The power of geography: Universal discourse, global coloniality, and local sovereignty in the sustainable city apparatus

Matthew Lane

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Lancaster Environment Centre
Lancaster University

2017

Abstract

The power to define and designate space has long been seen as the fundamental bedrock of sovereign governance. Do, then, new 'locally' generated city master plans orientated around 'sustainability' offer an effective vehicle for establishing and managing urban futures? The argument put forward in this thesis is no, not as some argue because of their 'utopian' nature, but because they rest upon a form of 'de jure' sovereignty that emerges as a momentary and situated response to a 'state of exception' in planetary urbanisation. This fails to allow recognition of the way the *long duree* of power associated with the colonial project of city-making continues to undermine de facto spatial governance. This is revealed in the thesis through a postcolonial analysis of the way in which two such master plans materialise as the assembled futures of Lusaka, Zambia and Sacramento, California, USA. Rendering them comparable as emergent, ontological repetitions, empirical research findings point to a stabilised regime of truth around the comprehensive city plan and the 'local' institutional arrangements that legitimate its emergence as a mode of governance. In addition to this the thesis draws out two important implications regarding engagement with power for urban geographers seeking to embrace a 'relational' conceptualisation of planning and policy making. Firstly, it highlights a failure to critically problematize what constitutes the 'local' institutional contexts of urban planning and policy making in contrast to grand meta-narratives of 'planetary urbanisation' and the 'global age'. As a result, and secondly, evocative but hollow representations of epistemological 'circulation' and 'flow' work to essentialise the presence of ideas in different places as the product of policy 'mobility'. Urban geographers should recognise the complex multiplicity of sovereignty's own topos, something undermined by a post-political interpretation of globalisation that facilitates the reproduction of 'the city' as a coloniality of power.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

"This book is motivated by my belief in new generations of 'knowing subjects' who affirm a constructive type of pan-humanity by working hard to free us from the provincialism of the mind, the sectarianism of ideologies, the dishonesty of grandiose posturing and the grip of fear"

- Rosi Braidotti, *The Posthuman,* (2013, p.11)

When, in 1947, geographer John Kirkland Wright coined the concept of 'Geosophy', he did so in order to encourage us to move into the realms of how people 'know their world', the internal geographies of life. Underpinning this however, was a more fundamental notion. According to Tim Cresswell (2012), Wright's premise was also based on the fact that we now inhabited a world where almost everything had been 'explored' and 'mapped'. Therefore, it was time to turn our attention away from grand cartographic projects, and towards geographical imaginations - the underlying principles of how geography shapes life. It was, Creswell argues, "perhaps the most important precursor to humanistic geography" (ibid.108). As Creswell also points out, this fell largely upon deaf ears until 1961, when initially through the work of David Lowenthal (1961) and then many others, a cultural humanism swept through and enveloped the geographical canon. In the very same year, Frantz Fanon published his text *Wretched of the Earth* (1961) and outlined how there was a condition of "stasis" in Europe, and that the "motionless movement where gradually dialectic is changing into the logic of equilibrium" would require a deep reconsideration and an alternate perspective on mankind and all of its "cerebral mass" (ibid.314). This, he argued, would be the vital pre-cursor to establishing a '*new* humanism', freed from the rationalities that legitimated the atrocities carried out in the colonies of Europe. Given the concept of 'the city' existed at the heart of the colonial paradigm of control, as we search for this new means of embracing a constructive 'pan-humanity', what should become of the concept of 'the city', and why are such projects often met with resistance by mainstream 'urban studies'?

1.1 Urban Geography

Urban geography has a problem with its primary subject - the city. As Abdoumaliq Simone (2015) writes, it is 'unclear what the city is today' (ibid.1). At the heart of this issue is the question of geography - the diversity of the city imagined and of the urban experience spread across all corners of the globe. McGuirk (2015) makes the point that while in recent times there has been extensive debate, and indeed disagreement, over the city as subject, it is commonplace to claim that we have indeed entered 'the urban age'. One particularly prominent line of enquiry into this phenomena is the idea of 'Planetary Urbanisation' put forward by Brenner and Schmid (2011) - a way of thinking about the global paradigm of an increasingly urbanised world and a new lexicon for the blurred territoriality of 'the city' (Arboleda 2014; Brenner and Schmid 2014). However while somewhat of a global urban mapping agenda is being pursued, the idea of a numerical tipping point where half the world's population live in urban areas does not fully illuminate the complexities of the urban age (Brenner et al. 2011; Derickson 2014).

In the past, urban geography - as a discipline - might have seen its interests as lying in either the internal workings of particular cities and how they are planned and governed; or by focusing on the relationships that manifest between different, connected, cities (Cumbers 2014). However, recognising that we now inhabit a planet not only intensely *urbanised,* but also comprised of a diverse and competitive 'world of cities' (Robinson 2005; Robinson 2011), an interest in the concept of a networked *relationality* - emphasising the entanglement of these factors - has become commonplace. The work of Doreen Massey (Massey 1999; Massey 2004) was particularly influential in this regard, arguing that it is impossible to comprehend and understand cities as *territories,* prior to their engagement with other places (Massey 2011). What is sometimes referred in the social sciences more generally as the 'relational turn', has therefore been drawn upon as a means of 'thinking cities relationally' (Jacobs 2012), orientated on "studying cities as points of connections, rather than foremost as localities" (Sidaway 2013: 993).

Seeking ways to go beyond the failing representational paradigm of 'the city', one way in which many researchers - approaching relationality from different perspectives - have sought to conceptualise the urban as an emergent category, inseparable from wider connections and relationships, is by invoking the concept of the *assemblage*. Deriving the concept from the

work of philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (2004), it can be used as a "rubric under which to frame the travels and transfers, political struggles, relational connections, and territorial fixities/mobilities brought together to constitute urbanism" (McCann and Ward 2011: xv). From a governance perspective, this offers us an important means of moving beyond scalar representations of the world to explore alternative understandings that shed better light on globalisation's role in shaping the contemporary practices of urban planning and spatial urban policy making (Harrison 2006). Indeed, the notion of a 'socio-technical assemblage', has been deployed as a means of engaging with the *complexity* of planning, designing, and governing cities in an increasingly interconnected world (Affolderbach and Schulz 2015; Blok 2013; Jacobs 2012; Müller 2015).

The term *assemblage* shares a number of ontological foundations with that of Actor-Network Theory (ANT)[1], particularly the favouring of a flattened, topological interpretation of space that replaces any notion of 'real' space, associated within traditional geographical enquiry (Collinge 2006). McFarlane (2011) summarises this effectively, describing how 'if assemblage differs from some ANT readings of networks in that it attends to both change and rigidity, it nonetheless exists in similar conceptual terrain attempting to confront the *complexity of sociomaterial relationality"* (ibid.655, emphasis added). Anderson and McFarlane (2011) describe a broad form of assemblage thinking which moves beyond divisions between "social–material, near–far, and structure–agency…to remain deliberately open as to the types of relations and the human and non-human elements involved" (ibid. 124). This project of embracing relationality and contingency in various ways, and moving away from thinking with the notion of 'the city' as a "unit of analysis", favours a focus upon processes of composition (Acuto 2015). This is further aided by desires to flatten the 'world of cities' and open up a way of exploring them in new and interesting ways. One particularly prominent, and now longstanding, theoretical concept in this regard is Jennifer Robinson's (2006) 'ordinary cities' paradigm - an approach that seeks to treat every city as sharing the quality of its own uniqueness, no more or less important or successful than any other. Theoretically, the values

---

[1] Actor-Network Theory (ANT) was established by Michel Callon and Bruno Latour (1981; 1986) and is perhaps best known as the pioneering 'theory' emerging from Science and Technology studies that seeks to dispense with the divide between scientific and societal enquiry and extend the concept of 'agency' far beyond the realms of 'self-aware' human subjects. Moving beyond the concepts of 'structure' and 'agency' and the impasse between the two, is central to both ANT and assemblage thinking.

of this approach have been drawn on in order to approach cities in a way that is not influenced by prior, theoretical, hierarchy (Abrahamsen 2003; Harrison 2006; McFarlane 2010; Robinson 2003; Ward 2010; Watson 2002; Watson 2012).

1.2 Sustainable Master Plan Strategies

While, within academic circles, these conversations about the city and urbanity continue to evolve, one particular technology of urban governance is seeing somewhat of a resurgence in use for cities across the world. The *master plan* is being deployed as a strategy for redesigning the urban form, tackling the concerns of urbanisation, and generally embedding new agendas of 'sustainability' into directing city futures. A quick internet search of the year 2030 – the United Nations target year for realising the sustainable development goals (SDG's) – reveals a plethora of cities that have adopted master plans targeting such a timeframe. Nairobi, Melbourne, Shenzen, Seoul, Ulaanbataar, Albany, New Orleans and Southampton, are just a few examples that come up. Shift the year, or the criteria for what constitutes an urban master plan slightly, and the list grows even more. Vanessa Watson (2013), in her own examination of a selection of such plans on the African continent, suggests these represent large scale attempts to re-plan considerable parts of the existing city couched within a clear message "to link these physical visions to contemporary rhetoric on urban sustainability", often through the use of "globally circulating terms" such as "new urbanism", "smart cities" and "eco-cities" (ibid 2-3). Existing research has also shown how these labels are deployed for various reasons ranging from rigorous guiding principles, to evocative marketing strategies adopted after the fact (Bell 2005; Caprotti, Springer et al. 2015; Rapoport 2014; Rapoport and Vernay 2011).

As Rapoport (2015) states, while concerns over the environment have long been a central part of urban planning, "contemporary sustainable urban projects bring this concern to the forefront of the planning process" (ibid.1). Urban planning and spatial policy making has therefore become closely associated with how sustainable solutions can directly confront the consequences of past urbanisation and adequately cope with future growth (Linner and Selin 2013). A contemporary focus on urban design models has, for many, come to fill the role of somewhat of a 'science' of the ideal city (Antrop 2006; Marshall and Çalişkan 2011; Moudon

1997; Solinís 2006; Talen 2003). While some prioritise brownfield development, in others the plans that ultimately materialise focus their 'newness' on 'edge' cities as part of a wider metro area (Herbert and Murray 2015; Melo 2012; Watson and Agbola 2013). The various ideas that have come to embody the individual agendas however can be loosely bound together using themes of compactness, mixed use, densification, decentralised CBD, infill, transit orientated developments, pedestrian scale urbanism, and an integrated public transportation system (Dong and Zhu 2014; Ellis 2002; Garde 2004; Paulsen 2013). By emphasising spatial design and organisation, these plans are a vehicle for addressing supposedly shared, 'global' concerns over urbanisation while simultaneously serving to inject a unique sense of place and identity.

According to UN-Habitat (2010), unprecedented levels of urbanisation have become a 'global' issue affecting cities in all regions. This pushes the need for a planetary scale to the conversation regarding solutions and ways of curtailing the supposed 'problem' (Cobbinah, Erdiaw-Kwasie et al. 2015; Ellis 2002; Grant 2009; Salingaros 2006). Indeed, during the 2015 OECD Africa forum, former German president Horst Kohler, reflecting on the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's), stated that given this realisation, we are now 'all developing countries' (OECD 2015). A relative 'rise' in influence and engagement with cities of the 'global south' and the suffering of cities in the west in the aftermath of the 2008 financial 'crisis' has perhaps contributed to this more 'global' orientation of concerns (Mawdsley 2015). Couched under a heading of making cities "inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", goal 11 of the UN's SDG's contains targets at a number of urban scales including to "enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries" by 2030 (U.N 2015). The SDG's of course also build upon the Millennium Development Goal's (MDG's) and their shift from the "neoliberal austerity and free-market ideologies of the 1980s…to a new concern with the role of state; in short a resuscitation of planning" (Roy et al. 2008: 251).

On the one hand, the SDG's are perhaps the inevitable result of a world where a discourse of 'sustainability' has taken on a central conceptual role in what Swyngedouw (2007) sees as the 'post-political consensus' (Cook and Swyngedouw 2012; Haque 2000). Depoliticized and lacking in clear, practical direction, they reflect the "quiet acceptance of established discourses" about what the agenda for the future consists of (Marcuse 2015). However, at

the scale of individual cities, this paradigm perhaps also offers a great deal of opportunity for cities to set themselves achievable visions, freed from the confines of hierarchal developmentalism. Comprehensive city visioning projects offer exciting ways for cities to embrace a transnational exercise in 'worlding' their ambitions. (Roy 2011; Roy and Ong 2011; Watson 2013). Stephen Legg (2011) provocatively asks "at what point does the sprawling and imaginary concept of the urban temporarily solidify into the experience of a city?" (ibid.132). In arguing that new urban master plan strategies *potentially* provide a means for individual cities to bring this very question under their own control - understanding their production presents a great opportunity for "seeing critical geography at the forefront of theorizing the 'post-2015 agenda'" (Mawdsley 2015).

1.3 Shifting purpose of the research

> *"…postcolonial geographies hold great potential for contributing to an understanding of the ongoing transformations of the politics of urban development in the world and may be more policy relevant than many more explicitly policy-driven works, because it is through deconstruction that we might arrive at reconstruction"*

> (Myers 2006, p.306)

1.3.1 Original Aims of the Thesis

Jennifer Robinson (2011) reflects favourably upon master plan strategies given that they "emerge from and are highly responsive to local specificity and thus could potentially generate appropriate and positive development plans for individual urban areas" (ibid. 19). As a result, from a theoretical perspective, they offer urban geographical scholarship "an exciting engagement with urban politics and processes across a much wider range of cities", something Robinson ties into the wider theme of the book in which her discussion is contained - *Mobile Urbanism* (2011) by Eugene McCann and Kevin Ward. This connection brings engagement with city strategies in line with a wider set of literature that has, in recent years, proliferated within the field of urban geography to become perhaps *the* primary mode of thinking with regards to the globalisation of city-making practices. Describing itself as embracing the 'relational' form of urban theorising discussed at the opening of the chapter, this body of work is known as 'policy mobility' (Baker, Cook et al. 2016; McCann and Ward

13

2011). In this theorisation, "seemingly territorial" functions of policy making, are tied into the world through their relationships with elsewhere (Cook and Ward 2012) as "assemblages of territorial and relational geographies" (McCann and Ward 2011, p.167). This approach allows us to see both the concept of a comprehensive city strategy, and its role as a vehicle for a broader array of policy initiatives on the theme of sustainability (see also Healey 2007; Myers 2005), as excellent examples of "spaces of circulating knowledges" tied into "international policy circuits" (Robinson 2011: 19).

Situated within this body of work, the research in question would engage with two case studies of master plan/city strategies and seek to put to work the idea of a shared paradigm of sustainable policy making across 'global' scales. Having carried out a much smaller, more focused research project on planning and policy making in Lusaka, Zambia for a previous degree (during which I discovered the adoption of the city's new 2030 master plan), I would use this as the first case study. In searching for a suitable second case that would align with the broad goals of Lusaka's vision as well as present an obviously provocative comparative angle, I explored a number of options before eventually settling on the city of Sacramento, California, USA - a place I had visited during previous time spent studying in the United States. Both cities, like those listed earlier, had adopted sustainable master plan visions with the target year of 2030. In exploring these plans, the research would seek to accomplish two principle aims. Firstly, to understand the sort of policy ideas that are being mobilised across the world through the use of these sustainable city strategies, and secondly, to engage with how they are conceived, imported, and implemented in the different locations, accounting for the various 'moulding' and negotiation practices that take place to facilitate their importation into new contexts.

Given that the first part of this process involves the identification of 'suitable' policy ideas within the two plans for which to focus critical attention and draw comparative analysis from across the two cases, the research would involve an ethnographic element that sought to understand the circuits of knowledge that feed into the two plans. Driven by an interest in the globalising nature of these policy practices around sustainability, this approach would be informed considerably by evolving discussions regarding *method* that were taking place within the literature on 'policy mobility' (McCann 2011). Such approaches involve getting close to various policy actors and following the 'people', 'materials', and 'meetings', of policy

production processes (Wood 2016). Much of this conversation builds - through the field of policy studies - on the work of Michael Burawoy and others in the books *Ethnography Unbound (Burawoy 1991)* and *Global Ethnography (Burawoy, Blum et al. 2000)* which take urban ethnography to new, globalised, scales. The following quote by Gille and O'Riain (2002) neatly summarises what constitutes this 'global ethnography' (ibid.271):

> *"…by locating themselves firmly within the time and space of social actors "living the global," ethnographers can reveal how global processes are collectively and politically constructed, demonstrating the variety of ways in which globalisation is grounded in the local"*

There is, emerging from this work, and embodied by much of the literature on 'policy mobility' a new, internationalised, application of ethnographic policy research which bridges the gap between "carefully designed research projects on the one hand" and "the reality of unexpected connections, mutations and research sites…on the other" (McCann and Ward 2011: 43). It was, however, through the process of attempting to mobilise this form of ethnographic research through conversation with situated urban contexts, that the coherence and integrity of my own pre-defined research paradigm, began to unravel. This came from a realisation that *methodological* "openness and flexibility" (ibid.) alone, is meaningless if it is allowed to shift and evolve without the accompanying *theoretical* reflection. I want to convey my realisation of this crucial point, in the form of three empirically informed 'vignettes', an approach that, like the opening quote of the thesis, is inspired by Rosi Braidotti's book *The Posthuman* (2013).

Vignette 1

> *Around a month before flying out to Sacramento to begin what would be 8 months of fieldwork across the two cities, I had a skype conference call with a number of planners in the Sacramento city council who had worked on the plans, including the lead planner for the project, to discuss the aspects I was interested in. During this conversation two things became very apparent to me. Firstly, that the city's new 2030 general plan was not as interventionist and revolutionary as I (and perhaps even they) might have hoped, and it had struggled to gain traction in shaping the political fabric of the city in the years since its adoption. Secondly, they (and subsequently I) were not clear about*

exactly what it was I wanted to discuss with them or 'use us' for as one of them described it. Elucidating this as much as possible and using my comparative angle with Lusaka as a means of conveying this, upon finishing the phone call I recall thinking to myself how glad I am that I had planned to spend a significant amount of time in the city rather than targeting a pre-determined set of questions, produced purely through engagement with discussions in the literature. Rather than using the ethnography to engage with the way in which elements of the plan were being operationalised, other, more contextually relevant conversations might perhaps reveal themselves.

Having previously spent time in Zambia on multiple occasions, I already had a tacit understanding as to the way in which implementation of their own 2030 vision plan was going, and that a similar sense of melancholy existed amongst the city council planners there also. I had sought to negotiate this in my mind safe in the knowledge that there *were* certain aspects that are being drawn upon and implemented despite these difficulties and that, given some time had passed since my last visit, perhaps a more positive outlook as to the potential of this vision was blossoming. Now however, realisation that I might not be able to conduct precisely the research I had planned for in Sacramento, meant that the possibility of a different story shared across the cases, began to crystallise in the back of my mind. Four and a half years on from the adoption and ratification of the plans as the blueprint for growth and development, the message I would continue to receive in both cities was one of initial hope followed by a waning expectancy over the change that it could deliver. There seemed a disaffiliation between the planners and the codified version of 'their' city - between different *versions* of the city that "administrators administer and planners plan, the absolute city 'that is out there'" (Perera 2008, p.70). In other words, the planners in Lusaka and Sacramento were experiencing similar cognitive dissonance over the purpose of their master plan visions as seems to exist in struggles over the definition of the city-subject in contemporary urban studies.

Vignette 2

A realisation as to the impossibility of representing particular places formed of individuals, institutions, and relationships in assembled contexts as 'case studies' of something that I, externally, rendered as noteworthy and interesting, pushed me to

question the purpose and aims of social research on the topic of globalisation. There seems to be a troubling lack of attention in the literature examining the global circulation of urban policy and planning models that engages with "elites", to the questions surrounding ethics and its embodiment in both research and policy making subjectivities as the location of important power relations. In particular, I reflected on the lack of ethical clearance that I myself had to go through to conduct this fieldwork and how, if I had not been subjected to further processes by the Zambian authorities in order to obtain a visa to stay in the country longer than 3 months (something I avoided in the United States by leaving just before such time had elapsed), then a few signed off sheets that focused primarily upon my own wellbeing, was all that was required of me. Nothing that related to the fact that this was to be a British funded political research project conducted in two of its former colonies on opposite sides of the world.

My belief that the approach taken, as largely contained within a paradigm of 'neo-Marxian political economy' (McCann 2011), constitutes a philosophical approach to research that can encompass multiple case studies and a critical engagement with the problems faced on the ground, was misguided. I had neglected to engage vital theoretical, and methodological considerations pertaining to the (un)boundedness of the geographical 'field'. Instead, as described by Raju (2002) I had been somewhat influenced by the "flavours of the month in the composing of initial research questions" (ibid.174), and perhaps inspired by the "crystal ball of globalisation" to rush anxiously towards evocative terminology and idealistic paradigms (Tsing 2000: 332). This is explicitly deconstructed by Anna Tsing in which she discusses the 'enthusiasm' of researchers in taking up the globalisation topic and losing their critical lens as a result. Recognising this, and reformulating the research accordingly, would mean shirking "vanguard theory that excels in knowing about, explaining, and guiding [instead of] knowing with, understanding, facilitating, sharing, and walking alongside", as described by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2015).

Vignette 3

One particular morning, during an earlier trip to Lusaka, I was waiting to speak to the director of one of the city councils departments about my research. I did not have an

appointment with said individual, appointments are something you quickly learn to be largely irrelevant in the Lusaka city council. Operating on a very civilised first come, first serve basis, I was stood in the doorway behind a host of other individuals who occupied the numerous seats outside the main office, presuming that I would be there for a while yet. However, when he emerged, upon looking along the line and then at his secretary, he ushered me into the room ahead of everyone else. No-one said anything…

Race is so powerful for the simple reason that it is material. It is the element of one's identity, along with gender, that precedes all else - nationality, regional or city affiliations, religion, sexuality, education, knowledge, experience, expertise, or one's status as a recognisable face, are all subsumed initially by race for the simple reason that you can see it. Who knows why at that particular moment the individual in question above decided to go straight to me, or what he had in mind for our discussion from his perspective. As it happened we ended up just having a brief chat about my work and, as he was busy, agreed to catch up with one another at a later time to discuss things in more depth. What is important is that I stood out, my identity, in the rawest sense possible changed the entire context of that room and how the subsequent chain of events would unfold for everyone in it.

Once again, I had ignored this at the time it happened and, upon reflection, looked back not at the moment itself but what it tells us about the importance of identity (of all kinds) in shaping relationships. Many facets of my identity shaped relationships in the 'field' in *both* Lusaka and Sacramento, but this moment exemplifies vividly, the material root of relationships. Despite making it clear to those spoken to that my interests were purely research orientated, creating a clear divide between interested outsider and potential source of information was impossible (Subedi 2006). Given that this is unavoidable and well beyond the confines of individual intentionality, there is a need to engage with others in a way that does not fall back on a dualistic separation of the self and the other as manifestations of a rigid divide between researcher and subject (Abu-Lughod 1996). For any research that claims to be interested in the concept of geography and its role in policy making, such realisations cannot simply be 'written out' of the discussion but must be placed firmly in the centre of the conversation. Not only does this need to also be addressed from an ethical research

perspective, but thought through for the light it potentially sheds on the role of power in shaping the sort of practitioner relationships being put under the microscope (Daza 2008).

Prior to the sorts of reflections presented in these three vignettes, Robinson's (2006) concept of 'ordinary cities' had offered me an important way into the question of the post-colonial and a means of drawing on what at first seem contrasting urban locations as part of an experimental empiricism. However, it became clear that embracing a truly postcolonial research project would require much more than the selection of provocative case studies and a problematisation of 'empiricism' itself. It would require an altogether different approach, that goes beyond what Derickson (2014) describes as "add-other-and-stir" (ibid.7) with regards to case studies. In the first instance this means rejecting the structural frameworks of the academy and the pressures on what constitutes academic work and its desire for "quasi-scientific understandings of causality", subsequently paving the way for a de-centering of certain epistemologies (Raghuram and Madge 2006; Robinson 2015). As described by De Waal (2016) causal associations at high levels of abstraction have long been the order of the day, particularly for political-economy orientated research on the African continent. This has led to increasing gaps between actual lived experiences and the sort of work "validated by the academy" (ibid). Braidotti (2013) describes this as a situation where a "shallow version of neo-empiricism - which is often nothing more than data mining - has become the methodological norm in humanities research" (ibid. 4).

Reflecting upon this, I would question the legitimacy of 'using' Lusaka and Sacramento as case studies in pursuit of adding to the knowledge being generated about the process of 'policy mobility' based upon asking the question of for whom is this a worthwhile project? It became clear to me that the master plans in the two cities were doing more work for me as a researcher interested in 'global' policy-making, than they were for the very institutions who had recently adopted these plans as their new blueprints for future urban development. Bringing my ethnographic experiences into conversation with debates in urban theory, it is clear that struggles over what constitutes the 'city-subject' represent a more pressing practical dilemma than it does a theoretical one. Thinking back to Robinson's (2011) article, engaging with the plans would become less about their emergence as mobile governance technologies, and more about using them to interrogate the "suitability of extant urban comparative methods for pursuing the study of cities 'at a world scale'"(ibid. 16). Ultimately,

this means deploying comparative research in a manner that finds vital use for both the similarities *and* the differences experienced across cases rather than being an exercise in purely difference finding particularities, or in the universalising of structural narratives - a divide which seems to plague existing urban scholarship.

1.3.2 (Re)-Situating the Thesis

In addition to the above mentioned factors, it became clear to me that a lack of similarities between the two plans themselves (beyond their existence as comprehensive visions and their orientation towards sustainability) meant that a comparative approach would need to take place at a much deeper, more fundamental level. In this regard, the most important similarity between the two cases was the seeming disconnect between the plans' clarity of vision, and the satisfaction they provided to the work of the city planners. In other words, between the perception of what the plan can facilitate through its inherent 'localness', and its actual ability to offer a *sovereign* means of governing the urban. Armed with the starting point of postcolonial theory, and the advice of Ziauddin Sardar (2008) channelled through his reading of Fanon, to "embrace that which makes most sense…in the context of [our] dilemmas" (ibid.xii), I sought a means of bringing the two plans into a conversation that could both engage with realities 'on the ground' and, *critically,* open up the emergence of the sustainable city. As the quote from Myers (2006) at the beginning of this section suggests, this evolved into a realisation that the critical 'tools' provided by postcolonial thought are not only useful for engaging with the lingering aftermath of the colonial moment in particular locations, but for critically rolling back the epistemological and ontological paradigm on which so much of contemporary mainstream scholarship rests. This is not merely a principle but, as the thesis will go on to explore in detail, vital to exploring issues of *relationality.* In other words, it is only by engaging the epistemological, theoretical and ontological levels of enquiry that we can claim to be exploring city making practices across a planetary scale (Elwood, Lawson et al. 2016).

