ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOKS

The Routledge Handbook of Anthropology and the City

Edited by Setha Low

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The Routledge Handbook of Anthropology and the City provides a comprehensive study of current and future urban issues on a global and local scale. Premised on an 'engaged' approach to urban anthropology, the volume adopts a thematic approach that covers a wide range of modern urban issues, with a particular focus on those of high public interest. Topics covered include security, displacement, social justice, privatization, sustainability, and preservation. Offering valuable insight into how anthropologists investigate, make sense of, and then address a variety of urban issues, each chapter covers key theoretical and methodological concerns alongside rich ethnographic case study material. The volume is an essential reference for students and researchers in urban anthropology, as well as being of interest for those in related disciplines, such as urban studies, sociology, and geography.

Setha Low is Professor of Anthropology, Earth and Environmental Sciences (Geography), Environmental Psychology, and Women's Studies at The Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA. Her most recent books are *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (2017), and *Spaces of Security: Ethnographies of Securityscapes, Surveillance and Control* (2019), edited with M. Maguire. She is former President of the American Anthropological Association and served as Deputy Chair of the World Council of Anthropological Associations.

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-12609-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-64709-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Acknowledgments

This volume is the result of a collaboration with colleagues who are committed to furthering a more engaged and public urban anthropology. Contributors wrote original and at times personally revealing chapters about their experiences and theoretical and methodological conclusions from field sites across the globe. They were invited to write clear and lively narratives summarizing the literature on the geopolitical region and topic, explaining their methods and fieldwork practices, reporting their findings, and then reflecting on the significance of their work for a public audience. I am indebted to them for taking on this challenge and producing compelling stories of how urban anthropologists study the city from a critical perspective. Without their participation and willingness to stay on schedule this volume would not have been possible. I want to thank each for their hard work, scholarship, and creativity in imagining the future of the city based on ethnographic evidence.

I owe a tremendous debt to the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and particularly the PhD Programs in Anthropology, Environmental Psychology and Earth and Environmental Sciences (Geography) for creating an intellectual and collegial atmosphere where my interest in engaged and critical urban anthropology could flourish. Many of my colleagues and students in New York City have enriched my thinking and clarified my understanding of critical scholarship and politically inflected research practices. I would like to especially acknowledge and thank Jeff Maskovsky for his provocation to think about the labor of engagement for the introduction and for his writings on protest anthropology. Sally Merry has been an intellectual interlocutor and co-author of our ideas about anthropological engagement and encouraged this project from its beginning. Ida Susser, Melissa Checker, Leith Mullings, and Dana Davis deepened my understanding of social transformation through grassroots political movements, while my doctoral students Manissa Maharawal (now a professor at American University) and Zoltan Glück demonstrated how politically engaged ethnography unsettles traditional anthropological ethics and practices. Manissa and Zoltan encouraged me to address the future of urban anthropological practice through the militant ethnography of Jeffrey Juris. Graduate students Maria Cecilia Salvi, Vaiva Aglinskas, Chris Baum, and Claire Panetta helped find many of the contributors through their own academic networks and knowledge of urban ethnographies. Maria Cecilia Salvi helped to translate the chapters that were originally written in Spanish and offered support throughout the editing process. Cindi Katz, Susan Saegert, Michelle Fine, and David Harvey, colleagues who share my interest in social justice and public space, have also contributed to these ideas. I am grateful to have such wonderful colleagues and graduate students and to work in an institution that nurtures interdisciplinary scholarship and critical approaches to research and theory.

This book was supported by a sabbatical leave granted by President Chase Robinson and Provost Louise Lennihan at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The

Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and Leslie Aiello promoted this project with an initial workshop grant on engaged anthropology. Sally Merry and I edited the workshop papers to produce a special issue of *Current Anthropology* on engaged anthropology (Low and Merry 2010) that was a first step in the development of the ideas presented in the introduction. Support also came from my Routledge editor, Katherine Ong, who suggested that I edit a Routledge Handbook and offered guidance along the way. Louisa Vahtrick kept the project moving while Katherine was on leave. I particularly want to thank Marc Stratton, the editorial assistant who worked miracles getting the contracts from all the contributors, tracking down the illustrations, resolving copyright issues, answering author questions, and putting this volume together so that it could proceed to production. Marc, Louisa, and Katherine were crucial members of the editing team and then placed this volume in the capable hand of Tina Cottone, who managed its production with encouragement. Tina supported this effort by working with all 33 contributions throughout the copy-editing and proofing stages. I greatly appreciated her willingness and good humor as she reminded us of impending deadlines so that we could meet our publication goal.

The final acknowledgment goes to my husband, Joel Lefkowitz, an expert in ethics, social justice, and research methodology, who has encouraged my commitment to socially responsible social science practice. He is a wonderful writer and editor whose magic included editing the introduction and discussing its ideas, while at the same time preparing dinners to sustain us while I worked. I deeply appreciate and recognize his contribution to this volume.

Introduction

Engaging the city and the future

Setha Low

The purpose of this book

The Routledge Handbook of Anthropology and the City presents an engaged urban anthropology that draws upon a history of critical engagement with the city and a commitment to social justice and transformation through the intersection of ethnography and politically informed action (Susser 2010; Maharawal 2011). Recent calls for public ethnography (Fassin 2013), militant ethnography (Juris 2007, 2017) and protest anthropology (Maskovsky 2013) reflect a growing interest in producing knowledge that is useful, benefits those we work with and addresses urban problems. At its most modest, this book renders urban anthropology more accessible, in terms of selecting topics that have broad appeal, as well as a style of writing and research reporting designed for multiple publics and media audiences. But at its most ambitious, it argues for a more politically engaged and publicity-savvy mode of urban anthropological practice.

To accomplish these ends, the chapters focus on key urban anthropological issues, such as precarity, displacement, security, sustainability, citizenship, spatial governance, financialization and cultural preservation, that are of public interest and relevant in today's rapidly changing global economy, with shifting urban populations, growing economic disparities and hardening state boundaries. The narratives are compelling, employing innovative approaches to method and exposition, including the auto-ethnography of working with ex-offenders in Philadelphia (McKinney), driving a motorcycle taxi in a political demonstration in Bangkok (Sopranzetti), dancing in the stalled traffic of Kampala (Chin), drawing architectural genealogies in Accra (Pellow), riding the train with vendors in Buenos Aires (Perelman) and recording rap musicians in Lisbon (Pardue), among others. Some contributors report their experiences as protest anthropologists (Checker, Maskovsky) and activist anthropologists and documentarians (Brash, Hita and Gledhill, Perelman, Sopranzetti). Each contribution, whether written from the position of critic, artist, activist or archivist, traces the ways in which it is increasingly hard for people to navigate the city due to economic restructuring and public policies that place the burden of survival on the individual.

Newspapers, television and radio programs, blogs, magazines, zines, Facebook posts, tweets and Instagram also document, albeit superficially, these same concerns. Yet social media and news updates reach millions of people who want to comprehend and change the world they live in,

while urban anthropologists who provide in-depth research and reports on these same issues struggle to find their audiences. This book argues that real-world engagement combined with more effective translation and circulation of the research can reach publics who would utilize our work.

This introduction lays out the logic and labor[1] of what constitutes this kind of engaged urban anthropology and what is necessary to move this agenda to the center of the discipline. The chapters describe the environmental, political, economic and social crises facing cities as well as the opportunities urban life holds for creativity, resistance, imagination and generativity. Each offers a social critique of urban programs, processes and policies or involvement in advocacy, collaboration and activism as part of an ethnographic endeavor. These comprehensive field studies undertaken at both global and local scales elucidate how urban anthropologists investigate, make sense of, confront and translate these problems and opportunities for a variety of audiences.

There is a long history of urban anthropologists improving lives and a generation of urban activists who both studied and fought against racial exclusion, homelessness, lack of adequate housing, forced displacement, poverty, inadequate or nonexistent health care, drug and organ trafficking, un- and underemployment, and pollution and environmental degradation most often in the U.S. (e.g., Kim Hopper, William Leap, Carol Stack, Brett Williams, Paul Farmer, Barbara Rose Johnston, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Eleanor Leacock, Delmos Jones, Leith Mullings, Ida Susser and Philippe Bourgeois). This volume identifies a new generation of scholars and activists who are reformulating these concerns internationally – drawing from this tradition and adding new theoretical perspectives and methodologies as well as insights into the complexities of urbanity. The intensity of globalization, environmental disparities, socioeconomic inequality, governmental and corporate corruption and neoliberal urbanism has transformed the dual city of the 1980s (Castells 1989; Mollenkopf and Castells 1991) into the "precarious city" of the present, where a substantial portion of urban residents are impoverished by structural systems of oppression and racism that benefit a small professional and elite class.

