
- 27 See International Labour Organization (ILO), *Global Wage Report 2014/15*, December 5, 2014. Source: http://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_324678/lang--en/index.htm [13.06.2016].
- 28 "OECD Society at a Glance 2014 Highlights: TURKEY OECD Social Indicators," March 2014. Source: <https://www.oecd.org/turkey/OECD-SocietyAtaGlance20142014-Highlights-Turkey.pdf> [27.07.2016].
- 29 Source: <http://agaoglu.com.tr/en/haber.asp?id=252> [20.01.2016].
- 30 See "Saudi's Abduljawad group inks Turkish property deal," *TradeArabia Business News Information*, February 3, 2015. Source: http://www.tradearabia.com/news/CONS_274701.html [20.01.2016].
- 31 Source: <http://agaoglu.com.tr/en/haber.asp?id=252> [13.04.2015]. Serviced apartments are furnished and also offer additional services like cleaning and so forth.

Made in Singapore

- 1 Chris Hudson, *Beyond the Singapore Girl: Discourses of Gender and Nation in Singapore*, vol. 8: *Gendering Asia*, 1. publ. edition (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2013), p. 1.
- 2 Ibid., p. 44.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Source: <http://statutes.agc.gov.sg> [12.06.2016].
- 5 In 2012 it was only 1.29 percent, and in 2013 only 1.19 percent.
- 6 See Youyenn Teo, "Support for Deserving Families: Inventing the Anti-welfare Familialist State in Singapore," *Social Politics* 20, no. 3 (2013), pp. 387–406.
- 7 "With a lower birth rate we can reach out for higher goals. We can achieve a better standard of living and a higher quality of life. With smaller families we can invest more in each child—better health, better education and training—and higher performance." Cited from: "Chronicle of Singapore (50 Years Of Headline News) 1959–2009," YouTube video, posted on May 26, 2012. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7keV9fYMZN8> [16.05.2016].
- 8 See National Population and Talent Division, Strategy Group, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Singapore, "Population in Brief 2014." Source: <http://population.sg> [27.02.2015].
- 9 See The World Bank, "Fertility rate, total (births per woman)." Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN> [01.03.2015].
- 10 See National Population and Talent Division, Strategy Group, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Singapore, "Population in Brief 2014." Source: <http://population.sg> [18.05.2016]. In the year 2014, 44.4 percent of local men were married and 40.8 percent of local women.
- 11 "For lesbians and gay men, and for the unmarried (never-married)—access to public housing and support for caregiving are curtailed such that carving out 'families' within shared physical households is out of reach, except for the wealthy among these groups." See Teo 2013, p. 13.
- 12 Already in 1971, the first gender reassignment operation was carried out thanks to the initiative of a doctor, and the National University Hospital still offers this surgery today. Since the 1970s, transsexuals can have their name changed on a passport, and since 1997 they are permitted to marry.
- 13 "They, too, must have a place in this society, and they, too, are entitled to their private lives. We should not make it harder than it already is for them to grow up and to live in a society where they are different from most Singaporeans. And we also do not want them to leave Singapore to go to more congenial places to live. But homosexuals should not set the tone for Singapore society. Nor do we consider homosexuals a minority, in the sense that we consider, say, Malays and Indians as minorities, with minority rights protected under the law—languages taught in schools, cultures celebrated by all races, representation guaranteed in Parliament through GRCs and so on . . . So, we should strive to maintain a balance, to uphold a stable society with traditional, heterosexual family values, but with space for homosexuals to live their lives and contribute to the society." Unexpected speech in parliament by Prime Minister Lee Haien Loong on October 23, 2007. Source: <https://alexau.wordpress.com/2009/10/03/global-rightscommonwealth-stage-1-appendix-3/> [18.05.2016].
- 14 Teo for instance stated: "Insofar as home ownership is highly valued by Singaporeans—a precondition for independent living and significant for asset accumulation—the narrow path created by housing policies serves to normalize the view of family as a dual-income heterosexual couple at the center, with children and elderly dependents attached." See Teo 2013, p. 9.
- 15 The average living area per person is 27.4 square meters, which is still considerably below that of other countries, such as Germany, which has over 40 square meters average living area.
- 16 Regina Bittner, Wilfried Hackenbroich, and Stefan Rettich, "Singapurs 'Sozialer Wohnungsbau,'" *Arch+* 203 (2011).
- 17 Cited from: Chronicle of Singapore (50 Years Of Headline News) 1959–2009.
- 18 Youyenn Teo, *Neoliberal Morality in Singapore: Institutionalising the Logics of Neoliberalism* (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, 2012).
- 19 Source: <https://thehearttruths.com> [12.06.2016].
- 20 Sock-Yong Phang, "Lessons from Singapore's Central Provident Fund," Singapore Management University, presentation at the 4th Global Conference on Housing Finance in Emerging Markets, World Bank, May 26–27, 2010, Washington, DC. Source: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/FINANCIALSECTOR/Resources/Session5-Sock-YongPhang.pdf> [28.02.2015].
- 21 The Gini coefficient measures inequality in distribution, in this case of income. A 0 means equal distribution, and a 1 means highest unequal distribution. "Since 1980, Singapore's Gini coefficient has gone through three main phases. First, the Gini declined in the 1980s from around 0.44 in 1980 to about 0.41 in 1990. Subsequently, the Gini increased in the 1990s and early 2000s to a peak of about 0.48 in 2007, in line with trends seen in the advanced economies." Cited from: Ministry of Finance, "Income Growth, Inequality and Mobility Trends in Singapore," Occasional Paper, August 2015, p. 3. Source: <https://app.mof.gov.sg> [20.05.2016].

- 22 See Eunice Seng, "The Podium, the Tower and the 'People': The Private Development of a Public Complex, c. 1965–1970," *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 30, Open, July 2–5, 2013, pp. 219–32.
- 23 Source: <http://www.dpa.com.sg/projects/peoples-park-complex/> (04.05.2015).
- 24 A group of Singaporean architects and academics who explored urban planning from the mid-1960s into the 1970s.
- 25 A building or an apartment can be acquired, but only for a certain period before ownership reverts back to the original owner.
- 26 Source: <http://www.pearlbankapartments.com/directory.htm> (04.05.2015).
- 27 See Source: <http://www.capitaland.com/about-capitaland/about-us> (13.04.2015).
- 28 "The Interlace, one of the largest and most ambitious residential developments in Singapore, presents a radically new approach to contemporary living in a tropical environment. Instead of creating a cluster of isolated, vertical towers—the default typology of residential developments in Singapore—the design proposes an intricate network of living and social spaces integrated with the natural environment." Source: <http://www.oma.eu/projects/2009/the-interlace/> (04.05.2015).
- 29 Source: <http://www.buro-os.com/the-interlace/> (24.02.2014).
- 30 See Chrystia Freeland, *Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012).
- 31 See Shu Mei Huang, "Resourceful Cities: Displacement as class processes and spatial relations in moments of expatriation," paper presented at the International RC21 Conference, August 29–31, 2013, Berlin, session: Gentrification revisited – New methods to research displacement.
- 32 This change in law was widely lamented by employers, who considered themselves at a disadvantage due to their own workload.
- 33 For some time now, women from Myanmar in particular have been recommended to potential employers, because they want to leave their home country at any cost and are willing to work much better for lower wages than their colleagues from the Philippines or Indonesia.
- 34 Source: <https://www.bca.gov.sg/events/scpw/> (24.02.2016).
- 35 Surbana, "Red-Dotting the World," August 14, 2015, p. 9. Source: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/sg/surbanajurong/documents/red-dotting-the-world-47996> (16.05.2016).
- 36 This includes, for example, urban planners, architects, urban designers, economists, GIS specialists, and engineers.
- 37 Surbana 2015, p. 13.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Urban Resurrection

- 1 As a comparison: Hamburg Hafen City encompasses 3,000 hectares and is planned to house ca. 15,000 residents.
- 2 Surbana, "Red-Dotting the World," August 14, 2015, pp. 50ff. Source: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/sg/surbanajurong/documents/red-dotting-the-world-47996> (16.05.2016).
- 3 Federico Caprotti, "Critical research on eco-cities? A walk through the Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-City, China," *Cities* 36 (February 2014), pp. 10–17, esp. p. 4.
- 4 Source: http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/SinglePage.aspx?column_id=10316 (04.01.2016)
Also see: Federico Caprotti, *Eco-Cities and the Transition to Low Carbon Economies*, 1. publ. edn. (Basingstoke et al.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

- 5 "The Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-City is not just about being green. It is about creating a vibrant economy, building a home for its residents and fulfilling our collective desires for a better life in harmony with the environment. Eco-City is more than just about deploying cutting edge technologies or having iconic buildings. It is about practical and well tested solutions. It is about the city's spirit, civic values and community development, creating a sustainable lifestyle without compromising the residents' daily needs. Twenty six key performance indicators will be applied to ensure the Eco-City's sustainable development." Source: http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/SinglePage.aspx?column_id=10316 (05.05.2015).
- 6 Source: http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/SinglePage.aspx?column_id=10311 (05.05.2015).
- 7 Source: <http://www.ethicalcorp.com/business-strategy/greenwasher-december-2009-january-2010> (05.05.2015).
- 8 A precise analysis of Tianjin City can be found in Iris Belle, *From Economic Zone to Eco-city? Urban Governance and Urban Development Trends in Tianjin's Coastal Area*, ed. Hans Gebhardt, vol. 13: *Urbanization of the Earth* (Stuttgart: Borntraeger Science Publishers, 2015).
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- 12 "Wide tarmac roads designed for cars dwarf the narrow bike lanes and sidewalks running alongside them here. And while many of the city's tall slimmer buildings are clustered together to increase walkability, these giant blocks are about four times the size of a typical block in Manhattan and make pedestrian and bike journeys cumbersome, said Arish Dastur, an urban specialist at the World Bank." Cited in Sue-Lin Wong and Clare Pennington, "Steep Challenges for a Chinese Eco-City," *The New York Times*, February 13, 2013. Source: <http://green.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/13/steep-challenges-for-a-chinese-eco-city/> (13.06.2016).
- 13 "Unfortunately, the isolation many women suffer, from taking sole charge of domestic labour and childcare, is not necessarily relieved by the mere proximity of other women in the same position—and is anyway inadequate compensation for the lack of alternatives to solitary work." Matrix (Organization), *Making Space: Women and the Man Made Environment*, 1 vol. (London: Pluto Press, 1984), pp. 45–46. Thank you to Meike Schalk for alerting me to this information.
- 14 "Tianjin Eco-City feels (and is) vast, when compared to the green urban neighbourhoods and eco-towns I am acquainted with in the UK and Europe. It quickly transpires that Tianjin Eco-City is built on a structure of large urban residential Blocks separated by wide, multi-lane highways flanked by pedestrian pavements and protected cycle lanes." See Caprotti 2014, p. 3.
- 15 See Xiuming Sun, "Women's Work Family Conflict: Some Remarks on the Situation of Female Employees in China (Part 1)," posted on February 16, 2014. Source: <http://www.lawboard.net/2014/02/16/womens-work-family-conflict-some-remarks-on-the-situation-of-female-employees-in-china-part-1/> (23.05.2016).
Here, women work not only in traditional jobs for women, but also as technicians, at construction sites, or in mines. The average weekly working hours for these women amounted to 46.1 hours in the year 2010, according to official statistics, with part-time work not really an option.
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- 17 48.2 percent of the Chinese population are women, as compared to 50.9 percent in Germany. Source: <http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/1.5> (20.10.2014).
- 18 The fertility rate for China as a whole is 1.67. For comparison: in Germany it was 1.42 in the year 2013, and 1.52 in the European Union.