Following this theoretical trajectory, and beginning with a deeper postcolonial critique of the assumptions made about the historical development of cities in the western academy, I arrived at the work of a group of Latin American scholars - most prominently Anibal Quijano,

Walter Mignolo and Arturo Escobar - who established the concept of *coloniality* in order to analyse the continual reproduction of colonising relationships of power[2]. From a geographical perspective, the emergence of coloniality as a theoretical critique of the enduring power of western epistemologies from the South American continent, offers a means of leveraging the analysis of the thesis in a holistic manner that draws its inspiration either theoretically or empirically, from three different continents beyond the European centre. This also means that the root of this critique orientates not only on an alternate epistemological paradigm, but on a concomitant desire to embrace a different, more stable, *ontological* situating of the 'global' conversation. As well as new, alternate ways of thinking from beyond European enlightenment, this has also meant a re-engagement with certain philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, or with what Rosi Braidotti describes as a 'material post-structuralism' (Braidotti 2014). Offering different trajectories and applications of this critique, what much of the re-embrace of this work shares, is a commitment to the pantheistic monism of Baruch Spinoza. Before describing what has become known as the 'ontological turn' in more depth, the following is an extract from Michael Morgan's introduction to Spinoza's seminal work *Ethics* (Spinoza and Morgan 2002):

> *"…perspective was at the center of Spinoza's system. His thinking shows a passion for unity and totality, coupled with a scrupulous fidelity to the integrity of the individual particular. There is no parochialism in Spinoza. His commitment to the progress of scientific enquiry into the natural world belied any such limitation on behalf of his cognitive goals. In every way, in every dimension of our lives, Spinoza saw the common; he saw unity and wholeness. At the same time his allegiance to the universality of the ethical life and its virtues did not annul the personal perspective of human experience"* (ibid.ix).

I include this reference to Spinoza's work from 1677 as a precursor to the body of scholarship that has emerged within the social sciences as a result of rolling back critique to the level of ontology. For many, a return to embrace the work of Spinoza offers a way of orientating our engagement with the world in a strictly material manner rejecting, in the process, structural

---

[2] I had previously engaged with the work of Arturo Escobar through his critique of mainstream 'development' (1994), however this much broader paradigm of coloniality offers a way of going beyond specific discourses to explore the epistemological assumptions of western enlightenment humanism.

theories of transcendental humanism and the idea of a mind-body dualism (Braidotti 2013). The ontological turn doesn't so much represent a new 'paradigm' but, given its critique of representation and the failure of language to do justice to the complexity of the material world, is instead a "commitment to recalibrate the level at which analysis takes place" (Course 2010: 248). Going beyond the nature-culture divide of the enlightenment, and recognising its existence as merely the inheritor of a former transcendental god-nature divide, this approach seeks to reject social constructivist paradigms, de-centre 'theory' and 're-centre' anthropological enquiry in social research (Skafish 2013; Vigh and Sausdal 2014).[3] Certain applications of Deleuzian thinking on the *assemblage* mentioned in the opening section of the chapter can be classed as part of this ontological turn.

On a personal note, it is through the work of feminist scholar Rosi Braidotti (1994; 2013; 2014; 2015) that an ontological framework within which to couch the thesis came about, encouraged by her elucidation of the work of Baruch Spinoza and the concept of 'immanence'. Perhaps *the* most difficult concept to define, for the purpose of this thesis, the *Plane of Immanence* is most effectively illustrated in opposition to its traditional anti-thesis - *transcendence* (Spindler 2010). This accomplishes the need to utilise an embodied empiricism to both critically engage with the historical emergence of materiality as well as an understanding of how to interpret alterity, beyond essentialist representations neatly codified through assimilation into pre-conceived categories. If the ontological turn seeks to replace philosophy with material anthropological enquiry, then the concomitant approach to *theory* could be seen as one invested in presentation style over substance (Van Maanen 1995). Beyond this introduction chapter, then, the thesis is narrated as a form of what, in his book *Tales from the Field: On Writing Ethnography,* organisational theorist John Van Maanen (1988) describes as a 'confessional tale'. In the book he contrasts this with two other forms of Ethnography: 'realist tales' in which some sort of objectivity is assumed and therefore used to further the understanding of a particular field; and 'impressionist tales' in which a particular story is generated from fieldwork findings and presented not in a scientific manner

---

[3] The work of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, and captured in his book *Cannibal Metaphysics* (2014) is often seen as the driving force between the ontological turn, and its connection to the emergence of 'post-structural anthropology' and 'speculative realism'. This is regularly coupled with a re-embrace of western post-structuralism, particularly that of Gilles Deleuze and Bruno Latour.

but as a literary narrative. The confessional tale however takes an altogether different approach and one which is well suited to the new agenda of this thesis for its orientation towards critical reflexivity upon its own academic field - particularly interested in questioning its "objectivity and its colonial past" (Harrell and Xingxing 2013). I wish to do this for the field of 'urban geography'.

1.3.3 Thesis aims

With this framework in mind, how, then, does relationality 'make a difference' (Allen 2008) to the development of master plan strategies in specific locations, and in what ways is this, as a function of 'globalisation', implicit in its seemingly disempowering *effects* in relation to situated planning institutions (Flyvbjerg 2001). While there is little I can do to help the situation regarding difficulties faced with realising the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento, what I *can* do is ensure that any insight I provide into their production from a geographical perspective, is orientated on furthering understandings with regards to the lack of agency that they seemingly embody. Arguing for more autonomy for individual cities to improve the lives of their citizens, Harvard Law professor Gerald Frug, at a recent 'Urban age' conference in Delhi asked the question "who has the *power to* allocate decision making authority*?"* - a question that resonates with all cities in all regions of the world (*The Guardian* 2015). While individual autonomy for cities is established through a mechanism such as the design master plan, the question of sovereignty is clearly a more complex one. For instance to what extent, in the 'global era', is the political function of sovereign authority over space (that which is provided by an urban master plan) undermined by a lack of sovereignty in the jurisprudential sense – inherent interference from, and contingency upon, outside factors? The era of globalisation requires a new way to approach the question of what it means to 'have' the power to legislate the design of the city and thereby how we understand the process of 'city-making' (Frug 1999). Why can't autonomously produced master plans offer sovereign governance to city authorities?

Exploring a comparative perspective on urban planning and spatial policy making that facilitates the subsequent use of both similarities *and* differences in how we represent material reality, constitutes **the first aim** of the thesis. Building on this conversation, **the**

second aim is to draw on the notion of *difference* to mount a reflexive postcolonial critique of the way in which conversations of 'policy mobility' and 'assemblage urbanism' seek to represent the processes involved with city-making at an institutional level. **The third and final aim** of the thesis is to draw out *similarities* from the difficulties faced by the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento in order to illuminate the way in which a 'coloniality of power' serves to govern autonomous, sovereign urban planning through instances of a colonising, relationally stabilised, repetition.

Having conducted prior literature reviews around different themes of policy mobility that fed into the rationalisation of original fieldwork strategies and empirical foci, the thesis is now written *from* the perspective *of* collected 'data'[4]. It has not been approached in the opposite direction whereby data is produced in order to address existing gaps or questions within particular bodies of work. The original reviews of literature are therefore not simply placed into the thesis *a priori,* but are themselves subjected to critiques rooted in the theoretical and empirical engagements of the research. The argument put forward in this regard, is that much of contemporary urban policy research that attempts to explore the role of globalisation as part of a 'theory-building' exercise, is itself situated within a *post-modern* paradigm of dialectics that draws on the notion of 'social constructionism' to privilege a 'global' space through which ideas, policies, knowledge's and models are 'made mobile' and 'circulate'. Cities, policies, the urban, and geography itself are not simply things that we have in our minds, 'constructed' as it were in some manner that transcends reality, but they are produced "by and in material reality itself" (Saldanha 2011). The implications of this are problematic for work on 'policy mobility' and wider engagements with neoliberalism as a 'mobile technology'.

Beyond existing conversations in the urban geography literature, situated sovereign governance, it is argued, continues to be undermined by a 'matrix of power' that far supersedes normative understandings of western political-economy and its narrow interpretations of collective democracy and individual autonomous subjects (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Quijano 2007). The thesis, therefore, seeks to illustrate not only why, from a practical standpoint, master plan strategies cannot offer what Boaventura de Sousa Santos

---

[4] An overview of the original research methodology and how the data that has informed this thesis was 'collected', is contained in Appendix 3.

(2015) describes as the "epistemological break" required to overcome "social and cognitive oppression", but also how, through a separation of theory and material practice, mainstream, humanistic scholarship serves to further entrench these paradigms of coloniality, and close down the possibility for radical change. In direct contrast to the assertion that policy should no longer be seen as "technical, rational, neutral, and apolitical" (McCann and Ward 2011: 43), I would argue that as a result of treating it as such over such long periods of time, in practice this is precisely what it has become. In fact it is its very existence that confirms its status as all of these, and the codification and adoption of 'policy' in the era of advanced neoliberal globalisation, in fact represents a *depoliticisation* of city making practice. The critical legacy of structural humanism can be traced back to an omnipotent sovereignty over 'the city' which grants control to 'outside' onlookers whether they be researchers like myself or 'global' technocrats and consultants, while the very practitioners operationalising holistic master plan visions fail to generate any sense of control.

Central to the emergence of this argument is the suggestion of Allen (2008, p.4) that "in this *topological* landscape, fixed distances and well defined proximities fail to convey how the specific relational ties of power are established". Topographical conceptualisations of geography limit and restrict the ways in which situated actors can reflect upon the function of power in striving to make it work in different, more desirable ways. The idea of a global-local dualism is seen as deeply problematic with 'historicised entrenchments' which, through both explicit usage and implicit assumption, obfuscate our understandings and ultimately hinder our conceptualization of situated agency in discussions of globalized relationality (Branch 2015; Mamdani 1996; Murdoch 1997). Problematizing this, the thesis argues that a pre-perceived 'local' is perhaps even more distracting for our understandings of power than the well-criticised notion of 'globalness' and that internalised techniques of 'othering' complicate attempts to externalise our analysis of relational scales. This exists in the power driven formation of material, if temporary, stability as a relational assemblage apparatus (Legg 2011: 132). In addition to this, a historicising of the relationality involved in the production of specific plans can thicken any understanding of the means by which power works to direct what comes to be defined as the future vision for any particular city. A process of 'bricolage' (Faulconbridge 2006; 2012), emphasising the reproduction of useful knowledges from elsewhere, and the harnessing of situated ideas and values into a well-managed project,

offers significant advantages for situated agency, but only if the specificities of the relational 'topos of sovereignty', are accounted for.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Given that empiricism has not been used to answer pre-conceived questions, but instead used as the central rationale for the discussion, the rest of the thesis is therefore structured as follows to develop these arguments. Divided into three distinct parts that correspond with the three aims of the thesis, the empirical experiences in Lusaka and Sacramento that shaped the emergent narrative of the thesis, will also be drawn on in three different ways.

Opening part I of the thesis, chapter **two** presents the master plans for Lusaka and Sacramento from a variety of perspectives and uses this to problematize the question of what exactly today's urban master plan strategies *are* in relation to histories of place, situated planning institutions, and scholarly theorisations of the 'urban age'. In conclusion, it offers a post-human means of theorising their emergence across the globalised 'world of cities'. Building on this, **chapter three** fleshes out a mode of comparison that requires us to anchor its orientation at an *ontological* level and engage critically with the epistemological emergence of understandings about the sustainable city in different locations. Likewise, it is important that these comparative methodologies leave theoretical space to engage critically with vital counter histories such as postcolonialism, feminism, environmentalism, critical race theory, and Marxism. Seeking to translate the ontological paradigm into an actionable research methodology, the chapter argues for the use of Michel Foucault's 'dispositive analysis' as a way of unpacking the materialisation of sustainable city discourse. The work of Foucault and the orientation of the dispositif apparatus offers the reflective, historical critique that traces back the development of policy, to compliment the forward, emergent paradigm of Deleuzian immanence. Framing the difficulties faced by the planners in Lusaka and Sacramento as the eventual consequences of the master plans powerful dispositive, the discourse analysis builds towards engaging with a question of the validity of knowledge at a certain place and time beyond normative definitions of these concepts.

Interested in building its argument based on the *differences* that emerge in the way the master plans for Lusaka and Sacramento are 'assembled' in an institutional and

epistemological sense, part II of the thesis is critically orientated towards assumptions in existing debates and discussions around 'assemblage urbanism' and 'policy mobility'. **Chapter four** explores a more holistic understanding of the relationship between colonialism and the formation of planning and policy making *subjectivities*. This stretches the paradigm of colonisation beyond specific moments of racialized occupation and violence, to a more fundamental paradigm of reason that facilitates each of these individual manifestations. In the case of this thesis, the enactable regime in question is the implementation of comprehensive city master planning and the chapter seeks to explore a way of approaching this that problematizes rigid, depoliticised understandings of 'local' context. These, it is argued, lose their useful, critical, definition when applied beyond the European continent. Interested, not with the urban as the *object* of planning, but with the 'planner' as its *subject*, **chapter five** offers a detailed, 'thick' description of the institutional arrangements of comprehensive planning and design in the two cities, that exist as the backdrop from which the master plans emerged. The chapter is particularly interested in the way in which a set of stabilised arrangements exists to legitimate master plan production and the relationships between actors, contexts, and the concept of the sustainable city. The subjectivities embodied by various actors are positioned in the dispositive apparatus in relation to each other through various forms of power. **Chapter six** moves away from questions of institutionality and, by drawing out from the theoretical material in chapter four, and the empirical in chapter five, engages with the issue of the epistemological codification of the sustainable city. Using the central 'models' incorporated into the two plans sustainability message, this emphasises the fact that planning policy *knowledge* only emerges through discursive entanglements with the material urban environment and cannot, therefore, be seen as a 'decontextualized' process. This also shows how approaching the development of policy as governed by a discourse *dispositif* helps us to see why a critically ontological deployment of relational 'urban assemblages', is important. This is in contrast to the idea of 'assembling' policy, which exists in the literature on policy mobility. This part of the thesis concludes by offering up the concept of 'bricolage' as an effective *practical* accompaniment to theoretical work done by the assemblage.

Rejecting the idea that 'cities' are connected together *through* a series of global networks, the final part of the thesis will take as its starting point the idea that any stabilised,

materialised version of the city is, itself, the product of a set of topological connections that could be seen to constitute a 'network'. This speaks to a 'truer' interpretation of assemblage ontologies that allows us to draw out from the *similarities* between the two cases here. In working with the idea of coloniality, the focus of this part of the thesis is on drawing attention to the colonising tendencies inherent in the production of contemporary urban master plans that legitimise the materialised forms. Engaging first with the issue of *place,* **chapter seven** uses empirical evidence to illustrate three of Walter Mignolo and Anibal Quijano's four 'domains' of colonising governance: control of economy; control of authority; and control of identity. Arguing that geography does not present its own spatial ontology, it seeks to explore how particular cities as *places* can be 'known', problematized, and re-envisioned, and how this is stabilised by the agenda in question. The final, and most pertinent, element of the 'matrix of power' - control of subjectivity and knowledge - is centred in **chapter eight** to highlight the need to reject anthropocentric, postmodern representations of global connectivity and flow as part of a vital project to re-centre the powerful subjugation of 'Homo Sacer cities' under the colonizing tendencies of hegemonic urban discourse. Drawing this concept from Foucauldian political theorist Giorgio Agamben, this culminates in the argument that sustainable city discourse is best understood as a globalising 'state of exception' through which cities confront and frame their 'problems'. The thesis will conclude with **chapter nine** which summarises the arguments made by outlining the means through which terminologies of *assemblage, apparatus,* and *bricolage* can be effectively deployed to understand the production of city-making practices. It will also pull together the thesis' overriding critique of concurrent theorisations of 'planetary urbanisation' and 'urban policy mobility' as trapped within a representational paradigm that is drawn merely to 'globalisation' as an *effect,* and that, therefore, fail to account for their own situating in a powerful 'view from nowhere'.

PART I - *Establishing Urban Comparison beyond the West*

Chapter 2: The Sustainable City

> *"The schizophrenic is the universal producer. There is no need to distinguish here between producing and its product. We need merely note that the pure "thisness" of the object produced is carried over into a new act of producing. The table continues to "go about its business." The surface of the table, however, is eaten up by the supporting framework. The non-termination of the table is a necessary consequence of its mode of production."*

> \- Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1980, p.7)

2.1 Introduction

July 2014 - City Council Offices, Lusaka, Zambia

As she sat down, she turned to the wall behind her and pulled off a small diagram depicting the master plan vision for the future of her city, placing it between the two of us on the desk. "I suppose we best talk about this then!" she stated[5]. Conveying my confusion at a seeming disconnect between what one might assume to be the new centrepiece of her working life, and her enthusiasm for the topic, she subsequently expanded:

> *"…It is at a level where once we have read through then what more can we do with it other than have it here to discuss when we need to like this…The way the city is managed with the technical people and the politicians, you can see why a plan like this was desired. The belief is that we had some experts in and so now we have a plan and everything should go smoothly [with our work]…if they were here they might see the difficulties with understanding the plan in relation to moving forward with the developments in the city."*

"So it doesn't affect you in any other way? What about for all of these?" I asked, pointing to the various documents, applications, and land survey request forms scattered across her desk. "You don't use the new plan to evaluate and think about all of these?"

---

[5] Throughout the thesis, statements made by those spoken to will be designated as 'interview' followed by their position in respective organisations if they are the product of a 'formal' sit-down interview, but will be presented as a more integrated part of the textual narrative if they are taken from more informal discussions during my time in the two cities. Please see chapter 3.6 and Appendix 3 for an in depth discussion of data presentation and subject (re)presentation.

"No, this plan doesn't go into such details, and even some of these we are still evaluating with older guidelines because [with the master plan] they did not look at our laws. For example where they have indicated a mixed use, it will be still indicated residential on somebody's title. So what will be the implementation? We will need to change these titles because you are telling someone that it is mixed use but it is titled otherwise. So they do not look at the laws and how these connect to planning and how they fit into the justice system…Also other people, if they come and I say to them that the new plan prohibits [their] application they will just build anyway because what is this plan to such peoples businesses? It isn't relevant. [The consultants] did not help us to show how we would deal with such things and show us the steps we need to take. Here we have our unique challenges, so let's try to handle them together…but no they gave us this and now we are scratching our heads".

Prior to beginning the above conversation - the first of many we would have during my time in the city - I had sat in her office for what must have been around thirty minutes while she catered to various different tasks, simultaneously conversing on both the phone and in person to a colleague who shared her office. Throughout my time doing fieldwork in the city of Lusaka, I cannot recall a single 'interview' that took place within the walls of the City Council offices that consisted of myself and one other individual having a conversation with a clear beginning and end, a clear purpose as to why I was there, and what I was doing. 'Interviews' scheduled for 9 am would take place at 3pm, conversations set to last an hour would last for four because of interruptions and tangents that would take the discussion in a multitude of directions depending on who came into the room, who I was subsequently introduced to, and what either myself or the individual in question thought they might be able to gain from this crossing of paths. More data? A potential new informant? Or just an interesting chat about the on goings of Lusaka's development.

"Go out along Leopards hill road to the very end, right out of the city. This is where it meets up with the extension of the new ring road that is now completed in the south [section of the city circular]. If you continue on past this and turn right you will see the signposts and all of the building work being done over there, that is the MFEZ project you will see there, it is very interesting what they are doing"

This is the response that I first received - on an earlier short trip to Lusaka - when asking the director of city planning for his advice on where would be best for me to engage with the master plan 'on the ground' in order to see some of the work that was taking place, stimulated by the adoption of the new vision. Accordingly he identified the new 'Lusaka South Multi-Facility Economic Zone' (MFEZ) as a space that exemplified the message of the plans and that was at a stage of implementation that reflected a reasonable amount of progress.

Leopards Hill road is a primary trunk road that extends South-Eastwards out of Lusaka. You follow the perfectly tarmacked and tree-lined avenue out from a part of the city that contains large global hotel chains, foreign embassies, the Lusaka golf course and the wealthy suburbs of Kabulonga and Ibex Hill. This then leads through the peri-urban area of Woodlands and on to the dusty open fields of the wider Lusaka province, each one filled with single brick high foundations marking the purchased plots of would-be tenants who have either moved onto other things or are yet to accrue the requisite finance to add a second layer of bricks. In doing so, with the exception of a brief glance eastward into the area known as 'Bauleni', you don't dissect any of the cities informal housing 'compounds'. These encompass the formerly planned city in what seems like every direction with two notable exceptions, Leopards Hill Road, and the road between the city and the International airport. It is almost impossible in Lusaka to be more than a few hundred yards from the edge of at least one of the cities twenty-three compound settlements. Yet, despite this, it is entirely possible for one to travel to Lusaka, transit from the airport to the city's central district, engage in a series of meetings and conferences, and subsequently travel out to peripheral infrastructure development projects such as the MFEZ, without once laying eyes upon the deeply containerized parts of the city that house the vast majority of its 2.5 million people.

While one can turn a blind eye during a visit to the city however, in a project that seeks to establish a new design around the theme of sustainability, it would be impossible to ignore the sheer magnitude of 'informal' settlement in Lusaka. The master plans project's position on the informal compounds is, therefore, clear - formalisation and legalisation are a vital pre-requisite to achieving sustainability. According to the plan, 'an urban renewal method, as a packaged development mechanism suitable for densely populated areas, should be introduced in order to deal with complex and challenging issues of the UUS [unplanned urban settlement]' (JICA 2009). The plans also highlight one particular compound to act as a 'testing'

area for this development strategy which can then be 'replicated to other UUS' (ibid.), something that was explained to me by the director of city planning as follows:

> *"We have a project we are still supporting for the longer term. [It is] a compound which is called Chibolya compound and the project is called urban development project where the council want to legalise the settlement but before they do this they are putting in plans to put up residential as well as industrial places within, not really as in mixed but close to each other within the same locality. So essentially that's what our technical advisor has been doing for the council [since the adoption of the plans]...The current situation is [still] to do the urban renewal but the implementation means we need to look for a private partner but we have realised that as a council it is difficult for us to solicit this for this sort of project in a place like Chibolya."*

While its neighbour across the road, 'Misisi' compound features on the leaderboard of the '5 worst slums in Africa' (Resnick 2013), Chibolya is certainly the most infamous area of the city in the minds of local residents and development practitioners alike. Meaning 'deserted place' in the emergent and hybrid lingua franca of the compound, Chibolya is known not only for its extreme poverty and chronic lack of sanitation infrastructure, but is also - along a number of streets nicknamed 'gaza straight' - one of Zambia's primary hubs for both Cocaine and Heroin (allAfrica 2015; Bwalya 2014; Nation 2014). It also happens to be - in places - the most densely populated, mixed use urban space one could ever wish to encounter. The bars, houses, barber shops, beauty salons and market stalls are intricately woven together by the maze of streets and integrated, self-fabricated housing. My own experiences with Chibolya stem from visits alongside a local environmental consultant and someone, who having been an initial point of contact established through a mutual acquaintance, I grew particularly close to and spent a great deal of time with. When I first approached him to take me to Chibolya because of its positioning in the plan as the 'experimental' location of upgrading he responded as follows: "Ah it's nothing new is it. Chibolya, always Chibolya Chibolya". Asking what he meant by this he explained that it has always been somewhat of an enigma in the development of the city and - as the length of time since adoption suggests - use of Chibolya as an exemplar of the compound problem is by no means new or unique to this master plan:

> *"It's all because of its location. It is right next to the city centre, go beyond Chumumba [road] and you are in Chibolya now, basically. It's also at the end of the new ring road construction of course…"*

He made this final point with a wry smile on his face, but there is no secret to what he was insinuating here. In fact, in the documentation for the Lusaka master plan it makes explicit reference to the fact that 'Type A UUS [unplanned urban settlement] located next to the CBD can source funds from investors as well as subdivision of plots, because of high land prices due to its proximity to the urban center' (JICA 2009). It is quite easy, in fact, to conceive not only of Chibolya but of the MFEZ and Ring Road projects as indicative of a paradigm of urban development that transcends the new master plan, neither stimulated by its arrival, nor used simply as rationalisation strategies for building a plan around. They are lodged somewhere in between these poles. This is illustrated by the fact that, as my consultant friend described to me in the early stages of our contact, beyond these aspects 'harmonisation' is not something you would regularly associate with planning in the city:

> *"They are approving plots in areas where the master plan is saying that they should have roads for example. That is a big big problem because you have this master plan that lays out what is happening but then you look at the projects that we are approving, and hardly any of them are in line with that. The programmes that the RDA [road development agency] is doing are not in line with that. Look at what MLGH [Ministry of Local Government and Housing] is now spearheading - nothing in line with it. I can give you some specific examples - LCC [Lusaka City Council] and RDA are expanding these roads, a few months ago MLGH and Ministry of finance through the millennium challenge they came up with beautiful designs to improve drainage, sanitation and water supply aspects for the city. There is no harmonisation, not even from a $400m USAID project. It is different institutions and organisations singing from different hymn sheets"*

4 months earlier…March 2014 - A restaurant in the suburbs of Sacramento, California.

When I had first looked into the possibility of using the city of Sacramento as a case study, I had known only little of the city, visiting once for a fleeting trip to the famous 'Old Sacramento' western village right in the heart of its modern downtown. 'Right in the heart' is actually a stretch - it is separated from downtown by the overhead freeway that is Interstate 5, one of the busiest highways in the world. On one side of the freeway it appears as 1856, on the other, well somewhere between now and 2030, presumably. My lack of familiarity with the city however, was now obsolete, as on this particular occasion, having arrived the day before, I had been given a grand tour by two members of the Sacramento city council. We began downtown, my guides narrating the scene to me as we intricately wound our way back and forth through the city's original gridded street pattern that extends 29 blocks East to West, and 23 North to South. The central area of Sacramento is quite exceptional in its definitiveness, neatly framed, as it is, on all four sides, either by the American River to the North or by three different elevated highways in each of the other directions.

> *"…if you look at the map you see the street pattern also changes. The city was originally laid out by John Sutter in this way and that's what todays downtown/midtown area is. The freeways were then added in the early 1960's…we have a lot of these infill projects going on in this central area where you see a desire for it to become even more compact than it is already."*

Travelling beyond this city within a city, we then proceeded to cover the various extremities of Sacramento's incredible sprawling suburbs. In extreme contrast to the city centre, it is almost impossible to identify any real beginning and end to Sacramento's multitude of neighbourhoods as they gradually morph into additional towns and cities. At regular intervals we would stop, usually alongside some sort of brownfield space where visionary transit orientated, dense housing projects were being assembled, usually in very early stages or as already existing examples of what the city hopes to become at a much grander scale. The trip, I was informed, was not special treatment for myself but was the standard tour that members of the city council's 'planning academy' - a course run for citizens interested in learning more about the work of their city government - undergo as part of their orientation. One of the planners would later explain why such an academy was so important:

"The problem with a general plan for a city like Sacramento is generating a sense of community and a collective identity regarding what is best. There is a lot of disparity between neighbourhoods. They have different needs and our government structure affects it as well; because our city council consists of 9 members who are elected by districts of roughly equal population. They then cater to their constituencies, making trying to get a city wide perspective very difficult. They want to help their particular area improve and are not interested in other areas. You have 9 people wanting an equal share of the pie"

Me: So does this not hinder your ability to plan at the city-scale? Can you even begin to think of Sacramento as a cohesive city in this sense?

"We have to, what's the alternative? Ok, one big dilemma is whether to put a lot of resources into an area that does well and then use that as a vehicle of economic growth to increase the prosperity of the entire city. The infrastructure needs in this city though are huge and you can't tackle such problems without a comprehensive approach to planning, but at the same time there are key areas where, as planners, you know you want to direct investment because it will stimulate something…"

His fellow colleague continued:

"If we are talking about solving the city's problems, the only way to get a nicer grocery store into grittier neighbourhoods is through subsidies. For example there are not many other grocery stores in these areas, only small liquor stores etc. We have a commercial developer from a supermarket chain coming in to try and explain to the planning academy the problems associated with getting new commercial development into areas that haven't caught onto some sort of community based initiatives around walkable neighbourhoods or mass transit. People build what people buy and because it is cheaper to develop in the Greenfield than it is infill projects, the whole time we did the general plan that continued to be the dominant mind-set…That is the political climate we live in."