The chapters trace the contours of current practice and methodology to highlight how urban ethnographers uncover power dynamics and forms of resistance that exist in an effort to better articulate and transform them. The means by which this is accomplished varies: some contributors prefer a personal voice to elaborate the process of discovery or narrate as activists collaboratively solving local problems. Others employ cultural criticism and critical analysis to achieve their ends. Regardless, the point of each contribution is to illuminate the intellectual and historical context of the problem and explicate the theoretical and methodological approach with ethnographic examples drawn from fieldwork. Each chapter reports the research findings and conclusions presented in such a way that that prospective readers – academics, students, activists, NGO and government decision-makers and the concerned public – can come away with a more sophisticated understanding of the issues and the motivation to engage them.

The rationale for this ethnographically based and publicly accessible format is that anthropology, especially cultural anthropology, is at risk of becoming irrelevant and illegible even in the face of the growing importance of the public humanities and social sciences. The scholarly writing in our journals has become more obscure in the battle for intellectual recognition of fine-grained and nuanced ethnographic analyses. Urban anthropology has suffered from some of this same malaise, and recent changes in *City & Society*[2] have refocused on the critical edge-work of the city within national, transnational and global imaginaries and realities. The rejuvenation that occurred with the renaming of the Society for Urban Anthropology to the Society for Urban, National and Transnational/Global Anthropology in the U.S. was significant in its redirection of the field. It turned perceptive studies of people living in the city into more complex political, economic and multisited ethnographies articulating the scalar relationships of the city to the

body, family, neighborhood and region as well as to the nation-state, transnational corporations and the global economy.

Rivke Jaffe's and Anouk de Koning's (2016) introductory text redefines urban anthropology as a critical area of study that focuses on issues of place and space, violence, security, citizenship, politics and planning. From their European perspective, urban anthropology peaked in the 1970s and 1980s and is now resurfacing as an important part of the discipline that examines globalization, migration, transnationalism and communication technologies and "how different technologies shape urban life whether in the form of infrastructure, mobilities, or the intersection of offline and online worlds" (Jaffe and De Koning 2016: 165). They highlight post-neoliberal solidarities, affect and temporality, and ecology and sustainability as emerging in the mid-2010s; and their chapters on national anxieties in the new Europe (de Koning) and security technology in Recife and Kingston (Frossard and Jaffe) illustrate these trends.

This book argues that we should not take the "urban" and urban processes for granted or reify these productive abstractions, but instead experiment with new theories and critical perspectives to revive their conceptual value. In practice it is difficult to distinguish the urban from the exurban, suburban or even rural, much less argue about the differences among villages, towns and cities. Yet the reality is that medium and large cities are growing, expanding and morphing into new configurations where over half of the world's population is located. Architects, planners and urban designers are struggling to imagine and implement architectural and engineering systems that can respond to the landscape of emerging economies and informal ways of living. Power relations and financial manipulation of currency and credit among national governments, developers, corporations and transnational elites have increasingly functioned to keep wealth in the hands of the elite players, while many urban residents struggle to keep jobs, hold on to their housing, bring families together and provide safe neighborhoods for their children – often through political mobilization and resistance. The engaged urban anthropologists in this handbook confront this "fractured urbanism" (Bank 2011: 241) through the theoretical frameworks of precarity (Simone, Perelman, Hall), affect (Ramos-Zayas and Berg, Maskovsky, de Koning), racial displacement (Teppo, Jackson, McKinney, Murphy), security (Maguire and Pétercsák, Frossard and Jaffe, Eriksen), mobility (Monroe, Sopranzetti, Freudendal-Pedersen), infrastructure (Schwenkel, Harms, Chin), financialization (Smart, Looser), governance (Brash, Modan, Dürr and Fischer), gentrification (Rao, Checker, Sawalha, Vučinić-Nešković, Herzfeld) and ethnomusicology (Oliven, Pardue) to interrogate the contradictions and disjunctions of urban experience.

Equally important is to reflect on why we are involved in the study of the city. The problems of rapid urbanization and the technological, political, economic and social challenges of creating socially just societies are becoming increasingly insoluble. Part of the issue is simply the scale of urban growth. By 2030, the number of cities with 1 to 5 million inhabitants is projected to be 559 and another 731 cities will have between 500,000 and 1 million inhabitants (United Nations 2016). In 2016, 1.7 billion people – 23 percent of the world's population – lived in a city with at least 1 million inhabitants (United Nations 2016). Cities, and their residue and ruins, including informal settlements, DIY[3] suburbs, exclusive commuting towns and exurbs and deteriorating malls and edges, are where most people live – sufficient incentive for maintaining our interest.

Yet my desire to study the city has more to do with the social inequities that characterize the urban landscape, and how the city as a material structure, a structure of feeling and a form of sociality reveals the history, political economy and social construction of inequality. Over time it became not enough to describe and analyze gated communities (Low 2003), private housing governance (Low 2017) and the lack of inclusion in public space (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005; Low and Iveson 2016); I need to speak out, offer solutions and try to change the injustices revealed through research.

We might take our cue from work in urban studies that is producing a literature on new kinds of cities and the urban processes that characterize them. The research presented in this book on the social and cultural underpinnings of private cities (Looser), financialization (Smart), housing policy (Murphy), political regimes (Harms, Jackson, Maskovsky) provides a base. But I do not yet see our work influencing non-anthropological urbanists in a significant way. Even the thoughtful volumes on the global and sustainable city (Peterson and McDonogh 2012; Isenhour, McDonogh and Checker 2015) are absent from these broader discussions about emerging cities and thus unable to contest their claims. To be in this conversation engaged urban anthropologists need to be more outspoken about their social values and judgments, more pointed in their claims and more militant in their ethnographic practice.

That is the purpose of this handbook, highlighting theories and ethnographies that will lead urban anthropology in new directions accompanied by more engaged practice. In this effort every chapter combines political intent and ethnographic knowledge to confront social justice problems that plague cities today, while retaining the richness and contextual complexity that characterize our work. This book does not abandon the urban or leave the city and its materiality behind, but contends that we need a clearer focus that resonates with those with whom we struggle. The intention is to reach a wider set of publics and find our voices by effectively communicating and acting upon the public significance of our findings.

Engaged urban anthropology

History[4]

To frame this discussion of what constitutes an engaged urban anthropology – and why there is a need for it – a brief review of the conflicting views of what constitutes its history and subsequent marginalization is helpful. One perspective is that anthropological knowledge was developed to remedy social problems, including those of colonial administration, and therefore was always engaged but in a manner that reinforced existing power relations (Bennett 1996; Rylko-Bauer, Singer and Willigin 2006). Another approach is the politically conscious, critical practice that flourished from the 1930s through the 1970s to address inequality and offer political-economic critique (Berreman 1968; Patterson 2001; Roseberry 2002; Silverman 2007). Engaged urban anthropologists included in this book are critical of anthropology's settler colonial past and prefer participatory methods and multi-vocal writing, a non-imperialist system for the distribution of knowledge and expertise, and work that is collaborative rather than hierarchical within community settings.

American anthropology is embedded in a history of urban engagement even though it was marginalized and excluded from the academy. Franz Boas and his students laid the groundwork for linking anthropology and urban life, including important studies on race relations by Melville Herskovits (1928) and by such notable activist anthropologists as Zora Neale Hurston (Pierpont 2004; Silverman 2007). In the 1930s, engaged research was sponsored by the Depression-era Works Project Administration (WPA), which employed anthropologists and supported such initiatives as urban research surveys and the publication of *Black Metropolis* (Drake and Clayton 1970). Margaret Mead was an internationally known writer and public speaker who tackled pragmatic problems, such as housing, urban development, race, malnutrition and environmental pollution, but her celebrity and success in translating anthropological insights from non-Western cultures to critiques of American society were not received positively by many colleagues (Mead 1942; Lutkehaus 2008).

During World War II anthropologists participated in the war effort, but there were aspects of their work, such as the administration of Japanese relocation camps in the United States, that

subsequently led to the vociferous 1960s outcry at this involvement . Even greater concern developed about the use of anthropological knowledge in the 1950s and 1960s when anthropologists were offered lucrative, academic tenured jobs as anthropology departments expanded with Cold War funding (Chomsky et al. 1997; Nader 1997; Silverman 2007). Many women and minority anthropologists continued to work in the public sector because of barriers to academia and the marginalized nature of their activist interests. Their exclusion decreased the visibility and importance of engaged work in the broader discipline (Silverman 2007; Low and Merry 2010).