"The total fertility rate in a specific year is defined as the total number of children that would be born to each woman if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and give birth to children in alignment with the prevailing age-specific fertility rates." Source: <https://data.oecd.org/pop/fertility-rates.htm> (23.05.2016).

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- 21 Leta Hong Fincher, "Women's Rights at Risk," *Dissent Magazine*, Spring 2013. Source: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/womens-rights-at-risk> (23.05.2016).
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- 23 See Caprotti 2014.
- 24 Journalist Jonathan Kaiman summarized his experiences while visiting the area with the sentence: "In Tianjin Eco-city, the future is a blank slate." See Kaiman 2014.

Sustainable Smartness

- 1 Source: <http://www.urbanecology.org/history.htm> (06.01.2016).
- 2 Source: <http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm> (06.01.2016). See Edgardo Lander, "The Green Economy: the Wolf in Sheep's clothing," 2011. Available from the Transnational Institute. Source: www.tni.org (12.04.2016).
- 3 Source: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/Agenda21.pdf> (06.01.2016).
- 4 See Federico Caprotti, *Eco-Cities and the Transition to Low Carbon Economies*, 1st publ. edn. (Basingstoke et al.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
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- 6 Source: <http://ecosequestertrust.org/?s=Surat&submit=Search> (12.06.2016).
- 7 Fraunhofer-Institut für Arbeitswirtschaft und Organisation IAO, project description, Morgenstadt: City Insights Phase II (2014–2015). Source: www.morgenstadt.de (03.03.2015).
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- 10 Ibid., p. 106.
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- 12 "Big Data: the transformative power of Big Data is emerging as a few healthcare systems begin to collect and mine their data, e.g. the recent announcements by the UK Department of Health to make some patient data available for research. The power of Big Data in healthcare

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- 13 Ibid., p. 10.
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- 17 For example, local energy production and supply existed in many German cities, yet it was successively abolished due to privatization of the energy sector starting in the mid-1980s.
- 18 Xie Pengfei, "Striving Towards Ecocity: Experience from Huainan, China," October 26, 2013. Source: <http://www.thenatureofcities.com/2013/10/26/striving-towards-ecocity-experience-from-huainan-china-2/> (26.05.2016).

Superior Cities

- 1 Approximately in mid-2014, these renderings disappeared from the Internet and are now only accessible in part via the Wayback Machine. See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131030052712/http://masdarcity.ae/en/36/whats-next-/> (15.12.2015). A new website was created that is now focused specifically on photographic representation of the project and just a few architectural plans. See: <http://masdar.ae> (15.12.2015).
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- 3 Ministry of State for Federal National Council Affairs, "Women in the United Arab Emirates: A Portrait of Progress," Fall 2008, pp. 1–7, esp. p. 6. Source: <http://www.uae-embassy.org/about-uae/women-uae> (12.06.2016).
- 4 Ibid., pp. 3–4.
- 5 Nuha Abudabbeh, "Arab Families: An Overview," in *Ethnicity and Family Therapy*, ed. Monica McGoldrick, Joe Giordano, and Nydia Garcia-Preto (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), pp. 423–36.
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- 14 See: Gulf Labor Artist Coalition. Source: <http://gulflabor.org> [16.12.2015].
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- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Abu Nasr Al-Farabi, "The Perfect State," trans. Richard Walzer, cited in *Reading the Middle Ages: Sources from Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic World*, vol. 1, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 200 and 201.
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- 11 Source: <http://www.serac.org/thematic-areas/housing-a-evictions> [14.02.2014]. Website no longer in existence.
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- 13 See also Ruth Becker, "What’s Wrong with a Female Head?," *City and Gender: International Discourse on Gender, Urbanism and Architecture*, ed. Ulla Terlinden (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003).
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- 23 See Christina Plank, "Land Grabs in the Black Earth: Ukrainian Oligarchs and International Investors," 2013, Transnational Institute, *Land concentration, land grabbing and people’s struggles in Europe*. Source: www.tni.org [12.06.2016].
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Urban Visions

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- 2 Bukky Oyedeji, "Auf Sand gebaut: Eko Atlantic City," Heinrich Böll Stiftung, June 11, 2015. Source: <https://www.boell.de/de/2015/06/11/auf-sand-gebaut-eko-atlantic-city> [20.01.2016].
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- 32 Susan Parnell and Edgar Pieterse, eds., *Africa's Urban Revolution* (London: Zed Books, 2014), p. 10.
- 33 In terms of content, colonialism is often employed analogously to imperialism, yet etymologically speaking the two concepts are different, for colonialism originates from the Latin word *colonus* for "farmer" or "settler," while imperialism is rooted in the Latin word *imperare*, meaning "to command." Therefore, in this context many historians speak of "modern imperialism" when discussing European colonial rule over broad stretches of Africa, North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, and parts of Asia, lasting from the fifteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. See Wolfgang Reinhard, *A Short History of Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
- 34 Robert Aldrich, *Ein Platz an der Sonne die Geschichte der Kolonialreiche* [Stuttgart: K. Theiss, 2008], p. 13.
- 35 See Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Owen Knowles (London: Penguin Classics, 2007).
- 36 Aldrich 2008, p. 238.
- 37 In the year 2004, the former German Federal Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, personally apologized for the crimes committed. But it wasn't until 2015 that the Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany admitted that the internecine war from 1904 to 1908 in Namibia, a former German colony in German-ruled southwestern Africa, amounted to war crime and genocide. At the time, German colonial troops had killed approx. 100,000 people from the Herero and Nama tribes after their uprising against German colonial rule.
- 38 In the Second World War, with a total of 6 million Africans in the British forces, every second soldier originated from the colonies, and there were also around 1 million Africans fighting for the French, to cite just a few figures. See Charlotte Wiedemann, "Wessen Krieg und wessen Ehre? Was Europa vergisst: In den beiden Weltkriegen kämpften viele Untertanen der Kolonialmächte," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 9, 2009, pp. 14–15. Source: <http://monde-diplomatique.de/artikel/1565960> [12.06.2016].
- 39 According to scholar Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, homosociality implies all kinds of male communities and alliances; while homosexuality can be a factor, it is by no means a unique attribute. The men's studies researcher Michael Meuser, in turn, interprets homosocial communities as "places of male self-affirmation."
- 40 Jean Muteba Rahier, "The Microphysics of Colonial Power: Violence, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Belgian Colonial Literature," paper presented at the colloquium "Colonial Violence in Congo," May 12–13, 2005, organized by the Belgian Association of Africanists and the Royal Museum of Central Africa.
- 41 Such as, for example, the South African woman Saartjie "Sarah" Baartman (pronounced "Sahr-chey"), from the indigenous Khoisan tribe, who as "Hottentot Venus" was handed around Great Britain and France from 1810 until her death in 1815. After her passing, the skeleton, preserved genitals, and brain were exhibited in the Museum of Natural History in Paris until 1974.
- 42 See Anette Dietrich, *Weißer Weiblichkeiten: Konstruktionen von "Rasse" und Geschlecht im deutschen Kolonialismus* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007). Orig. PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2006.
The term *Verkafferung*, which was adopted in the German language from Afrikaans, was used to denote colonial rulers blending with the native Bantu-speaking population (*Kaffern*) and the concomitant "dilapidation."
- 43 Source: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/173901/politique/france-s-n-gal-extraits-du-discours-de-dakar-prononc-par-nicolas-sarkozy-en-2007/> (02.12.2015).
- 44 Such as, for example, Ife Ife in present-day Nigeria as Yoruba City, Kumasi in present-day Ghana as Asante City, and Kano in present-day Northern Nigeria as an early Hausa formation.
- See Richard W. Hull, *African Cities and Towns before the European Conquest* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976).
- Bill Freund, *The African City: A History*, in the series *New Approaches to African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 45 See, among others, David M. Anderson, *Africa's Urban Past* (Oxford: Currey, 2000).
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Processus d'urbanisation en Afrique: Collection Villes et entreprises* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1988).
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Histoire des villes d'Afrique noire des origines à la colonisation: L'évolution de l'humanité* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993).
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Susan Keech McIntosh, *Beyond Chiefdoms: Pathways to Complexity in Africa*, in the series *New Directions in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- 46 See Elmien Wilhelmina J. du Plessis, "African Indigenous Land Rights in a Private Ownership Paradigm," *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal* 14, no. 7 (2011).
- 47 See UN-Habitat, *The State of African Cities 2014: Re-Imagining Sustainable Urban Transitions* (Kenya: UN-Habitat, 2014).
- 48 UN-Habitat, *The State of Planning in Africa: An Overview* (Kenya: UN-Habitat, 2013).
- 49 Parnell 2014, p. 12.
- 50 Deborah Potts, "The state and the informal in sub-Saharan African urban economies: revisiting debates on dualism," *Crisis States Working Papers Series 2* (October 2007). Available: Crisis States Research Centre. Source: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/download/wp/wpSeries2/WP182.pdf> [12.12.2015].
- 51 "... the division of functions between different levels or spheres of government has been deeply problematic, leading to intergovernmental conflict, misalignment and inefficiency." Parnell 2014, p. 150.
- 52 Ibid., p. 14.
- 53 Source: <https://www.internationalrivers.org/campaigns/chinese-dams-in-africa> [21.01.2016].
- 54 Source: <https://www.internationalrivers.org/campaigns/grand-inga-dam-dr-congo> [21.01.2016].
- 55 Cited from Thomas Deltombe, "Les guerres africaines de Vincent Bolloré," *Le Monde diplomatique*, April 2009. Source: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/04/DELTOMBE/16970> [21.01.2016].
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- 57 Vanessa Watson, "African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares?," *Environment and Urbanization* 26 (2012), pp. 215–31, esp. p. 216 and Vanessa Watson and Babatunde Agbola, "Who Will Plan Africa's cities?," *Counterpoints*, September 12, 2013, African Research Institute. Source: <http://www.africanresearchinstitute.org/publications/counterpoints/who-will-plan-africas-cities/> [11.12.2013].