At the northern-most tip of Sacramento is the suburb of 'North Natomas'. North Natomas is the quintessential suburban American lifestyle consisting of self-contained neighbourhood districts comprised of single family homes, where the most heated of city government-private

developer conflicts rage over the use of vertical curbs (to prevent vehicles mounting the pavement too easily and risking the safety of pedestrians) or rolling ones (to allow vehicles to mount the pavement easily to access driveways) (Allison 2013). Incorporated into the plans as a 'special study area', the community needed to be given close attention in order to develop a means of bringing it into the city in a cohesive and complimentary way and to help negotiate a power struggle between the city and the wider county. The 'Natomas Joint vision area' spans the boundary between city and county, between the urban and the rural, creating a further, and significant, headache for the planners approaching the city as a territorial unit. A member of the city council planning department that worked on the joint vision project, described the situation as follows:

> *"…You have a lot more constraints when you are dealing with [brownfield] that's already there you have to match what you are doing to the infrastructure that's there. When you have the Greenfield you can plan whatever you like and make it efficient. It's like a blank piece of paper. The other thing is that there is not an infill industry, the architects, and the builders etc. to do the buildings. So we need the building industry around here to start learning how to do that and once there is enough people and the industry has been built [it can work]. The industry around here is used to building on Greenfield sites in the suburbs. That's what North Natomas became - a developers marketing dream come to life".*

North Natomas effectively captures the struggles of planning in California as representative of everything desired by the American dream and yet abhorred by the community engaged urban planner. The two planners described the sprawl around the periphery of Sacramento as "like a cancer" and their status as planners as one "as far away from working in an urban environment that is where we want our community to be at, as anywhere else in the world". Perhaps the most vivid example of this comes from North Natomas, where the 'Sleep Train Arena', home of the Sacramento Kings basketball team, is responsible for what is perhaps the most insane piece of transport engineering anywhere on earth - a ten lane road located amongst what is otherwise a sleepy residential district. The reason for this is legislative in nature:

> *"Level of service [LOS] is the only metric that has ever been used in transportation planning for general plans before and what most cities interpreted to be the main*

criteria to determine development needs. So roads were designed to be whatever they needed to be to meet a certain threshold and if to get there they needed to be ten lanes wide, then, god forbid, they were built that way. And if they needed to they would even tear down buildings to make the roads wider just to meet the required traffic flow levels at peak times. By having a deliberate policy of ensuring free flowing traffic we are effectively forcing people into cars because we make it impossible for transit to be viable and effective and we make it impossible for areas to be friendly for bicycles and pedestrians" (interview, transportation consultant).

2.2 Sustainability for, from, and through '2030'

2.2.1 Lusaka Vision 2030

Presented as a comprehensive means of tackling Lusaka's burgeoning population and associated problems, the 2030 vision master plan cements a long term future for the city that addresses fragmentation of land use, unmanageable levels of congestion and the degradation of infrastructure (JICA 2009). The plan's vision is to turn the city into what it describes as an 'ECHO Garden City', emphasising the mutual importance of a sustainable Environment, Economy and Community. The plan is characterised by a more controlled and mixed land use area in the central part of the city, surrounding a 'dual core' CBD located in both its original location and a secondary location to the East. Described as a 'new urban expansion' approach, this will be combined with the promotion of growth within an outer ring urban boundary that eventually leads to the establishment of new satellite centres on the periphery, self-sustainable in nature.

Lusaka's plan contains firm commitments to utilise the existing central area to stimulate wider growth not just in the city but also the nation, as the country embarks on an agenda to diversify its economy away from a heavy reliance on copper and agriculture. It is necessary, the plan states, for the city-region to 'promote its growth in the global market and attend to social and environmental concerns'. This will be done through redefinition of the CBD as one "serving commercial, inter-regional & international business activities in a competitive manner" (JICA 2009). To facilitate this, 'high priority should be given to road development as competitive infrastructure to attract economic investments'. New road networks for the city

will offer a means of both 'preparing for urban expansion' and 'preventing urban sprawl' which ensures: i) desirable urban form for effective and sustainable control of sprawl and management of traffic; ii) appropriate density settlement for effective use of land; and iii) an attractive urban environment for competitive function as a capital city (JICA 2009).

---

*"The vision of Lusaka can be described as ECHO Garden City - Stimulating, **E**conomically strong development and **E**nvironment friendly attainment of **C**ommunity **H**ope and **O**pportunity, by providing a world class and competitive business and living environment by the year 2030"*

Inner city area: Existing Lusaka City territory

- Well controlled dense settlement
- Efficient land use with adequate density distribution
- Dual Core CBD connected by public transportation and pedestrian network
- Controlled urban growth by urbanization promotion area (within rings)
- Protection of greenery network and upgrading of vulnerable water transportation systems
- Enhancement of government centre and its connections to knowledge centres
- Experimental implementation of incorporated UUS (unplanned urban settlement) upgrading

Satellite cities: adjoining three district territory

- Self-sustained cities with dense settlement
- Planned settlement with adequate infrastructure
- Multi-facility economic zones (MFEZ) to connect with existing industrial area
- Connection into development corridors of the SADC (Southern African Development Community)

Figure 2.1 – Lusaka 2030 Vision Master Plan Summary. Source: JICA (2009)

Keen to embody a message not just of comprehensiveness but also of integration, the central regeneration area, shown in figure 2.2 below, is then connected, in an economic and infrastructural sense, to the rest of the city, region and indeed nation. Existing industrial areas to the east of the city centre will also serve key economic roles and - through the fast-tracked production of a new inner ring road - connect to the new Muti-Facility Economic Zones as part of a "national industrialization project" (JICA 2009). Completing the comprehensive message

of the plans, an environmentally orientated message is summarised by the following principles:

i) to provide urban environment protection and green management program through the formulation of strategic interventions for environmental protection;

ii) to establish sustainable urban design in order to protect the destruction of natural reserve forest and damage of natural habitats and biodiversity;

iii) to formulate a "green belt zone" maintaining mainly agriculture land and other natural green spaces, functioning as buffer for urban sprawl and environmental and recreational network;

iv) to formulate spatial network for urban green environment (river green, street green, open space, and suburban agriculture belt) and recreational activities (parks and walkways or cycling lanes);

v) to empower local communities' activities in a participatory manner for the environment improvement, especially for waste management and energy (charcoal) issues.
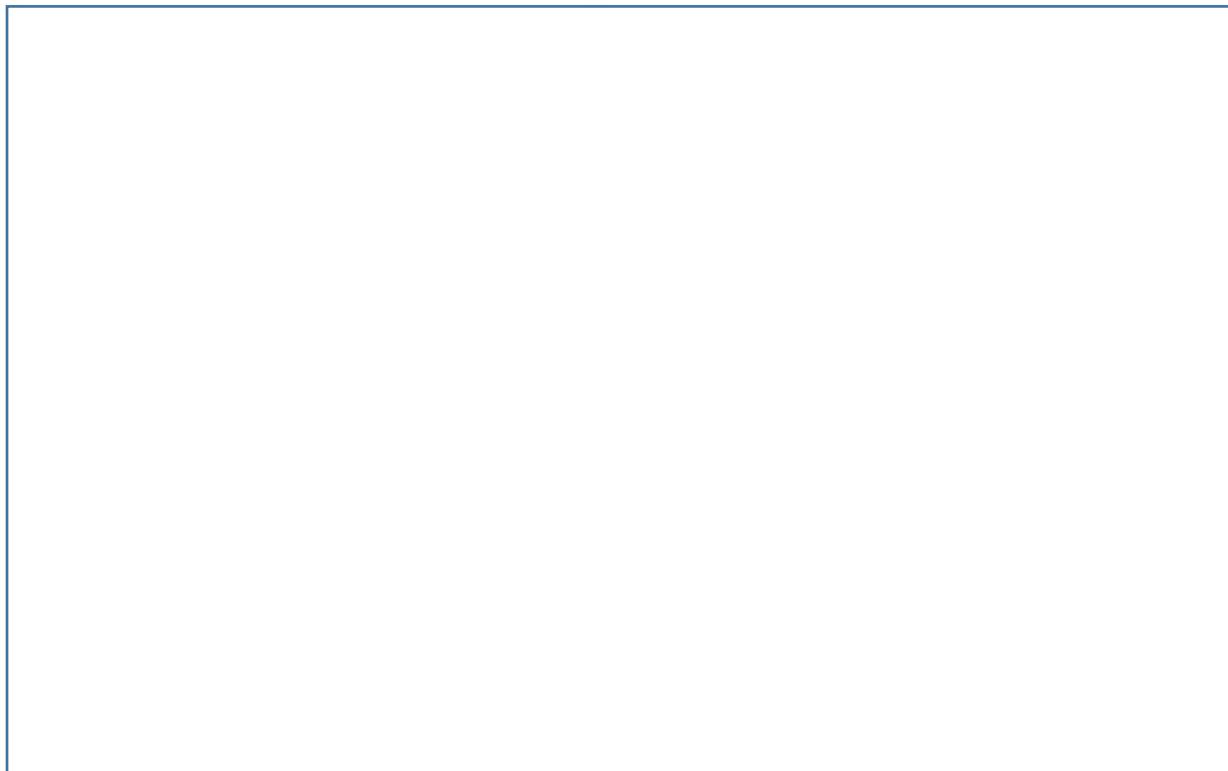
Figure 2.2 - Lusaka 2030 master plan: New CBD development strategy.
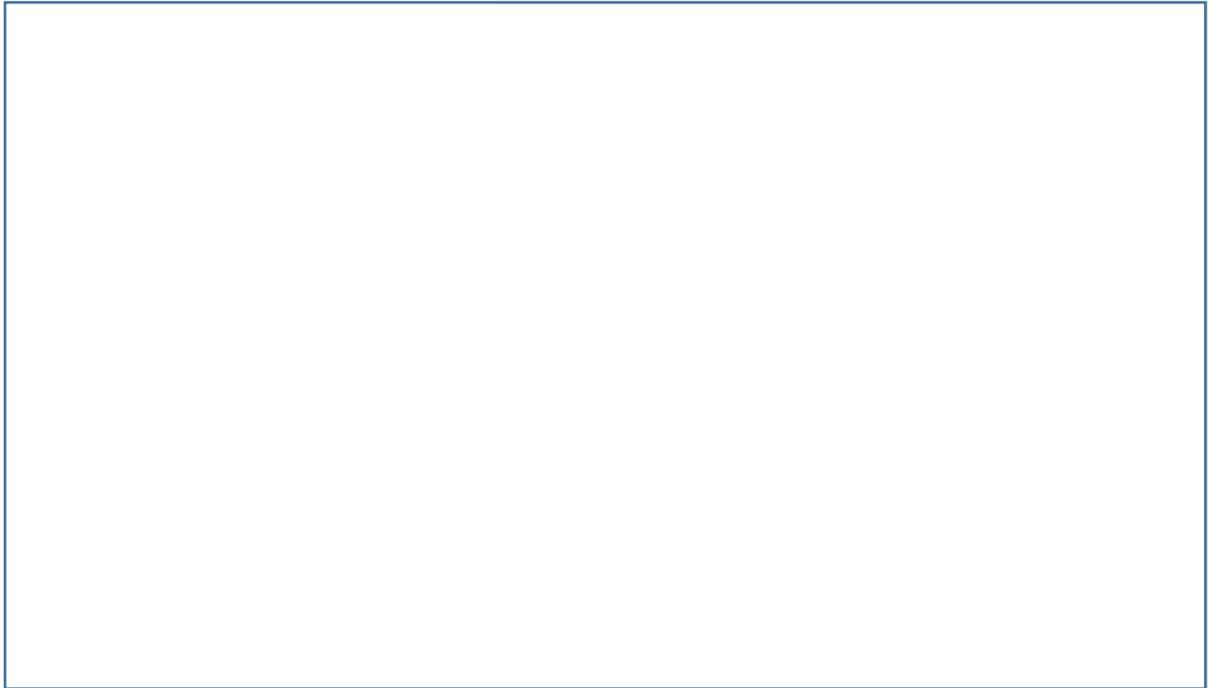
Figure 2.3 - Lusaka 2030 master plan: Spatial formation of industry development

2.2.2 Sacramento 2030 General Plan

Providing a 'new direction' for the city, Sacramento's 2030 general plan was also officially adopted in 2009 after a long production process. The master plan is a comprehensive vision for the city's future that centres on a push for sustainability by focusing on the form and design of the city as an entire system and using this as the blueprint to drive and guide sustainable development at all levels be that the neighbourhood, street, or building. It embodies its message through specific design principles for the areas of: land use; housing; mobility (transportation); economic development; public safety; environmental resources, parks and recreation; and facilities (City of Sacramento 2009). The integrated nature of the urban ensures that core design related issues such as land use and transportation are delimited in a way that needs to be engaged with at the highest level in order to ensure connectivity in the interpretation of their roles in shaping the fabric of the city. The land pertaining to the mandate of the plan was prescribed as the existing official boundary of the city plus any land 'outside its boundaries which in the planning agency's judgment bears relation to its planning' (California Government code, section 65300). Once this has been

established and codified into the plan, no developments can occur without being confirmed as consistent with the general plan's design.

The guiding vision for the city embodied by the general plan is that:

"Sacramento will be the most liveable city in America"

To achieve this by 2030, the general plan will be used to:

- Reinforce the city's traditional role in the region as a primary centre of government.
- Rejuvenate its downtown, into a vibrant centre of arts culture and entertainment with a 24-hour population
- Encourage economic diversification as a means to play a larger role in the global economy.
- Create complete neighbourhoods with cohesive centres, walkability and good transit connections to downtown.
- Prepare the city in putting it on a path to greater connectivity to the rest of the region through transit and to the rest of California and the world through international airport and high speed rail connectivity.
- Encourage celebration of ethnic diversity and equitable treatment of all citizens.
- Ensure close protection of the city's historic and cultural resources and its natural environment for the enjoyment of its growing population.
- Address the causes of climate change and the urban heat island effect, establishing Sacramento as a model of sustainable development planning.

Figure 2.4 – Sacramento 2030 General Plan Summary. Source: City of Sacramento (2009)

The plan's opening illustrative gambit draws particular attention to themes of 'making great places', 'growing smarter', 'maintaining a vibrant economy', 'creating a healthy city', and 'living lightly', all couched, of course, under the triple pronged sustainable development paradigm of environment, economy and society. This is rationalised on the fact that: "*Without a successful economy, financial resources will not be available to manage growth and protect resources…Without a healthy and well-educated population, resource sustainability will not be valued and advances in technology to protect resources will be hindered*" (City of Sacramento, 2009, p.1.6). Providing extreme policy detail down to the neighbourhood and street levels, the plan also spatially identifies, 'areas of opportunity' and the primary land use

strategies for various parts of the city stretching from preservation areas to brand new areas of growth and transformation (see figures 2.4 and 2.5 below).
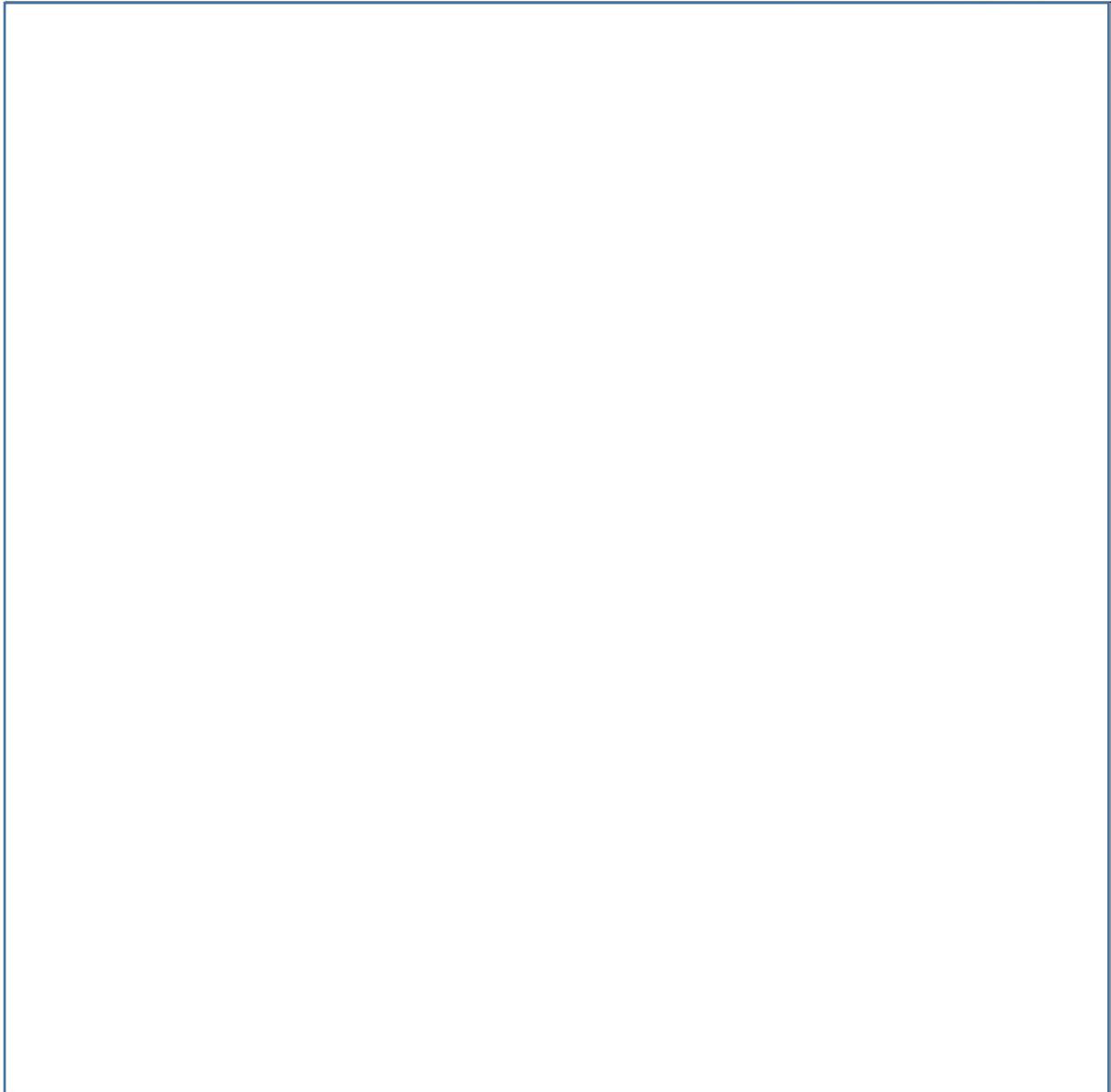
Figure 2.5 - Sacramento 2030 General Plan: Opportunity Areas Map. Source: City of Sacramento (2009)

As somewhat of an overarching theme that infiltrates each and every element of the plan, climate change, and its connections to the urban in terms of both causes and effects, is clearly *the* dominant strand within the Sacramento plans sustainability message. The plan devotes an entire page of its short introduction to this theme, while merely providing succinct paragraph long summaries of its other core foci. Rationalising such a drive in relation to the

wider push for reform on climate legislation in California, and the 2006 adoption of the *California Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006* (assembly bill AB32), it defines the role of the general plan as follows:

> '*The General Plan will reduce GHG emissions primarily through land use patterns that support public transit, increased opportunities for pedestrians and bicycle use and encouraging "green building" practices and alternative energy systems. Policies also address adaptation to climate change, such as reducing the impacts from the urban heat island effect, managing water use, and increasing flood protection*' (City of Sacramento, 2009).
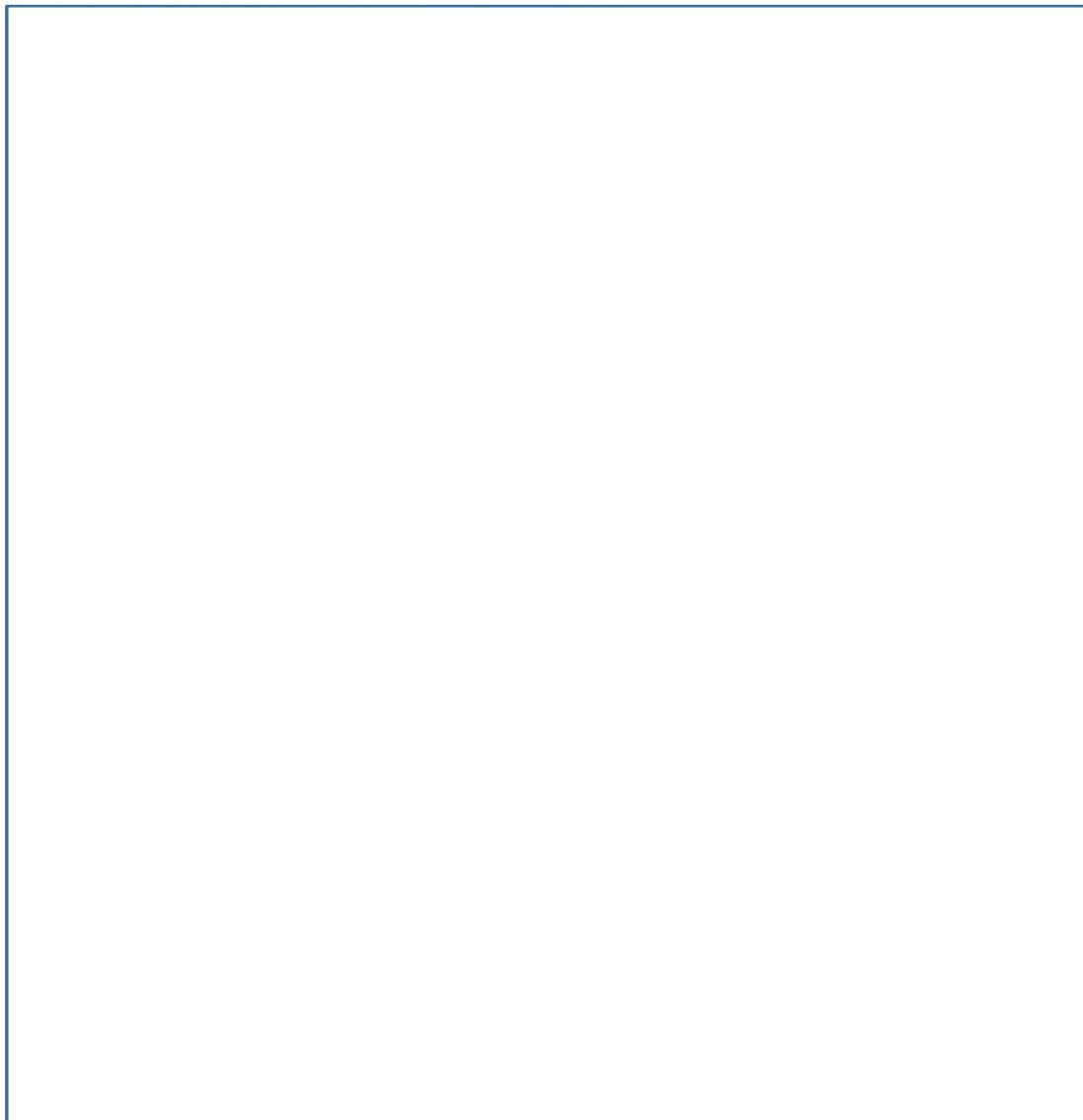
Figure 2.6 - Sacramento General Plan: Growth and Preservation Strategies. Source: City of Sacramento, 2009

2.3 A history of place

2.3.1 Lusaka, Zambia

The rationale behind the development of Lusaka's new master plan vision (see appendix 1 for more details beyond that contained above) is central to the very problematisation being pursued by this thesis. The following description taken from a discussion I had with the director of the Lusaka offices of an international NGO however, nicely captures the common perceptions about its emergence:

> "When it comes to the vision 2030, mainly it is something that comes about due to the change in the population structure. Lusaka was deigned to be a small, self-contained garden city and when population growth became much higher than planners anticipated, the changes in planning were not following side by side and political influence and other aspects of development were causing the city not to grow well. There has been a lot of urban sprawl and people are beginning to live further and further from the city and there is a huge vehicle population on the roads. So I think the planners decided we needed to do something before it became a disaster…"

As already one of the most urbanised countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with more than 40% of its population classed as city dwellers (UN Habitat 2007), Zambia is also reported to have *the* highest projected growth rate for 2100 of any country in the world (Guardian 2011). The United Nations, who have a strong presence on the ground in Lusaka, not only identify the issue of urbanisation at a national level, but have conducted various studies into the current situation facing the city. The material produced by the U.N offers detailed insight into what they perceive as the city's most pressing concerns. There is no doubt that, as the following extract from their 'Lusaka Urban profile' suggests, it is the out of control informal settlements that are seen to pose the biggest threat to a sustainable future:

> "In Lusaka, squatter settlements are partly a post-independence phenomenon caused by the exodus to urban areas of rural people…Squatter settlements are generally characterised by inadequate shelter, a lack of services, and inadequate waste management. Lack of essential infrastructure and inadequate access to clean water

and safe sanitation facilities and services make the residents of unplanned urban settlements vulnerable to epidemics" (UN-Habitat 2007)

Established as a settlement in 1913, and designated the capital city of then Northern Rhodesia in 1935, Lusaka was formerly the site of a village belonging to the Soli people, named after its headman 'Lusaaka' (Times 2013). The location was chosen for the city due to its central location and good communication links to the rest of the nation. Lusaka is an example of a rigorously pre-planned city, designed by Professor Stanley Adshead, a planner at the University of Liverpool, who conceived the city as primarily an administrative centre (Mulenga 2003). Influenced heavily by Ebenezer Howard's garden city plan, and framed by the controlling, racialized, power driven ideology of the colonial project, the new capital was to be 'generous and spacious' in style and designed for a population of 500,000 (Mwimba 2002; Rakodi 1986). The majority of Lusaka's original residents were either European or Asian while the indigenous population who worked in the city were housed in peripheral 'compounds' - their wives and children having to be left behind in the rural areas (Wade 2014). After Zambia gained independence in 1964, colonial restrictions on the movement of people from rural areas to the cities were removed, leading to a rapid increase in the rates of urbanisation. The planning system subsequently failed to keep pace with demand for land during the post-independence period as Zambia negotiated its relationship with structural adjustment programmes. During the 1990's the Zambian government embarked on nationwide strategies to direct city and regional councils to sell off all of their housing stock to the sitting tenants, most of which were done at "giveaway prices". As a result, both the housing and land that is available to the city of Lusaka within its existing boundaries is at a "critical shortage" (Mwansa 2016).

Making a connection between the proliferation of informal settlements, poor spatial organisation, and uneven economic development in the city, the planning authorities in Lusaka wish to use their new plan as a vehicle to circumvent individual concerns and instil a broader sense of purpose and identity into the city. Producing such a plan fell, first of all, on the LCC and the MLGH's planning and development department. Acting as mediators in the process of putting together a team of planners that could carry out the job of producing the master plan, the MLGH solicited an external consultancy team provided by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). This in turn allowed JICA to draw on a wider set of

actors operating under the arm of the Japanese government to fill the technical roles and liaise with the local planners in the city council throughout the production process (JICA 2009). The process of producing the plan would comprise an initial stage of 'study' involving assessment, outreach and dialogue in order to 'build consensus', followed by the creation of a final, comprehensive plan based on 'intensive analysis' (JICA 2009). This was ultimately handed over exclusively to the government of Zambia and the Lusaka City Council to take on the responsibility of implementation.