Yet an engaged urban anthropology survived the McCarthy era in a few academic and public settings. Marshall Sahlins, Stanley Diamond, Eric Wolf, Marvin Harris, Constance Sutton, Kathleen Gough and David Aberle organized Vietnam "teach-ins." In 1963, Eleanor Leacock along with June Nash and Helen Safa fought for better working conditions for women in the United States and Latin America, and in the 1970s and 1980s Christine Gailey, Louise Lamphere, Richard Lee and many others joined Leacock in her campaign (Patterson 2001; Roseberry 2002). Feminist anthropology flourished during this period, urging more inclusive methodologies, active engagement with the individuals and communities studied, and more egalitarian research relationships (Susser 2009; Huggins and Glebbeek 2009). Informants became collaborators, co-researchers and colleagues rather than the subjects of study.

During the 1990s there was renewed interest in engagement signaled by Shepard Forman's call for "an anthropology that includes prominently among its missions empirically grounded social criticism on the one hand and theoretically guided participation in public policy processes on the other" (Forman 1993: 298). By the mid-1990s and early 2000s, a growing number of anthropologists supported activism within and outside the academy. Nancy Scheper-Hughes's proposal for a militant anthropology suggests that "cultural relativism, read as moral relativism, is no longer appropriate to the world in which we live and that anthropology, if it is to be worth anything at all must be ethically grounded" (1995: 410). Gavin Smith (1999) prescribed moving from political engagement to formulating anthropology as a political practice, and Stuart Kirsch (2002) argued for the appropriateness of advocacy in cases of environmental injustice. Lassiter (2005) advocated writing collaborative ethnographies, while Victoria Sanford and Asale Angel-Ajani (2006), Shannon Speed (2006) and Charles Hale (2006) claimed that critical engagement can best be achieved by activist research and advocacy rather than academy-based cultural critique. Melissa Checker (2008) concluded that the discipline was on the threshold of a new era when anthropological expertise, activism, theory and knowledge were being disseminated widely and freely through new technologies as well as through news media, journal publications and institution-sponsored reports.

Contemporary arguments: practice, praxis and engagement

By 2010 engaged anthropology – including an engaged urban anthropology – had become more visible, reaching farther into the academic as well as the practicing parts of the profession. Yet many academics had reservations about this form of knowledge production and many practicing, public and activist anthropologists found it difficult to convince promotion review committees that their participatory research projects, popular writing, technical reports or policy papers had scholarly merit. Even outside the academy, at professional meetings, during informal discussions and in journal reviews there lingered the prejudice that engaged research did not generate theory and that activism was too political to be a "professional" activity. While some Latin American countries, such as Chile and Mexico, had *colegios*, professional organizations for anthropologists working outside of academia, there continued to be a disparity between the acceptance, publication and evaluation of these allegedly different forms of knowledge production.

In an effort to be more inclusive, Sally Merry and I proposed that there were multiple avenues for becoming engaged – through commitments to informants, support of field-based and local communities, teaching and public education, social critique, collaboration, advocacy and activism (Low and Merry 2010). Ida Susser (2010) and Kamari Clarke (2010) took more radical stands, a position with which I now agree. Susser argued that while the critique of colonialism, imperialism and oppressive governments is part of engagement, "participation in social transformation is a necessary further step" (2010: S232), while Clarke (2010) contended that we should be "documenting efforts that not only have explanatory power but connect that power to praxis" (2010: S301).

Paulo Freire's definition of *praxis*[5] as "reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed" (1970: 126) most closely resembles my current understanding of what constitutes engagement. He outlines a practice that is as dependent on reflection as on action, and formulates praxis as an experiment rather than research. His directive to take action, consider the impact of the action, analyze the results of the action through reflection, and then alter and revise the conception and plan for implementation is a useful guide. The process is not unlike the reiterative research process of ethnographers who use participant observation and a grounded theory approach in the field or design anthropologists who start with an intervention and then study its impact.

Often it is an action that initiates an engaged project, as in the case of Moore Street Market in Brooklyn, New York. When the Economic Development Corporation of New York City threatened to close this Latino market, the vendors who worked there organized and convinced local politicians to help fight the closure. Funds obtained from Latino Assembly Representatives were used to bring public space designers into the mix, and the Public Space Research Group was asked to document the importance of the market for those who used or worked in the market or lived in the neighborhood. The analysis consisted of vendors, community members, designers and anthropologists reflecting on what we had accomplished, and then moving forward with a plan to add more Latino and other entrepreneurs and community space. Implementation is ongoing with both successes and failures as new small businesses join the older vendors in an effort to keep it vibrant and open to diverse users (Low 2017).

Hans Baer also uses the term "*engaged anthropology*, in part because the latter encompasses much of what public, practicing and applied anthropologists do but also because it entails an engagement with the crucial issues of the day" (Baer 2012: 217). He cites Maximillian Forte's (2011) fear that "public anthropology" is a liberal reformist project that relies on authorities and institutions and not enough on social struggle or tackling issues of power and inequality. Baer, like myself, ultimately prefers an inclusive notion of engagement and adheres to "praxis as a merger of theory and social action or practice" (Baer 2012: 224).

Protest anthropology, positive anthropology and militant ethnography

Other models of politically engaged anthropological practice have also emerged. Jeff Maskovsky's *protest anthropology* explores the perils of scholars who "are not just aligned with protest movements, revolts, and uprisings but are also full-fledged participants in them" (2013: 126). This "high-stakes" domain has its own rewards, especially as he argues, during a time of global crisis when governmental and civil society institutions are unable to deal adequately with mounting threats to environmental and social well-being. A protest anthropologist himself, Maskovsky analyzes the contributions of David Graeber (2009) and Manissa Maharawal (2011, 2012), who participated in organizing, documenting and planning actions during the Occupy Movement of 2011. He considers what role being an anthropologist plays in their understanding and execution

of direct democracy and horizontal and nonhierarchical social relationships. While the high risks and personal consequences are evident – including the possible failure of the movement (Maharawal 2017), the difficulty of getting an establishment job (Maskovsky 2013; Checker 2014) and imprisonment or even death for activists working under authoritarian regimes, such as in Latin America (Mariano Perelman, personal communication) – protest anthropologists are nevertheless reimagining the world as more participatory, democratic and collaborative and bring this vision to the ethics and ethnography of their discipline.

Activists' use of digital technologies, self-reflection and circulation of alternative news has also broken down the separation between participant and observer, "constituting a significant challenge to traditional academic approaches," especially with regard to social movements (Juris 2007: 164). Jeffrey Juris purposes *militant ethnography* as an alternative way to undertake research and political praxis through "collaboratively produced ethnographic knowledge" that "aims to facilitate ongoing activist (self)-reflection regarding movement goals, tactics, strategies, and organizational forms" (Juris 2007: 165). He points out that there are inherent contradictions in many of the organizational forms, such as the horizontal networking of social movements and the institutional hierarchy of academia, such that anthropologists involved in both must navigate between institutional and social relational demands. He conceives of militant ethnography as a methodology that uses engaged anthropology to contribute to social movement goals while retaining an embedded ethnographic position to generate knowledge of movement practices and dynamics (Juris 2014). His model of politically committed ethnographic research adds another dimension to the methodological innovations explored in this book.

Strengthening a *positive anthropology* is yet another way to rethink engagement. Edward Fischer (2014) argues that anthropologists should advocate for a context-dependent notion of well-being for the diverse circumstances of people regardless of income differences in the South and Global North. Supporting local moral projects and taking individual aspirations seriously produce more grounded understandings of what it means to experience the "good life" and to engage in work that leads to this outcome. Courtney Desiree Morris (2015) goes farther in her interrogation of the ends of engagement and asks what would happen if we imagined engaged work as a "practice of freedom, an act of imagination, a tool for transforming an unequal world" (2015: 541).

Melissa Checker, however, cautions against taking on the role of an anthropological "superhero," noting that as academics and applied anthropologists, we are as constrained by "the same political and economic trends and demands that increasingly circumscribe activists' efforts" (2014: 416). Engaged urban anthropologists have access to some academic and professional privileges, but we also need to acknowledge "our own powerlessness and vulnerability" (Checker 2014: 416) and our limited ability to provide the material resources and social network access often requested. Further, anthropologists' desire for reciprocity can lead to the false recognition of or claims about what we can accomplish. Checker (2014) and Kim Hopper (2003), using their own ethnographic examples, remind us of how engaged work can be coopted or reinforce the very institutions they are trying to transform. While Checker continues to advocate for an engaged and activist anthropology, she urges us to have realistic expectations for ourselves and our research participants.