City of Joy

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- 2 The English translation of Bhartiya is "Indian people," which denotes the nationality and not the ethnicity.

- 3 The establishment of special economic zones (SEZs) has meanwhile evolved in almost all regions of the world. Large special economic zones are comprised of industrial, trade, and residential areas. A prime example of such a SEZ is the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, the first of several other such zones in China, already established in 1980 and now with more than 14 million residents. SEZs provide investors with numerous privileges, including tax exemptions and trade facilitation. See for example: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/2341/638440PUB0Ext00Box0361527B0PUBLIC0.pdf> (07.09.2016)
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- 5 Source: <http://www.bhartiyacity.com/thefounder.aspx> (03.03.2015).
- 6 All information taken from the non-downloadable brochure. Source: <http://issuu.com/bhartiyacity/docs/bhartiyacitybook?e=6268675/2023306> (23.01.2016).
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- 8 Source: <http://issuu.com/bhartiyacity/docs/nikoohomes> (27.01.2016).
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- 10 See, among others, Aparajita Chowdhury and Manoj Manjari Patnaik, "Understanding Indian Family Life: The Gender Perspectives," *EXCEL International Journal of Multidisciplinary Management Studies* 3 (2013), pp. 58–67.
- 11 Society for Participatory Research in Asia, "Bengaluru Study Report 2014," April 2014. Source: <https://terraurban.wordpress.com/resources/> (27.01.2016).
- 12 Source: http://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/city_result.jsp?country=India&city=Bangalore (27.01.2016).
- 13 Chetan Chauhan, "Inequality rises in cities and dips in rural India, a plan panel study," *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 22, 2013. Source: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/newdelhi/inequality-rises-in-cities-and-dips-in-rural-india-a-plan-panel-study/article1-998292.aspx> (12.06.2016).
- 14 The most famous example is the private home Antilia, completed in 2010, with twenty-seven stories and 37,000 square meters of space. It was commissioned by Mukesh Ambani, the second-richest man in Asia and the chair of the second-largest company in India, Reliance Industries Limited (RIL). The structure was erected in the middle of one of the poorer districts of Mumbai.
- 15 See Savda Ghevra, Kannagi Nagar, and Vashi Naka, "Forced to the Fringes: Disasters of 'resettlement' in India," Housing and Land Rights Network, New Delhi, June 2014. Source: http://www.hic-sarp.org/documents/Forced_to_the_Fringes_Complete.pdf (12.06.2016).
- 16 In January 2013, a total of 1,512 dwellings were bulldozed without notice, consultation, or compensation in the district of Ejipura/Koramangala. They were part of a government-built housing estate for the poor, which had become increasingly dilapidated. This measure, enacted by the Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) municipal office for infrastructure and carried out using police force, made 5,000 people homeless, including 2,000 children and 1,200 women. The affected women lost their jobs in nearby households and were thus forced to live on the streets with their children. The eviction was based on a public-private partnership agreement between the municipal office and a real-estate developer. Various persons were arrested, including nineteen protesting women and two transgender individuals. See Housing and Land Rights Network, Delhi and Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Karnataka, "Fact Finding Report: Governance By Denial – Forced Evictions and Demolition of Homes in Ejipura, Koramangala, Bangalore," June 15, 2013. Source: <http://puclkarnataka.org/?p=743> (12.06.2016).
- See also Sapna Swamy, "Final Report on City Development and Slum Upgradation Strategy of Bengaluru," 2012. Available: The World Bank, Washington, DC. Source: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2012/01/16833246/bengaluru-city-development-slum-upgradation-strategy> (27.01.2016).
- 17 Housing and Land Rights Network 2013, p. 7.
- 18 See Steering Committee on Urbanization, *Report of the Working Group on Urban Poverty, Slums, and Service Delivery System*, Planning Commission, New Delhi, October 3, 2011, pp. 3–4. Source: www.planningcommission.nic.in (12.06.2016).
- 19 This is characterized by more gradual differences between the respective regions and cities, as well as more substantial differences between Hindus and Muslims. With a view to the future, the authors of this study expect to see an increase in women engaging in the labor market due to more women being educated. See Surjit Bhalla and Ravinder Kaur, "Labour Force Participation of Women in India: Some facts, some queries," *Asia Research Centre Working Paper* 40 (2011). Source: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/38367/> (27.01.2016).
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- 21 Rahul Lahoti and Hema Swaminathan, "Economic Development and Female Labor Force Participation in India," IIM Bangalore Research Paper, June 28, 2013. Source: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2284073> (12.06.2016).
- Sonali Das, Sonali Jain-Chandra, Kalpana Kochhar, and Naresh Kumar, "Women Workers in India: Why So Few Among So Many?," *IMF Working Paper*, International Monetary Fund, March 2015. Source: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/raising-the-economic-participation-of-women-in-india_5js6g5kvpd6j-en?crawler=true (30.01.2016) and Piritta Sorsa, "Raising the economic participation of women in India – a new growth engine?," *Economics Department Working Papers*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, January 30, 2015. Source: <http://www.oecd.org/eco/workingpapers> (30.01.2016).
- 22 See Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia, *Women and Right-Wing Movements: Indian Experiences* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995).
- 23 Daniel Moase, "Indian Women and Protest: An Historical Overview and Modern Day Evaluation," *Cetri*, March 31, 2008. Source: <http://www.cetri.be/Indian-Women-and-Protest-An?lang=fr> (23.01.2016).
- 24 See Samita Sen, "Toward a Feminist Politics? The Indian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective," *Working Paper Series* 9 (April 2000), Policy Research Report on Gender and Development, The World Bank, Washington, DC. Source: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2000/04/443613/toward-feminist-politics-indian-womens-movement-historical-perspective> (12.06.2016).
- 25 The question as to whether separate spaces in railway cars should be created for women is controversial. Some demand that Indian society and Indian men should change instead of even more strongly excluding women from public space.
- 26 See Crime in India – 2014, Chapter 5, 5.1, Incidence & Rate of Crime Committed Against Women During 2014 (State/UT-Wise). Source: <http://ncrb.gov.in> (27.01.2016).
- 27 See: "Guidelines for Preparation of a Slum Free City Plan of Action Under the Rajiv Awas Yojana." Source: http://mhupa.gov.in/ray/planning_guidelines.pdf (03.05.2015).

Good Life

- 1 See Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG, "Facts + Figures zu aspern Die Seestadt Wiens," February 2015. Source: www.aspern-seestadt.at (28.05.2016).
- 2 Since 2013 ownership of the company Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG has been held by GELUP GmbH (with 73.4 percent) and ARE Austrian Real Estate-Development GmbH

- (with 26.6 percent). GELUP GmbH is in turn respectively owned to 33.3 percent by the Wirtschaftsagentur Wien Immobilien GmbH (previously, Wiener Wirtschaftsförderungsfonds [WWFF]), a fund of the City of Vienna for location and business development, and by companies from the Savings Bank sector (Bausparkasse der österreichischen Sparkassen Aktiengesellschaft) and the insurance industry (WIENER STÄDTISCHE Versicherung AG or Vienna Insurance Group). The ARE Austrian Real Estate-Development GmbH, which is exclusively market-oriented, is 100 percent owned by the Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft m.b.H. The latter is Austria's largest real-estate company and is solely government-owned, whose core business involves the management and administration of the approx. 2,200 properties (including subsidiaries) from new construction projects to demolition. Moreover, around twenty offices of the City of Vienna are involved in the planning process. See Rechnungshof, "Bericht des Rechnungshofes: Erschließung Seestadt Aspern," 2015. Source: <http://www.rechnungshof.gv.at/berichte/ansicht/detail/erschliessung-seestadt-aspern.html> (05.03.2016); <http://www.aspern-seestadt.at/infocenter/organisation/> (14.01.2016); <http://www.big.at/ueber-uns/> (14.01.2016).
- 3 Awarded by the magistrate of the City of Vienna, MA 21B, in collaboration with the Wiener Wirtschaftsförderungsfonds (WWFF) as representative of the property owners: WWFF, Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft BIG, Wohnfonds Wien, City of Vienna.
 - 4 See: https://www.wien.gv.at/m19prjdb/wettbewerbe/html/show_ergebnis_js.asp?AUS_ID=1516 (14.01.2016).
 - 5 See Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG, "Aspern die Seestadt – Vision + Reality: The Instruments of Urban Design," Magistratsabteilung 18 – Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung, 2011. Source: www.stadtentwicklung.wien.at (14.01.2016).
 - 6 While the area is delimited by a railway line and an autobahn to the north, and the factory premises to the south, two green corridors (one with railway line) protect the two long sides of the building from the surrounding development areas and farmland.
 - 7 This was even criticized by the president of the Austrian Federal Chamber of Architects and Consulting Engineers on the occasion of the Austrian Architecture Days in 2012.
 - 8 See Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG 2011, p. 7.
 - 9 Ibid., p. 9. For example, in the form of "communicative base use," the utilization of the ground floor for trade and commerce.
 - 10 A variety of companies have already decided on this site, and a technology center was erected that makes available rooms and infrastructures for young "enterprises and research-oriented institutions active in sustainable technology development." Source: <http://www.aspern-seestadt.at> (14.01.2016).
 - 11 The first construction activity involved connecting the area to public transport by extending a subway line and facilitating access to various bus lines.
 - 12 Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG 2011, p. 95.
 - 13 Ibid., p. 119.
 - 14 Ibid., p. 9.
 - 15 Ibid., p. 12.
 - 16 Ibid., p. 12.
 - 17 See: <https://www.wien.gv.at/bauen-wohnen/wohnbauinitiative.html> (14.01.2016).
 - 18 See: <https://smartcity.wien.gv.at/site/en/projekte/verkehr-stadtentwicklung/aspern-seestadt/> (14.01.2016).
 - 19 On Germany, see: <http://www.wohnbund.de>. And on Austria see: <http://gemeinsam-bauen-wohnen.org/uber-baugruppen/faq/> (14.01.2016).
 - 20 On this, see Ruth Becker, "Frauenwohnprojekte – keine Utopie! Ein Leitfaden zur Entwicklung autonomer Frauen(wohn)räume mit einer Dokumentation realisierter Projekte in Deutschland," Studien / Netzwerk Frauenforschung NRW Dortmund, Koordinationsstelle Netzwerk Frauenforschung NRW and Becker 2009; Ruth Becker and Eveline Linke, *Mehr als schöner wohnen: Frauenwohnprojekte zwischen Euphorie und Ernüchterung* (Sulzbach: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2015).
 - 21 The Frauen-Werk-Stadt I is the largest example of women-friendly housing and estate development in Europe. Source: <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/alltagundfrauen/wohnbau.html> (07.07.2016).
 - 22 In German-speaking countries, these analyses were substantially supported by the Feministische Organisation von Planerinnen und Architektinnen (Feminist Organization of Women Planners and Architects, FOPA), founded in Berlin in 1981 and represented by various local groups throughout the country, and communicated to the public via their pamphlet "FreiRäume" on feminist theory and practice in planning and architecture. Also see: <http://www.fopa.de> (14.01.2016).
 - 23 See Ruth Becker, "Zu kurz gesprungen?," *Frei Räume: Streitschrift der feministischen Organisationen von Planerinnen und Architektinnen* 10 (1998), volume: *Neue Wege – Neue Ziele: Positionen feministischer Planung*, pp. 151–65, esp. p. 156.
 - 24 This is a strategy that arose through discussions on gender equality policy and development policy. The concept was signed by delegates from 189 countries at the World Conference on Women 1995 in Beijing. Point 79 read: "Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively." See: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/index.html> (14.01.2016).
 - 25 In the year 2000, an "Interministerial Working Group for Gender Mainstreaming/Budgeting" was created in the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs. As compared to Germany, where only a feasibility study has been carried out to date, in Austria gender budgeting in the public budgeting system has been anchored in constitution since 2009.
 - 26 Gender budgeting involves the gender-sensitive review of public budget planning and resource distribution. In Germany, only Berlin and Freiburg have implemented gender budgeting.
 - 27 See: <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/alltagundfrauen/> and <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/administration/gendermainstreaming/> (16.01.2016).
 - 28 Raimund Gutmann and Sabine Neff, "Gender Mainstreaming im Stadtentwicklungsgebiet Flugfeld Aspern: Begleitende Expertise zum Masterplan," December 2006. Source: <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/projekte/aspern-seestadt/planungsprozess/gender-mainstreaming.html> (4.07.2016).
 - 29 Ibid., p. 7. They formed the starting point for the GM quality criteria that were meant to guarantee the implementation of gender equality in a concrete planning project, as well as GM indicators in the form of control and testing issues.
 - 30 Ibid., p. 11.
 - 31 See: <http://meine.seestadt.info> (05.03.2016).
 - 32 Gutmann and Neff 2006, p. 80.
 - 33 Herbert J. Gans, "The Balanced Community: Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential Areas?," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 27, no. 3 (August 1961), pp. 176–84.
 - 34 Gutmann and Neff 2006, p. 11.
 - 35 Ibid., p. 82.
 - 36 Ibid., p. 15.
 - 37 Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG 2011, p. 60.
 - 38 Ibid., p. 64.
 - 39 Gutmann and Neff 2006, p. 17. However, there was already criticism originating on the traffic planning end, since the paths to the central sites of the Urban Lakeside were too long and winding, as determined by traffic planner Gerda Hartl from the Institute of Digital Architecture and Planning (IEMAR) at Vienna University of Technology in a study.