2.3.2 Sacramento, California

Sacramento's finalised plan (more details on the plan are contained in appendix 2) opens with some reflective history of the city and its identity. Originally inhabited by Nisenan and Plains Miwok Indians, the city was officially founded during the California Gold Rush under the guidance of Swiss-German Pioneer John Sutter (Hurtado 2006). In 1859 it became the first fully incorporated city in California and an economic and commercial transit point throughout the rush (City of Sacramento 2009). The initial master plan for the city consisted of a gridded structure, framed and contained by the Sacramento River to both the north and east. The original business district of Sacramento barely exists anymore, the space now comprised of the Old Sacramento tourist attraction described earlier in the chapter and a large but almost always completely empty shopping mall, the two separated by the eight lanes of Interstate 5. The 'West End' as it was known during the first half of the 20th century was almost completely redeveloped in the 1960's, rationalised as clearing an overcrowded slum "exacerbated by waves of foreign and domestic immigrants drawn to the city by World War II employment, [and] sometimes described as the worst skid row west of Chicago" (Dolgushkin 2012). As Dolgushkin explains, this redevelopment only served to further drive processes of 'white flight', no doubt facilitated significantly by the fact that *Macy's* - the primary tenant of the new Mall built on the site of the former West End - "insisted that it would not locate in downtown Sacramento unless a freeway off ramp was constructed" (ibid.).

Today the city is "one of the fastest growing metropolitan regions in the country" (City of Sacramento 2009). Like Lusaka, Sacramento finds itself as the capital for governance rather than economic or size reasons (this is something commonplace across the vast majority of US

states) and at the end of a shifting history with regards to the location of the California state capital. Also like Lusaka, the city has and continues to experience a rapid population increase, particularly due to the cheaper price of living offered in comparison to the, within commutable distance, San Francisco Bay area. Indeed the wider Sacramento metropolitan region has experienced extreme growth since the turn of the century. For example its suburb of Elk Grove saw a population increase between July 2004 and 2005 that was higher than any other location in the United States with a particularly diverse population moving into the region (Gledhill 2006). The Sacramento region's heavily suburbanised space is not simply a crisis in sustainability because of its sprawling nature however. The city's peripheral growth areas are particularly notable for the high concentration of sub-prime mortgage lending prior to the 2008-09 financial crisis (Farrar 2008).

The city's economic instability, as Roithmayr (2014) explains, is both deeply historical and has significant racial and ethnic dimensions to it - a microcosm of a problem seen across many US cities, particularly those in the South-West region. Here, segregated pockets of low income and low wealth minorities offered the perfect markets for high risk lending that would eventually unravel at 'global' scales. This was the outcome of the city's "long and sordid history of racial segregation in residential housing markets" (ibid.153), in which cartel style conduct from the city's white developers and homeowner groups sought to establish white suburban tract enclaves, as described in depth by Hernandez (2009). Meanwhile, minority communities from the aforementioned West-End were relocated to much poorer white neighbourhoods and a significant disparity in the flow of capital between almost exclusively white neighbourhoods and those containing people of colour, developed. The 2008 crisis created a "self-reinforcing feedback loop that further locks in the historical disadvantage for people of colour" (Roithmayr 2014: 156). As Hernandez (2009) notes, the subprime mortgage lending map for the city fits almost perfectly onto the map of 1980's racial and class segregation.

It is a requirement in California law for all cities to have adopted general plans at some point, and a recommendation that these are updated every 5 to 10 years. This however is not something that has been done historically, with Sacramento last producing a general plan in 1988. The role of preparing these plans falls on the local planning agency with final adoption then resting with the 'legislative body of the city council' (California Government Code,

Section 65300). A total of over one hundred Sacramento City staff eventually played some role in the project during the course of its production, ranging from the City managers' office to architects, engineers and analysts. On the city side the project was overseen by a core group of 18 planners. The primary responsibility for actually creating the plan however, lay with a 'team' of external consultants who liaised with the city planners and presented the finalised version to be approved by the city. This consultancy team was assembled by a partnership of two 'lead' planning firms - *PBSandJ* and *Mintier Harnish* - who added the expertise of a further seven specialist firms into a pre-packaged group of individuals that was 'pitched' to the city as being suitable for the job. Upon agreement of the contract, this team set to work on developing the plan alongside and in close dialogue with, the city of Sacramento planning department.

2.4 The purpose of a master plan?

'Generally, a master plan is not just a bundle of project descriptions. In most cases a master plan includes statements and spatial illustrations of the future situation as a target of the master plan, descriptions of the ways and means to achieve the target, philosophy, concepts, ideas, and justification of projects' (JICA 2009).

'A comprehensive general plan provides a jurisdiction with a consistent framework for land use decision-making. The general plan has been called the "constitution" for land use development to emphasize its importance to land use decisions. The general plan and its maps, diagrams, and development policies form the basis for the city's zoning, subdivision, and public works actions' (Sacramento General Plan 2009).

Master plans are ubiquities through both space and time. Predicated on a spatial imaginary of the city, but not confined merely to the design and development of that space, it transcends 'the city' as an urban object and reproduces it *through* the project of planning and design. This is perhaps true anywhere, but in relation to the locations in the world known as Lusaka (at least ending in a single 'a') and Sacramento, such a narrative is particularly powerful. Indeed all of what we know about these two cities, whether it is 1913-2030 or 1848-2030, is framed by the existence of a master plan. The plans are a literal codification of 'the city' as arrived at by a particular dialogue or process of knowledge production about existing

urban concerns and the need to set the city on a clearer path towards, in this case, a sustainable future. To codify something into the form of a policy, as is the case simply to *write*, is to "bring to the surface something that is not there yet or that is there only as latent, as potential" (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004:347). In this sense, the city master plan strategy could also be seen as a way of 'writing the city into the world'. From the perspective of the individual cities that adopt them, they therefore represent strategies in what Ananya Roy describes as 'worlding' (Roy and Ong 2011).

But what, with this in mind, do we make of the *proliferation* of master plan city strategies today? Orientated on sustainability and pointed towards a distant horizon of 2030, they register on 'global' scales. At the most basic of levels, is this a repetition across space, a following of suit regarding the need to problematize and redefine the city, its spatial design and its agenda, a form of 'mobile urbanism', and a (re)territorialisation of 'cityness' under the rubric of sustainability (McCann and Ward 2011)? Or, in a temporal sense, is this the collective response to situated manifestations of a 'crisis of planetary urbanisation' (Harvey 2015)? The amount of literature detailing the 'problematic' nature of spatial urbanisation's impact upon the future environment is phenomenal, and as the brief narratives of the two cities above highlights, both find themselves responsible for large (and increasing) urban populations. However, can a real assessment of the historicity of what constitutes 'sustainability' in any particular location even begin to transcend the flattened space of the globalised world? In other words, in seeking to understand the emergence of these plans, how might we begin to separate their positioning with regards to a global spatiality *and* temporality in relation to the continued growth and (re)framing of their own histories?

Theoretically, then, these master plan strategies seemingly present a number of profound questions over what they are and what they represent. The differences between the specificities of the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento are as different as the cities are themselves and yet the principles behind them and the broad rationale for their development is remarkably similar. However much these differences and similarities may serve to complicate our understanding of what the plans *are,* there is little doubt, over what they are supposed to *do.* As an interventionist technology, they represent a mechanism of governing the otherwise unplanned, undefined development of urban space. Others who have engaged with similar planning and policy projects have adopted terms such as 'city strategies'

(Robinson 2011) or 'strategic plans' (Wu and Zhang 2007). What they all share, is their role as long-term comprehensive documents containing broad objectives and strategies used to coordinate future developments around a specific spatial design (Bell 2005; Rapoport 2015).

A master plan however, is only useful if those who need to have read it, have read it. As the opening of this chapter served to illuminate, the plans in both Lusaka and Sacramento have faced significant issues in terms of their respective *audiences.* The lead planner responsible for overseeing the master plans development in Lusaka provided me the following overview of the status quo:

> *"…there is lack of understanding of where we should go. Even the directors do not challenge this. I think this council was supposed to have a specific unit that should guide development in that area. There was supposed to be a specific unit to ensure that everyone buys in, then you roll it out to the institutions…nothing is happening despite wasting a lot of money on it. There is no clear steps about how we get from here to the plan's vision, no step by step clarity. What are we doing today to move towards the ECHO city?"* (interview, Lusaka)

The nature of Sacramento's general plan, meanwhile, suggests that it seeks to target the city's population in a different way by containing, within its pages, a hands on 'how to use' guide for 'residents, businesses, developers, and decision makers' (Sacramento General Plan 2009). Depending on how one looks at this it could be thought of as taking much of the burden off the city planners or, alternatively, as usurping the very role they seek to encompass.

> *"The reality is that deep down it is more with hope than expectation that we push the plan out there for the stakeholders to actually engage with".*

Of course while planners such as the one quoted above, have a very particular perspective on seeking a cohesiveness to their urban communities and are perhaps discouraged by the lack of real intervention these plans can achieve, the view from those in the higher echelons of city government tends to take on a different perspective:

> *"It is not only coming from us, we saw the people and the investors engaging and promoting the idea of a new plan because they are tired of the current system that is there. It is very cumbersome, preventing development in the city. Something different*

is what is sought after and what the people want to see" (interview, principal planner, MLGH).

"I like the general plan because that is where the vision goes, that's where the future goes, that's where the best ideas go and if you get them in there and get them approved then you can fight for those visions, because it is real hard to get them down to the real world. You have got to stick them up there" (interview, Sacramento City Council Member)

"Up there" refers, in this case, to the comprehensive and all-encompassing function that the Sacramento general plan plays. However it also serves as a nice metaphor for the unavoidable materiality of the master plans in both Lusaka and Sacramento, disseminated, as they are, across the desks and walls of offices in the two cities even if, in doing so, they seemingly disappear into the background of the day to day world of urban governance. A multitude of perspectives seem, then, to reflect upon the plans and what they should or indeed have offered the city since they were adopted. Irrespective of these conflicting attitudes however, the existential nature of the new vision is cemented into the fabric of city governance and circulated far beyond the confines of the respective cities.

2.5 The existential fallacy of planning policy success/failure

Everything is relative across either space or time. It is, we might perceive, only in 2030 that we will be able to cast judgement upon the relative success of the Lusaka and Sacramento master plans. Until such time, does urban planning in the two cities exist in a state of permanent success? Has the divide between what is formal and what is informal use of land been erased by the distillation of the two under the rubric of the sustainable city, only to arise once again in 2031 should it be the case that upgrading methodologies have not, as seems likely, achieved the success initially hoped? McCann and Ward (2015) in an article on the "dualisms" prevalent in geographical urban policy research, discuss the fact that "neither success nor failure is absolute", suggesting a relational integration of the two concepts. However, in order to even reach the point of rendering one or the other, a privileged access to the trajectory of time is required. In the meantime, cityness as a theoretical schema, a virtuality, has to materialise somewhere. What is outside the windows of the planning offices,

in the material spaces of the urban setting in Sacramento and Lusaka, clearly, does not represent what is desired by a discourse of 'sustainability'. In terms of its role as a blueprint vision for the future, like any urban policy documentation and planning agenda, the plans adoption represents the successful materialisation of its intended purpose. Its presence on the walls of the two city's planning departments, and in the glossy portfolios of the consultants who produced it is in no way dependent upon what happens next.

As a means of navigating the problematic dualisms of success/failure and presence/absence, Jane Jacobs - in her work on the 'global' reproduction of the high rise tower block in different locations - draws on the Deleuzian notion of *Difference and Repetition* (Deleuze and Patton 2004) as a critique of representational enquiry (Jacobs 2012). Her approach directly challenges the use of static dualisms, by focusing on how individual instances of repetition produce the *effect* of globalisation as a 'thing' rather than merely being representative of its outputs (Jacobs and Cairns 2011). Robinson (2015) has also recently drawn upon ideas from what she calls "Deleuze's philosophical project" of difference as individual singularity and repetition as aconceptual and becoming, to "open up some possible new vocabularies and tactics" (ibid.4). In doing so she notes how the field of urban enquiry, "resonates well" with Deleuze's project because "we can imagine ourselves implicated in the production of an urban 'virtual' associated with a multiplicity of singular outcomes and individual entities, interrelated, repeated but different, with no sense of origin or model vs copy" (ibid.13). The most important question emerging from this pertains not to what we can learn from *intentions* (a supposed desire to develop a new plan for one's city), but what we can learn simply from instances of *existence.* Rather than seeking to represent the sustainable master plan anywhere in the world as some form of planning policy success, failure, presence, or indeed absence, we can pose the *question* of what the multiple presences of the sustainable master plan represent and use this to think about *how* they are produced in relation to their producers - the situated roles and relationships of urban planning practitioners.

In *Anti Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (from which the quote in the chapter's epigraph is taken), Deleuze and Guattari set out their view of capitalist society's desire for self-repression as manifested in "the active unconscious…which sparkles, vibrates, travels…[but] contains nothing in the least conceptual and hence nothing in the least personal…[which] belongs to the conscious of the mental-subjective self" (ibid.119). The unconsciousness of

desire, it is argued, is the principle enemy to the functionality of capitalism and its need for order and structure which is thereby provided, the authors suggest, by basic societal units "which reproduce [themselves}, put forth shoots, and branch out to the farthest corners of the universe" (ibid.10). For Deleuze and Guattari - given the books orientation as a critique of Freudian psychoanalysis and the Oedipus complex - this societal unit is most commonly the nuclear family. But what of the possibilities for thinking in this way about *the city* as an organisational unit? If advanced neoliberal capital requires something, ordered, defined, measured and…planned, through which to function, 'The City' as a definitional space is a pre-requisite to any possibility of it being subject to 'neoliberalisation' (Brenner et al. 2010). It doesn't seem much of a stretch, then, to see master plans such as those in Lusaka and Sacramento as precisely the sort of well-defined, codified, materialization of the city so required in order for Deleuze and Guattari's capitalism to function. Might we think of Lusaka and Sacramento as having been confronted with the "think-ability of their extinction" as *places* in relation to the 'crisis' of sustainability at a time of 'planetary urbanisation' (Braidotti 2015; Foucault 2002)? The material city in this paradigm can be seen as a 'self-producing', 'self-organising', virtuality (Braidotti 2014; Haraway 2006). When the urbanity on the ground fails to fit the requirements of what constitutes the city, then a new version magically appears on the walls of the planning offices to set things on track again and right the ship. While many of us try and grapple with how '*humans'* are engaging with and facilitating or resisting capitalism, advanced neoliberal capitalism is doing its own thing.

2.6 Conclusion - The Sustainable City as a Neo-colonial Cyborg

> *"The most serious design problem facing the world's cities is the design of their governance system. Without an effective governance regime, no idea for city improvement – no proposal for transportation, housing, sustainability, economic development, education, crime control or any other urban issue – can be implemented. These days, implementation frustration is the most prevalent urban disease. Why can't we get anything done? Or, worse, why can we get some things done – often the wrong things – while other, more important issues go unaddressed?"*
>
> - *Gerald Frug - The Architecture of Governance Lecture* (2011)

There are a couple of reasons why this chapter began with ethnographic reflection rather than with a standard introduction. One reason was to highlight the fact that you cannot simply just go to another part of the world with pre-conceived ideas about what you will find there and seek to utilise individuals as the source of 'data' about 'their' cities. Putting the ethical implications of this to one side for the moment, it is simply impossible. For example, at no point did I request to the planners in Sacramento for a grand tour of their city or for the privilege of being taken for a meal following my arrival. But what should one do when faced with such an offer? Reject it for fear that it might come in the way of the validity of the research data? Convey that your intentions lie merely in asking about their new plan as a mere character in your story? This illustrates the second reason as to why the chapter opened, and indeed continued, in this manner - to jump straight to the core problematisation of the thesis: there is no beginning and end, no inside and outside, no presence and absence, and certainly no success or failure, to the concept of the sustainable city. Only a multitude of perspectives, facilitated by the immanent play between material singularities and virtual repetitions.

In light of this, as well as introducing the two master plans to the world of the reader and myself to the worlds of the plans, the aim of this chapter was to serve as somewhat of a thought experiment regarding how we understand the (re)emergence of master plan strategies across the world around the theme of sustainability. As Deleuze and Guattari stated in the epigraph, there is no need to distinguish here between producing and the product - the master plan concept both precedes and exceeds its relative 'thisness' in any particular location. The 'consequences' of the adoption of sustainable design master plans, are endless. What has been presented above is a mere window upon the contemporary status of planning and development in the cities of Lusaka and Sacramento following the adoption of their respective plans. The search for a more definitive truth as to its contingent inevitability needs to look to the question of *how* it is produced. It is for this reason that, as will be outlined in the chapter to follow, the rest of the thesis will narrate a story of tracing back the two master plan's journeys towards materialisation, rather than posture towards understanding the various motivations and strategies around its subsequent implementation.

Before concluding however and moving onto describe the critical, comparative methodology of the rest of the thesis, I want to finish this chapter by adding one final piece of reflection

which, I believe, neatly captures everything articulated thus far as well as illustrating precisely *why* a fundamental shift in approach was required.
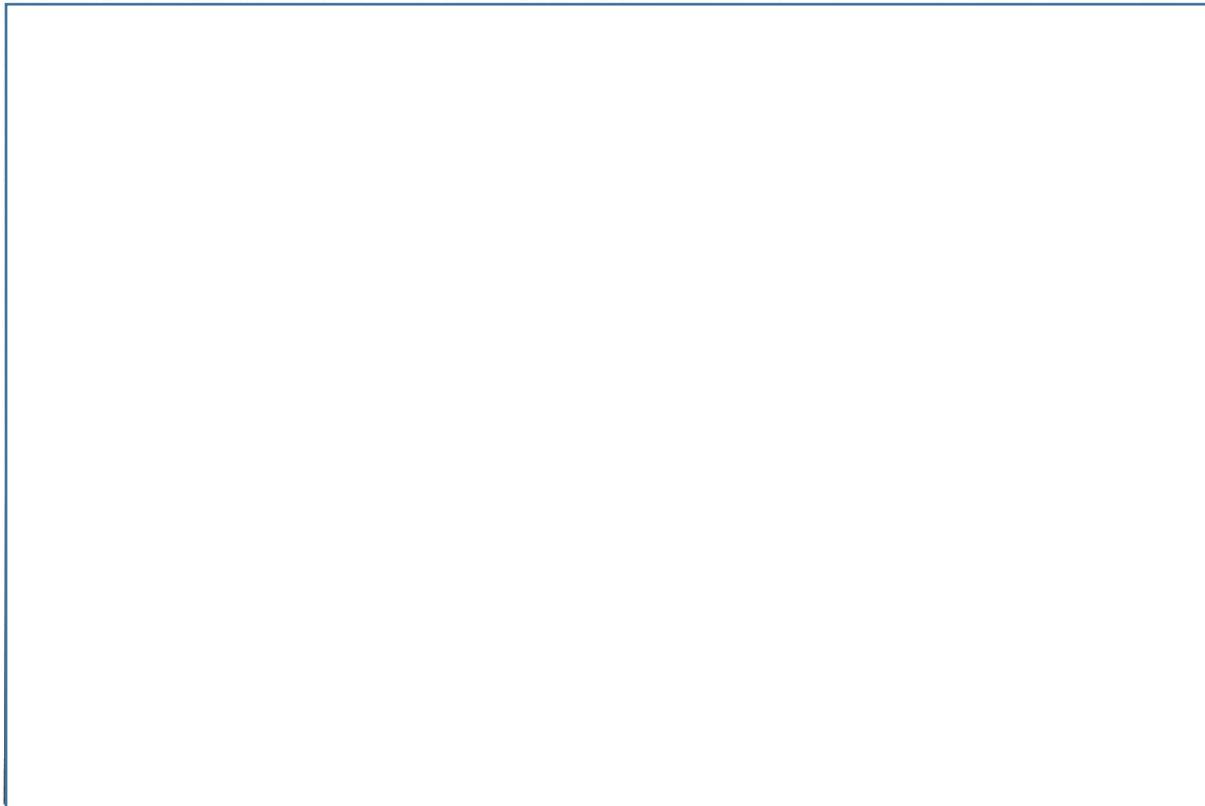
Figure 2.7 - Plans for a greener city and environmental protection. Source: JICA

In the bottom right hand corner of Figure 2.7 above, you will see the image of a family riding bicycles. This family is, quite clearly, white*.* The image, as you will also have noticed, is taken from Lusaka's master plan and conveys the city's plans for a 'greener' future as part of its desire to re-embrace the 'garden city' identity and mould this around the new transportation infrastructure. In the context of the above historicising of the two cities, the fact that Lusaka's new, visionary plan for a sustainable future had entitled itself the Echo 'Garden City' plan, seems to almost be asking for the colonial comparison to be drawn. The fact that once one delves inside the pages of the plan and finds utopian imagery depicting a mecca of sustainability and evocative green space adorned with white bodies makes this about much more than mere comparison however. If a seeming melancholy over the disconnect between the city planners and their new visions wasn't already enough to ask serious questions about the very existence of these plans, then such a vivid portrayal of how the future of a city on the African continent has been conceived, portrayed and, most importantly, *accepted,* encourages a great deal more rigour into how we approach critical urban scholarship. It may

well be that Vanessa Watson (2013) is correct, and new sustainability master plans represent mere 'fantasies', never to be realised, but as stated by Anna Tsing (2000) - and given the troubling nature of Lusaka's vision - *"...even fantasies deserve serious engagement"* (ibid.351).

Chapter 3: Process, Comparison and Critique

> *"As for the "sharing of the world," it is, fundamentally, the law of the world. If, as we believe, the world has nothing other, if it is not subject to any authority, and if it does not have a sovereign, then we must read [anywhere] in the same terms as we read everywhere else"*
>
> - Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall (2004, p.351)

3.1 Introduction

Broadly speaking, mainstream, metropolitan urban studies is arguably dominated by two distinct trajectories. One of these is the universal nature of the 'urbanisation' of the world, most prominently, it is argued, through capital accumulation and the shifting modes of production. The other is that we live in a 'world of cities', where it is the city (and not the nation state) that is arguably at the forefront of developments in the global economy and the 'global' networks and connections that tie distant places together. Unsurprisingly, there is a core tension that emerges from this pertaining to the primacy of 'the city' as a particular space and 'the urban' as a spatial concept which seemingly no longer has an 'outside' but is central to the very *production* of space (Brenner 2014; Lefebvre 1992). Additionally, and as was pointed to in the previous chapter, if we were to seek explanatory theorisations for the existence of new urban master plan strategies, both of these bodies of work could provide us with insight. Following Gerald Frug's quote from the conclusion of the chapter however, the thesis is no longer interested in attempting to understand the 'why' of sustainable master plan causality. Recognising the impossibility of isolating the primacy of connections through space or time, it is instead interested in *how* the sustainable city emerges from the existing status quo of planning and policy making in the two cities.

In this form, the problematisation of 'the city' as a category of thought and a subject of analysis is transcended - in terms of establishing a defined empirical foci - by its very materialisation in the form of the urban master plan. The above quote from Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) offers the thesis two crucial jumping off points for approaching this. Firstly, that we must seek to approach the emergence of the material world in the same manner, irrespective of physical location on the planet, and that, secondly, we do this because of our desire not to fall back on assumptions about governance by an omnipotent sovereign that serves to distinguish here from there, now from then, and me from you. The thesis that

follows from this draws on the experiences of empirical, ethnographic research pertaining to the urban master plan visions in both Lusaka and Sacramento, and by a critically postcolonial engagement with existing urban geographical literatures. The purpose of this chapter is to present this framework.

Situated within a Spinozist paradigm of material immanence, the chapter will engage in sustained critique of research approaches and means of thinking about cities and city-making practices that seek to transcend their objects of study in the production of urban and geographical 'theory'. This, it will be argued, is vital to ensuring geography shakes off its ties to the ill-fated problem of the "view from nowhere" (Nagel 1989) and its desire to reconcile "the perspective of a particular person inside the world with an objective view of that same world, the person and his viewpoint included" (ibid.3). In the first instance this will consist of positing the notion of 'seeing from the south' as a way of shifting the perspective *from* which we, as researchers, engage with and think about city-making processes. Following this, the chapter will highlight the value of *comparative* research and engage with ongoing debates and discussions around how to utilise comparison as an urban research methodology. Connecting this to the ontological turn through the work of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, the chapter then moves into outlining how Foucauldian dispositive analysis can be operationalised as a method of exploring the emergence and materialisation of powerful discourse. The chapter will finish with further reflection on the ethnographic impetus that prompted a shift in focus and its implications for how the empiricism of the research has been used.

3.2 Seeing from the 'South'

It is well acknowledged that there exists an extreme parochialism from which urban studies has drawn its insight. Rubrics such as 'world cities' constituted by New York, London, or Tokyo, have long dominated both the empirical enquiry from which urban theory is built, and the urban imaginations of a much wider population (McGuirk 2015; Robinson 2005; Robinson 2006) As a result many cities have found themselves 'off the map' (Robinson 2002) with regards to their significance as places, or in terms of what they can offer to our understanding of the world. Despite this - and its role in producing almost all of the conceptual categories

we associate with cities and the urban - the vast majority of what we would most likely consider to be 'urban dwellers', are located in parts of the world written out of scholarship on the city as a concept. Parochialism of this kind in western scholarship however is by no means unique to urban studies and, given the problematic relationship between the western academy and the project of colonialism, continued neglect of a much wider, more diverse world, presents a troubling status quo. Consider the following quote from Frantz Fanon in his 1961 text, *Wretched of the Earth*:

> *"It is a question of the Third World starting a new history of Man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes, of which the most horrible was committed in the heart of man, and consisted of the pathological tearing apart of his functions and the crumbling away of his unity"* (ibid.315)

Critically decentring western historical revisionism requires us to embrace those, like Fanon, who have charted the fundamental problems that have emerged from western enlightenment thought. In reflecting on the work of Fanon, Gordon (2002) describes how the "the modern collapse of 'Reason' and 'History' into all things European" is representative of the very failure to engage with the self-deception of European's belief as to the 'theodicy' of their worldviews (ibid.10). Dipesh Chakrabarty's (2000) notion of histories 1 and 2 is used to represent this divide between dominant western narrations of the past, and those that fall outside of this trajectory and therefore offer a means of talking *back* to the project of westernisation. This is now experiencing an encouraging application through the prism of cities at a time where the universal assumptions of urban theory are being debated and contested (Derickson 2014; Sheppard, Leitner et al. 2013). As Achille Mbembe (2015) points out in a recent online piece, "the structural repetition of past sufferings in the present is beyond any reasonable doubt" and that these will not "die a natural death" but rather must be recognised for the powerful way in which they are sustained, with view to, ultimately, discovering an alternative beyond them. There is a "culture of theory" at stake that is foreclosed by entrenched Eurocentrism that overlooks "multiple concepts of the urban and alternative understandings of political economy" (Roy 2015: 1).