The labor of engagement

The emotional, ethical and social relational demands of protest anthropology, positive anthropology and militant ethnography help to articulate the additional labor of engagement and how it deviates from the accepted norms, ethics and methodologies of traditional urban anthropology and ethnography. For example, Juris (2014) argues that activism entails breaking out of activist and academic "ghettos" and entering public debates in order to "'provoke' critical thought and

action and to 'translate' between different visions, languages, and concerns" (2014: 1). He adds that militant ethnography also requires (self) reflection, collaborative production of knowledge, building horizontal networks and negotiating the conflicts and dilemmas faced when navigating academic, activist and public worlds.

Maskovsky (2013) points out that for protest anthropology, playing a central role in a movement by organizing and planning activities and commitment to the political work is of foremost importance. To participate directly in social action alongside others with similar commitments – sometimes agreeing and sometimes dissenting – includes taking a political stand and eschewing the positivist ideal of scientific neutrality. Morris (2015) adds imagining freedom to the kinds of labor required for engagement, while Fischer (2014) suggests supporting local moral projects. Finally Checker suggests that engaged urban anthropologists remain aware of their own structural constraints and vulnerability to cooptation.

Thus the labor of an engaged urban anthropology always includes some kind of politics, both of the anthropologist and of the people and projects engaged with. It is composed of a heterogeneous and complex set of skills – many familiar to any urban ethnographer, such as self-reflection and collaboration, while others are acquired through practice. There are aspects of being engaged that are distinct from traditional urban anthropology, such as disrupting activist/academic dichotomies, provoking critical thought and discussion, negotiating the boundaries and contradictions of being committed to a political project yet remaining committed to the ethnographic vision of nuanced and insightful work. All urban research includes imagination and commitment, but it is engaged when it is directed to a political and social vision of the future – for example, overt endorsement of a value system of social justice.

In addition to political commitment, there is also the emotional labor of sustaining oneself and co-workers through the rollercoaster of crises of confidence and trust, physical exhaustion and mental fatigue. Facing conflicting ideas and measures of success or failure and being able to know when to stop, ask for help or try another strategy require affective labor of a special kind often developed only through engaged experience. The labor of engagement necessitates being involved in research to solve urban problems, but also to learn and transform oneself. Many urban anthropologists share this sentiment. The primary goal of Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action, and Research (PUKAR) founded by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai and historian Carol Breckenridge in Mumbai is

> to think of research as a process oriented learning journey rather than an end product oriented goal . . . Research is not only about generating new knowledge but also about the ways that research affects the researcher himself or herself.
>
> (Maharawal 2012: 682)

The engaged practices of the urban anthropologists in this book encompass multiple kinds of labor – scholarly, strategic, emotional and political. Many of the contributors are not involved in direct action, yet all the ethnographies grapple with social justice issues and search for more equitable solutions and deeper ethnographic understandings. Their ethnographies identify critical and transformational issues, such as environmental gentrification (Checker, Dürr, Rao) and the survival of marginalized urban youth and incarcerated young adults (Simone, McKinney, Pardue). Some of the contributors join forces with grassroots organizations already committed to preserving art and urban heritage (Herzfeld, Sawalha) and transforming their neighborhoods (Hita and Gledhill, Dürr). A few locate their engaged research interventions in settings that publicize and expose an impeding infrastructural breakdown, such as a traffic jam, barricaded roads or piles

of garbage (Chin, Monroe, Schwenkel) or insecurity due to increasing crime, terrorism or racial stereotyping (Maguire and Péterczák, Frossard and Jaffe, de Koning).

All of the researchers select methods and techniques that reveal underlying structures as well as everyday problems. They protect the people they work with and the data collected in such a way as to insure the least harm.[6] They all attempt to translate their findings in ways that nonspecialists can understand and in some cases offer a plan of action or strategy for communicating the outcomes to relevant publics.

The work of translation

Encouraging urban anthropologists to be engaged does not end with their research practice, but includes an imperative to translate their findings in ways that have positive consequences in their field settings and on social issues. Translation, however, is always fraught because of differences in the context of knowledge production and the multiple publics addressed. Paige West (2005) argues that politics of translation and theories of value are at the center of environmental anthropology. Her example of how Gimi local beliefs were translated into generic categories detrimental to the conservation project illustrates the "political problematic for an engaged environmental anthropology" (West 2005: 632). It is rare to be able to control findings in such a way as to guarantee they reach their intended audience and objective.

Engaged urban anthropology faces similar outcomes when urban issues are translated in ways that hurt or exclude local populations. A number of the ethnographic cases in this book explore new forms of translation by reinterpreting previous theories and findings (Ramos-Zayas and Berg, Simone, Teppo, Brash, Maskovsky), and through critiques of the original translations as racist (Jackson, de Koning, McKinney, Pardue) or vestiges of colonial and oppressive social relations (Oliven, Pardue, Teppo, Harms, Pellow). While difficult and often uncertain in its effects, engaged anthropology necessitates the translation of research into understandable language, actions and assessments of what counts (Charnley and Durham 2010).

Another strategy for determining the impact of urban research is to consider the "afterlife of ethnography" (Fassin 2015). After the publication of his fieldwork on policing in the suburbs of Paris (Fassin 2013), Didier Fassin recounts bringing his analysis of the contradictory roles of police in controlling minority youth to a left-leaning media public and governmental officials. His second book on French prisons (2016) also elicited media attention, but in ways that were discouraging, especially with regard to his recommendations for greater cellphone access and the reduction of solitary confinement.

Fassin is committed to the publicization of ethnography, bringing what he regards as two worlds of meaning – that of the ethnographer and cultural members and readers – into dialogue (2015b: 603). In the United States there is an increasing gap between society and scholars, and a separation of those who do research and the objects and subjects of their studies. It is this "separation" that much of engaged, activist and protest anthropology addresses. Fassin, on the other hand, endorses a public presence, but suggests that anthropologists pay more attention to what happens when a publication circulates and generates debate, exposing "its author to a public" (Fassin 2015: 607) and tracking the ways that these encounters occur.

Thus, translation is part of the labor of engagement, and needs to be thought about as an intrinsic part of the process. Translation and publicization as well as producing collaborative knowledge and action are as much a part of engaged anthropology as the choice of problem, research method, mode of analysis, presentation of findings, publication and dissemination strategy and policy recommendations.

Public issues and urban anthropology[7]

This book demonstrates that the work of urban anthropologists is integral to the public sphere of circulating media reports, city politics and collective experience. The ethnographies probe urban issues with new forms of analysis, emergent theories and methods, leading to more research and inquiry, and insights into how problems can be addressed through engaged urban anthropology practice. The chapters are organized around eight topics of critical importance to contemporary and future cities: precarity; displacement and mobility; security and insecurity; environment and sustainability; citizenship, rights and social justice; built environment and spatial governance; financialization and privatization and heritage preservation and cultural expression. Each topic is briefly defined and the individual chapters in each section introduced.

Precarity

Increasing precarity reveals the pervasive neoliberalism that has reduced protections for poor and homeless populations in global cities and reinforced cultural patterns of political marginalization by race, class and gender in many parts of the world. The term "precarity" incorporates urban anthropological concepts of poverty, marginality and suffering into a metaphor for life on the edge of society and sustainability, thus becoming expendable in both a social and physical sense. Judith Butler writes that "precariousness and precarity are intersecting concepts. Lives are by definition precarious: they can be expunged at will or by accident; their persistence is in no sense guaranteed" (2009: 25). Precarity, on the other hand, is a state of existential and physical vulnerability accompanied by invisibility from the social and political institutions that are supposed to mitigate these risks. It is a "politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks and support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (Butler 2009: 25).

The chapters in this section explore some of the forgotten corners of this form of human fragility and how urban exclusion is resisted. AbdouMaliq Simone begins with a study of youth in Hyderabad and Jakarta, exploring how they respond to their exclusion from capital accumulation, political normalcy and care. Simone highlights how marginalized young people employ the practices of "crafting" as a specific performance to gain attention, "waiting" and "accelerating" to deal with the temporal dimensions of limited opportunities, "harvesting" to recuperate waste and, more importantly, "precarious detachment" to deal with their own sense of expendability. Mariano Perelman examines the naturalization of precarity for informal waste collectors and ambulatory vendors in Buenos Aires, whose limited access to public space and unequal spaces of social reproduction are shaped by culture and class. He warns that naturalizing precarious activities as legitimate ways to earn a living contributes to even greater marginalization and inequality of those who perform precarious labor.