- 40 Ibid., pp. 19–20.
- 41 Ibid., p. 80.
- 42 Ibid., p. 21.
- 43 Ibid., p. 6.
- 44 See Rechnungshof 2015, p. 93.
At another point it reads (p. 96): “The regulations for consensus-building among the shareholders were designed in such a way, regarding both GELUP GmbH and Wien 3420 Aspern, that each of the two private partners could block the Wirtschaftsagentur Wien Immobilien GmbH. And each private partner could also block a two-thirds majority holding of the Wirtschaftsagentur Wien Immobilien GmbH with the other private partner. Therefore, the City of Vienna lacked overall control over the Aspern Urban Lakeside urban-development project.”
- 45 Gutmann and Neff 2006, p. 6.
- 46 Ibid., p. 90.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 See Eva Bauer, “Gemeinnütziger Wohnbau in Österreich,” *Kurswechsel* 3 (2006), pp. 20–27.
- 49 See: <http://www.bezirksmuseum.at/default/index.php?id=487> [14.01.2016].
- 50 See Bauer 2006.
- 51 Andreas Oberhuber and Daniel Denk, *Zahlen, Daten, Fakten zu Wohnungspolitik und Wohnungswirtschaft in Österreich: Endbericht 2014* (Vienna: Forschungsgesellschaft für Wohnen, Bauen und Planen, 2014).
- 52 See Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Wirtschaft, *Wohnungspolitik und Wohnungswirtschaft in Österreich: Zahlen, Daten und Fakten* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Wirtschaft, 2014).
- 53 See Peter Eigner, Herbert Matis Herbert, and Andreas Resch, “Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien: Eine historische Bestandsaufnahme,” in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Wien 1999*, ed. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna, 1999), pp. 49–100.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 See Bauer 2006.
- 56 “On average in the EU, their share in private consumption rose approx. 21% in the 1990s to 24% most recently. . . . In Germany, it is meanwhile on a par with the EU average of just over 24%. . . . In Austria, too, the share of housing costs in private consumption has continually risen over the years. While it remained under 13% in the 1970s, by the early 2000s it had reached 20% and is now (2012) at 21.6%. This rise correlates positively with the increase in consumption of living space. Here, Austria is clearly above the EU average and, moreover, was less dynamic over the last decade.” Various calculation methods are in use, all of which arrive at similar results. On this, see Wolfgang Amann, Alexis Mundt Wieser, and Robert Wieser, “Berichtsstandard Wohnbauförderung 2014: Endbericht” (Vienna: IIBW – Institut für Immobilien, Bauen und Wohnen GmbH im Auftrag des Landes Wien, 2014), p. 24.
- 57 See: <https://queerbaudotat.wordpress.com> [28.05.2016].
- 58 Ann Forsyth, “Queering Planning Practice: Understanding Non-Conformist Populations,” in *Queering Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice*, ed. Petra L. Doan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 21–51, esp. p. 50.
- 59 See: <https://queerbaudotat.wordpress.com/2015/12/29/queerbau-social-concept-for-refugees/> [18.01.2016].
- 60 This study revealed, among other things, that there are not enough facilities for elderly LGBTTQI+. See the initial results of “Queer in Wien,” a study by the City of Vienna on the living situation of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender persons, and intersexuals (LGBTIs) under: <https://www.wien.gv.at/menschen/queer/schwerpunkte/wast-studie.html> [28.05.2016].

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- 1 German edition: Isabelle Fremeaux and John Jordan, *Pfade durch Utopia*, 1st ed. (Hamburg: Ed. Nautilus, 2012), p. 2.
- 2 Petra L. Doan, “Why Question Planning Assumptions and Practices about Queer Spaces,” in *Queering Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice*, ed. Petra L. Doan (Florida: Ashgate, 2011), p. 15.

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- 3 See: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2014/air-pollution/en/> [13.04.2016].
- 4 See, among others, Mark C. Urban, “Accelerating extinction risk from climate change,” *Science* 348, no. 6234 (May 2015), pp. 571–73. Source: <http://science.sciencemag.org/content/348/6234/571> [26.05.2016]. And also Isabelle Stengers, *In Catastrophic Times: Resisting the Coming Barbarism*, trans. Andrew Goffey, in the series *Critical Climate Change* (Lüneburg: Open Humanities Press/Meson Press, 2015).
- 5 Arie M. Kacowicz, “Globalization and Poverty: Possible Links, Different Explanations,” *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 6, no. 2 (2005), pp. 111–27, esp. p. 120.
- 6 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- 7 Ibid., p. 15.
- 8 Ibid., p. 15.
- 9 Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (1996; repr., Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2000), p. 72. Originally published as: Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville: Société et urbanisme* (Paris: Éditions anthropos, 1968).
- 10 Neil Brenner, *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization* (Berlin: JOVIS, 2014a). Brenner and other urban theorists like Stuart Elden deserve mention for pulling Lefebvre up out of a reception stalemate and even translating some of his texts into English. Although one of his most important works, *La Production de l'espace* (The Production of Space), has not yet been translated into German, with only an English version complementing the original French one, the spatial philosophy of the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre is now (once again) being embraced in Germany as part of the so-called “spatial turn.”
- 11 Lefebvre 2003, p. 66.
- 12 David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, rev. ed., from the series *Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), p. 314.
- 13 Lefebvre 2003, p. 54.
- 14 Ibid., p. 48.
- 15 This long-standing societal and social marginalization has led to increased Islamization among the youth living there only in very recent years. Islamization did not even play a role in the uprisings of the year 2001.
- 16 See Lefebvre 2003.
- 17 Ibid., p. 188. Cited from the German version of the Lefebvre original (including italics): Henri Lefebvre, *Die Revolution der Städte* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1990), p. 198.
- 18 Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, “The ‘Urban Age’ in Question,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 3 (May 2014b), pp. 731–55, esp. p. 743.
- 19 AbdouMaliq Simone, “Infrastructure, real economies and social transformation: assembling the components for regional urban development in Africa,” in *Africa's Urban Revolution*, ed.

Susan Parnell and Edgar Pieterse (London: Zed Books, 2014), p. 234.

20 Harvey 2009, p. 307.

21 Urbanization also entails a kind of urban immiserization, which Harvey calls "subsidiary ruralization of the city," paying reference to Lefebvre, meaning that "urban poverty is, for the most part, rural poverty refashioned within the city system." Ibid., p. 308.

Gender Matters

1 Rebecca Chestnutt et al., eds., *Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Development*, July 2011. Source: http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/soziale_stadt/gender_mainstreaming/download/gender_englisch.pdf [23.03.2016].

2 Ibid., p. 10.

3 Ibid.

4 Stadtentwicklung Wien, Magistratsabteilung 18, ed., *Gender Mainstreaming in der Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung*, vol. 130: *Werkstattbericht* (Vienna, 2013).

5 Ibid., p. 15.

6 Ibid., p. 17.

7 Ibid., p. 24.

8 See Sylvia Chant and Cathy McIlwaine, "Gender, Urban Development and the Politics of Space," *E-International Relations*, June 4, 2013. Source: <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/04/gender-urban-development-and-the-politics-of-space/> [10.06.2014].

9 Stadtentwicklung Wien 2013, p. 24.

10 Leslie Kern, "Selling the 'scary city': gendering freedom, fear and condominium development in the neoliberal city," *Social & Cultural Geography* 11, no. 3 (2010), pp. 209–30, esp. p. 221.

11 Ibid., p. 225.

12 Marguerite van den Berg, "Mothering the post-industrial city: Family and gender in urban regeneration" [PhD diss., Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research [AISSR], 2013b], p. 235.

13 Marguerite van den Berg, "City Children and Gendered Neighbourhoods: The New Generation as Urban Regeneration Strategy," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (March 2013a), pp. 523–36, esp. p. 531.

14 Sybille Bauriedl and Carolin Schurr, "Zusammenprall der Identitäten: Soziale und kulturelle Differenz in Städten aus Sicht der feministischen Forschung," in *Theorien in der Raum- und Stadtforschung: Einführungen*, ed. Jürgen Oßenbrügge and Anne Vogelpohl (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2014), p. 146.