Perhaps the first real challenge to this parochialism came from Jenny Robinson's concept of 'ordinary cities' (2006). The idea here is that cities, irrelevant of geographical location, should be thought of as ordinary in order to promote a deeper understanding apart from any positioning on a hierarchy of global cities or through particular prisms that privilege their relative forms of 'cityness' (Legg and McFarlane 2008; Peck 2014; Robinson 2006). This, however, has evolved to become considerably more forthright in its critique and has incorporated more diverse elements of postcolonial thought, often meeting resistance as a result. As part of a recent collection on 'Global Urbanisms and the Nature of Urban Theory', (Robinson and Roy 2015), Anaya Roy provocatively asks '*Who's afraid of postcolonial theory?* Robinson (2015) also describes a tendency to let one another 'off the hook' in regionalising the building of 'theory'. Focusing purely upon cities in Europe and North America, and supplementing this by harvesting case studies from white settler colonies such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, can no longer be seen as an acceptable means of navigating the postcolonial critique. Recognising the inherent differences in all cities and the opportunities for crossing borders and boundaries in the solving of problems, can only be opened up following a thorough decolonisation of urban studies (Derickson 2014; Roy 2011; Roy and Ong 2011). As Trouillot (2003) argues, 'the west' in no way represents a geographical space, but rather a *project* and an 'exercise in global legitimation' (ibid.). The most effective way to force ourselves to recognise this is to situate all of our critical engagement with it, and with western notions of 'the urban', *from* the very space that it has constructed as its longstanding *Other* - the global south. In this new approach, an implicit (and ubiquitous) 'seeing from the west', is replaced by a very explicit 'seeing from the south' (Miraftab 2009; Roy 2011; Watson 2009).

Through a process of challenging and reframing the questions of urban theorising, cities in previously 'off the map' locations have now begun to infiltrate the way we understand what the city is and how it is produced. Additionally, through modes of what Gayatri Spivak (1990) calls 'strategic essentialism', revolving around the shared challenges of the majority of the worlds cities, and yet left untouched by many urban geographers and urban studies theorists, the importance of these issues have been elevated in the discipline. A plethora of work, and some particularly useful collations of examples are to be found in relatively recent edited texts. The books *Urban Theory Beyond the West* (Edensor and Jayne 2011), and *The Routledge*

Handbook of Cities of the Global South (Parnell and Oldfield 2014) in particular, provide extensive coverage of previously under engaged urban locations[6]. Their aim, in Edensor and Jayne's case, is to "contribute to broader theoretical agendas which highlight how making sense of urban life does not have to depend on pre-existing frameworks laid out by the western academy" (ibid.1). Likewise, Parnell and Oldfield wish to use their vast and diverse examples from across the global south to "alter one's gaze on cities" in shifting the orientation of urban studies, and thereby contribute to "normalizing the use of southern cities as common reference points" (ibid.4).

Pushing this paradigm of thought into the mainstream is vital to ultimately facilitating an ability to learn from, for example, African studies engagement with the political realm, and speak back not only to theoretical conversations, but to situated questions and issues in different contexts across the world (Myers 2014; Sharp 2013). This is drawn on by Myers' (2014) paper, which uses a lens from African urbanism to interpret social and economic divides in Hartford, Connecticut, USA. In a similar vein, the broader conceptualisation of 'subaltern urbanism' is used by Schindler (2014) to approach urban space in Flint, Michigan 'inductively', illustrating the pertinence of Ananya Roy's thinking to this context. At a much grander scale, Roy (2011) cites the work of Rem Koolhaas on Lagos, Nigeria and how the inventiveness and entrepreneurial survival skills of its residents led him to conclude that the city is actually 'ahead' of much of the world in its interwoven complexity. Additionally, as Matthew Gandy's (2006) work highlights, however we 'theorise' such cities in relation to the west or to any other part of the world, as a coherent entity, mega-cities like Lagos, sit outside the realms of historical understandings of urban ontologies. As a pre-cursor to such learning, the paradigm outlined here also makes possible the potential to look at the *shared* struggles of cities with the projects and governance strategies that they adopt by comparing across

---

[6] These two examples represent the contrasting way in which those that have been situated outside of mainstream discourse can be represented in a way that separates them from the dominant paradigm. In this case 'global south' represents a geographical characteristic shared by these cities, while 'beyond the west' groups together cities in terms of what they are not. A similar debate exists within identity politics and critical race theory where the labels 'non-white' and 'people of colour' offer alternate ways of defining difference and its relational rendering as an identity.

what were previously 'incommensurable' parts of the globe (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012). Given my own cases, it is this that I am most interested in building upon here.

3.3 The Art of Comparison

Lusaka and Sacramento might seem, on the face of it, an odd comparison. But this is precisely the point. Given that belief in the incommensurability of worlds is a by-product of the western parochialism described above, the comparison that this thesis is based upon is not conducted 'on the face of it'. This research is not a comparison of the two points on the globe which through their shared 'urbanity' have come to assume the identity of 'cities'. It is equally not a comparison of what the two cities envision themselves to look like in the year 2030 and therefore a comparison of the sorts of planning and design policies and ideas that are embodied within these plans. For too long cities have been judged, aggregated and compared with one another on the basis of their relative 'success' or 'failure' as urban spaces. For example, in terms of what might be described as specific 'model cities', certain criteria are often used by policy makers and the media to rank cities in various ways (Ward 2010). However as illustrated by McCann (2004), such criteria are constantly shifting; reflecting the latest perceptions of what constitutes ideal 'cityness'. Highly subjective in nature, this greatly influences what is to be considered the 'hot' area of focus for urban development and works to define certain 'truths' about desirable urbanism.

While urban studies grapples with diversifying its understanding of 'the city', urban geographical research struggles with the question of how to maintain its own relevance to what is a seemingly diverse and unique roster of locales. One particularly prominent means of exploring this is by debating the role and nature of *comparison* in how we approach this 'world of cities' (Gough 2012; McFarlane 2010; Peck 2014; Robinson 2015; Ward 2010). There is now somewhat of a "renaissance in the field of comparative urban studies" (Ward 2010: 471) and an embrace of a "comparative gesture" (Peck 2014: 178). Building on his 'relational comparative approach' that sees cities as "open, embedded and relational" (2010: 481), Ward (2015) describes what he sees as two dominant approaches to comparative research as being conducted either 'from above' or - as he advocates for - 'from below and through'. This offers a way of exploring, theoretically, the ways in which "cities are regularly being compared and

referenced against each other on a global scale" (McCann et al 2013: 582). Indeed, 'relationality' and 'comparison', when deployed together it seems, offer an insight into the 'scaled understanding' of the world of cities and their positioning with regards to one another (Peck 2014). These evolving discussions about a 'return' to comparative urbanism can be seen as attempting to open up the potential for a cross-examination of future urbanisms that can delimit the comparative aspect and become more flexible and analytically rigorous in the opening up of urban theory's resource base (Robinson 2011).

Following on from the previous discussion about taking a view *from* the south, the fundamental question to ask of comparative urban research however, is not just how it is done but the critical agenda being sought. It would seem that in much of these debates, there is still a heavy *theoretical* agenda at play, in which comparison is sought not as a way of understanding the world in order to tackle particular, situated problems, but to rebalance and reconstitute 'urban theory' in a more 'cosmopolitan' fashion (Robinson 2003). In other words it should not be a problematisation of which 'view' is taken of a particular city and its place in the world as argued by Ward above, but the concept of the view itself - as detached and self-referential in its defining of 'the city' as an object of study. Criticised by Derickson (2014) as being an exercise in 'add-other-and-stir' (ibid.7), these accounts don't appear to offer a *political* project with regards to the shared struggles of the majority of the world's cities, in the way that was argued for in the previous section. As Saldanha (2006: 21) argues "cosmopolitanism has to be invented, not imposed". Indeed, one thing that is missing from much of the debate around comparative urban theorising is the *methodological* implications which are, of course, bound up within the question of *what* it is exactly that is being 'compared' about different cities.

As McFarlane (2010) argues, comparison in research enquiry is always implicit. Whether drawing upon the insight of one case or fifty, it is never *merely* a question of "compare and contrast" but always one that also involves "judging and choosing" (Sidaway 2013: 995). By making comparison completely explicit (by taking control of what is compared through the selection of a pre-stated similarity) and the rationale for doing so just as clear (to engage in sustained critique of how the world is produced, rather than merely represent it) can therefore help avoid slippage into what one might *expect* things to be like in a certain place. It can also avoid a more dangerous slippage into assumptions as to the structural inevitability

of phenomena and the situating of the researcher in the position of a transcendental, omnipotent sovereign with privileged access to a world of connections 'out there' beyond what is material. Rolling it back to its "minimal expression" (Robinson 2015), comparison, then, should be seen as a 'strategy' which, following Mbembe and Nuttall "relies less on difference" as an inevitability of the particular, and more on a critical engagement with the shared (2004: 351):

> *"Though the work of difference has performed important functions in the scholarly practice that sought to undercut imperial paradigms, it is clearly time, in the case of Africa, to revisit the frontiers of commonality and the potential of sameness-as-worldliness. This is a far cry from a proposition that would aim at rehabilitating facile assumptions about universality and particularity"* .

This form of comparative research also provides a register of enquiry which allows us to engage with and accept fundamental differences in a way that addresses the concern of Vigh and Sausdal (2014) as to how we "describe ontological others in ways that do them ethnographic justice" (ibid.49). Using the terms the authors use to portray either side of their dilemma, by doing this we ensure that our comparison is orientated on *existence* and not on *essence*. It is the ability of the comparative empirical approach to circumvent, or rather to *de-centre* 'theory' that is its most important characteristic. It is, through comparison that we can bring together an *epistemological* critique, informed by postcolonialism as described above, and an *ontological* paradigm of research - to be further explored below. The fact that the 'ontological turn' is tied particularly closely to the work of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro helps to further rationalise these connections and to act as a platform in building towards critical ontologies that draw from beyond the project of the west in their conceptualisations of alterity.

3.4 The Ontological turn to a question of *how*

When it comes to conducting comparative research, much of the need to 'revisit' the debate is due to the way in which entrenched histories of western constructivist social science and cultural studies have established so many layers of theoretical conceptualisations that the

world has become a place of endless *incommensurability.* This means that what is in fact a very simple notion requires considerable elucidation. What I am talking about here is the philosophical paradigm of *post-structuralism* and the rejection of Rene Descartes' legacy of a "radical separation of consciousness from corporeality, culture from nature, human from animal, and individual from society...[that] inaugurated European philosophical modernity" (Saldanha 2010). As ontological starting points for empirical research, both the pantheism of Baruch Spinoza (as a direct opposition to Descartes), and the "materialist branch of post-structuralism" which Braidotti terms 'matter realism' are excruciatingly simple in their physical monism (Braidotti 2013; Saldanha 2006). The universality of *existence* in itself ensures that we don't need to actively seek levels of abstraction beyond.

> *"While the Europeans relied on the social sciences in their investigations of the humanity of the other, the Indians placed their faith in the natural sciences; and where the former proclaimed the Indians animals, the latter were content to see the other as gods. 'Both attitudes show equal ignorance,' Lévi-Strauss concluded, 'but the Indian's behaviour certainly had greater dignity"* (Viveiros de Castro 2014, p.51)

This quote, while it might seem out of place in a thesis on city-making strategies, is vitally important for illustrating the difference between monotheism and humanism on the one hand, and ontological pantheism on the other. This final part of the quote, drawn from the work of famous structural anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, provides us with the most important point - that selecting a 'better' ontological framework is of secondary importance to the issue of situating oneself in a paradigm that offers the most potential for both understanding the world and for underpinning desires to establish a more harmonious one. *Perspectivist multi-naturalism* is the ontological paradigm lived by the Indians in the above extract, and at the centre of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's ontological turn. Drawing on Spinoza, Deleuze and Nietzsche, this approach goes beyond them in its explicit advocating for emphasising the *materiality* of Otherness (as perceived by the Indians) rather than the *divinity* (in the case of the Europeans). Because this approach "confers on all beings the same ontological status", *culture* exists as "the underlying domain uniting beings", while *nature* exists "as the differential, separating one" (Skafish 2013: 15). With the concept of difference consisting of only that between material bodies, this paradigm can be seen in direct contrast to the debilitating relativism of western multi-*culturalism.* It challenges, or rather rejects, the

western conceptualisation of 'man' - inherited from theological doctrine - as the universal representative of human beings.

In the interest of 'theory' - as a project of pan-humanity - we can simply use the ontological as a means to centre the 'Post-human' as a theory of 'life beyond the self' (Braidotti 2013). This allows a universal platform on which to draw together what Braidotti describes as critical and epistemological "counter histories" - feminism, environmentalism, critical race theory, and postcolonialism - as more than merely critiques of representation. For example, the ontological dissolution of the mind-body dualism is vital here, in order to elevate the way feminist geographers have long sought to invoke the primacy of *place* in our enquiry as a means of rejecting the 'view from nowhere' in favour of *situated* understandings of the world, rigorous in their avoidance of generalisation (Cresswell 2012; Haraway 1988; Rose 1993; Rose 1994). These situated understandings - in relation to issues of power and knowledge - are facilitated considerably more effectively when positioned on a flattened plane of *immanence* that produces alterity, as opposed to their stifling by Cartesian dualisms and transcendental subjectivities - so vital to the rigid metaphysics of the 'Europeans' in the example above. This is what brings the critical ontologies from 'beyond' the west into line with the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza, who seeks to bridge the gap through his concept of 'God or Nature' (God/Nature). As Braidotti (2013: 55) states:

> *"The road which lies on the other side of the urbane, civilise veneer that allows for far bound identities and efficient social interaction is the Spinozist indicator of the raw cosmic energy that underscores the making of civilisations, societies, and their subjects"*

Perhaps the most important aspect of this is the fact that it navigates around what Stephen Legg (Legg 2007) describes as the "spiderless web" problem of power's apparent anonymity - a misguided critique in western scholarship, often targeting the work of Michel Foucault in particular (ibid.271). The obvious reason as to why the argument is misguided is the simple fact that power as a disembodied, generalised concept is far from anonymous and, rather, takes the form of the omnipotent sovereign (god) described at the outset of the chapter by Mbembe and Nuttall. In a post-monotheistic metaphysics, then, if we are to talk about 'power' and indeed 'knowledge' as concepts in and of themselves, it is to this legacy of the

omnipotent sovereign and to the Greek concept of 'Gnosis'[7], that we are referring. Antonio Negri's book *The Savage Anomaly* (Negri 1991), written while in prison, provides an in depth look at Spinoza's theorisation of power as immanent production, and the potential it provides as the bridge between metaphysics and politics' in contemporary society. As described by Michael Hardt in his translation of Negri's work, Spinoza's metaphysical power offers a very helpful "constructive compliment" to more critical accounts of power's more 'traditional' function in society as one of control and order, particularly that associated with Michel Foucault.

Giorgio Agamben (2009:14), building on the previous work of Foucault as one of the most prominent material post-structuralists and a staunch anti-humanist, draws on the concept of the power 'apparatus' as fundamental to societal organisation:

> *"I shall call an apparatus literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings"*

Agamben's application of the 'apparatus' works to counter the myth that secularization and an immaterial, and disembodied 'reason' serves to replace the omnipotent godliness of the modern subject (Braidotti 2015; Mignolo 2007). As a result, Agamben (2009) describes how 'actions' have no foundation in our fundamental understanding of *being*, and therefore cannot be seen as the primary point of engagement in establishing explanatory frameworks with regards to the production of societies (ibid.11). The important point here is therefore the impossibility of building social theory from the actions of human beings alone or from establishing an understanding of human *intentionality* outside the wider 'events' in which such actions are present. As a way of navigating around this, from an analytical and empirical research perspective, and as outlined in the book *Making Social Science Matter* (2001) by Bent Flyvbjerg, we should focus upon the important issue of *how,* as opposed "to the more structural 'why'" (ibid.136).

---

[7] 'Gnosis' is the Greek term for knowledge and pertains to the ability of humans to free themselves "from the constraints of earthly existence through "insight" into his essential relationship…with a supramundane realm of freedom" (Rudolph 2001: 2).

As Flyvbjerg (2004) also tells us, it was Michel Foucault who, - and contrary to popular belief - not interested in grand "metaphysics or an ontology of power", drew attention to the fact that that our understanding of the world will always suffer if we do not "begin the analysis" with the "flat and empirical little question" of *how* (ibid.298)*.* This ensures that we go beyond simply looking at "law like causal processes" on the naïve assumption that researchers can obtain privileged access to the real facts, structures and contradictions of life (Farías 2011; Law 2004; Roberts and Sanders 2005). Additionally, while he himself did not lay down and outline a specific methodology, it is also the work of Foucault that offers us the most potential in terms of translating the question of 'how' into an actionable approach to the world. His work on sexuality, humanism, the sciences, hospitals, asylums, and, particularly, prisons, offers a way of extracting from his 'genealogical' approach, a Theo-Methodological paradigm of research, particularly for those seeing to embrace a *Critical Discourse Analysis* approach (Anabela 2003; Caborn 2007). It is such an approach that I see as offering a means of understanding the emergence of master plan visions as vehicles for the establishment of a sustainable city identity in various locations.

3.5 The *dispositif* Apparatus

Bruno Latour (1984), described how so often a focus upon human *action* as the root of theory building has led to social scientists repeatedly mistaking "what is glued for the glue" (ibid.276). Translating this into the realms of governance and institutionality, Phillips et al. (2004) similarly criticise what they see as theories built on examinations of *effects* as opposed to underlying *processes.* To seek to explain the underlying causality of the existence of the master plans in Lusaka and Sacramento (or indeed anywhere else) with a *why* question is to become embroiled in the endless possibilities associated with structural causality assumptions that offers little insight into concerns over the specific, situated consequences of the plans' production described in the previous chapter. What is required, is a means of situating the actions to produce the visions in different places within a critical framework that accounts for the role of discourse in shaping both their emergence and their subsequent production. Discourse, when applied to specific issues in situated places, is incorporated into Foucault's more comprehensive concept of the *dispositif*, as a "heterogeneous set of

69

discourses, institutions, forms, regulations, laws, statements or moral propositions" (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Foucault's widely recognised concept of 'Power/Knowledge' serves to represent the impossibility of separating the two concepts if we are to talk of them in general terms - that is, as disembodied concepts. The following quote is from *Discipline and Punish*, when Foucault first lays the foundations for the power-knowledge relationship (1977:27):

> *"We should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations"*

The dispositif apparatus allows us to go beyond this altogether and approach society through its organisation rather than its individual parts as it mobilises towards a particular agenda upon which collective and individual conscious feeds (Jager and Maier 2010; Wodak and Meyer 2001). Foucault used the context of the prison to flesh out his ideas around the disciplining apparatus of power and uses the concept of the 'panopticon' to illustrate this. His work on the prison and other spaces of control and governmentality was itself a manifestation of Foucault's interest in the seeming "naturalness of power" that would warrant the exploration of a "historical process that had yielded the necessary truths for justifying and institutionalizing procedures of confinement" (Racevskis 2005: 88). Understanding historical emergence is vital to ensuring that one avoids an interpretation of discourse as monolithic and hegemonic, 'deployed' from the top down and thereby restricting situated agency (Gaventa 2003; Lie 2004). Foucault's work *pre-supposes* a theoretical free subject, which is then enmeshed into the web of discourses and power relations, through which the possibility for resistance is central to promoting productive change (Nielsen 2013). In an article on this very issue in relation to the application of the panopticon as a tool for thinking about the city, (Pløger 2008) is critical of a number of what he calls 'functionalist' interpretations of Foucault, opposed to the generative or framing perspective which therefore misses the processes of "politicization and subjectification" (ibid. 54). Discourses, as Foucault described it, "are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 2002). This is

precisely how I want to think about the crystallisation of the urban master plan as a vehicle for establishing sustainable cityness in particular locations.

Siegfried Jager and Florentine Maier's (2010) 'Critical dispositive analysis' is a prominent example of Foucault's dispositif being transformed from a 'powerful tool to understand social phenomena' (Saldanha 2014), into an actionable, comprehensive, methodology. They construct this framework in two ways. Firstly, by firmly situating the concept of 'actions' as couched between the notions of 'discourse' on the one hand, and 'materialisation' on the other in order to emphasise the impossibility of isolating individual intentionality (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002), and secondly by posing four key questions about any particular apparatus (ibid.34):

> What is valid knowledge at a certain place and time?
> How does this knowledge arise and how is it passed on?
> What functions does it have for constituting subjects?
> What consequences does it have for the overall shaping and development of society?

One of the most important elements of Jager and Maier's framework is the fact that it actively emphasizes - through the questions posed - the fact that discourse is not something ideological and transcendental. Heeding the warning of Saldanha (2014), not to invoke a "material transcendence" in how universalising 'post-political' discourse is applied across 'global' scales, its specific manifestations should always be treated as a materialising *dispositif* when applied in particular locales. This approach allows us not to take sustainability as a concept floating around waiting to be enacted in some way by powerful agents, but to try and understand *how* sustainable cityness as a powerful discourse actually *materialises* in particular places at particular times. Applying it to the case studies of Lusaka and Sacramento, what the sustainable city 'is' becomes irrelevant and our interest is firmly on the role of power in defining these two fully materialised and adopted interpretations as 'valid' at a certain place and time. In order to understand the emergence of the 'already material', then, I want to invert the four questions described above by Jager and Maier, as well as their 'Discourse-Action-Materialisation' trajectory that describes the functionality of the dispositive apparatus. Starting with what we already have - the troubling consequences of the plans 'post-adoption' described in chapter two - and focusing on the question of validity, we can

place the actions taken by various actors within a wider process that can be to be described, deconstructed and 'de-scribed' (Oppermann 2011).

3.6 Representing the 'field'

Broadly speaking, the empiricism upon which this thesis is based comes from a deep interrogation of the 'actions' involved in the dispositive framework described above - the way in which the master plans were produced and the means through which they emerged as both a set of knowledges about the city in question, and subsequently a vehicle for the governance of urban development. Targeting the central two questions of Jager and Maier's framework, ethnographic research into how the knowledge arose and its relationship to the roles of different 'actors' forms the primary source of material on the two cities. Details of the original approach to fieldwork and the way in which the CDA framework of discourse - action - materialisation was reversed following the empirical part of the research, as well as a chronological reflection on how the work of Jager and Maier's dispositive analysis shaped and re-shaped the thesis, can be found in Appendix 3. The reason for its locating there, and as will most likely be very evident already, is due to the fact that I have a complex and difficult relationship with the notion of 'data'. As was stated in the introduction chapter the rationale behind why the thesis has undergone radical transformation is not simply because of what I 'found' once in the field with regards to the issues surrounding the plans post-adoption, but also because of a difficulty understanding what I should *do* with such information. The way in which the process of attempting to collect data was impeded, facilitated and re-directed in various ways and how I have been able to reflect back *upon* this through the theoretical and philosophical concepts outlined in this chapter, has served to jettison any desire to stick to rigid interpretations of thesis structure in which data is brought in to fill the role of empirical material for a pre-conceived aim[8].

---

[8] The primary period of fieldwork was conducted over the course of eight months total, between March 2014 and November 2014. This time was split between the two case study cities, with three months spent in Sacramento, and around five (on this particular trip) in Lusaka. The recording of data during my time in both cities took numerous forms. I sought to record the vast majority of 'formal' interviews that took place but, as the narrative in chapter two sought to illustrate, the idea that 'interviews' begin when one walks into a particular

Van Maanen (ibid.80) as part of his elucidation of the 'confessional tale', states that the story in such an approach is no longer one of describing empirical data as its primary goal but is, instead, about "how to get along and live with grace among the fierce warriors of Gitchi-Gumi, shy hunters of the frozen North, or laid back winos of Peachtree Plaza". In the case of this thesis, my Peachtree Plazas are the city planning departments of Lusaka and Sacramento and the shy, wino warriors have just adopted a new blueprint master plan to guide their society's development. What results, is a form of institutional ethnography, or rather an ethnography of the institutionalisation of sustainable master planning, that absorbs the actualities of relationships between certain actors and between the actors and the context in question (Roufs 1992; Van Maanen 1988). Embodying not just reflexive thought as to the encounters that took place, this style of narrative is also one that - in telling its story of confusion, understanding and ultimately, discovery - also makes use of *emotion* as a means of conveying the ethnography. As Harrell and Xingxing (2013) argue, the confessional tale is about both fieldwork and fieldworker, and charts, in this case, a transformation of purpose from detached, interested 'observer', to a critical orientation with its research having thought deeply about whom research is for in the sense of analysis *of* communities versus analysis *for* communities (Cunliffe 2009; Van Maanen 1988). At any given moment in any given place, how one decides to define *themselves* is largely irrelevant to how their subjectivity is perceived by all around them. This would come to take the form of power embodied through my Europeanness, my Britishness and my whiteness, as the "afterlife of colonial and Eurocentric power relations" (Jazeel and McFarlane 2010) - something I was unable to 'mask' neither in Lusaka, nor in Sacramento (Bonnett and Nayak 2003; Jazeel 2014).

While the example in vignette three of the introduction came from Lusaka, did my European identity have any bearing on the two planners in Sacramento providing me with such a warm and comprehensive welcome to the city which I then took advantage of to get them to open up in a way about the plan that they may have not otherwise done through a more 'formal'

---

room and then ends upon leaving is wilfully ignorant of the realities of conducting social research. Therefore, while a lot of this thesis does indeed draw upon extracts from recorded interviews, it also incorporates a plethora of experiences and momentary conversations with various individuals that took place throughout my time spent in both Lusaka and Sacramento, recorded in my field diary at the time where possible, or at the end of each working day. My experiences in both Lusaka and Sacramento, are embedded into every word that is composed upon the pages of this thesis.

conversation? Looking back through notes made at the time and recordings I found a number of occasions where planners would, in talking about sustainability, refer to how things are in 'my country' or 'over there in Europe'. I am also in no doubt that once, through conversation, I had mentioned my time living in Oregon and my familiarity with the west coast, the relationship between me and many of the planners shifted and took on a different tone. This illustrates the particularly difficult issues that have to be navigated by those who have taken on the label of 'geographer' (Herod 1999). Not simply because by virtue of being a geographer we are likely to be engaging with peoples from different locations, but because the very *subject* of our enquiries are the differences that exist between groups, the *relationality* of existence. This, of course, is also couched within a recognised concern over both urban studies (Holeywell 2015; Jackson 2016) *and* geography's (Delaney 2002; Derickson 2016; Pulido 2002) problems as predominantly white, male disciplines.

My time in Lusaka in particular, and the realisation of what whiteness does to the world has led me to think in considerable depth about the ways in which 'thinking from the south' can be embodied and used as a means of engaging with global urban struggles well beyond specific locations on the planet. History offers you the ability to use identity in very manipulative ways, and the ethical implications of this are, therefore, deeply relational in nature. They are emergent, immanent and must transcend, not the world, but the different lifeworlds of subjects who inhabit particular bodies. Hegemonic whiteness is a powerful effect stimulated by a failure to recognise the existence of one's body and its impact on the world around you. Ignorance to the fact that being white is not merely a privilege but a responsibility, is the biggest privilege of them all. With this in mind AbdouMaliq Simone's (2015) invocation of blackness as an analytical method would, in my view, be a useful tool for white people, to also utilise in pushing us to destabilise existing paradigms of what constitutes "the urban commons", and seek out new ways of learning about better futures (ibid.1). Reflecting on his work on race, Native American author and poet, Sherman Alexie, describes how he sees the white subject as vital to the ongoing strive for racial equality, for it is us who

exist in the spheres where the change in attitudes is most urgently needed (Berglund and Roush 2011; Biss 2015).