Precarity relies on invisibility. In Tom Hall's ethnography, though, the hidden "rough sleepers" on the streets of Cardiff become socially and spatially visible through the efforts of street-based care-workers who track their daily movements to provide food and services. By tracking teams of care-workers and volunteering to become one himself, Hall is able to map the overlooked urban spaces where outreach workers and homeless alike can spend time undisturbed, creating a counter-topography of urban living. In the final chapter of this section, Bill McKinney, an applied anthropologist, narrates his personal journey working with Black and Latino youth to keep them in school and out of prison and mentoring ex-offenders in his neighborhood. McKinney outlines the history of structural racism in Philadelphia that underlies the precarity of local minority youth, and practices his version of urban anthropological activism within this social

justice project. His work provides the ethnographic backdrop for acknowledging that regardless of whether a person is detained as an undocumented Latino worker and deported or stopped as a young Black man and ends up in prison, the structure of the current policing system creates precarity for those people of color.

Displacement and mobility

Precarity often leads to displacement in which people are compelled to leave the place in which they live, territorially and symbolically. Displacement includes the unintentional impact of (un) natural disasters, such as Katrina in New Orleans, Hurricane Sandy in New York City or Hurricane Harvey in Houston, but more frequently it is characterized by ethnically and racially enforced evictions and migrations. As an urban anthropological concept, it is used to describe the social, political, environmental and economic strategies by which people are removed from where they live as well as the personal and emotional experience of removal in the face of famine, war, violence, discrimination and genocide. Displacement includes questions about how homeless people end up living on the street and other situations of bare life, deprived of any rights, including that of survival (Agamben 1995). Emplacement is an ancillary term that urban anthropologists employ to describe the place-making that occurs in refugee camps, temporary shelters and informal settlements by migrants and other people fleeing hunger and death in the face of the dehumanizing and debilitating effects of displacement (Pardue 2017).

Mobility is an aspect of the displacement experience and reflects an urban anthropological interest in the "new mobilities paradigm," a theoretical framework that traces contemporary and historical mobility through the movement of people, objects, capital and information, globally as well as locally (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006). The "mobilities turn" encompasses a wide array of concerns, from studies of urban circulation and transportation, such as those identified in this section, to research on migration, tourism and travel; virtual and informational mobility; mobility nodes and spatial mobility; and materiality and mobility (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006). Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift argue that the way to understand a city is by the means of movement since it creates human relations through the acts of collection, transport and ordering. Movement, whether by walking, cycling, automobile, bus or motorcycle, produces

> a complex pattern of traces, a threadwork of intensities which is antecedent to the sustained work of revealing the city minute on minute, hour on hour, day on day, and so on. These forces are distinguished in four ways: by what they carry, by how they carry, by their stretch in space and by their cyclicity.
>
> (Amin and Thrift 2002: 81–82)

The concepts of displacement and mobility intersect through how they are socially and affectively configured in postcolonial contexts (Teppo, Ramos-Zayas and Berg) and how they influence and control the power dynamics of activist resistance and state intervention (Sopranzetti, Monroe). Annika Teppo questions the permanence of the displacement historically created by apartheid by revealing how as a White woman she was misplaced and re-placed as part of her analysis of segregation and mobility in Cape Town. She points out that the reproduction of urban social boundaries and racial categories in postcolonial cities continues to reinforce spatial and racial divisions but in "blurred" and porous ways. The difficulties of moving through urban spaces due to racial assumptions and the salience of race for most South Africans obscures other emerging solidarities based on faith, class, moral ideas, class and individual preferences. Ana Ramos-Zayas and Ulla Berg examine the intersection of race and affect through the life

histories of an Andean Peruvian migrant and a Puerto Rican return-migrant to complicate how displacement and mobility work to refashion individual interiority through political-economic and emotional means. Employing the concept of "generative fieldsite," they track these migrants as they contend with social, cultural, national and racial boundaries and recognize the complex processes of affective self-fashioning and self-identification used to make themselves legible across different social worlds.

Claudio Sopranzetti's initial interest in mobility and circulation as a characteristic of contemporary urban capitalism is reconfigured through his experience with motorcycle taxi drivers swept up in a Red Shirts protest in Bangkok. His ethnography reveals how the relationship between mobility and immobility, and its use by the motorcycle taxi drivers, is central to the flow of people, commodities and capital, and that by stopping this flow and strategically directing it, the power of the state is disrupted. He concludes that urban circulation can reinforce as well as resist state power, offering urban anthropology a theoretical and methodological tool for not overestimating the grip of state power. Kristin Monroe also investigates the importance of being mobile in an urban environment as a window on citizenship and civic life. By studying automobility on the congested and dangerous streets of Beirut, she discovers that the ability to pass through security blockades reveals a hierarchy of social control based on class, gender, ethnicity and religion. The infamous Green Line that divided Beirut into predominantly Christian and Muslim sectors during the long war (1975–1990) remains as a political geography of sectarian territories requiring passengers and drivers to negotiate their political identities within these conflicting structures of power inscribed in urban space.

Security and insecurity

Security and insecurity have become important topics in urban anthropology because of increasing precarity; fear of displacement; constraints on mobility; gender, racial and political violence; and militarization of the police in the city. Interest in these themes has followed a theoretical trajectory, from defining security as a necessary basis for everyday life to a series of formulations that include violence and warfare, an infrastructure of governance, a realm of secrets and a set of assemblages (Low and Maguire 2019). Security, when "defined as a modality of constructing danger, fear and anxiety, and the measures taken to guard against such threats" (Glück and Low 2017: 1), encompasses a wide range of activities, such as individuals searching for safety within an insecure state, state mobilization of security forces, migrants and refugees seeking housing and citizenship, and middle-class families questioning the financial security of mortgages. All are attempts at reducing risk and insecurity at multiple scales. These processes contribute to and in some cases even determine the physical, moral and legal environments that enable the precarity, displacement and immobility that differentially impact people. Because security is driven by fear – both fear of others and fear of economic failure – it is a defensive strategy and constrains the circulation and occupation of urban space by others.

Security is experienced in everyday practice, particularly in specific built environments, such as airports and subways, suburban neighborhoods and urban public spaces, where the norms of everyday behavior are used to construct a sense of comfort and continuity. When viewed in this broader sense security is "the feeling and reality . . . that this is a sensible and reliable world in which to act" (Molotch 2012: 3). Harvey Molotch views security as a "massive, social moral, and political thing" that allows us to study how "'normal' life operates, and how it can engulf the world through worries about one's body, bombs and bastions" (2012: 1).

The chapters in this section take up a number of these themes by exploring security in radically different ways. Carolina Frossard and Rivke Jaffe focus on security technologies as

"boundary objects," utilizing radio communication devices to illustrate how technologies connect and blur the roles of state and non-state actors as well as private and public security relationships in the pursuit of urban safety. They emphasize that security technologies, such video surveillance and "shot spotters," that are touted as "smart city" solutions to a safer city are anything but neutral in their effects, and document how corporate profit motives and political motives and interests predict whether a security technology will be employed or effective. Mark Maguire and Réka Pétercsák investigate technological security strategies as well, but as part of the critical infrastructure – the "vital system" – of airport security. They find that counterterrorist policing relies more on the tacit knowledge and organizational memory of police officers and their ability to filter and react to abnormal behavior. Protection from terrorist attacks requires situational awareness achieved through unarmed community policing rather than technological solutions "in search of problems to solve."

The chapters by Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Anouk de Koning focus on the security and insecurity concerns of immigrant populations struggling to survive in Western European cities, where their presence is a source of cultural and political conflict and even violence. In these contexts, security refers to feelings of belonging and "being at home" (Duyvendak 2011), especially for non-European Muslims from the Middle East and Africa, who are stigmatized by the media for their fundamentalism, or Eastern European workers and refugees, who find their hosts hostile to their culture, language and lifeways. Erikson's ethnography focuses on an ethnically complex suburb of East Oslo characterized by continuous mobility and sense of transience accompanied by social problems, such as unemployment and crime. Using network analysis to compare this suburb to a traditional Norwegian town, he highlights the difficulty of creating a sense of belonging in urbanized suburbs where commutes to work are long, leisure time is limited, and relationships do not overlap because of the spatial separation of work, family and recreational activities. Yet even though he finds that suburban minority youth speak of themselves as "foreigners," they strongly identify with Oslo, especially the eastern parts, where they choose to live. De Koning examines another aspect of the anxiety and insecurity created by the racist imaginaries that picture European nations as homogenously White, and non-White citizens as threatening – as a burden and existing outside society. Her ethnography of a notorious Amsterdam neighborhood with a history of conflict between White "Dutch" residents and young men with Moroccan backgrounds included working with the municipal bureaucracy responsible for neighborhood policies. She identifies the importance of key iconic figures used by the media to criminalize "Moroccan youths" and how these youths resist this hegemonic reading by articulating alternative narratives. From an engaged perspective she tracks a "youth and security" assemblage and the ability to reframe urban problems connecting the racialized discourses about nationhood and belonging to security in everyday life.