15 Stadtentwicklung Wien 2013, p. 18.

16 Chestnutt 2011, p. 10.

17 Stadtentwicklung Wien 2013, p. 10.

18 Tove Soiland, "Die Verhältnisse gingen und die Kategorien kamen: *Intersectionality* oder Vom Unbehagen an der amerikanischen Theorie," *querelles-net* 6 (2008). Source: <http://www.querelles-net.de/index.php/qn/article/view/694/702> [24.08.2016].

19 Ibid.

20 The Berlin handbook asserts the following: "Mixed-use areas increase the availability of choices and facilitate the compatibility of gainful employment, supply of goods and services and family care. They are a prerequisite for providing convenient access to important facilities for different groups (e.g., according to age, gender, mobility, or socio-economic background) and contribute to vitalizing an area. In addition, they encourage the formation of a community and increase safety in public places. They also provide support for diversity and the flexibility of individuals as well as groups." Chestnutt 2011, p. 39.

21 Ibid., p. 43.

22 Stadtentwicklung Wien 2013, p. 24.

23 Ibid., p. 24.

24 This issue is evident, for example, in the urban development program "Soziale Stadt" (Social City), initiated in 1999 by the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety. The program financially and strategically supports city districts and suburbs that are economically and socially disadvantaged or structurally weak. However, only individual groups benefited in the respective city districts where the program was applied. See also: Margit Mayer, "Soziales Kapital und Stadtentwicklungspolitik – ein ambivalenter Diskurs," in *Bürgergesellschaft, soziales Kapital und lokale Politik: Theoretische Analysen und empirische Befunde*, ed. Michael Haus (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002), pp. 33–58.

Also found in the framework of such programs is "normality reasoning," which, under the label of social stability and balance, sidelines other lifestyles that deviate from the heterosexual nuclear family in a roundabout way, as Becker illustrates by example of the occupancy management of social housing. See Ruth Becker, "Feministische Kritik an Stadt und Raum: Gender Mainstreaming und Managing Diversity," *Sozialwissenschaften und Berufspraxis* 27, no. 4 (2004), pp. 377–86.

25 Sandra Huning, "Ambivalences of Gender Planning," *métropolitiques*, January 23, 2013. Source: <http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Ambivalences-of-Gender-Planning.html> [24.08.2016].

26 See Saul D. Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*, 1st edn. (New York: Random House, 1971).

27 For instance in the case of Collective Point 6 (Col.lectiu Punt 6), a feminist organization of women architects and planners in Barcelona, which has developed various "gender-transformative urban planning techniques" and participatory methods. See Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia and Sara Ortiz Escalante, "Planning from below: using feminist participatory methods to increase women's participation in urban planning," *Gender & Development* 23, no. 1 (2015), p. 116.

28 Stadtentwicklung Wien 2013, p. 18.

29 Ibid., p. 24.

30 See Becker 2004, p. 381.

31 Ruth Becker and Ayla Neusel, "Fachbericht Architektur, räumliche Planung," in *Berichte aus der Frauenforschung: Perspektiven für Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, ed. Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur (Hannover, 1997), pp. 193–267, esp. p. 218.

32 Ibid., p. 218.

33 Ibid.

Excursus on Reproduction

1 Originally published as Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James, *Le pouvoir des femmes et la subversion sociale* (Genève: Librairie adverse, 1973b).

Here: Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James, *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972).

The text by Selma James titled "A Women's Place," republished in Italian together with an essay by Mariarosa Dalla Costa in 1972, had already been released during the McCarthy Era in the year 1953 under a pseudonym.

See also: Selma James, *Women, the unions, and work, or What is not to be done* rev. edn. (Pittsburgh: Know, 1974).

- 2 Dalla Costa and James 1973, p. 29.
- 3 However, depending on the situation within society, this function can be significantly limited or fail to benefit women.
- 4 Dalla Costa and James 1973, p. 36.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., p. 40.
- 7 Ibid., p. 14.
- 8 The term "Operaismo" derives from the Italian word *operaio* (worker) and denotes a neo-Marxist current and movement that arose in the 1960s in reaction to the Italian Communist Party. Representatives of present-day post-Operaismo are Antonio Negri, Maurizio Lazzarato, and Michael Hardt.
- 9 Silvia Federici, *Aufstand aus der Küche Reproduktionsarbeit im globalen Kapitalismus und die unvollendete feministische Revolution*, trans. Max Henninger, vol. 1: *Kitchen Politics*, 1st ed. (Münster: edition assemblage, 2012), p. 50.
- 10 See Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995b).
- 11 See Antonio Negri, Maurizio Lazzarato, and Paolo Virno, *Umherschweifende Produzenten: Immaterielle Arbeit und Subversion*, trans. Thomas Atzert and Michael Sander, 1st ed. (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1998).
- 12 Federici 2012, p. 53.
- 13 Also see the writings of the "Bielefelderinnen" (Bielefeld women) Maria Mies, Claudia von Werlhof, and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, such as: Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, Maria Mies, and Claudia von Werlhof, *Frauen, die letzte Kolonie: zur Hausfrausierung der Arbeit*, 3rd ed., unrevised reprint (Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 1992).
- 14 Federici 2012, p. 83.
- 15 Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981).
- 16 Mascha Madörin, "Neoliberalismus und die Reorganisation der Care-Ökonomie," *Denknetz* (2007), pp. 141–62, esp. p. 143.
- 17 See Roswitha Scholz, *Das Geschlecht des Kapitalismus: Feministische Theorien und die postmoderne Metamorphose des Patriarchats*, edition krisis (Bad Honnef: Horlemann, 2000).
- 18 See Mascha Madörin, "Weltmarkterfolg auf Kosten der Frauen," *Widerspruch – Beiträge zu sozialistischer Politik / Zürich*, October 4, 2010. Source: <http://www.linksnet.de/de/artikel/25986> (17.02.2016)
And also: Catherine Hoskyns and Shirin Rai, "Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women's Unpaid Work," *New Political Economy* 12, no. 3 (2007), pp. 297–317. Global data and information on the individual countries can be found in the following: World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013*, World Economic Forum (2013), and Miranda Veerle, "Cooking, Caring and Volunteering: Unpaid Work Around the World," *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers* 116 (2011).
On the difference between paid and unpaid work, also see for instance: Rania Antonopoulos, "The unpaid care work – paid work connection," Policy Integration and Statistics Department International Labour Office Geneva, *Working Paper No. 86* (May 2009).
- 19 See Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen, "Welternährung zwischen bäuerlicher Hauswirtschaft und Exportlandwirtschaft: Zur Bedeutung der Eigenarbeit für die Ernährungssicherheit," 2006. Source: http://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/int_bez/globalisierung/Welternaehrung/index.html (24.08.2016).
- 20 Christa Wichterich, "Überlebenssicherung, Gender und Globalisierung: Soziale Reproduktion und Livelihood-Rechte in der neoliberalen Globalisierung," *Wuppertal Papers* 141 (2004), p. 10.
- 21 Ibid.

- 22 Marx expressed it as follows: "Labor, then, as the creator of use-values, as useful labor, is therefore a condition of existence of human beings, which is independent of all social forms, an eternal natural necessity for the mediation of the metabolism between human beings and nature, and thus human life itself." Karl Marx, *Capital*, 133, cited in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 105.
- 23 See Gabriele Winker, "Soziale Reproduktion in der Krise – Care Revolution als Perspektive," *Das Argument* 292 (2011), pp. 1–12.

Feminist-Queer Perspective(s)

- 1 An overview of the various positions is provided by Christine Bauhardt, "Feministische Ökonomie, Ökofeminismus und Queer Ecologies – feministisch-materialistische Perspektiven auf gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse," *gender politik online*, 2012. Source: http://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/pol_theorie/Zeitgenoessische_ansaetze/Bauhardtfoemoeconomie/ (24.08.2016).
- 2 Adelheid Biesecker and Sabine Hofmeister, "Im Fokus: Das (Re)Produktive; Die Neubestimmung des Ökonomischen mithilfe der Kategorie (Re)Produktivität," in *Gender and Economics: Feministische Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, ed. Christine Bauhardt (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2010), pp. 51–80, esp. p. 74.
- 3 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1974), p. 103.
- 4 Biesecker and Hofmeister 2010, p. 77.
- 5 Here, anti-urban concepts like Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, a utopia in a suburban landscape, or the garden city movements and the New Urbanism movement come to mind. Yet these concepts are neither inherently democratic-participative, nor based on a suspension of a gender-specific distribution of labor. Actually, the opposite is the case, for their fundament and point of origin is formed by the traditional nuclear family, usually white and middle class at that.
- 6 The postulate of the "creation of equivalent living conditions" (Article 72, Paragraph GG) in the German constitution is pointing in the right direction here.
- 7 Wissenschaftlicher Beirat der Bundesregierung, "Der Umzug der Menschheit: Die transformative Kraft der Städte," 2016. Source: <http://www.wbgu.de> (01.05.2016). The full study was not available at the time of writing.
- 8 Ibid., p. 4. The advisory council cites a whole series of fields of activity and corresponding recommendations, which I will not be able to explore in more detail here.
- 9 Ibid., p. 3.
- 10 Ibid., p. 18.
- 11 In the study's abstract, it was rather shamefacedly called "solidary quality of life."
- 12 Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (London et al.: Verso, 2003a).
- 13 Ibid., p. 7.
- 14 Under the auspices of social equality, the cultural-symbolic dimension, which remains rather underexposed in Biesecker and Hofmeister, can be more clearly integrated.
- 15 Fraser and Honneth 2003a, p. 11.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p. 12.
- 18 Ibid., p. 30.
- 19 Ibid., p. 29.
- 20 Ibid., p. 26.
- 21 Ibid., p. 20.