As someone who has lived in the United States, I have, on many occasions, come to accept the recognition of my 'Britishness' and my 'Europeanness', and indeed learnt to embody it in various different ways, utilising the opportunities that it grants me. With the odd exception I had never had to embody my whiteness. As a white man who grew up in a United Kingdom that is afraid to even talk about race issues let alone allow it - and its ties to our own imperial endeavours - to be a topic that is centred in education, it is not something I ever had to do. I had even spent time in Zambia before but, despite being forewarned by some about the role my race would play in accessing certain institutions and individuals, I had not even given thought to it as pertaining to any empirical importance. Why? Because when I had visited on the previous trip - to conduct fieldwork for my masters thesis - I had the sole purpose of collecting 'data' from my identified 'sources' and getting back on the plane home as quickly as possible. My race might perhaps facilitate easier access to data? Great! As long as I cover this in an ethical approval form then I don't need to go beyond this. This may sound like hyperbole but I am not the only one I have come across with this attitude to the field both in terms of western researchers I have encountered in Zambia and as a pervasive attitude within western universities with regards to the way in which the field is fetishized.

I would come up against this realisation during my longer periods of fieldwork in Zambia where, in order to stay in the country for a significant amount of time, and to officially conduct research with government organisations, I would be required to become affiliated with a local institution and therefore undergo its own ethical approval process. This, however, became an exercise in jumping through endless hoops and paying an endless number of fees to different departments in order to achieve this status of affiliated researcher at the University of Zambia (UNZA). As it turns out, UNZA don't like being used as merely a means of accessing Zambia to conduct fieldwork. And, more importantly, why should they? What is in it for them beyond as much financial gain as possible? I was clearly there merely because I needed to be affiliated in order to access the locations that I desired. If I am not a full-time student at the university, and I am not even doing the research as a project with the specific purpose of furthering the development of the university's goals, what right do I have to access?

Figure 3.1 - Reflections on race and ethics in fieldwork.

3.7 Conclusion

"One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself,
that's to say, to arrive at an analysis that can account for the constitution of
the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call
genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of
knowledge's, discourses, domains of objects etc. without having to make
reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of
events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history"

- Michel Foucault 1980, cited in Jager and Maier (2010:38)

Methodology should be seen not merely as an approach to research *empiricism*, but also as a means of approaching the way in which one engages with ongoing debates in particular thematic or theoretical registers - with what is known as a 'literature review'. This is an important point to stress, and is the reason why this methodology chapter has been situated here, in the first part of the thesis, and portrayed primarily through engagement with the experiences of fieldwork and the overarching, broad theoretical conversations of my research field - urban geography. Embracing fundamental philosophical enquiry in the situating of a thesis such as this is vital to opening up a question of urban geography and geopolitics beyond a world that is 'thinly known' (Toal 2003). As an outcome of this process, and as the title of this first part of the thesis suggests, the agenda of 'seeing from the south' while taking inspiration from the peoples and societies of this pseudo-geographical region, is a much broader desire to go 'beyond the west' not as a place but as a project, and to rethink ontology away from the humanist legacy of post-monotheism. Diasporic communities are perhaps the best way to illustrate the nature of this project which transcends geography to recalibrate the 'we' of critical scholarship as described below by Boaventura de Sousa Santos' (2015: 4):

"Who are we? We are the global South, that large set of creations and creatures that
has been sacrificed to the infinite voracity of capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy, and
all their satellite-oppressions. We are present at every cardinal point because our
geography is the geography of injustice and oppression. We are not everyone; we are

those who do not resign themselves to sacrifice and therefore resist. They want to impose on us the fear of having a boss and the fear of not having a boss, so that we may not imagine ourselves without fear. We resist. We are widely diverse human beings united by the idea that the understanding of the world is much larger than the Western understanding of the world. We believe that the transformation of the world may also occur in ways not foreseen by the global North. We are animals and plants, biodiversity and water, earth and Pachamama, ancestors and future generations— whose suffering appears less in the news than the suffering of humans but is closely linked to theirs, even though they may be unaware of it"

Focusing on engagement with cities, as a critical 'strategy' and not simply as a theory building method, seeing from the south facilitates a more "horizontal comparative" (McFarlane 2010:726) assessment across a "level" field of "events, processes or phenomena" (Myers 2014: 104). Lusaka and Sacramento in this regard offer us explicitly grounded, situated projects of city making strategies from which to engage with theoretical debates about spatial policy making practices. Physically situated in vastly different regions of the world - they represent a shared notion of *place* that explicitly 'de-provincializes' our approach to urban research (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). Their endeavours to produce new master plan visions for the future and embed them within the cities governance are guided not only by a 'global' drive for sustainability, but a moment in *time* that exists as a history of the present. These plans are a form of "strategy making that seeks to 'summon up' an idea of the city, in order to do political work in mobilising resources and concepts of place identity" (Amin 2002; Healey 2006).

The monistic continuum upon which the thesis, and my own worldview, now rests usurps all forms of dualistic binaries meaning that the idea that there is a divide between what is and is not 'data' does not exist. Neither does that between 'the field' and 'not the field'. Indeed, sitting here now, writing this thesis from the leafy suburbs of Edinburgh, I am as much immersed in the 'field' of sustainable cityness as anywhere else. Indeed it is this, surely, that is the very essence of a globalised 'relational' world - the rejection of here and there, now and then as a means of blurring the boundaries that have formerly been taken for granted. This is something that will be returned to in depth at the conclusion of the thesis. Having, in chapter two, criticised notions of 'presence and absence' or 'success and failure', it is the inherently

geographical dualism of 'global-local' that I want to focus on moving forward both as problematic theoretical representations and powerful, performative materialities. Of particular note is the relationship between local-global representations of the world and hegemonic interpretations of alterity. This point is crucial as, moving forward from this first part of the thesis, what follows will be written as the outcome of empiricism conducted in, between and through the two cities and target its criticism at both existing urban theory (part II) and the failings of the two master plans (part III). This will begin, in the chapter to follow, with opening up the practice of city-making through the framework of the *apparatus*, and thereby detaching it as a process, from rigid notions of place and time.

PART II - *City-Making Subjects and 'Positions' of Power*

Chapter 4: Colonialism and the city-making subject

> *"…a matter of seizing, delimiting, and asserting control over a physical geographical area—of writing on the ground a new set of social and spatial relations. The writing of new spatial relations (territorialization) was, ultimately, tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries"*

> - Achille Mbembe (2003, p.25)

4.1 Introduction

For Michel Foucault - whom Achille Mbembe draws on extensively in his article cited above - not even concepts of the state, sovereignty, law, or power exist as universals, despite their widespread treatment as such. Instead, the dispositif 'apparatus' within which such concepts are produced and maintained, comes to substitute for them - itself existing as a tentative universal (Agamben 2009). Bearing this in mind, the above quote from Mbembe refers, admittedly, not to contemporary master planning strategies but to the nature of 19th and 20th century colonial occupation on the African continent. How different is the situation he describes, however, from that which takes place in contemporary master planning under the guise of sustainability? This is the provocative question that I want to pose to guide the narrative of this chapter. One of the fundamental reasons for a perception of 'incommensurability' between different parts of the world and the need to think critically about a 'return' to comparative urban geography, is a belief in structural differentiation between temporal epochs. It is this conceptual framework that underpins common beliefs that the 'post' in post-colonial is representative of a time after formal colonisation. Putting aside for a moment the fact that we do not yet live in a world where formal colonisation no longer exists, as Ahluwalia (2001) points out, there is a fundamental difference between the postcolonial and the post-colonial. This chapter will use this divide to bring forward its central arguments as to the need to transcend rigid interpretations of historical junctures.

From an urban perspective, the most important elements to take from Mbembe's quote are the notions of "writing on the ground" and the "manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural

imaginaries". These could be seen, together, to constitute both the physical act of producing 'the city' in a material sense and lodging its very purpose and meaning in the minds of those who lived, worked, and governed the urban space that ultimately came into existence. City-building, and city-making, if you will. Beyond the task of facilitating the smooth operation of Commerce, the city can also be framed as the site of the other primary facets of European colonialism - Civilisation and Christianity. Together these are the famous 'Three C's' of the European imperial project, argued by some as being synonymous with one another in the eyes of the empire, and therefore as inseparable in their enactment as their legacies are today (Jarosz 1992; Pakenham 2015; Stanley 1983). Moreover, while the idea of the three C's is difficult to place in terms of its historical origins as a conceptual framework for rationalising the colonial project, it is only through the ways in which they physically manifested themselves that we are able to reflect upon the way in which they were put to work. 'The city' is perhaps *the* prime example of this 'territorialised' intertwining of mode of production, church, and state, all part, as it were, of god's plan. The colonial city-building agenda was sovereign in name, and sovereign in nature.

Building on this, the purpose of this chapter is to pose the critical question of sovereignty in relation to contemporary forms of master plans and their manifestation as part of a discourse around 'sustainability'. The chapter will begin by opening up the colonial regimes of master planning in more detail before exploring the relationship between master planning and the subjectivities embodied by urban practitioners. In order to move beyond structural representations of a colonial-postcolonial divide, the chapter will seek to highlight why the vast majority of urban *theory* should be provincialized based on the fact that it is built upon Eurocentric epistemologies of humanistic rational-action, while philosophical ways of thinking about the world and of approaching the notion of the *subject* itself must continue to draw upon the thoughts of some notable European scholars of the topic. The work of Foucault and Marx will be engaged with in order to bring it into a more productive and critical light for understanding cities in the 'global age' (McCann and Ward 2011). Mainstream urban scholarship is criticised for its failure to problematize the heterogeneous nature of 'local' contexts used to counter pose a globalisation narrative. This, it is argued in conclusion, needs to be illustrated through empirical reflection on the geographies of subjectivity in planning and policy making rather than on the roles of different *agents*.

4.2 Colonialism and city-making strategies

Everyone, residents of urban and rural regions alike, has a very clear idea in their mind about what the city is or what a particular city consists of, but rarely do we actually try and represent it as such in any form other than through the use of its name. To go beyond this, is the task of city planners or even the specialist 'masterplanner' (Rapoport 2015). There is now a significant urban literature on the contemporary activity of master-planning, particularly through its application as a technique in the construction of brand new cities, usually with ultra-sustainable messages, and often on the Asian continent (Bell 2005; Caprotti, Springer et al. 2015; Chang and Sheppard 2013; Gale, Herzog et al. 2009; Rapoport and Vernay 2011; Reiche 2010). This connects very closely to a wider literature that seeks to explore the role of what Larner and Laurie (2010) refer to as 'mid-level technocrats', or McCann (2008) as 'post-welfarist experts', who, either as individuals or as part of 'global' institutions, become known for circulating specific ideas or models that they then travel with to promote. The current status of this conversation, however, seems to adopt a very narrow interpretation of time to put forward the argument that "how policy ideas and knowledge are mobilized remains a notably under-developed area of inquiry" (Baker et al. 2016). For example, Garth Myers' (2003) in-depth study of the historical establishment of four cities on the African continent explores this very topic during the first half of the 20th century. In his analysis of colonial planning practice by imperial Britain across Kenya, Zambia, Malawi and Zanzibar (Tanzania), he describes how:

> "*All four colonies consequently experienced some version of the administrative formula known as indirect rule, through which parallel governance structures for "native" and "European" coexisted…The British personnel who instituted and maintained this system made frequent career moves throughout the continent, often meeting and then reconnecting in these four colonies and other territories, further ensuring the patchwork of a common legacy*" (ibid.5)

As was presented in chapter two however, this was as much the case for Professor Stanley Adshead working in Lusaka as an advisor to oversee the city's plan under the authority of Sir James Maxwell (Home 2013), as it was for John Sutter Jr, originally operating under the

authority of his father, and his visionary plan in Sacramento (Hurtado 2006). While Sutter was an explorer who is now posthumously given the title of 'urban planner' because of his designing of Sacramento, Stanley Adshead - then editor of the celebrated journal *Town Planning Review* - was a Professor who "had no experience of the colonies but was willing to earn a good fee over his university summer vacation" (Home 2013:8). The important point here is the fact that the establishment of many cities across the world during the colonial era embodied exactly what it meant to be a planner with a vision of the idealised urban form. Implemented in many cases as blueprint city master plans, colonial planning was idealised as accomplishing public welfare goals of sound architectural standards and an efficient and effective built environment (Home 1990; Kipfer 2007; Myers 2003; Njoh 2009; Rabinow 1989; Rakodi 1986).

The variations and contrast between individual cities and their specific purposes, between different empires, and across different time periods, would lie in what exactly these 'public welfare goals' should consist of. A controlling mentality and an obsession with order meant that planning grids were used for explicitly racialized governance, which extended the spectrum of colonial rule over space in the newly established urban centres (Njoh 2008; Rakodi 1986). The use of city form to control and segregate populations continued up until independence for many cities established under colonial rule, while in other parts of the world, such as in the United States, existing city fabrics were utilised in the post-slavery Jim Crow era to separate blacks and whites, something which later evolved into more subtle means through housing and real estate policy (Benjamin 2012; Kim 2015; Nightingale 2012). Carl Nightingale's book is particularly notable for the way it not only traces the history of cities as tools for segregation but also draws explicit comparison between that enforced in apartheid Johannesburg and in Chicago, Illinois. The colonial order to city planning, according to Fassil Demissie (2012), was always a project of creating an image of organisation and civility and "juxtaposing it with its other" (ibid.74). Whether this 'other' took the form of specific groups containerised *within* the city, was in relation to a pre-existing settlement in that location, or signified by the concept of an 'urban/rural' divide, would vary from place to place.

As Myers (2003) points out, while it may appear that when examined "on the surface of things today" the cities he explores in his book (Lilongwe, Lusaka, Zanzibar, and Nairobi) "have little in common" with regard to their particularities, they share similar genealogies as socio-

political settlements (ibid.5-6). Indeed, in the cases of Lusaka, Lilongwe, and Nairobi, their very existence as what was recognised as 'cities', emerged only at the beginning of the 20th century. There is a considerable historical literature on the intricacies of the colonial city-building projects and what is both shared by those cities established through empire, as well as what is more unique based on their use as vehicles for particular strategies such as resource extraction or port access (Demissie 2012; Myers 2003). While it is vital to raise awareness of and draw attention to a continued condemnation of colonialism's crimes in whatever register they manifested themselves, it is not my intention to add to this vast and exceptional historical literature on the way in which urban planning was utilised as a method of control in the colonies. From the historical perspectives of the two cities in this thesis, the work of both Garth Myers (2003; 2006) and Helen Meller/Robert Home (2013) provide excellent insight into colonial Lusaka, while Castaneda and Simpson (2013) and Jesus Hernandez's (2013) work does the same for Sacramento.

It is against this backdrop, that we can open up important questions about city identity and *subjectivity* as it relates to the agenda of planning and urban design. In an often quoted extract from his work on colonial Cairo, Timothy Mitchell (1991) describes the city as follows:

> *"In order to determine itself as the place of order, reason, propriety, cleanliness, civilisation, and power, it must represent outside itself what is irrational, disordered, dirty, libidinous, barbarian, and cowed. The city requires this 'outside' in order to present itself, in order to constitute its singular, uncorrupted identity"* (ibid.165)

While Mitchell is well aware of the fact that this paradigm is the result of particular vested interests of the colonialists to govern in this manner, his evocative description helps to set in motion a particular embodiment of power within the materiality of the city itself. The ability of the city to be represented as precisely that - a city, lies outside of its boundaries, outside of its ability to govern and understand itself. This has important legacies for how we think about contemporary master plans and *their* manifestation as the result of particular institutional planning and governance arrangements. Moreover, it has ramifications for how we think of the project of city-making and city-defining from a *geographical* perspective.

4.3 Colonial and post-colonial subjectivities

Returning to Mbembe's quote at the start of the chapter, the most important aspect of the colonial mantra he describes is arguably the 'large reservoir of cultural imaginaries'. In other words, not merely the physical legacy of what any particular city consists of in its road layout and land use pattern - what was 'written into the ground' - but the purpose of its function as a city.

> *"These imaginaries gave meaning to the enactment of differential rights to differing categories of people for different purposes within the same space; in brief, the exercise of sovereignty. Space was therefore the raw material of sovereignty and the violence it carried with it"* (ibid.26).

It is this connection between, on one hand, governance *through* the control of urban space and the defining of what the city is, who its citizens are, and what the overall purpose of its existence is, and on the other, the notion of the *sovereign*, that this chapter is most interested in exploring. Colonial master planning did not just represent a sovereign moment of control on the part of the imperial powers, but one that was very effective at achieving its intended purpose in territorialising space in the ways described above by Mbembe. And while in many cases independence brought the city into the control of new authorities, not only the physical fabric of the city itself, but also its institutional systems of governance, remained (Ward 2010).

Ask a postcolonial theorist what the most frustrating thing about common perceptions regarding their work is, and I imagine many would identify the misrepresentation, misuse, and misunderstanding of its prefix, 'post'. Starting its life as a mode of literary criticism – a direct reaction to the representations made by western colonialists and authors – postcolonial theory has since worked its critical lens into a much wider set of academic disciplines (McEwan 2008). The fact that postcolonial theory has, as argued by Abrahamsen (2003), been criticised as overly theoretical and esoteric has led many to lump it together in a conflation Pal Ahluwalia and others describe as an obsession with the 'post-isms' (Ahluwalia 2001; Appiah 1991; Marzagora 2016)[9]. Urban geography is particularly guilty of this with

---

[9] The popular movements - particularly in the United States - inspired by Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* alone should have been enough to dispel this myth

regard to the ontological paradigm of post-structuralism and the postcolonial critique which - despite having important and interesting connections to one another as will be explored shortly - are neither commensurable nor analogous. It isn't so much an active desire to misrepresent this that is problematic, but the implicit slippage that takes place as a result of thinking about colonisation, or rather *de*-colonisation as a particular moment in time. We must be compelled to bring the political-economy of contemporary master planning/city strategy projects into conversation with a much longer history of comprehensive, city-making practices.

The idea that there are distinct temporal partitions in history is a prevalent one that dominates so much of geographical thought, particular in relation to *globalisation.* Globalisation has emerged as a subject of scholarship in the last 40 or so years but the topic upon which it focuses spans a period of time (even setting aside the most ancient forms of human interaction across large scales) much closer to 400 years. The founding of the British East India Company in 1600 is perhaps the most definitive moment in terms of globalisation's origins (Robertson 2003; Robins 2002). Colonialism, meanwhile, is often perceived as something concluded with the independence of the majority of the former colonies[10]. In the following extract from her research on consultancy groups she calls 'international masterplanners', Elizabeth Rapoport (2015) draws explicit contrast between the nature of relationships that characterised previous eras of master plan utilisation and those of a more contemporary, global, paradigm:

> *"Unlike when foreign ideas were introduced under conditions of colonialism or development aid with all the power disparities this entailed, today the clients who hire the GIC [global intelligence corp] are active agents in, rather than passive recipients of, the globalisation of urban planning and design practice… Still, through their role in deciding which ideas to peddle internationally, the GIC in sustainable urban planning*

---

[10] This, of course, is aside from the multitude of continued formal occupation that takes place in Australia, South Africa, Canada, the United States, and a host of other modern states within which native populations, continue to struggle for autonomy. For instance, speaking of a 'post-colonial' world inhabited by Zambia is of little consolation to the Lozi people of Zambia's Western Province who, along with their fellow peoples of Barotseland, on the Namibian, and Angolan side of the border, continue to struggle against the British and Zambian governments for the reinstatement of their former nation (Barotseland-Post 2016; Flint 2003). The Western Province's capital city of *Mongu*, remains a vital site of political tension in this regard.

and design wields considerable power in both establishing a discourse about what is unsustainable about current urbanisation patterns and defining the set of solutions that can and should be used to address this" (ibid.4-5).

Reflecting a popular shift in understanding over what power *is,* Rapoport (ibid. 4) points out that "the idea planning ideas are imposed on the weak and powerless is outdated". So how *should* we theorise power relations this time around? What, if previous periods were characterised by significant power disparities, today separates those with access to the generative capacity of knowledge frontiers from a powerless audience, eagerly awaiting 'new' ideas (Mbembe 2015)? A more critical approach (and ultimately more emancipatory approach to challenging power), would be not to juxtapose arbitrarily defined eras, but to think instead about the concept of comprehensive city design practice and its relationship to scales of power. City-making ideas, strategies, policies and planning models, have never been forced upon colonised peoples as if they were helpless victims, inferior in their capacity to understand the city and design it in ways that were required. Rather, the city as an entire concept was produced in new spaces, where any opposition had already been either violently subdued or, and often as well as, defused through the teachings of god and the benefits of commercial trade. The complete destruction of the original Benin City (Edo) - home to some of the greatest feats of structural engineering and urban architecture ever known - is evidence of this (Koutonin 2016).

The African continent in particular represents a space through which power operated at great reach as territorialised control of space was brought under the mandate of empire back in Europe, *through* the use of cities as forms of organisation (Njoh 2008; Njoh 2009; Silva 2015). Geographer John Allen (2008) uses the specific example of the colonial encounter to exemplify how the power to act at a distance is facilitated by the production of a "stable, ordered, arrangement" that allowed for the mobilisation of a bundle of "objects, knowledges and mappings" as tools of governance (ibid.132). Drawing on Bruno Latour, Allen highlights how the associations, relationships and power structures that facilitated this exercise of power 'at arm's length' is by no means confined to certain historical moments but the manifestation of established *relations* rendered through space and time (Allen 2008; Latour 1984). The 'ambitious urban experiments' (McCann et al. 2011) of the colonial past, involving this operationalization of sovereign power across great distance, now comprise the vast

majority of today's 'world of cities' (Robinson 2011). Since its inception, the modern city master plan has *always* been a product of external agency, and required an exteriority to its conceptualisation and production.

So if the territorialising process of master planning and city-making acts as a fundamental form of sovereign control for those who established and enforced the plans, where is that sovereignty located today? What are the arrangements of power that govern the contemporary use of master plan visions in directing the urban fabric? Or, more accurately in light of what we already know about Lusaka and Sacramento's plans, why do these recent plans *not* embody a true sovereign moment of control and therefore, why do they exist under the perception that they should? Exploring these issues means engaging, as we know, with the contemporary formation of *discourse,* that is at the heart of governing the way cities are master-planned today - sustainability. More specifically, it means thinking about the institutional arrangements of sustainable master planning and the agencies of the different actors that Rapoport suggests 'wield' power through their ability to control the relationship between urbanisation problems and sustainable solutions. In order to open up a means of addressing these questions of power however, we need to carry out some theoretical space clearing with regards to the work of Michel Foucault and, first, the representation of the world's history as made up of neatly packed periods of time.

4.4 Provincialising *Theory*

The importance and prominence of cities to the world and its future, as well as how they served as arenas for many of the injustices of the past, ensures that how we think about them – and therefore how we research them – needs to be subjected to detailed critique of the kind provided by a postcolonial agenda. As Farías (2010) argues, this is about embracing a new way of thinking the city in order to go beyond the "strong structuralist programme still informing the largest portions of the field" and rooted in 1970's "Marxist political economy". This is a project that has ultimately led to paradigms of the 'global cities' such as New York and London (Sassen 2013), out of control 'mega-cities' such as Jakarta, Lagos, Calcutta, or São Paulo (Sheppard, Leitner et al. 2013), and a 'planet of slums' (Davis 2006) or a 'planet of suburbs' (Economist 2014) to encompass everything else in between. As well as ignoring the

complex set of rationalities that fed into the establishment of cities under colonialism, structurally narrow interpretations of causality have resulted in critical interrogations of 'city-ness' as merely relative spaces of materialised capital (Power 2003; Robinson 2002). With this, comes the evocative conceptualisation of apocalyptic tales of despair such as Davis' (2006) *Planet of Slums* or Paul Collier's equally morbid emphasis on the causality of natural resource 'curses' (Bogaert 2011; Power 2003; Roy 2011).

Many urban studies scholars have become increasingly perturbed by these popular renderings of cities that relegates them to the realms of insignificance and thereby erases the potential nuances of our understandings in favour of epitomising certain contexts as 'intractable, mute, abject and other worldly' (Edensor and Jayne 2012), and comprised of a set of 'core deficiencies' (Power, Mohan et al. 2006). Stepping outside of this paradigm is one of the primary agendas at the heart of postcolonial thinking. Provincialising previous 'theories' about the urban, creates room for new understandings to eventually materialise. In the first instance however, it simply creates space to think about cities without the shackles of domineering paradigms of developmentalism. This is a project orientated on an effort to strengthen our understanding of the world of the subaltern – those left behind and neglected by dominant narratives about success and the city (Roy 2011; Spivak 1990). As stated by Sheppard et al. (2013, p.3), "even theories critical of globalizing and urbanizing capitalism themselves too often are rooted in northern perspectives", that fail to comprehend the logics that exist beyond the realms of the very same enlightenment values that generated the problem in the first place. For example, both Marxian reliance on a cohesive, homogenous community and postmodern urban planning theory's argument for 'communicative rationality' rooted in the thought of Jurgen Habermas (Forester 1982; Healey 1997; Lane 2005) fail to engage the importance of power in governing individual and collective subjects and their identity (Flyvbjerg 2001; Mignolo 2007).

As Alex De Waal (2016) points out, the political vernaculars of most African societies are complex and detailed, and yet when we talk of 'states' it is always in English or French and through the prism of international relations theories. Traditional Marxian political-economy approaches to most of the world, will never be able to reach any conclusions other than failure, as large regions such as the African continent become folded into the "overall story of capitalism" (Ahluwalia 2001, p.62). The implications for this of course are far more than

theoretical, and stimulate a belief that inefficient states require a new institutional configuration of governance where "the world bank, the IMF and a host of NGO's determine and dictate fundamental policy" (ibid). For Myers (2006), there are multiple, contextually situated ways in which notions of governance and democracy can function within the political, economic and historical settings in question. Despite this, he later (2014) remarks how the "long, stubborn shadow of orientalism" still looms over existing conversations about the African continent, when the political is the topic of conversation. This is perhaps most usefully elucidated by Melissa Tandiwe Myambo's (2014) assertion that the idea of a 'state' existed as the starting point for nation building in newly independent former colonies, while it existed as the "end-product" of society in the European nations (ibid. 10)[11].

4.5 De-Provincialising Foucault and Marx

It was actually Karl Marx who, according to Ahluwalia (2001), stated that the colonial project (in India) took two broad forms - "one destructive, the other regenerating…the laying of the material foundations of Western Society". (ibid.39). Despite this, Marxism has, quite rightly, been subjected to significant criticism in recent decades for its inherent Eurocentrism in how it conceives of the relationship between capitalism and the class struggle for power, couched within the framework of the European welfare state or as representative of a more 'international-political economy', while maintaining a monolithic definition of 'neoliberalism' as the restructuring and roll back of the state apparatus (Chakrabarty 2000; Loomba 2015; Robinson 2015; Stanton and Maley 2014). There also exists, amongst many traditional Marxist geographers, a rebuttal of such critiques, seeing them as merely engaged in a project of difference finding, prioritising groups outside of the state and therefore unfit for the purposes of political change and the addressing of structural inequalities (Chibber 2013; Harvey 2014; Närman, Simon et al. 1999). According to Brenner et al. (2010) 'neoliberalism' remains a vital object of enquiry, with 'significant implications for interpreting the current global financial crisis' (ibid. 182). The problem, however, is not so much that neoliberalism is not a worthwhile

---

[11] Walter Rodney's book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1981) arguably provides the most comprehensive and vivid example of this.

subject to engage with at 'global' scales, but that there is no clear definition or understanding of what exactly it *is* at such a scale (or indeed any scale).