Environment and sustainability

Cities continue to have a disproportionate impact on environmental degradation due to density and spatial expansion, demand for goods and services, and dependence on imported foodstuffs because of an accelerating shortage of land. Even before concerns about climate change and the rise of the Anthropocene, cities had energy, water, waste and clean air needs that could not be met by existing social, political and economic strategies. Shortages of food, water, energy and open space have plagued cities from their very beginnings, and yet discussions of sustainability were viewed as something that biologists and ecologists worried about. Urban sustainability, environmental sustainability and social sustainability are now critical issues within urban anthropology being studied in a myriad of ways.

Melissa Checker, Gary McDonogh and Cindy Isenhour (2016) agree that sustainability as a discourse and a set of practices is particularly important for rapidly growing cities, where it takes on various meanings:

> [Sustainability] signals a "modern" way to envision the future, a way to understand relationships between the built environment and ecological resources, a foundation for demanding more just social relations, an approach to urban planning, a branding strategy, and a nostalgic reference to a preindustrial past.
>
> (Checker, McDonogh and Isenhour 2016: 1)

Most importantly, the desire for greater urban sustainability has real-world consequences for those who live there and can provide viable strategies for social and environmental change, but can threaten the well-being of those excluded from those benefits.

The chapters in this section focus on this last critical dimension of the study of urban sustainability – that is, as a way to interrogate environmental inequities and social justice issues. Melissa Checker, an activist anthropologist working in New York City, examines how environmental improvements and pollution remediation in low-income neighborhoods are accompanied by redevelopment plans that ultimately displace low-income and people of color from their communities. Even as local community groups fight for parks, more open space and bike lanes they realize that they are also creating outcomes that hurt rather than sustain their constituents, a process that Checker calls "environmental gentrification." In the informal settlements of Delhi, Ursula Rao observes attempts at "slum upgrading" and neighborhood beautification by college-going boys who clear neglected open spaces of garbage, paint walls and install play equipment to create small parks for local residents and children. Wealthy families invest in septic tanks and toilets, and a private company offers clean drinking water for a small fee. But the financial liability of this sustainability effort is too great for the poorer residents of the neighborhood, creating what Rao refers to as "incremental gentrification" for the wealthier residents while failing to recognize the unequal and discriminatory results of the cleaning drive, inscribing class relations in space.

Eveline Dürr and Jeannine-Madeleine Fischer identify a different cultural dynamic involved in tackling urban pollution problems in Auckland. In their ethnography of encounters between environmental activists, community leaders and residents in two neighborhoods, they found that cleaning up the environment and reducing waste are a sign of being a "good kiwi," reflecting national pride. A garden club focused on the remediation of indigenous species encourages citizen engagement across the middle-class "White" and disadvantaged Māori and Polynesian descendant neighborhoods, which resulted in cultural revitalization and empowerment but also became a strategy of social control.

The last chapter in this section takes a utopian view of what sustainable transportation practices might look like by exploring the importance of bicycling in Copenhagen. Malene Freudendal-Pedersen studies how cycling transforms the city from the embodied and emotional experience of "freedom" for the cyclist to the integration of bicycle transportation through city planning. Whether Brooklyn residents where I live ultimately experience the kind of "freedom" that Freudendal-Pedersen has when cycling her city streets or transforms automobile dependence in New York City is yet unknown. But the evidence is clear that cycling, when prioritized within urban transportation systems, is an important step towards creating a more livable, environmentally friendly city.

Citizenship, rights and social justice

The struggle for environmental justice and sustainability is predicated on various concepts of citizenship, rights and social justice developed by local communities to make claims and direct

change. Engaged urban anthropologists also utilize these concepts, drawing upon different social theories depending on their ethnographic objectives and political leanings. For example, my research on social justice and public space employs Iris Young's (1990) assessments of social justice that question individualist proposals for promoting greater equity. Her insistence on evaluating inequality in terms of social groups because group-based comparison reveals important patterns of structural inequalities underlies our work on socially just public space based on park and plaza ethnographies (Low and Iveson 2016; Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005). Edward Soja's (2010) claim that social justice and injustice are constituted geographically and that the equitable distribution of resources, services and access to those resources and services is a basic human right underpins much of the urban anthropological work on displacement and precarity.

Urban anthropologists such as Edward Murphy and Maria Gabriela Hita and John Gledhill in this section use theories of rights that are universal often at the individual level. They draw upon Henri Lefebvre's (1996) concept of the "right to the city" that offers a utopian imaginary of a better society and the right to a better life, where individual rights can be defended by judicial actions. Erik Harms's chapter cites the Marxist geographer David Harvey (2008), who contends that rights are community-based and collective, such as the shared resources of the commons.

Theories of citizenship are equally varied by historical, political and cultural context. James Holston's (2008) theory of citizenship for Brazilians argues that citizenship is a combination of "formal membership based on principles of incorporation into the nation-state" and "the substantive distribution of the rights, meanings, institutions and practices that membership entails to those deemed citizens" (2008: 7). In his analysis citizenship, while universal in its distribution, provides only a gradation of rights, where most rights are available to certain kinds of people. Murphy makes this point in his ethnography of Santiago, Chile, where property rights do not guarantee the right to a safe and secure city.

Each of the contributors in this section offers their own understandings of citizenship, rights and social justice based on their ethnographic experiences. In their work the concepts weave in and out of the text, sometimes making a theoretical appearance, and other times emerging in new forms and cultural configurations. In his long-term ethnography of racialized citizenship Harlem, New York City, John Jackson contends that American racism only "grudgingly grants civic belonging and social legitimacy to those living out their lives on the wrong side of Dubois's infamous color line." For Jackson, class and racial identity are prone to manipulation and reconfiguration and must be scrutinized in the United States. He argues that citizenship is racialized to such an extent that American citizenship is a technicality of the legal code, while full American belonging is predicated on social value created by one's distance from the "wretched" Black American subject.

Edward Murphy's study of housing movements of low-income residents in Santiago queries "what kind of rights" in response to Lefebvre's demand for a right to the city. Citing the hundreds of land seizures that have created a series of neighborhoods, a majority of Santiago's poor own houses with land titles and basic infrastructure. Through an historical examination of property relations, Murphy posits that there is a connection between property and propriety, such that becoming a homeowner is linked to a sense of personhood and advancement and ties directly into rights of citizenship as well as dignity and respect. Yet these rights have been only partially forthcoming in that even with legally sanctioned property rights and permanent neighborhoods, housing rights have not provided a more secure and integrated city.

Maria Gabriela Hita and John Gledhill consider a grassroots organization's rights to the city as a framework for evaluating a particular type of community organization created in an irregular settlement in Salvador, Brazil. They study how local residents secure participation in decisions about urban interventions that affect their neighborhood. Critiquing their roles as academics

working within the community and mediating relations between the community leaders and governmental and nongovernmental organizations, Hita and Gledhill develop their own mode of engaged urban anthropological practice as researcher-participants and interlocutors, helping the organization to revive itself, recording meetings, organizing an archive and offering advice on technical and legal questions. They conclude that the residents achieved a more sophisticated form of community organization for making demands on public authorities and were able to provide contestation from below that was inclusive.

In the final chapter, Erik Harms reworks his Marxist framework to understand how Ho Chi Minh City residents mobilize capitalist understandings of the market to formulate their own concepts of social justice. He argues that a critical urban anthropology must take seriously Vietnamese enthusiasm for the city's newest 68-story skyscraper built in the rubble of demolished neighborhoods. Even those evicted agree that losing their homes is a necessary step to creating a modern capitalist city. In reaction to these unexpected findings, Harms proposes a left-leaning commitment to social justice that engages the actual history of Marxism, but cautions that the ethnographer must remain aware of the negative consequences of free-market policies for the most disadvantaged urban residents.