- 22 Ibid., p. 49.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid., p. 64.
- 25 Ibid., p. 57.
- 26 Ibid., p. 60.
- 27 Ibid., p. 65.
- 28 Ibid., p. 66.
- 29 Ibid., p. 91.
- 30 The property tax common in Germany could be changed in favor of the municipalities. On this, see: <http://www.grundsteuerreform.net> (04.07.2016).
- 31 Copenhagen has already played a trailblazing role here by giving preference to bicycles, and even the economic metropolis of London did not suffer from the implementation of a congestion charge.
- 32 See: <https://www.syndikat.org/de/> (04.07.2016).
- 33 An overview of the various women's housing projects in Germany can be found here: <http://www.frauenwohnprojekte.de> (04.07.2016).
- 34 The Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe [Federal Association for Assistance to the Homeless] estimates that in Germany there were already 335,000 homeless in the year 2014, with a rising tendency.
- 35 For fundamental information on this issue, see Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant* (Malden, MA, and Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).
- 36 In the discourses about the "refugee crisis" and the call for a reinforcement of "Fortress Europe" versus "starry-eyed idealism" and "welcoming culture," however, the gender-specific dimensions of this whole miserable situation usually get lost in the process. Issues like the needs of women in families, of unmarried and/or childless women and girls, are hardly discussed, especially as pertains to female-friendly accommodations. In addition to this gender blindness, as prevails in many accommodation facilities for refugees, there is ignorance about the needs of LGBTTTQI+ individuals, who are not rarely subjected to attacks within and outside of these shelters. To date, there is only one project in existence, in Berlin, that specifically deals with the need to protect LGBTTTQI+.
- 37 See, among others, Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer, *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).
- 38 In India an alliance formed between three organizations: the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), founded in the mid-1970s, the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC), in existence since the mid-1980s, and the women's network Mahila Milan, which defends the rights of landless and informal settlers. And in Durban, South Africa, the association Abahlali baseMjondolo was founded in 2005, from the Durban Shack Dwellers' Movement. They have initiated various projects and the related actions successfully take a stand against displacement of slum residents. Source: <http://abahlali.org> (04.07.2016).
- 39 On the problematic nature of NGOs, urban resistance movements from the bottom up, and state dirigisme, see the example of Latin America explored here: Raúl Zibechi, *Territories in Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2012).
- 40 Fraser also references, in connection with participation, the state's limited agency when it comes to trans- and subnational processes. Moreover, she names at least two conditions that must be fulfilled: "First, the distribution of material resources must be such as to ensure participants' independence and 'voice.' This I shall call the *objective condition* of participatory parity . . . In contrast, the second condition requires that institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem. This I shall call the intersubjective condition of participatory parity." Fraser and Honneth 2003a, p. 36.
- 41 On the issue of planning and queerness, see, among others, Petra L. Doan, *Queerying Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). And also Sarah Nusser, "What would a Non-Heterosexual City Look Like? A Theory on Queer Spaces and the Role of Planners in creating the Inclusive City" (Master of Arts, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010).
- 42 See Karin Martin, *Queer Africa: New and Collected Fiction* (Braamfontein: MaThoko's Books, 2013) and Sokari Ekine and Hakima Abbas, *Queer African Reader* (Dakar: Pambazuka Press, 2013).
- 43 Lefebvre 1974, pp. 416–17.
- 44 The first success stories are found, for example, in Spain in the context of the 15-M Movement and ¡Democracia real ya! [Real Democracy Now]. The Podemos Party developed from these two movements. Manuela Carmena, a judge who had previously been independent of party, was elected mayor of Madrid in 2015 during the local elections after running as the top candidate of an electoral alliance between the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and Podemos. In Italy, in turn, not only was a woman elected mayor in 2016 for the first time in the history of Rome; she is also a representative of the Five Star Movement. This controversial movement promotes "Ambiente, Acqua, Sviluppo, Connettività, Trasporti," meaning more direct democracy, sustainable energy production and supply, strengthening of the regional-local economy and public transport, as well as the expansion of systems for health and education. Yet in Germany, as already mentioned, no large-scale project has been realized recently, despite the continuation of Stuttgart 21: two proposals to host the Olympics were rejected by citizens, and the planned partial development of the former airport in Berlin-Tempelhof was likewise rejected.
- 45 Possible approaches to this have been discussed recently as part of the post-growth debate, whereby the pivotal role of reproduction as a foundation for such restructuring is usually overlooked here as well. On this, see for instance: <http://www.degrowth.org> or <http://www.degrowth.de/en/> (04.07.2016).
- 46 To mention some examples here: One of the biggest experiments in an alternative form of urban cohabitation was Freetown Christiania in the Danish capital of Copenhagen, founded in 1971. Despite all conflict and contradictions, the project is still alive today. Source: <http://www.christiania.org> (04.07.2016).
An example for an individual initiative is Atelier d'architecture autogérée, founded in 2001 by architects Constantin Petcou and Doina Petrescu. This project encourages urban residents to attain political-poetical self-empowerment and inspires them to appropriate space using "urban tactics." Source: <http://www.urbantactics.org> (04.07.2016).
A successful initiative for retaining urban open areas is 100% Tempelhofer Feld, which, in the year 2014, proposed a referendum on the use of the former Tempelhof Airport in Berlin. A large majority of the city population pronounced that this area should remain open to use for all urban residents instead of building on the land, which would have ended any kind of public appropriation. Source: <http://www.thf100.de/start.html> (04.07.2016).
The initiative Esso Häuser in Hamburg was able to avert the impending demolition and successfully influence the new design in favor of the residents. Source: <http://www.initiative-esso-haeuser.de> (04.07.2016).
The Park Fiction Projekt in Hamburg represents an urban production of a special and artistic nature. Source: <http://park-fiction.net> (04.07.2016).
Much is also happening in rural areas. An act of creative resistance is seen in the agro-ecological collective Vall de Canmasdeu in Spain. Source: <http://www.canmasdeu.net> (04.07.2016).
Also in Spain, there is a self-administered municipality. Source: <http://www.marinaleda.es> (04.07.2016).

And even in cross-border areas and peripheral regions in Europe, self-administered cooperatives have sprung up under the name Longo Mai. Source: <http://www.prolongomai.ch> (04.07.2016).

On spatial appropriation, also see Bart van der Steen, *The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present* (Oakland: PM Press, 2014). On alternative research, see: <http://spatialfeminism.tumblr.com>. And for India: <http://pukar.org.in> (04.07.2016).

Stuttgart 21

A once in a century urban opportunity



project name	Stuttgart 21 (here: urban-development project)
country	Germany
city	Stuttgart /Central Stuttgart
situation	inner city
plot size ha	100
project developer	city of Stuttgart, Deutsche Bahn AG
involvement	governmental, municipal, private
planners	Trojan + Trojan, master plan Pesch & Partner, Rosenstein neighborhood
competition	yes
realization phase	partially realized
investment sum (EUR)	not specified (in total)
function + usage	office, retail (shopping mall), gastronomy, education, hotel, residential
inhabitants planned	11,000 (Europaviertel) 30,000 (Rosensteinviertel) = 41,000 total
residential units planned	ca. 9,000
paid workplaces planned	20,000
rented flats	yes
owner-occupied flats	yes
connection	public transport (subway), automobile, bicycle, within walking distance
website	http://www.bahnprojekt-stuttgart-ulm.de
modification website (June 2016)	multiple renewal
visualization (June 2016)	partially available
source numerical data	http://www.bahnprojekt-stuttgart-ulm.de/details/stadtentwicklung (10.06.2014)

aspersn Die Seestadt Wiens

Your investment into the future!



project name	aspersn (Aspern Urban Lakeside)
country	Austria
city	Vienna / 22nd municipal district
situation	periphery
plot size ha	240
project developer	Wien 3420 Aspern Development AG
involvement	municipal, private, PPP
planners	Tovatt Architects & Planners and N+Objektmanagement
competition	yes
realization phase	partially realized
investment sum (EUR)	5,000,000,000
function + usage	residential, retail, education, eco-/technology
inhabitants planned	20,000
residential units planned	10,500
paid workplaces planned	20,000
rented flats	yes
owner-occupied flats	yes
connection	public transport (subway, bus), automobile
website	www.aspern-seestadt.at
modification website (June 2016)	updated
visualization (June 2016)	partially available
source numerical data	http://www.aspern-seestadt.at/ (16.05.2014)

AĞAOĞLU MASLAK 1453

Maslak – a new age of happiness



project name	AĞAOĞLU MASLAK 1453
country	Turkey
city	Istanbul / Maslak
situation	urban
plot size ha	314
project developer	AĞAOĞLU Corporate Group, TOKİ (Housing development Administration of Turkey), Emlak Konut GYO A.Ş.
involvement	private, governmental (not specified)
planners	not specified
competition	not specified
realization phase	partially realized
investment sum (EUR)	1,423,000,000
function + usage	residential, retail, gastronomy, office
inhabitants planned	20,000
residential units planned	5,000
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes / price list
connection	public transport (bus), automobile
website	http://www.maslak1453.com
modification website (June 2016)	updated, since July 2016 new
visualization (June 2016)	existing + new
source numerical data	http://agaoglu.com.tr/en/haber.asp?id=252 (22.06.2016)

Westside İstanbul

You will live next door to nature!



project name	Westside İstanbul
country	Turkey
city	Istanbul / Beylikdüzü
situation	urban
plot size ha	8
project developer	Şahinler Holding, Uzman İnşaat, Beyaz İnşaat, Mutlu İnşaat, Moher Grup, Mes İnşaat
involvement	private
planners	Kraft Mimarlık
competition	not specified
realization phase	not specified
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential, retail
inhabitants planned	not specified
residential units planned	1,152
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes / price upon request
connection	automobile
website	http://www.westsideistanbul.com.tr
modification website (June 2016)	slightly changed
visualization (June 2016)	existing + new indoor visualization
source numerical data	http://www.westsideistanbul.com.tr/index2.php?sayfa=proje_ozeti (16.05.2014)

Aura Erbil

It is the new beating heart of Erbil



project name	Aura Erbil
country	Iraq / Kurdistan
city	Erbil / Salahaddin District
situation	periphery
plot size ha	20
project developer	Zardman
involvement	private
planners	SOMA
competition	not specified
realization phase	not yet under construction
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential, retail (shopping mall), office, hotel
inhabitants planned	not specified
residential units planned	390
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes, luxury apartments
connection	automobile
website	http://www.auraerbil.com
modification website	offline but can be found at: http://soma.us/AURA
visualization	still existing, SOMA website
source numerical data	http://www.auraerbil.com/en/about/ (11.06.2014)

Masdar City

Built for Sustainable Advantage



project name	Masdar City
country	Emirat Abu Dhabi
city	Abu Dhabi
situation	urban
plot size ha	640
project developer	Mubadala Development Company PJSC
involvement	governmental, private, PPP, SEZ
planners	Foster + Partners
competition	not specified
realization phase	partly realized
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	eco-/IT technology, research + development, education, residential
inhabitants planned	40,000 (plus 50,000 commuters)
residential units planned	not specified
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	not specified
connection	public transport (internal with electric vehicle), bus, metro, automobiles
website	http://www.masdar.ae/
modification website (June 2016)	renewed
visualization (June 2016)	no longer available
source numerical data	http://www.masdar.ae/assets/downloads/content/970/masdar_city_fact-sheet_eng.pdf (21.06.2016), http://www.fosterandpartners.com/projects/masdar-development/ (21.06.2016)

Appolonia City of Light

A contemporary urban oasis



project name	Appolonia City of Light
country	Ghana
city	20 km from Accra, near Oylibi
situation	regional
plot size ha	941
project developer	Rendeavour
involvement	private
planners	not specified
competition	not specified
realization phase	not yet under construction
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential, light industries, retail, leisure
inhabitants planned	not specified
residential units planned	22,000
paid workplaces planned	60,000
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes
connection	automobile
website	http://www.appolonia.com.gh
modification website (June 2016)	multiple renewls
visualization (June 2016)	no longer available
source numerical data	http://www.appolonia.com.gh/ (11.06.14)