By way of example, recent 'Rhodes Must Fall' decolonisation movements at the University of Cape Town and across South Africa more generally, or the racially coded 'Black Lives Matter' uprising against police brutality in the United States can be seen as "self-organising" social movement networks that foster forms of counter-hegemony against "imperial globality and global coloniality" (Escobar 2004:207). Fundamental to this is the recognition that *identity*, particularly racial and gender identities will always precede economic agency in defining relationships and thereby offering a means of *resistance.* As prominent legal scholars Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres (2009) point out in their book *The Miners Canary,* racial disparities in particular are perhaps *the* clearest means of identifying the way in which issues of inequality are produced by the deeper, underlying problems with societal organisation in ways that class based analysis can never achieve. Revealing his frustration at the ignoring of such realities, Walter Mignolo (2007) vehemently argues that "de-colonial projects cannot be subsumed under Marxian ideologies" or any other ideologies such as "neoliberalism or Islamism" that pretend to offer an abstract universal for humanity (ibid.164). Following his teacher, Aime Cesaire (2000), Frantz Fanon made similar comments regarding the need to 'stretch' Marxism in order to make it work in the context of the anti-colonial and anti-racial struggles of Black Africans (Fanon et al. 2007).

Despite this, hostility to non-Marxian forms of critique continues. For example, one of the most prominent Marxist geographers, David Harvey (2014), has made no secret of his critique of Michel Foucault in particular, and cites him as the defining intellectual figure in what he sees as an "ethic of anti-statism" that has formed "post-modern fragmentations" and favours "identity politics over class analysis" (ibid.xiii). Setting aside the strategic (and disingenuous) use of the 'post-ism' conflation described earlier, Foucault had long responded to such critiques levelled against himself by pointing to the Marxian left's failure to engage in actual discussion about the functioning of governance in any given society in favour of "supporting an ideological chorus line" (Gordon 1991). Phillip Harrison (2004) meanwhile points to the vitally important theoretical debts to 'post-structural' thinkers such as Foucault, Derrida and Lacan that is paid by postcolonalists Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha respectively. Ahluwalia (2010) laments the Eurocentric reading of Foucault that builds on the

apolitical one, and instead argues that Foucault "is at the heart of post-colonial thinking or, at the very least, his work contributes the embedding of the post-structural *in* the post-colonial" (emphasis added). Also riling against the intellectually lazy arguments of both conflation and incommensurability, Robert Young (2004) suggests that this critical philosophical moment, that has come to be known as "post-structuralism", is the product of the Algerian War of Independence as much as it is the events of May 1968, and therefore deeply 'post'-colonial in and of itself.

For Foucault, his time spent working from the postcolony of Tunisia arguably had a 'profound effect on his thinking' (Ahluwalia 2010), and political Islam offers a particularly interesting and relevant discussion that illustrates the crossovers between Foucault and post-colonialism. Islam has now long provided the kind of 'alternative development' (to western secular democracy), often pondered over by development studies theorists (Power 2003; Watts 2003), something which Michel Foucault took a keen interest in through the Iranian Revolution (Afary and Anderson 2010). Drawing a contemporary connection, it is possible to see how Foucault might have been particularly interested with a recent announcement by Yahya Jammeh, president of The Gambia, that the country is to be officially declared an Islamic Republic, just two years on from its secession from the commonwealth; something it branded 'neo-colonial' (Al Jazeera 2015; The Guardian 2015). Perhaps the most important use of Foucault by postcolonialism is that applied by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism (Said 1979)* - often cited as one of the discipline's pioneering texts. While certain significant differences between his and Foucault's thought exist, it is widely recognised that much of what is contained within the narrative draws extensively on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse and the relationships between power and knowledge with regards to the construction of the orient as the occident's 'other' (Abrahamsen 2003). It is not only through Foucault that Said is able to produce his arguments, but also through Said, that Foucault's thought finds its overtly political expression[12].

---

[12] Said's use of Foucault was far from a full alignment of thought by the two thinkers and Said himself was a central proponent of a well-recognised criticism of Foucault's lack of explicitly political engagement in addition to that of nihilistic interpretations of his all-encompassing notion of power – this is explicitly spelled out in Said's *The Text, the World, the Critic* (1975). In his later years, Said revisited his previous critiques of Foucault however and sought to qualify what Foucault had contributed to his own work and how it relates to postcolonial studies.

4.6 Biopower and the Sovereign

Despite his status as perhaps *the* most prominent theorist of power, Michel Foucault was often keen to point out the fact that it was the *subject* that existed as the primary focus of his research, with a clear understanding of power vital to investigating subject formation processes. Foucault (1980) spoke of a lack of options and approaches that were available to explore a 'non-economic' analysis of power, and his efforts to try and establish this offered an interpretation appealing to those well versed in the relationship between power and identity. He sought to move away from a dominating paradigm of control and any assumptions that there are distinct spaces, be it regional, national or urban scale that are exclusively controlled by a 'state' wielding its own territorial mandate (Allen 2008; Allen and Cochrane 2007; Gonzalez 2011). The following quote of his (1980) makes this point:

> *"There is a need to avoid a locating of power in the state apparatus alone, making this into the major, privileged, capital and almost unique instrument of the power of one class over another. In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power"*

Contrasting alternate forms of power as "archaic sovereignty" and "disciplinary biopower", in his book *Discipline and Punish,* Foucault (1977) describes a predominant shift from power over individuals through torture and execution (destructive in nature) into a disciplining 'biopower'" (Tagma 2009). Gaventa (2003: 4) describes biopower as "the type of power dispersed throughout society that is productive in this fashion - operating through techniques of disciplining, ordering, ranking, making visible, and subjecting to knowledge". Providing an even more concise description, Achille Mbembe (2003: 12) summarises it as the "domain of

---

The article by Karlis Racevskis (2005) provides an excellent discussion of the turbulent relationship between Said and Foucault's ideas describing how *"Said credit's him with establishing a new habit of thought that isn't history or philosophy but, a set of rules for knowledge to dominate truth, to make truth as an issue secondary to the successful ordering and wielding of huge masses of actual present knowledge"* (ibid.84).

life over which power has taken control" as part of a generalized "instrumentalization of human existence" (ibid. 14). As a directive force, rather than impeding or destroying aspects of society, biopower works to generate and order it in certain ways (Brigg 2002; Lemke 2001). Foucault's separation of sovereign power 'over' and less tangible power 'through' disciplinary governmentality has unfortunately however, served to further entrench an exclusive correlation between sovereignty and domination, derailing attempts to understand the evolving expression that the concept of the sovereign takes today (Agamben and Heller-Roazen 1998; Ahluwalia 2010). This is particularly important for a *geographical* understanding of the situated sovereignty that exists at various scales in a world where we tend to speak in more-than-local registers of power.

John Allen (2008) distinguishes between what he describes as 'instrumental' power and 'associational' power, where the latter is the more collective, mobilising, and productive version to the former's more hegemonic hold over individuals and groups. Both forms in this case however, can be seen to relate in different ways *to* the sovereign subject which could (arguably simultaneously) be capable of feeling the 'force' of an instrumental power while also possessing the potential to partake in a more collective mobilisation. This mobilisation might exist in the same 'direction' as the instrumental power, thus limiting the extent to which hegemonic dominance is felt, or against it, pushing back and resisting. In such cases this might lead not simply to more explicit forms of power, but to modes of violence in one way or the other, something Hannah Arendt saw not as a form of power but as, in fact, its 'anti-thesis' (Allen 2008). Violence becomes embodied by institutions or individuals at the breakdown of power maintained through collective association. In this sense, the sovereign acts of violence conducted by the state in Foucault's early depictions in *Discipline and Punish* described above are actually a reflection of an inability for power to do its job and therefore requiring alternative measures that take on a one sided, instrumental and instantaneous form of command over bodies. Prisons, as a material formation to physically constrain bodies, operate in the same way today.

Tagma (2009) argues that biopower, "which administers, regulates, and governs the relations of production, exchange, and life of a given society" works as a supplement - rather than alternative - to any perceived enactment of sovereign power (ibid.428). In other words they have to be thought of together and not as alternative or contrasting modes of power. We can

return to re-read the colonial application of master planning in this manner. A certain biopolitical arrangement of discourse, built upon the complex intersection of Commerce, Christianity, and Civilisation, for example, established a dominant regime of truth - legitimised by god - in the eyes of the colonial planners. This allowed them to, as Mbembe (2003) described, use space as the 'raw material' of sovereignty and put it firmly into action in producing and constructing 'the city'. Realisation of their urban vision in new locations was possible for colonialists because of the biopolitical arrangement that fed into the use of more recognisable forms of sovereign power and dominance over territory. In doing so the agendas of the time - the discourses - be they racist segregation, exploitation of local populations, or the laying of infrastructural foundations for governance of new territories and extraction of resources, were incorporated into the imperial mandate. There was, in view of the colonialist planners, an embedded *truth* in the notion that the urban master plan served as an effective means of governing territory. They embodied a "sovereign gaze" over the purpose of the city, a *governmentality* that was built into the very fabric of the city through the use of master plan designs (Tagma 2009:407).

So what of contemporary formations of these biopolitical arrangements that govern, or rather, facilitate the enactment of sovereign control over both space and populations, as a collective territorial 'object' (Crampton and Elden 2007)? The first point to make is that this emphasis on biopower as the undercurrent to the enactment of sovereignty allows us to - as was sought earlier in the chapter - go *beyond* rigid interpretations of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, to see sovereignty as something that emerges as the result of certain *conditions* and not merely the result of violent imposition upon helpless populations. Achille Mbembe is, once again and arguably along with Giorgio Agamben, one of the principle theorists in seeking to evolve the understanding of biopower in this way. In his book *On the Postcolony,* Mbembe (2001) laments a common lack of recognition of the *longue durée* in accounting for the way in which contemporary formulations of society productively manifest themselves in favour of a selective (read economic) historical interpretation of the world. The primary benefit of the understanding of power described here is that it seeks to focus on the "social conditions" that facilitate and encourage power rather than the resources upon which its realisation eventually rests (Tsing 2000). Resources, remarks Allen (2008:37), "may move and can be lost or may simply evaporate", power however "has none of these qualities…is

not a thing that moves, but an effect that is mediated". The mediation of this effect and what the effect ultimately encompasses as a result of the "attitudes and values underpinning the process of overseas expansion", is a vital endeavour of postcolonial geographies (Henry, Pollard et al. 2001; Moore-Gilbert 1997)

Picking up on the point from earlier about 'neoliberalism' existing as a poorly defined concept in the 'global' age, a number of scholars have sought to deploy the notion of governmentality in how we think about what it might be. Neoliberalism, Wendy Larner (2000) argues, is not some uniform policy technology that involves the rolling back of the state nor a monolithic ideology with command over the populous, which together lead to a new paradigm of power emerging unilaterally. A decrease in any form of 'government' is not a decrease in 'governance' but rather a shifting in forms of *governmentality* across equally shifting scales (Larner and Walters 2004). This 'global governmentality' exists above and beyond the technical process of policy making, and in doing so encourages a collective motion towards more "critical theorizing of discursive practices" (Brown 2003). Morgan Brigg (2002) deploys a similar approach to understanding the discourse of 'development' - arguably acting in the facilitation of neoliberal governmentality - as it works, through the functions of particular agents such as the World Bank aligning themselves in various ways with the paradigm of 'developmentalism', to construct reality through the 'productive modalities of power'. It is this productive as opposed to destructive characteristic that is most important to understanding powers role in the *emergence* of modes of governance.

4.7 Problematizing the 'local'

In a statement that sets the tone for the rest of the book's 'relational' agenda for the 'global age', Allan Cochrane's foreword to McCann and Ward's (2011) *Mobile Urbanism,* argues that "traditional approaches to urban politics have tended to focus on the local" (ibid. ix). Likewise, in the chapter by Ward, he argues that "if it were ever enough to account for change in the nature of urban development on the basis of analysis generated solely from within cities and the countries of which they are part, then that time has surely passed" (ibid.73). Thought about in light of the rest of this chapter, I would argue such a moment passed a long time ago. Policy making questions for the vast majority of the urban world have *always* been narrated

through the prism of elsewhere, couched within frameworks of colonialism, development, structural adjustment, good governance and poverty alleviation. From colonial governance in the metropole, to the puppeteering of the Washington Consensus institutions, and contemporary United Nations agendas, all backed up by the critical microscope of the western academy, urban planning and policy making for the vast majority of the world's cities has arguably been anything *but* 'local' since, at the very latest, 1600. This is in stark contrast to the idea of "new" state forms comprised of institutional fabrics of governance that were "until recently…provided by the national or local state" (McCann and Ward 2011:180). Such a trajectory of local first, global later is, unfortunately, the reality for very few of the world's cities and yet remains a domineering mode of thought in urban geography research into 'neoliberalizaton' (Brenner et al. 2010).

There exists here, an uncritical fetishisation of 'the local' context or of exploring the world 'from below' as we saw in the previous chapter, where the notion of 'local' and 'below' are pre-defined by researchers and theoretical paradigms as opposed to being the emerging materialisations of long histories of place making. As Goldman (2005) notes, "the outsider's idea of empowering the community…sounds great, even radical, except that in most cases neither community nor nature exists as they are imagined by global experts – neither as collective nor resource" (ibid.649, see also Goldman 2007). Further complicating matters, recent scholarship on cities - as we have seen - is heavily influenced by perceptions as to the existence of a 'world of cities' in which it is urban spaces, rather than nation states, that act as the primary nodes for 'globalisation'. But, again, such an approach is myopic in its rigid interpretation of history. Newly independent nation-states in the mid-twentieth century harboured particular interest in consolidating territorial sovereignty in order to "declare their autonomy from the colonial condition; their national histories and geographies stress self-development, not regional and transregional flow" (Tsing 2000: 333). Indeed, nationalism, and the multitude of forms that it takes in relation to independence struggles, both 'good' and 'bad', remains at the core of the fundamental problem facing Marxian theory in this new 'global' context (Ahluwalia 2001). We can extrapolate Tsing's point even further in this regard to think about a difference in state building attitudes and ideological notions between Pan-Africanist desires and anti-British United States patriotism, for example.

Some of the most prominent defenders of Marxian political economy as an approach to understanding cities have sought to challenge this notion by asserting the primacy of 'structures'. Brenner et al. (2011) argue that any notion of 'context' has its own underlying 'context'. Faced with questions over the reality with which we engage as researchers, the suggestion here seems to be that we must add another layer of 'structural' context onto that which is, presumably then, believed to be a reified, actually existing, ontologically given truth about a location. A good example of this at work comes from the idea of urban 'regime theory' in which, according to Ravazzi and Belligni (2015), a particular concept is utilised in a way that provides "capacity to act and bring resources to bear on the identifying agenda" (ibid. 4). In their case study, these resources were drawn on by various actors who established a certain "power to" capacity through the channelling of a collective agenda construction, culminating in the 2001 strategic plan for the Italian city of Turin (ibid. 3). Temenos and McCann (2012) approach urban policy making in a similar way opting for the notion of a particular 'fix' rather than a regime, in their case relating to the concept of sustainability as a technique for local governments to draw resources together. But again, for both of these cases, there remain questions of how exactly '*power to'* is facilitated by the relationship between different actors and by the overriding discourse in question. Regimes of governance have subjects as much as they do objects. This, I would argue, is all too easily written off as belonging to the 'local' context in some way from which external or outside forces such as 'neoliberalism' are tapped into by various actors.

'Regimes' of governance do not appear from nowhere, willingly bought into by a multitude of different actors. When the 'context' in question is institutional, actor orientated and shaped by the relations in which it works, the notion of 'conduct of conduct' put forward by Foucault is more useful, and more revealing, than the 'context of context' approach suggested by Brenner et al. above. This recognises the fact that the individual (or indeed the wider collective, institutional fabric of a place) is not a "*pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power, but rather the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires and forces"* (Foucault 1980). While there is likely shared agreement over the suggestion that 'context' presents a troubling notion, adding *more* 'context' seems illogical. Where might one draw the line in this sense? The context of context that Brenner et al. speak of is, itself, contextually relative, making it very difficult to

understand what exactly they see "locally embedded social forces" (ibid.225) as being 'embedded' *in.* The 'structures' that underlie one particular place differ from those in another with never ending layers of historicised contingencies. It is onto the historical emergence of 'contexts', then, that I would argue research on globalisation and the practices of urban policy making, must cast its empirical net. The point here being that to speak in any sort of monolithic way about the notion of the 'local' as pertaining to either, i) a distinct geographical space, or b) 'the state' in some monolithic form relating to either the national, regional, or city level, is deeply problematic.

4.8 Conclusion

"It is easier to conquer than to administer - with enough leverage a finger could overturn the world; but to support the world, one must have the shoulders of Hercules"

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Rousseau and Cole 2003).

Like their operationalisation in lieu of Rousseau's famous quote above, when tied explicitly to a colonial power, the organisation of governance regimes - the institutional arrangements of city making - were considerably easier to operationalise at the time, and to theorise today. In his in-depth discussion of the colonial organisation of Cairo, Timothy Mitchell (1988) states that "the city, in this analysis, can be taken to exemplify a paradox at work in the maintenance of any modern political order, any modern self-identity" (ibid.165). Through the colonial project, this sovereign power was extended across great distances, allowing the various empires to reach in and govern that which was far away as if it was close to home (Allen 2008). The sovereign act of governance, the writing on the ground that Mbembe and others emphasised in this chapter was facilitated by the biopolitical arrangements of power that facilitated it. The question to ask, then, is what such a stabilised arrangement looks like today and how does it impact on overly comfortable notions of global-local contrasts so often invoked in geography literature on planning and policy making. Contemporary research into the governance of cities, if it wishes to speak in any universal sense about cities as governable spaces or indeed build 'theory' in relation to this, needs to step back and seek to understand at a much more fundamental level, what it is we mean when we refer to 'local contexts'. This

is not about emphasising the unique differences *between* different 'locals', quite the contrary in fact, it is about a troubling paradigm of monolithic 'localness'.

The concept of the 'local', therefore, tends to do precisely what Foucault described at the end of the previous chapter - "carry on in its empty sameness throughout the course of history" acting as either the anchor point for geographical theorising about the worlds 'structures', or as a tool for legitimising colonisation of others. Foucault is, of course, talking about the notion of the individual subject, but we can extrapolate this to encompass the notion of the 'local' subject as a subject in itself - the embodiment by a particular individual planner, practitioner, policy maker, researcher etc, of some form of 'local' identity. Superseding specific moments of both sovereign dominance and indeed explicit violence - even if such moments are as large as the colonisation of entire peoples and regions of the world - an apparatus conceptualisation of power offers us a means to situate sovereignty *within* a conceptualisation of biopower. More importantly, by thinking about power as 'capturing' and 'orientating' subjects in particular ways, it presents us with the possibility to think *geographically* about how more specific power relations, over time, 'become concrete' (Agamben 2011: 6).

Chapter 5: The institution of City-Making and the Geographies of Subjectivity

"In response to a request from the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Government of Japan decided to conduct the ''Study on Comprehensive Urban Development Plan for the City of Lusaka in the Republic of Zambia'' and entrusted it to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). JICA selected a study team consisting of the Joint Venture (JV) of KRI International Corp., Nippon Koei Co., Ltd., and Japan Engineering Consultants Co., Ltd….The team conducted field surveys and formulated the comprehensive plan based on the consensus built in a series of discussions with concerned officials, donor community members, citizens, and other stakeholders through workshops, seminars and exhibitions. This final plan was prepared based on the result of the intensive analyses of all the data and information obtained in the study, and offers a set of recommendations for the comprehensive improvement of Greater Lusaka"

- Opening Statement of the Lusaka 2030 master plan

"The City of Sacramento's 2030 General Plan sets a new direction for the future of Sacramento…The 2030 General Plan was shaped over a four year period by an extensive outreach process that engaged residents, businesses, developers, and decision makers. This initial introduction presents the vision and guiding principles; describes the overarching General Plan themes, including the City's response to climate change; provides general plan organization; presents a profile of Sacramento; explains the purpose of the general plan and the legal requirements; reviews how to use the general plan; and lastly, recounts how the general plan was prepared"

- Opening statement of the Sacramento 2030 general plan

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I sought to problematize the idea that we are able to approach urban planning and policy making as if the notion of 'the local' represents a cohesive and ontologically stable space upon which to anchor interest in the 'global era' of city making practices. In moving this critique from a theoretical one into an empirical one, Gillian Hart pushes for the importance of 'critical ethnographies' that do not focus on the 'impact of globalisation', but rather act as 'windows into constitutive processes' and as a means for 'reconfiguring understandings and practices' (Hart 2001; Hart 2002; Hart 2004). What we

have in the form of Lusaka and Sacramento's new 2030 vision plans, is a window into the 'local' institutional context of city-making practices. By 'context', I am referring here to what Faulconbridge (2012) describes as "regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional contexts", or McCann (2008) as the "local politics involving locally-embedded interests and conditions", or indeed the "historical and cultural context", that Nigel Thrift (2000) suggests informs the 'adoption' of ideas. The discussion in this chapter will centre on the extremely 'blurred' nature of any taken for granted conception of what is 'local', as well as the ability of actors to present themselves as *both* part of and external to the situated context in question. This will also serve to lay the foundations for the rest of the thesis, where this concept will be further problematized, along with its relationship to the 'global', as being not just meaningless from a theory-building perspective, but performative and colonising for governance practices.

With this in mind the chapter is interested in the institutional emergence of the plans over a much longer period of time, something it will present by tracing them back from their final adoption, and the quotes above as the 'official' description of the process in question[13]. Going beyond what individuals or institutions 'themselves' represent, the primary interest of the chapter is on the *subjectivities* that they embody in relation to others, and in relation to the sustainable agenda of the projects. To put this another way, and in the language of chapter three, I am interested in exploring actor position's in the overall *dispositif* of sustainable city-making and their effects on relationships with others (Goldman 2005; Klopfer 2007; Tsing 2005). For the institutional setting of urban planning and spatial policy making, this means dispensing with assumptions of what different actor's roles *should* be, in order to identify the subjectivities that they come to embody (Danius, Jonsson et al. 1993; Morris 2010). From a narratology point of view, this also helps avoid succumbing to what Van Maanen (1995) describes in his article on 'style as theory'; as a "mind-numbing banality and an inexplicable readiness to reduce the field to a set of unexamined, turgid, hypothetical thrusts designed to render organizations systematic and organization theory safe for science" (ibid.139)[14].

---

[13] A full list of the master plan project teams can be found in Appendix 1 for Lusaka, and Appendix 2 for Sacramento.

[14] The rationale for this approach emerged from a postcolonial critique of how researchers engage with and interpret their 'fields'. Beginning with an ethnographic exploration allows one to embody what Gayatri Spivak describes as 'unlearning' preconceptions and to then 'learn again', freed (as much as is possible) from the domineering narratives of past and concurrent academic and media discourse.

The chapter will begin with what are the most important institutions - and 'gatekeepers' of the two master plans - the city council planning departments. Following this it will move onto the primary 'consultants' involved in the plans and subsequently into the wider pool of 'expertise' drawn into the process. This will lead to the need to situate the plans' development in a broader spatial setting relating to both the nature of the consultancy provided and to the levels of governance that fed into these city-scale initiatives. The final set of subjects engaged with will be what, at this stage, I am strategically labelling as the 'supporting cast' - a set of agencies not explicitly involved in offering 'knowledge' to the production of the plans, but vital to their emergence nonetheless.

5.2 The City Planner

'Gatekeepers' of the new master plans, as a member of the Sacramento city council described it to me, is indeed the perfect description of how the city council planning departments *should* be seen and would like to be seen. Such a role would involve drawing attention to the master plan as and when they can and drawing *upon* it when required. For institutions whose responsibility it is to manage day-to-day developments in the city (as with any council and its jurisdiction), having a means of transcending the *realpolitik* of urban governance does seem, in theory, to be a positive addition to their repertoire of planning tools. As the same city council member in Sacramento continued:

> *"I think planners were whiplashed, absolutely whiplashed. Or a bug on the windshield or something. They go over here and developers beat them up, they go over here and the community is beating them, they go over here and the city council ask what the hell they are doing and then the city manager tells them what to do…"* (interview, Sacramento)

You will recall, from chapter two, how members of the city council in Sacramento described the difficulties with approaching city-wide planning because of the 'pieces of the pie' sought by the council members responsible for each of the city's nine wards. The above quote comes from one such council member, and a particularly prominent and well-liked member of Sacramento's political elites. For him, the general plan is essential as a tool for planners to

give them "clout" in defining what they will ultimately approve with regards to future developments. In Lusaka, however, perceptions of the city planners beyond their own walls is negative in an altogether more damning fashion:

> *"…the problem we have is that those who are in positions to make planning decisions in the city council are underqualified and not of sufficient calibre to make the decisions. They don't have the expertise so that's why we need the help from elsewhere. This is very much a legacy issue that has a long history stemming back many years. In the 1970's local government councils was an attractive career, people saw an opportunity to become involved in the government in some way. It was a job that provided income as well as the ability to influence which is very attractive…What then happened was that there was no control over movement between positions within local government and people were promoted and moved without the required qualifications…Getting up the ladder in local government wasn't about your qualifications or your abilities..."*
> (interview, principle planner, MLGH)

The suggestion here, made by a senior member of Zambia's ministry of local government and housing - the institution under whose authority the Lusaka city council and all other councils in the country lie - is that the existing institution of state planning is still suffering the effects of a post-independence scramble for positions of power. The colonial legacy is not just the ordinances, zoning codes and general organisation of local institutions left behind, but is wound into the way in which authority was itself assembled. I have included this long quote here for the same reason I drew extensively from the words of the city council member in Sacramento above - they come from particular influential voices in the two cities but, also, reflect wider attitudes towards the two planning departments.