Built environment and spatial governance

The cultural and aspirational significance of the new skyscraper that symbolizes the promise of the rising Asian city even for the evicted residents of Ho Chi Minh City underscores how the built environment becomes a focal metaphor, a material force, and thus socially productive in the urban environment. The commodification of urban space under capitalism through commercial redevelopment, large-scale architectural and landscape projects and efforts to "clean up the environment" has a profound impact on the design and planning of cities. Studying the built environment is critical to understanding the materiality of people's lives whose homes and homelands are disrupted by globalization, uneven development, violence and social inequality. The effects of crises of poverty, neoliberal restructuring and global capitalism can be recognized in the changing built environment that includes expanding refugee and resettlement camps, gentrification of low-income neighborhoods, privatization of public spaces and profit-driven urban planning and redevelopment. The built environment not only is useful as a conceptual framework but also provides a powerful tool for uncovering spatial injustice. It offers a basis for engaged urban anthropology activism, such as opposing architectural, planning and design interventions that have the ability to destroy urban centers, erase cultural meanings from the landscape and restrict local participation in the built environment.

Spatial governance is a concept that urban anthropologists derive from Michel Foucault's writings on urban governmentalities (2007) to theorize how the built environment, the partitioning of space and the material aspects of planning and design discipline bodies, control populations, configure institutions and direct social life. The neoliberalization of urban governance has focused on "privatization, marketization and consumerism" (Maskovsky and Brash 2014: 262), allocating urban space to profit-driven rather than socially responsible enterprises. In this context, the built environment and processes of spatial and urban governance work together to produce cities that are socially, spatially and materially unequal in the distribution of public infrastructure – transportation, waste management, water services, electricity – and public and private resources – parks, playgrounds, markets, open space, shopping, job opportunities and much more. The rise of the precarious city is based on the uneven development and inequitable spatial distribution that are produced by market-driven decision making and greed. The

following chapters interrogate the built environment and its governance capacities in cities of the Global North and South.

Julian Brash was struck by the success of the High Line, a linear park redeveloped from a deteriorating elevated railway in Manhattan, New York City, and now crowded with visitors and lined by new luxury condominiums. Its impact on nearby businesses and real estate prices, the "High Line effect," has become a model for urban redevelopment for cities across the globe. Brash's ethnography exposes how the High Line's novel design, sustainability, degree of public access and reuse of infrastructure are seductive in its public-ness and openness, going beyond urban neoliberal strategies by creating value that can be captured by an array of commodities – from condominiums to perfume.

Lifestyle centers that resemble a public city square are another material expression of the commodification of the built environment organized to improve profits by creating streets, buildings and shops inscribed with symbols associated with the city. Gabriella Modan decodes how the semiotics of the Easton Town Square in suburban Columbus, Ohio, makes the shoppers feel as if they are in a public space, yet the language of signs suggests that it is not. This upscale mall contradicts the perceived urbanity through a code of conduct that limits legitimate behavior to retail, dining or entertainment activities and prohibits groups of more than four people, protests and protesters and certain kinds of speech.

A different kind of governance theorized as "gendered apathy" towards the built environment is explored in Christina Schwenkel's ethnography of emerging market socialism in Vinh, Vietnam. While studying housing, Schwenkel's attention was quickly drawn to the breakdown of urban infrastructure and an examination of a garbage crisis. She argues that waste removal in Vietnamese cities is dependent not only on adequate public infrastructure but also on disciplined residents, the women whose civic responsibility is the daily trash ritual and who through their participation maintain the urban social order. The women who felt disaffected by the state's promises of social betterment, however, refused to dispose of their trash correctly to express their disappointments with the inefficiencies of socialist governance and their fears of privatization and the threat of relocation.

The built environment and the materialities of everyday life have always played a significant role in the social production of spatial form and the social construction of meaning. The last two chapters in this section contribute to a socio-spatial theorization of the built environment based on traditional and modern spatial practices and ritual use in cities outside the U.S.-dominated core. Deborah Pellow examines Accra and Tamale residents' attachments to place through her exploration of home as a critical site of cultural and political identity. Her ethnography traces how different modernities are expressed in the built environment of Sabon Zongo, a Hausa neighborhood, and in the elite suburban houses of northerners in Accra. Traditional social controls of gender and lineage relationships are materially and symbolically transformed by the style, size, social use and spatial divisions that she documents with detailed architectural drawings and kinship genealogies. Vesna Vučinić's historical and ethnographic study of the *corso* in Southeastern Europe also records the deterioration of traditional forms of social encounter along gender, age and class lines. The *corso* as a social institution observed in Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia was composed of a circular promenade of residents, a public self-presentation that utilized the town square or street. But changes in the built environment due to large-scale development projects are overtaking the older, small-scale pedestrian zones, eliminating this cultural practice and restricting it to the urban margins of villages and towns. Thus, she argues, the cross-class, -gender and -ethnic sociality of the historical period is no longer socially reproduced without the built environment that supported it.

Financialization and privatization

The transformation of the built environment and emergence of new forms of affective and spatial governance are supported, and in some cases produced, by the processes of financialization and privatization. Financialization is a process whereby financial markets, institutions and elites gain greater influence over economic policy. When used in conjunction with the concept of "everyday life," the term takes on the additional meaning of how financial value and concepts of financial worth dominate not only the economic sector but also the personal, social and cultural domains. Its study draws upon a long history of urban anthropological interest in money, but also includes recent attention paid to the social impact of financial instruments, such as the low-equity mortgages and securities made up of bundled mortgages.

Privatization – that is, the transfer of ownership of public sector property, goods and services to private corporations and individuals – is also not new, but has become crucial to any analysis of city form and functioning since the economic restructuring of the 1980s and rise of urban neoliberalism. Urban development and redevelopment, the production of both market rate and low-income housing, and the creation of cultural institutions and public space amenities have increasingly shifted from governmental auspices to private-public partnerships and to private limited partnerships with mixed success. The financialization and privatization of all city services, spaces and affects have become a dominant force in urban inequality and a determining factor in the future of the city.

Alan Smart's chapter provides a definition and history of the concept of financialization through the lens of regulation theory. He contends that the lack of self-balancing and economic crises of capitalist systems gave rise to the dominance of finance in the aftermath of Fordism. The promotion of homeownership and consumption associated with it promoted the taking on of debt through long-term mortgages, incorporating owners into a moral as well as financial value system. Smart's historical ethnography of squatter housing in Hong Kong and recent study of the commodification and financialization of Chinese housing illustrate how the hegemony of finance legitimates inequality with greater security only for elites and corporations.

The impact of the US home mortgage market collapse devastated the nine million homeowners who faced foreclosure by 2009, and the ten million people evicted by 2013. The unregulated and in many cases illegal and corrupt bundling of risky mortgages and predatory lending led to an economic crisis of unimaginable proportions, displacing middle- and low-income families. Jeff Maskovsky's ethnography of the aftermath of the housing crisis reveals that the affective and moral damage of the foreclosure crisis is just as insidious, placing the blame of financial failure on homeowners' unwitting response to low-interest, low-equity mortgages promoted as safe by private banks and mortgage brokers. He examines the financialization of the US housing market and the parsing out of blame and responsibility to show what these affective and moral discourses mean politically in terms of class and racial struggles for rights and recognition.

The chapter by Tom Looser brings together discussions of financialization and privatization by imagining an urban future predicated on these processes, that of the "private city." Accompanying the growth of global cities, such as Shanghai, Tokyo, London and New York, the emergence of private cities organized as special economic zones or privatized university compounds signals another trend in city financing and building. Because of the difficulties of funding municipal governments due to an inability to collect taxes and competition for public bond offerings, privatization of urban infrastructure and the selling off of state-owned enterprises, such as electricity, water and telephone, have been used by cities to make up financial shortfalls since the 1980s. Neoliberal policies and unregulated capital markets have accelerated the privatization of city services as municipalities attempt to reduce their exposure to fluctuating currencies and

commodity markets. The proliferation of special economic zones has been used as a strategy for funding economic development as a state and corporate project. In this economic and political context, a number of "private" cities have been constructed as small city-states with new models of governance that allow for the freer play of capital investments and strategies of profit-making. These private cities are intended to be separate from the existing structure and culture of nation-states, offering an alternative way to organize urban life. Since many of these private cities are not yet complete or completely functioning, Looser is only able to report his observations of some Asian examples of eco-cities and university educational centers cut off from the financial, cultural and national context of the territories in which they are located.