Eko Atlantic

The New Gateway to Africa



project name	Eko Atlantic
country	Nigeria
city	Lagos
situation	urban
plot size ha	900
project developer	South Energyx Nigeria Limited
involvement	private
planners	Royal HaskoningDHV
competition	not specified
realization phase	in preparation
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	finance, office, residential, retail, leasure, tourism
inhabitants planned	250,000
residential units planned	not specified
paid workplaces planned	150,000
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	not specified
connection	public transport (bus), automobile
website	http://www.ekoatlantic.com/
modification website (June 2016)	updated, technically adapted
visualization (June 2016)	available under image gallery
source numerical data	http://www.ekoatlantic.com/ (12.06.2014)

Konza Techno City

A sustainable, world-class global technology hub ...



project name	Konza Techno City
country	Kenya
city	60 km from Nairobi, Malili Ranch
situation	regional
plot size ha	2,023
project developer	Konza Technopolis Development Authority (KOTDA)
involvement	governmental, private, PPP, SEZ
planners	SHoP Architects, Dalberg, Centre for Urban and Regional Planning, OZ Architecture, Tetra Tech
competition	not specified
realization phase	in planning stage
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	IT technology, education (university), office, retail, residential
inhabitants planned	185,000
residential units planned	37,000
paid workplaces planned	20,000 (first phase)
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	only general information
connection	public transport, automobile
website	http://www.konzacity.go.ke/
modification website (June 2016)	updated, technically adapted
visualization (June 2016)	available under gallery
source numerical data	www.konzacity.go.ke [16.04.2014]

Aura City

A premium green living



project name	Aura City
country	India
city	35 km from Pune
situation	regional
plot size ha	not specified
project developer	Jalan group
involvement	private
planners	not specified
competition	not specified
realization phase	not specified
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential
inhabitants planned	not specified
residential units planned	not specified
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes
connection	public transport (bus), automobile
website	http://www.jalangroup.info
modification website (June 2016)	new
visualization (June 2016)	no longer available, one picture new
source numerical data	http://www.jalangroup.info [21.06.2016]

Bhartiya City
City of Joy



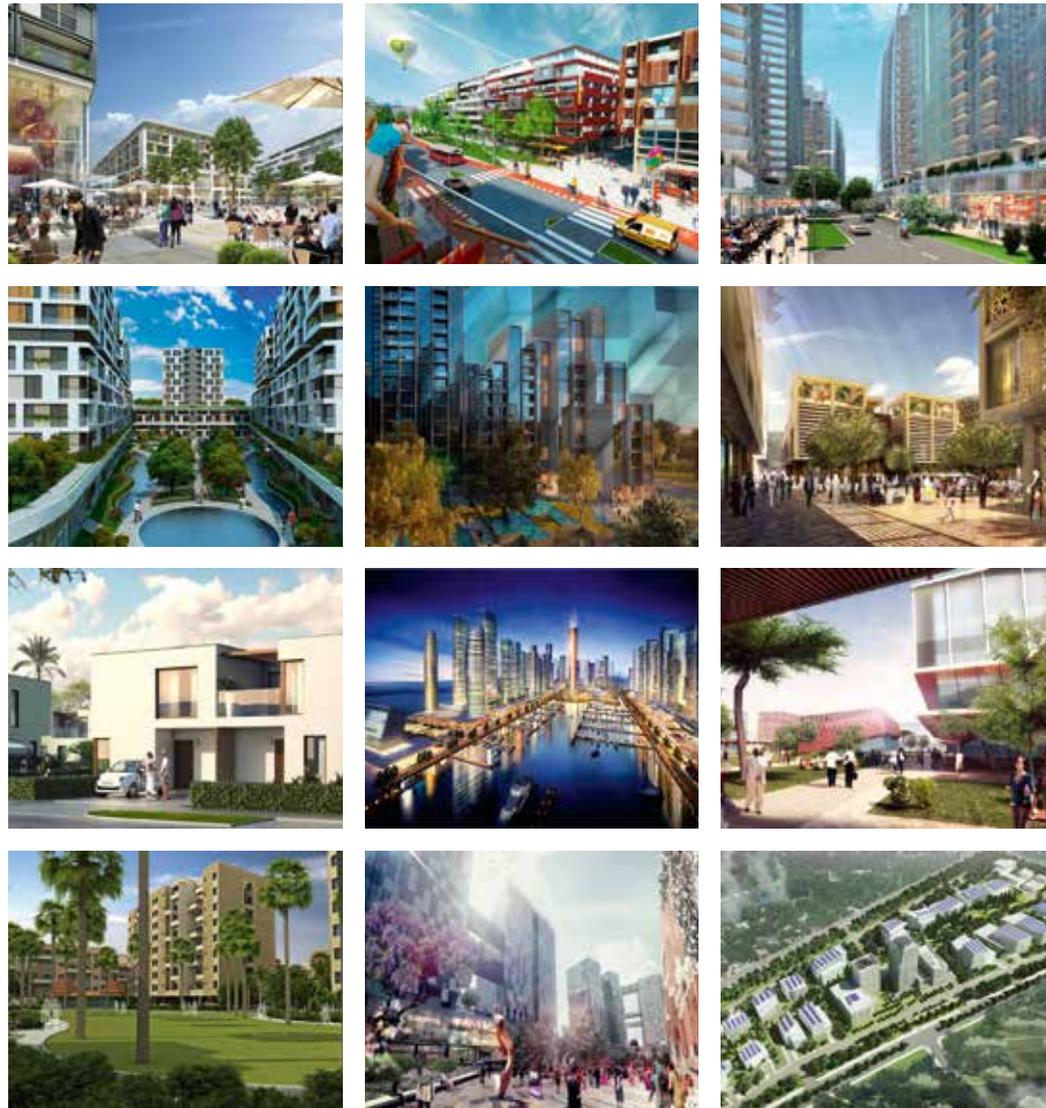
project name	Bhartiya City
country	India
city	Bengaluru
situation	periphery
plot size ha	51
project developer	Bhartiya International Ltd.
involvement	private, SEZ
planners	Perkins Eastman/New York, Cox/Sydney, BDP/Khandekar-Amsterdam, Broadway Malayan u.a.
competition	invitation
realization phase	under construction
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential, leisure, retail, gastronomy, office, finance, hotel
inhabitants planned	not specified
residential units planned	not specified
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes / price list
connection	public transport (bus), automobile
website	www.bhartiyacity.com
modification website (June 2016)	updated several times
visualization (June 2016)	additional visuals
source numerical data	www.bhartiyacity.com (21.06.2016)

Tianjin Eco-City
A Model for Sustainable Development



project name	Tianjin Eco-City
country	China
city	Tianjin Binhai New Area (TBNA)
situation	periphery
plot size ha	3,000
project developer	Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-city Investment and Development Co. Ltd (SSTEC)
involvement	governmental, private, PPP, SEZ
planners	Surbana, Urban Redevelopment Authority, Singapore, China Academy of Urban Planning + Design, Tianjin Urban Planning + Design Institute, et al.
competition	not specified
realization phase	partly realized
investment sum (EUR)	not specified
function + usage	residential, high tech / IT technology, industry (eco-friendly)
inhabitants planned	350,000
residential units planned	45,000
paid workplaces planned	not specified
rented flats	not specified
owner-occupied flats	yes
connection	public transport (subway), automobile
website	http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/index.aspx
modification website (June 2016)	updated
visualization (June 2016)	only masterplan still available
source numerical data	http://www.tianjineco-city.com/en/ (24.02.2016)

Visual Analysis Projects



NUMBER OF ILLS. PERCENTAGE

TIME

day	140	82%	
night	17	10%	
twilight	13	8%	
sum	170	100%	

FORMAT

landscape	154	90%	
portrait	13	8%	
square	3	2%	
sum	170	100%	

IMAGE STRUCTURING

Rule of thirds	61	36%	
Golden section	42	25%	
spot	43	25%	
diagonal	2	1%	
Golden spiral	9	5%	
L-composition	7	4%	
symmetric	6	4%	
sum	170	100%	

PERSPECTIVE

central	67	40%	
2-points	63	36%	
bird's-eye view	37	20%	
top view	1	1%	
worm's-eye view	2	3%	
sum	170	100%	

HORIZON LINE

bottom third	61	36%	
centric	44	26%	
low	21	12%	
none	25	15%	
upper third	19	11%	
sum	170	100%	

HORIZON LINE (bird's-eye-view)

bottom third	1	2%	
centric	2	5%	
upper third	10	27%	
none	24	66%	
sum	37	100%	

Research is based on 170 images in total. Percentage values are rounded.

	NUMBER OF ILLS.	PERCENTAGE	
HORIZON LINE (without bird's-eye view / top view.)			
bottom third	60	45%	
centric	42	32%	
low	21	16%	
upper third	9	7%	
sum	132	100%	
TEXTURE (without bird's-eye view / top view)			
simple	26	20%	
differentiated	63	48%	
photo-realistic	43	32%	
sum	132	100%	
MAIN THEMES			
building	48	28%	
square	26	15%	
street	19	11%	
urban view	14	8%	
residential courtyard	14	8%	
shopping zone/pedestrian zone	13	8%	
water	13	8%	
park	13	8%	
entire complex	10	6%	
sum	170	100%	
PRIORITIZATION (without bird's-eye view / top view)			
foreground	84	64%	
middle ground	48	36%	
background	0	0%	
sum	132	100%	

	NUMBER OF ILLS.	RANK
FOREGROUND (without bird's-eye view / top view)		
persons	107	1
trees	82	2
greenery	68	3
building	54	4
street	43	5
pedestrian road	40	6
water	34	7
automobile	31	8
shopping zone/pedestrian zone	26	9
quare	17	10
park	5	11
landscape	2	12
public transport (stops included)	2	13

	NUMBER OF ILLS.	RANK
MIDDLE GROUND (without bird's-eye view/top view)		
building	128	1
trees	104	2
persons	94	3
greenery	53	4
automobile	22	5
street	26	6
water	21	7
pedestrian road	20	8
shopping zone/pedestrian zone	15	9
square	11	10
park	7	11
public transport (stops included)	6	11
landscape	2	12
BACKGROUND (without bird's-eye view/top view)		
sky	132	1
building	36	2
trees	12	3
landscape	7	4
urban landscape	5	5
greenery	2	6

Here several themes have been considered.

SINGLE ELEMENTS	
existing buildings	10
new trees	150
existing trees	48
trees on/at buildings	25
automobile	52
bicycle	15
public transport	7
urban landscape	5
existing greenery	9
square	41
park	15
green area	26
residential courtyard	14
roof garden	11
roof landscaping	16
pedestrian zone	25
promenade waterfront	12
swimming pool	10
water expanse new	62
water expanse existing	7

Visual Analysis Persons

NUMBER OF ILLS.

shop window	40
sunshades	36
gastronomy furnishing	29
urban furnishing (mainly benches)	20
logo	18
boats	15
playground	6
flag	4
objet d'art	4

Here several elements have been considered per image.