Heritage preservation and cultural expression

The loss of the intimate scale of the built environment, increase in financialization and rise of the private city do not impede the emergence of new cultural expressions and strategies for challenging the hegemony of urban elites and rapacious corporations. The chapters in this final section provide a more optimistic portrayal of the capacity of individuals and collectivities to oppose the political and economic forces of urban redevelopment, privatization, commodification and displacement that plague urban neighborhoods. A number of tactics are discussed, including fighting for the historic preservation of neighborhoods to impede the displacement of communities who have lived there for generations and mobilizing artistic expressions as varied as painting, dance and music to compel recognition of people and problems that are otherwise invisible and overlooked.

Michael Herzfeld's exploration of people and places threatened by gentrification draws upon his fieldwork in Rome and Bangkok and his collaborative efforts to protect local residents living in the historically and symbolically significant urban cores. He argues that urban anthropologists must understand the extent of residents' will to stay as well as the motivations of those who want to move them out. He reveals the structural violence enacted on poor and long-term residents who have decided that their historic housing has value beyond residential utility, while the commodification of heritage by the authorities requires the transformation of this newly constructed past into a source of profit and attraction for tourists.

In Amman, Jordan, historic preservation of old neighborhoods and gentrification through the development of art galleries and cafes involved a less contentious process. Aseel Sawalha reveals the growing presence of women as key agents in transforming the city by creating a local incubator for art-based businesses, supporting artists' work and providing new venues where art and crafts could be purchased. The increased appreciation of the historic buildings in the decaying neighborhood of East Amman and the flow of new people are accomplished by upper-middle- and middle-class women interested in creating a cultural center even at a time when radical Islam is proliferating in the region. The presence of elite women encourages working-class women to become more involved by refurnishing an open-air market where their crafts can be sold. The women succeeded in increasing the presence of women in public arenas while also preserving a deteriorating historic neighborhood without displacing local residents.

Cultural expression such as art, dance, music and theater plays increasingly important roles in the transformation of the city, but it also provides an innovative methodology for the ethnographic exploration of the politics of space. Elizabeth Chin's work with urban youth in Kampala centers on the use of dance to embody imagined futures. Through dance the city becomes a site of performance and thus a place that can be shaped and changed. Through her traffic jam experiment – that of dancing for an audience of drivers trapped in traffic at a busy

intersection – Chin and her collaborators contest the removal of street vendors and the increasing control of public space for income-generating purposes as well as the stigma of being "public women." Chin challenges assumptions about who can use public space and engages her urban anthropological practice to perform/reform the city in ways that open up opportunities for women and youth.

Derek Pardue's ethnography of Cape Verdean Creole (Kriolu)-speaking youth in Lisbon employs Kriolu rap and morna lyrics to reaffirm the value of music and other forms of expressive culture as important material dimensions of the city. He argues that blackness and African transmigration have always been constitutive of Lisbon neighborhoods recognized by some cultural institutions and state agencies that promote "Luso-African" events as a pop brand, while Kriolu rappers offer an alternative urban vision and music scene. His intention is not only a theoretical examination of race and space through music but also the promotion of the notion of "Lisbon as black" as a strategy to legitimate the public visibility of Luso-African youth and combat racial profiling by the Portuguese police.

The final chapter by Ruben Oliven directs urban anthropologists to the study of music, especially popular music, and their lyrics that depict everyday lives, concerns and feelings, in different historical, political and social contexts. Beginning in the 1930s, with the start of urban-industrial development in Brazil, Oliven analyzes samba, the hegemonic music genre of that time, through lyrics that describe neighborhoods, markers of modernity such as the telephone, having or avoiding work, and the power of money. Oliven, like Pardue and Chin, considers cultural expressions such as samba a window into the social imaginary of the time, a way to understand social and political events and in the case of Pardue and Chin to change the imagined future to one that is more equitable, open and just.

Conclusion

The Routledge Handbook of Anthropology and the City has the explicit goal of making urban anthropology accessible, both in terms of selecting topics that will have broad and general appeal as well as an accessible style of writing and moving the discipline towards politically engaged practice. The topics covered are not the usual list of types of cities, geographical regions or theoretical perspectives, but instead address critical aspects of contemporary cities that are of public interest. The engaged urban anthropological approach developed in this introduction and illustrated by the ethnographic chapters has a receptive audience especially among younger scholars and students who are interested in urban anthropology's relevance in today's rapidly changing global economy, characterized by territorial instability and the emergence of new political subjectivities. For the next generation of urban anthropologists, engagement with the city implies grappling with rampant inequality and the resulting environmental, affective and social problems faced by cities while not losing sight of the rich opportunities occasioned by urban life.

This introduction reconsiders what constitutes engagement by aligning it with recent theories of protest and positive anthropology as well as militant ethnographic ethnography and collaborative knowledge production. Drawing on a long history of activism that has not always been acknowledged or respected, this iteration of engaged urban anthropology emphasizes praxis – that is, reflection and action – as well as careful research and analysis as the basis of contemporary practice. One step towards this goal is to define the labor of engagement, which includes breaking down academic and practicing anthropology boundaries and silos of theoretical versus useful ethnographic work. Further, translation and an analysis of the afterlife of ethnographies are identified as essential to any public anthropology project.

The kinds of engagement explored by the contributors include a range of theoretical, methodological and activist interventions from social critique and the development of local programs and policies to other forms of outreach, including advocacy, collaboration and activism. The authors provide comprehensive ethnographies of contemporary and future urban issues through the insights of urban anthropologists as they investigate, make sense of and then engage these problems and opportunities in new ways.

The chapters are organized by critical urban issues that include: precarity; displacement and mobility; security and insecurity; environment and sustainability; citizenship, rights and social justice; built environment and spatial governance; financialization and privatization, and heritage preservation and cultural expression. The flow of topics moves from ethnographies that detail the threats of precarity and displacement, such as increasing physical and social vulnerability, suffering and insecurity, as well as examine the cultural and psychological risks involved in the loss of one's home, cultural identity and sense of belonging. The sequence of topics then turns to the many ways that marginalization and exclusion transpire through environmental and incremental gentrification, restrictions on citizenship and human rights, neoliberal strategies of urban development and governance, and financialization and privatization. The concluding section on artistic and cultural expressions and historic preservation, along with some of the chapters on activism, community organizing and political resistance, offers the most optimistic ethnographic examples, where glimmers of a more participatory, democratic and anti-racist future are imagined and actualized.

Engaging the City and the Future, the title of this introduction, reflects the book's intention to imagine the future of the city and the social and political constraints that lie ahead. Part of this future, evident in these ethnographic cases, is how cities will continue to be dominated by global capital, political elites and corporations that derive profit and political control through governance strategies, financialization and privatization. Both the "private city" and the "precarious city" are referenced as future imaginaries and the economic and social structures that enable these realities are explored and dissected. Many of the images are dark and dystopic, based on cities vulnerable to accumulation by dispossession, and thus render the poor and racialized as "foreign," invisible and even toxic to the social body and civic life. But there are a number of ethnographies that illuminate tactics that urban residents use to take back the city through appropriation of urban space and services, refusal to cooperate and collaborate with governmental rules and regulations, demands for rights to the city, and continued struggles for equity and visibility. The strength of cities lies in the many people who live with purpose and resolve, taking back the city slowly and patiently through everyday actions and political organizing. It is the role of an engaged urban anthropology to document, publicize and join these struggles through our ethnographic work.

Notes

1 I want to thank my colleague Jeff Maskovsky for suggesting that it is the "labor" of engagement that is so important at this point in time. He has been a major contributor to my thinking on this subject.
2 The *Journal of the Society for Urban, National, and Transnational Anthropology*.
3 Do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism.
4 Material included in this history section is drawn in part from previous publications on this topic: Low and Merry (2010) and Low (2011, 2014).
5 Hannah Arendt has also influenced me through her idea of the active life, and praxis as the engagement in political action. For Arendt (1958) it is the engagement in active practice that creates a public.
6 Of course it is better to always be sure that you cause no harm, but if you are an activist and part of a social movement there is a degree to which you will not be able to protect everyone you work with, much less yourself, as Mariano Perelman points outs from his work with *cartoneros* in Argentina. Many activist students, whether participating in uprisings in Cairo, Istanbul, Berlin or New York City, have been arrested, detained and often jailed.

7 I decided to create *The Routledge Handbook of Anthropology and the City* when I realized that much of what urban anthropologists write about is on the pages of the *New York Times* without the depth of analysis, long-term research and self-reflection that characterize our work.

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