NUMBER OF ILLS. PERCENTAGE (170 ill.= 100%)

COLORS

green	105	62%
gray	88	52%
blue	82	48%
white	80	47%
sand	50	29%
brown	25	15%
yellow	24	14%
black	18	11%
red	17	10%
orange-red	9	5%
violet-blue	4	2%

Here bird's-eye views have been considered at times.

SKY

light blue	62
blue	52
white	12
dark blue	6
pink	0
yellow/orange	8
black	2
birds	22

CLOUDS

white	93
gray	20

Per image 3 dominant colors have been identified.

ILLS. WITH IDENTIFIABLE PERSONS

ills. total	170
ills. without persons	33
ills. with persons	137
including:	
all persons identified	7
partly identified	80
not identified	50
ills. with identifiable persons in total	87

NUMBER OF ILLS. PERSONS PERCENTAGE

GENDER RELATIONS

women	85	515	43%
men	81	554	46%
adults total		1069	89%
female child	24	32	
male child	19	33	
child not identified	29	74	
children total		139	11%
persons to be identified in total		1208	100%

CONSTELLATIONS

women en route alone (of 515 women)	178	35%
men en route alone (of 554 men)	212	38%
sum (of 1069 adults) en route alone	390	36%
women en route not alone (of 515 women)	337	65%
men en route not alone (of 554 men)	342	62%
sum (of 1069 adults) en route not alone	679	64%

Quality Criteria

76 quality criteria in total, thereof fulfilled:

	STUTTGART 21	ASPERN	MASLAK 1453	WESTSIDE	AURA ERBIL	MASDAR CITY	APPOLONIA	EKO ATLANTIC	KONZA TECHNO CITY	AURA CITY	BHARTIYA CITY	TIANJIN ECO-CITY	sum
PARTICIPATION													
having a say		■											1
open civic participation	■	■											2
district management		■											1
consultation							■						1
social responsibility		■					■						2
subtotal	1	4					2						7
DRAFT PRINCIPLES													
gender aspects		■											1
compact city	■	■				■					■		4
densification		■				■		■				■	4
(qualified) density		■				■		■				■	4
small units		■											1
clarity		■											1
allotment							■				■		2
various building types		■				■		■			■		5
public space		■				■		■		■	■		8
park / green areas		■		■	■		■		■	■	■		2
safety / surveillance				■			■						1
local architecture						■							1
subtotal	1	8		2	1	5	4	4	1	4	3		33
USAGE													
mix of uses	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	10
number of gainful employment	■	■	■		■	■		■	■		■	■	9
local supply	■	■	■	■	■						■	■	7
subtotal	3	3	2	2	3	2	1	2	2		3	3	26
REALIZATION													
construction as process		■											1
construction section by section		■				■	■	■				■	5
assemblies		■											1
cooperative		■											1
subtotal		4				1	1	1				1	8

	STUTTGART 21	ASPERN	MASLAK 1453	WESTSIDE	AURA ERBIL	MASDAR CITY	APPOLONIA	EKO ATLANTIC	KONZA TECHNO CITY	AURA CITY	BHARTIYA CITY	TIANJIN ECO-CITY	sum
MOBILITY													
accessibility public transport	■	■		■		■		■	■	■	■	■	9
priority of non-motorized traffic		■				■					■		3
accessibility of city center	■	■				■				■			4
bike-friendly		■									■	■	3
pedestrian-friendly	■	■				■			■		■	■	6
shared space		■											1
Personal Rapid Transit system						■							1
accessibility to all persons		■										■	2
subtotal	3	7		1		5		1	2	2	4	4	29
HOUSING													
funded housing		■										■	1
funded rental housing		■											1
social housing												■	1
experimental housing												■	2
mixed income							■					■	2
rented flats	■	■											2
intercultural housing		■											1
different layouts flats / apartments		■	■	■						■	■		5
non-hierarchical floor plans		■											1
one-person apartment / flat		■			■						■		3
communal living		■											1
multiple generational living		■									■		2
assisted living		■											1
subtotal	1	10	1	2			1			1	3	3	21
INSTITUTIONS													
non-profit institutions		■										■	2
cultural institutions		■	■	■	■							■	5
educational institutions	■	■					■	■	■		■	■	8
preschool / day-care center		■				■					■	■	4
youth facility													2
health facility							■					■	2
institutions for the elderly		■										■	2
neighborhood gardens		■											1
subtotal	1	6	1	1	1	2	2	1	1		2	6	24

	STUTTGART 21	ASPERN	MASLAK 1453	WESTSIDE	AURA ERBIL	MASDAR CITY	APPOLONIA	EKO ATLANTIC	KONZA TECHNO CITY	AURA CITY	BHARTIYA CITY	TIANJIN ECO-CITY	sum
SOCIAL DIVERSITY													
social mixture		■											1
diverse way of life		■											1
generational mixture		■								■	■		3
community-oriented		■					■						2
child-friendly		■			■					■	■		4
family-friendly		■		■			■			■	■		5
single-friendly		■		■							■		3
social responsibility							■						1
subtotal		6		2	1		3			3	4		20
SUSTAINABILITY													
construction ecology		■											1
preferably sustainable building materials						■							1
local material						■		■					2
passive house		■				■							2
energy-efficient		■				■					■		3
autonomous energy supply						■		■					2
water conservation						■					■		2
energy saving		■				■					■		3
solar energy						■					■		2
wastewater treatment						■		■			■		3
smart city		■							■			■	3
green buildings		■										■	2
local greening						■						■	2
renewable energies		■				■						■	3
waste recycling						■						■	2
subtotal	1	7				12		3	1		2	8	33
sum	10	58	4	10	6	31	14	7	11	7	22	29	201

	RANK	SUM CRITERIA	PERCENTAGE (76=100%)
ASPERN URBAN LAKESIDE	1	58	76%
MASDAR CITY	2	31	41%
TIANJIN ECO-CITY	3	29	38%
BHARTIYA CITY	4	22	28%
APPOLONIA	5	14	18%
KONZA TECHNO CITY	6	11	14%
STUTTGART 21	7	10	13%
WESTSIDE	7	10	13%
EKO ATLANTIC	8	7	9%
AURA CITY	8	7	9%
AURA ERBIL	9	6	8%
MASLAK 1453	10	4	5%

If the masterplan is taken as a basis for Stuttgart 21, then the project takes place 4 in the ranking with 26 criteria fulfilled.

A total of 76 quality criteria have been extracted from the 12 web-based project representations.

Results Computational Linguistics

KEYWORDS

UN-Habitat. State of the World's Cities 2010/2011. Bridging the Urban Divide. London: earthscan, 2013.

slum	42.0195484841919
inequality	30.4464641474978
city	24.2708430096391
divide	18.6294321055572
poverty	18.6233782355831
income	13.4756458675158
dweller	13.1173871524482
urbanization	11.5339877432842
inclusion	10.1753120503509
opportunity	10.0352459090376
country	9.41717316786746
employment	9.12227900330419
housing	9.10547485615290
coefficient	9.04616594180414
inclusiveness	8.86520448334387
programme	8.76316931411433
policy	8.56407374946903
right	8.18721610481206

UN-Habitat. State of the World's Cities 2012/2013. Prosperity of the Cities. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2013.

prosperity	63.1511008536105
city	32.8163633165402
infrastructure	26.9224731911237
productivity	14.3381693671340
dimension	12.7511992739531
equity	11.8954605084818
transport	11.0846638111237
sustainability	10.6169595014596
quality	10.6048342016412
planning	10.3483464731153
expert	10.2354864759778
development	9.77895931959411
policy	9.71550857345643
innovation	9.56397583038824
inequality	9.39502425565643
institution	9.33488835362845
goods	8.52468635792508
slum	8.37689933090351
urbanization	8.37252229606044
environment	8.32943773223004
governance	8.03212107935548

KEYWORDS

centre	14.9229537365034
city	13.0479226659762
infrastructure	12.8043984732572
energy	12.3578891706897
building	11.7915717740939
project	11.1233493295215
development	9.84125214147414
district	9.73978233953719
waste	8.92485122983069
sustainability	8.11360560543233
residence	7.86083768954501
hub	7.35586537386478
master	6.90603169112207
resident	6.76352542629020
developer	6.74964199668657
environment	6.70504436165957
business	6.67366956890038
land	6.62910480474185
technology	6.62434705282115
area	6.46028379094299
space	6.43675702722115
park	6.41550094517958
transportation	6.41351165542161
retail	6.39699105330557
sector	6.26954079140205
phase	6.19995453179932
facility	6.12019921463461
concrete	6.01453356195261

PROJECTS (without Stuttgart 21 and Aspern Urban Lakeside)

economic zone	10
new city	9
national development	8
marina district	8
land area	8
information park	8
estate development	8
business district	8

ATTRIBUTES

eco	213
renewable	45
city	43
business	30
new	27
real	26
green	22
sustainable	20
clean	20
techno	17
economic	16
industrial	15
public	14
urban	13
office	13
private	12
hot	11
estate	11
technology	10
national	10
information	10
global	9
marina	8
land	8
master	7
free	7
financial	7
energy	7
development	7
commercial	7
chilled	7
built	7

MULTI-WORD TERMS

eco city	200
renewable energy	45
real estate	26
city centre	21
green building	19
techno city	17
sustainable development	15
new area	15
industrial park	15
business park	15
city investment	14
office space	13
eco business	13
private sector	12
urban development	11
hot water	11

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- pp. 276–288 Images retrieved from the project websites, sources and succession analog to the presentation of the projects in the appendix

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Man braucht Frauen ja nur einen Raum zu übergeben, sie werden ihn dann, das haben sie ja geübt, schon besenrein machen, einrichten, herrichten, bis sie sich zugrunde gerichtet haben werden. Das sind sie ja gewöhnt. Hier bitte ist dieser Raum, aber besser, er bleibt verborgen wie die Leistungen der Frau, die das Obszöne schlechthin sind, denn sie sind da, aber man sieht sie nicht, und man soll sie nicht sehen. Man soll nur ihre Ergebnisse sehen, nicht wie es zu ihnen gekommen ist.

One need only give women a single space, and they will then, as they are accustomed to doing, go ahead and sweep it clean, furnish it, put it in order, until they have destroyed themselves. They're used to it. Here's the room, if you please, but better; it remains hidden like the achievements of the woman, which are obscene, as it were, for they are there but one does not see them, and one is not supposed to see them. One is only meant to see the results, not how they evolved.

Elfriede Jelinek, Frauenraum (2000)





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