It is perhaps easy to understand why there is a negative perception of the city planning department in Lusaka. Indeed one might even extend this to the city council in its entirety. On a daily basis, outside all of the offices, there is usually a long line of chairs, populated by individuals of various backgrounds, each with their own reason for being there. Between the hours of 7am and around 6pm - or 18hrs as it is always known in Zambia - the city council is a hive of activity. These individuals are there either representing themselves and their private homes or on behalf of a new business ventures, seeking permission to conduct their affairs

or tap into the cities infrastructure in some way. On most of the office noticeboards are signs that read something like 'no more car washes to be approved in June'. Or, 'for load shedding exemptions please see Mr x (who isn't here)'. But this doesn't stop them, people come all day every day to try and catch a word with someone that can grant them the required permissions so that they can avoid future fines for conducting their business unapproved. As I sought to convey early in chapter two there is very little 'planning' taking place in this regard as space becomes something actively produced and reproduced in front of your eyes as the city's highly contested land is negotiated by various different parties with the city planners acting as arbiters in the process. There are of course, other, more senior members of the planning department who engage with the 'bigger issues' so to speak. One such individual became the lead planner for the 2030 vision project and, while in chapter two he berated the failure of the plan to gain any traction since its adoption five years previous, he recognised that the reactionary nature of the city council on a day-to-day basis meant that an extensive project of designing a new city plan was well beyond the scope of what they could reasonably accomplish:

> "The ministry doesn't believe in what they have in terms of its own employees for things like that. The planners over there [in the MLGH] and [ourselves] is not enough resources, so it is much easier to get someone from outside. We need both expertise and experience but the driver of processes like that should always be from the local authorities so that the experts can just give some guidelines"

His sentiments in this regard were echoed by many of his more junior colleagues within the city council planning department, all of whom continue to perform their work, only veering off to talk explicitly about the master plans because I asked them to:

"I think there is a lack of ideas in the department [to develop a master plan]";

"We are not innovative enough up here";

"The whole council lacks resources, but I think we just never take the time to assess properly"[15]

---

[15] The individuals that these quotes are taken from have the titles of 'planner' in the city council however each of them (two women and one man) - unlike most of the departments personnel who work in larger shared offices - have their own offices where they work from and are therefore in particularly high demand on a daily

Similarly, the lead city planner for the general plan in Sacramento also reflected on the relationship between day-to-day planning and the bigger project at hand that simultaneously guides and yet circumvents the everyday:

> *"It starts with us at the city council to articulate the sustainability goals and then hire the right city manager to fulfil those through planning initiatives, of which triggering a new general plan is the highest level. But how many elements in the general plan, 7 or 8, have you seen the size of the documentation with it? The other thing is there is never any money for it, they just bring it back for a consent item every year and say this is where we are. Nobody reads it and tells the public what the city stands for…I even wonder - when I go to other city halls - I always felt that they had some top messages for people and we don't have that, Sacramento doesn't have that"* (interview, Sacramento)

The Lusaka City Council planning offices are located on the top floor of the of the city's 'Civic Centre', an old grey building left over from the colonial era, and a mile up Independence Avenue from the recently completed, and towering, bright offices of 'government complex', the new centre of national government. The civic centre and the city council finds itself between the new forward vision of Zambian nationalism at one end of Independence avenue, and the entrenched legacies of colonial rule with the grand, imperialist structures that continue to house the high court, a number of national ministries, and various foreign embassies, at its other. After navigating your way through its long corridors and climbing the stairs to the offices of the planning department, you are met with the following sign:

> *Lusaka City Council Planning Department Objective: To develop and facilitate the implementation of a spatial framework for a functional aesthetically pleasant and healthy environment in order to meet economic, social and environmental needs. To also accommodate significantly the greater demand for employment, housing, efficient traffic management and service delivery in the City.*

It is only recently that I thought about this sign in relation to what the planners in Sacramento said about the lack of just such a thing for their city. Reading the Sacramento General plan

---

basis from members of the public and various non-government organisations who have a stake in projects taking place within the city limits.

you get the sense that this is precisely the job it was trying to do - generate some sort of collective message about what the role of planning actually is for a city whose development has long been a story of static conservativism and reactionary development opportunism.

The (new) offices of the Sacramento city planners stand in stark contrast to those in Lusaka. No longer located downtown amongst the rose beds of city hall, the department is now housed in a new government building north of the city centre on the site of the former railyards and an area long designated for substantial redevelopment. By locating here, the Sacramento city council is, in many ways, embracing a 'practice what you preach' attitude to sustainability and visioning for the future. But the battle to embrace the message beyond this is clearly a difficult one. You step off what is the northern most stop on one of the city's transit lines and into an area of empty brownfield lots and warehouses that populate this unique corner of the city, beyond the original gridded planned space but within the boundaries of the rivers and freeway overpasses. It does indeed offer the perfect space with which to expand the city centre and create a more 'mixed-use' trajectory for the urban core. For now, however, this part of the city is even quieter, even more deserted than the existing downtown region and the council offices, along with the police headquarters and the greyhound bus station next door, exist in a wasteland caught between an industrial past and a 'liveable' future.

It was in these offices where, during my time in Sacramento, I spent many hours engaging with one of the primary ways in which the city planners *do* actively embrace the wider community as opposed to merely being a reactive organisation. Led by a group of more junior members of the department, the Sacramento 'planning academy' hold weekly sessions where they engage with individuals from across the city's diverse neighbourhoods and backgrounds. For three hours each week, they come together for a series of focus group discussions with city planners and presentations from property developers, business owners and politicians about the way in which the city is planned and governed. Each session would centre on a different topic, ranging from development review processes and laws around land use, transportation and affordable housing provision, right up to the purpose of the general plan and how to engage with it at a community level. The following is a description - from a planner involved in running the programme at the time of my visit - of why they see the academy as a vital tool for planning in contemporary Sacramento:

"We run it to teach people about sustainable planning and the smart growth principles. We try to get a good balance of about 25-30 people representing the different areas of the city and with a mixture of different age groups and socio-economic characteristics so that we have a diverse group of people. It is interesting how few people take a comprehensive view of the city so that is what this programme is about – helping people to recognise the city as a whole in the hope that the message will spread beyond them to their communities"

Out back, behind the main office building of the Lusaka city council, is a small annex containing a few offices and a conference room. One of the employees who worked here joked with me that the reason they were located here was to "hide away from all the problems up there [in the main offices]". In actual fact I do not think he was joking. This smaller group of planners are responsible for coordinating and organising the network of individuals who communicate with the city council from the various corners of the city, not at a political level as conducted through the city councillors themselves, but at a more practical, developmental, level. It was here during my time in the city, thanks to the help of both him and one of his female colleagues, that I would conduct a series of discussions with what are known as the 'Ward Committee Members'[16]. These are individuals who represent their respective areas (Lusaka city council's jurisdiction is divided into 28 'wards') as community organisers seeking to represent their fellow citizens in council affairs. The following quote is from the female planner mentioned above who works closely with the community groups:

"I organise consultation with the community through the ward development committee members. Most of the time this means working with the NGO's in the compounds, habitat for humanity and other donor partners in our work in the different districts of the city. Also with UN Habitat, they have really been pushing this ward development committee approach recently"

---

[16] The understanding I have gained of both Sacramento and Lusaka through the planning academy and engaging with the WDC's offer exciting research potential all by themselves. Indeed one of my biggest frustrations throughout the process of doing this research has been my need to maintain a focus on the master plan projects rather than engaging with what is actually taking place 'on the ground' in terms of planning in the two cities. The (lack of) relationship between the two levels however, as will be built on later in the thesis, has been vital in stimulating the trajectory of the critical narrative presented here.

Given that I want to continue with the approach of writing this thesis from the perspective of the two city council planning departments and their respective struggles, I will come back to the important connection between these wider stakeholder communities and the planning process later in the chapter and take this on into the rest of the thesis. For now, however, I want to begin to move through the wider set of actors involved in the master plan production process.

5.3 Consultants

The first thing to state about the lead external consultancy organisations for the 2030 master plans of both Lusaka and Sacramento is that they are not. External, that is. JICA, for example, were by no means merely international consultants brought in to work on this plan and it is clear that they are much more firmly embedded into the institutional fabric of the city. Location wise, their offices are contained in the former airport area, to the east of the city centre and within a part of the 2030 master plan that is designated to contain the new area of the 'dual-CBD' (see figure 5.1 below).
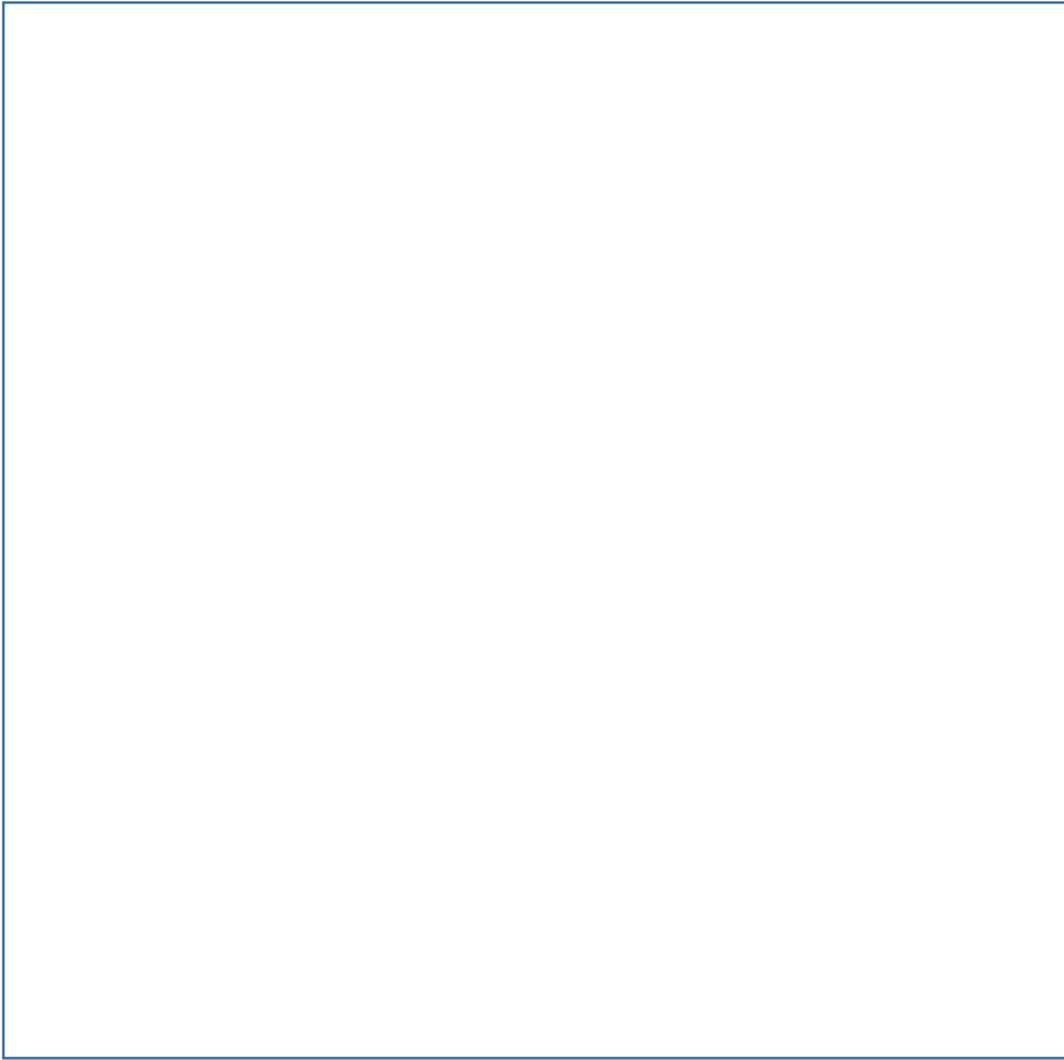
Figure 5.1 - JICA Office Location. Source:
http://www.jica.go.jp/zambia/english/office/index.html

Since I first visited Lusaka in early 2012, this area of the city (it also contains the United Nations, Zambia headquarters) has undergone significant regeneration. All the while, however, the inside of the JICA compound has remained somewhat separated from the world beyond. This is nothing unusual for Lusaka. Anyone who has ever spent time in the city will know that the vast majority of offices that house the various firms, institutions and agencies (as well as private homes in much of the city's formal, central areas) are within self-contained compounds surrounded by tall perimeter walls topped with either electric fence, barbed wire, or upturned broken glass bottles, depending on what can be afforded by the owner. The JICA offices give this impression where, much like you find at foreign embassies, it feels like a small

piece of Japan. In a similar vein, below is an image (figure 5.3) of the headquarters of Mintier Harnish, lead consultants for the four year process of producing the general plan of the capital city of California, one of the most powerful states in supposedly the most powerful nation on earth…

Figure 5.2 - Offices of Mintier Harnish, Sacramento, CA. *Source: http://mintierharnish.com/about-us/*

No, not the whole thing. Just the upstairs…

This 'office' is nestled amongst other compact, single family houses, located in the fashionable midtown area of Sacramento, home to what one of the city planners described to me as the 'midtown hipsters'. As you can see, it is surrounded not by a 10 foot high concrete wall, but by a low white picket fence. During my time in Sacramento I stayed in a number of locations in and around the midtown area in close proximity to the Mintier offices, a part of the city that stands in stark opposition to the sprawling suburbs that extend the city's limits beyond.

111

Walkable neighbourhoods, bars, restaurants, and coffee shops are dispersed amongst neat blocks along with ample green spaces, historical buildings associated with the state capitol, and various forms of residential housing. It is the epitome of what the 'smart growth', 'new urbanism' agenda of America's sustainable urban living paradigm is seeking to achieve. Interestingly, then, despite having a very different materiality, much like in the case of the JICA offices in Lusaka, the offices of Mintier do not stand out from the landscape in any way, but instead blend in, hidden amongst the surrounding urbanity. What is perhaps most interesting about the two images above is that they are taken from the 'about us' page on the websites of the two organisations. In other words, they portray the information that they *themselves* deem to be most important to potential visitors. For JICA, location in relation to other key points in the city is everything - hotels, embassies, western style shopping malls, and, of course, key transportation routes out of the city. As I suggested in chapter two, it is possible to visit Lusaka in a way that means you only make contact with the 'formal' parts of its space. JICA's map shows you exactly how to do that. Meanwhile, for Mintier Harnish, location is rendered not in relation to other landmarks, but to a wider sense of place and identity that perfectly encapsulates what, as a firm, they are all about. Local, sustainable, liveable.

The city planners in Sacramento see great benefit not just in the fact that a nicely packaged team was submitted to consult on the project but that, spearheaded by the two leads firms, interaction amongst the different individuals involved was commonplace:

> *"I think it's convenient to have consultants close by so we can have face to face communication and it is also good to have consultants who understand the local community otherwise you can get a lot of generic planning ideas superimposed on many different communities…Mintier for example, they do this stuff every day so it's vital they are here for the duration of the project and beyond"*

According to Mintier themselves, personal relationships were vital not only to the being awarded the contract and presenting a compelling team to the city but also in the smooth day to day running of the project over its duration. "It's that kind of thing that if you don't have those personal relationships it's tough, in a town like this" (interview). While they, as a firm specialise in doing general plans, one of the project managers from the other lead firm,

PBSandJ, also explicitly defined herself as an "expert in doing general plans". In the following quote she expands on this:

> *"I've also worked on plans from various places across California in rural towns where it's real hard to get things done and also in, [for example] Pasadena and Santa Monica where there really is some great mixed use sustainability style stuff going on so there is a lot more energy around it. [Having] experience in doing general plans in various types of conservative and liberal communities was really useful for a project like Sacramento's. Plus [other PBSandJ consultant] and I have a good relationship with the guys at Mintier who were able to bring in a more Sac focused angle to the leading of the project"* (interview, PBSandJ)

While there is no pre-determined stimuli for producing a new general plan, once the process is set in motion, it is already established that the general plans will form legally binding, ratified visions for guiding future development[17]. The city planners therefore see the consultants as also being "experts in the requirements that the state has for general plans". Within the consultancy team itself a number of personal and long standing relationships between the directors of several of the firms as well as the city planners made for a particularly compelling case.

> *"It's very interesting because I have known [CEO of other lead consultancy firm] for years as well as the guys at both [transportation consultancy firm] and [economic consultancy firm]. So we have all known each other for years and this project came up and I think we had been all been talking about this being one that makes sense for us to team up on so we were pretty much formed strategically for almost a year prior to when it was coming up just because we had heard about it…Most of us lead consultants had lived and worked here for a long time and know a lot of people and know what will fly, we know the politics"* (interview, Mintier Harnish).

---

[17] *'The land use element [of the general plan] shall include a statement of the standards of population density and building intensity recommended for the various districts and other territory covered by the plan. The land use element shall identify and annually review those areas covered by the plan'* (California government Code Section 65300-65303.4).

In Lusaka, the background of JICA, as the overseas development arm of the Japanese government, is well recognised across the world:

> *'JICA aims to contribute to the promotion of international cooperation as well as the sound development of the Japanese and global economy by supporting the socioeconomic development, recovery or economic stability of developing regions'* (JICA 2015)

As an institution they maintain a physical presence in 34 African countries and their longer term support in Zambia is primarily orientated upon the 'Vitalization of Productive Sectors' and the 'improvement of Social Infrastructure for Sustainable Economic Growth (JICA 2015). Despite transplanting an external, foreign identity into Lusaka's development and presenting a physical sense of Japan at their office compound, a very different message emerges once you are inside the building. With a few notable exceptions, the majority of JICA's centralised employees are Zambian. I have visited the JICA office complex on several occasions during my time in the city to meet with certain individuals and on nearly every occasion have been met by a Zambian, or a Zambian and a Japanese colleague. It isn't merely a matter of JICA building a more diverse workforce however, as the employees themselves are happy to be represented as both local citizens, and JICA officials. As in the quote below taken from a conversation about the city, many of the JICA employees would flip between using 'we' in reference to both planning in the city generally, and JICA as an organisation, becoming very aware of the implications for each in relation to my own interests:

> *We [Lusaka] have a lot of unplanned settlement, I will give you an example of Kalingalinga, Chibolya and so many more. As much as there was a plan in the past, the monitoring, in my opinion was quite weak and....we [planning in the city] went to sleep for some time. So things were happening on the ground and we [Lusaka] did not have capacity [to deal with it]…the need for us here [JICA] to work with them on developing a new one was important I think"* (interview, JICA)

His role is JICA's current infrastructure project manager, and he is a Lusaka resident who, having graduated from the University of Zambia in 2004, had spent time working for various NGO sponsored development projects across the country before returning to Lusaka to lead one JICAs most important development sectors. Not an expert planner, he told me his primary

role as project manager was to oversee those initiatives that JICA was involved with and "coordinate meetings, write reports etc." I asked him if he felt that, being Zambian, he bridged the gap somewhat between two different perspectives on the city.

> *"Yeah I would say I do that because in every development project especially where you have two cultures involved, you need an entry point and you need people that understand the culture and that even have knowledge of the local environment…"*

These multiple or contrasting subjectivities do not necessarily have any real implications in the everyday presence of different actors in their respective roles, however when actors are brought together and orientated in a particular direction, or indeed when we seek to understand their roles in relation to a more specific agenda such as thinking about, problematizing, and envisioning the city in its entirety as the object of their work, the importance of these subjectivities is more revealing. The narrative he gave about his role also matched that of the JICA message more generally, with many of them keen to tow a particular line, regarding how they were merely facilitators and that it was "local government that really came up with the new master plan for the city" as the lead consultant described it in an interview. JICA were, therefore, merely 'overseers' who as well as providing the final plan, also had the responsibility to: 'formulate a short-term development plan for urgent implementation, which include management plans and capacity development plans, to ensure realization of the study output' and 'carry out technology transfer to the Zambian counterpart personnel in the course of the study' (JICA 2009).

> *"…I would say my role as team leader at the front of producing this plan and the studies is because of my background on these sorts of projects. My education was in Japan planning school but since 1985 I have [been] working in overseas city planning section with [Nippon Koei/KRI] as city and regional development consultant. We have a good framework for organising these teams that JICA has adopted when working on urban master plan project[s] for cities in Africa…So yes I have a lot of experience in city planning projects done in Sub-Sahara countries. This is how I came here and was selected for this project. Also, especially for Lusaka, I have been here a lot since I was team leader of the study on environmental improvement of unplanned settlements which was carried out in 2001 so I had good understanding of what this city was like and the issues that it had"* (interview, JICA)

The quote above is part of the response given by the 2030 vision's lead consultant from JICA when asked why *he* thought he had been selected to lead the consultancy team for the plan in Lusaka and what form his 'expertise' takes. The framework that he mentions consists of three sector groups in the "major fields" of study: urban planning and living environment; urban transport; and water supply and sewerage. These were then used to connect the JICA study team to the most important actors within LCC and MLGH. The lead planner on the city side serves to legitimise this relationship:

> *"In my honest view it is just the aspect of having done it before, so these guys can come and say they developed master plans for these different regions and so on. It is just because they have done it before and walked this path before. Probably they have good and bad experiences. In terms of the actual solutions I think that sometimes they may not have the best solutions"* (interview, LCC)

It is very difficult to get the JICA employed consultants to talk about their roles as being anything other than just that, JICA employees. Through a number of skype interviews (many of the consultants are either back in Japan or elsewhere working on similar projects) I tried to open this up more but a response of "you are best to ask the JICA Zambia office" became an increasingly common one. Looking into the background of these firms however provides some interesting insight. *Japan Engineering Consultants Co. Ltd* (JEC) are an independent consultancy firm who, despite being located in Tokyo, work exclusively overseas and have gained "rich experience on many development projects in the field of Transportation, Urban/Regional Development, Architecture, Water Resources, Irrigated Agriculture, [and] Environment" (JEC 2015). A considerable number of these projects have been solicited through JICA and all are located in parts of the world certainly able to fall into the category of 'global south'. Likewise, the second firm subcontracted by JICA: *KRI International Corp.* (KRI) are a private international development consultancy firm who specialise in "the provision of creative, knowledge-based services" (KRI 2014). Listed clients on their website comprise various Japanese government agencies as well as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations. The vast majority of the consultants who worked on the Lusaka Master plan were employees of KRI. They are, however, actually what is described as the 'think tank' element of the third firm sub-contracted for the Lusaka master plan - *Nippon Koei co. Ltd.*

Nippon Koei Group are listed on the Japanese stock exchange as the oldest independent consulting firm in Japan. Starting as a means of pooling the skills of Japanese engineers in the period following the Second World War, the company soon began to look outwards and now describe themselves as the country's number one International Engineering Consultants, and boast a record of working on "over 3000 multi-disciplinary infrastructure projects in 135 countries" (NipponKoei 2015). The organisation has since developed a physical presence on the ground and has offices across three continents - Asia, Africa and South America, including in Nairobi, Maputo, and Gaborone, the latter of which a number of the individuals for the Lusaka plan were sourced from. Together KRI and Nippon Koei offer a particularly comprehensive combination of glossy narrative around international development with extensive engineering experience forged over a long period of time and many locations across the world. The following is an extract from the mission statement of KRI company president:

> *"..from the start of the 21st century, significant changes have taken place in the environment consulting business for international development in which we are engaged. At the present time, countries around the world are faced with the need to adapt to the rapid globalisation of the economy, while at the same time facing issues on a global scale, including the scarcity of resources and degradation of the environment. Under these circumstances, we KRI International Corp. will offer and implement our pioneering solutions with global perspective and an insight into the future"* (KRI 2014)

The floor below that which houses the LCC planning department are the offices of the council's own engineering department. At the end of what is a long corridor are two rooms that face one another. One of these is the space that we used as an interview space on the rare occasion I could manage to organise such a thing during the working day! This is the room where, during the plans production, all of the different members of the team would come together to work on the plans from different departments. On the door of the other room is a sign reading 'Inner Ring Road Project Office'. Despite its proximity, the room across the corridor is not a place that I have regularly frequented. The atmosphere is very different, so are the individuals inside. It is this office that served as the main office for the JICA study team throughout the development of the master plan and ever since then, I am told, it has served as office for the projects in the city, such as the ring road, that JICA continue to be involved

with. 'Stationed' is the word used by the officials at JICA to describe their locating of the consultants in the city council. Allowing them close access to the various departments from whom they would require cooperation in developing - and now realising - the plans. However, the planners upstairs had a slightly different opinion on this relationship:

"Unfortunately they preferred to work with engineers. So in that sense the department of engineering and surveying for example had the key contact, our involvement actually wasn't that much"

"You see how it is now, we interact when we need to of course and there are some of the council guys who work in there most of the time, but during the making of the master plan they were often on their own with no interaction outside of that office"

5.4 Widening the 'Context'

As mentioned above, it is impossible to approach the consultants provided for the master plan in Lusaka without situating it in the wider geopolitical context of the relationship between Japan and Zambia.

"I also hope that the cordial relationship between our two countries has been strengthened by this collaborative study"

This is another part of the opening statement of the 2030 vision plan written by the vice-president of JICA at the time. It is also at this national level where we must trace the JICA connection back to and the reason for one of the (Zambian) JICA employees describing the relationship as follows:

"These projects are not, if I can say like a "topdown" like JICA would impose these projects on Zambia. There is a common understanding as development partners of course, so the government has recognised JICA and the other way round as partners in development…JICA has been in Zambia for a number of years and are involved in a number of projects. As you can see from our vision it is inclusive and dynamic development so in its formulation as part of even a country assistance strategy, JICA aligns its objectives with those of the country" (interview, JICA)

The reality is that the decision to approach JICA was by no means a random choice on the part of the local authorities but rather the latest stage in a longer term developmental relationship between the governments of Zambia, Japan, and Malaysia. Known as the *Triangle of Hope* (2006) this relationship began as one focused on investment promotion and economic growth stimulation through the use of expertise in these fields established through the experiences of Japan and Malaysia (seen to be at different stages of development relative to Zambia's current situation). It is through the Triangle of Hope programme that the Multi-Facility Economic Zone (MFEZ) project discussed in chapter two - so central to the 2030 plan's narrative - was spawned and connected into a wider project of infrastructure development as a means of economic growth stimulation. The following extract is from the Triangle of Hope project 'brochure' (JICA 2010):

> *'In January 2005, President Mwanawasa visited Japan. Apart from securing over US$600 million in debt relief from the Japanese, he also asked JICA for help in the area of investment promotion. JICA engaged the services of Dato' Jegathesan, a Malaysian international consultant with a lot of hands-on experience in promoting investments. Dato Jega conducted three seminars to raise awareness about the importance of the three forces (i.e. MPs, Senior Civil servants and private sector) to work together in reducing poverty through job and wealth creation. These forces form the three sides of the Triangle of Hope'*

Raposo (2013) highlights how Zambia has long been and remains an important country on the African continent for Japan ever since initial diplomatic relations began at the outset of independence in 1964. This, he argues, is down to a number of factors that go beyond simply wanting to tap into Zambia's mineral wealth, and include the country's site as the headquarters of COMESA, making it a vital link into the Southern African regions trade bloc; Zambia's support for Japan's push for a permanent seat on the UN Security council; and willingness of the Zambia government to participate in Japan's model of being the orchestrators of 'South-South' development cooperation - of which the Triangle of Hope represents such an initiative. In rationalising JICA, an urban planning officer in the Ministry of Local Government and Housing described in an interview how they "had been and continue to be a very good partner to this country in terms of infrastructure development", before adding:

"It was time to come up with something big...something that could tackle the problems the city faces on a large scale. Other plans have failed in the past but, through the help of JICA we have the plan we need; in line with the government's vision" (interview, MLGH)

The Zambian Vision 2030 project defined as the 'Zambian people's vision to become a Prosperous Middle Income Country by 2030', is the country's existing development strategy (Government of Zambia 2006). With Lusaka arguably sitting at the centre of such an agenda, it isn't difficult to conceive of this city master plan forming the logical next step down from a more comprehensive national master plan. In light of these visons, it is clear that the authorities see newfound value in having such integrated and comprehensive approaches to planning, something pointed out by the lead city planner:

"JICA were aware of this vision and I think in terms of the visionary aspects they borrowed a lot from this. So it became a smaller version of the vision but then combined with the specific ideas for the city that [the consultants] thought would be good for the city's contribution to achieving these goals. Being the capital city meant that this was always going to happen in my opinion. This is a Lusaka plan for Zambia more than it is for Lusaka" (interview, LCC)

Sacramento's general plan can also be seen as the city-scale manifestation of a wider agenda, albeit this time at a regional level. Given the scope of the plans both in terms of scale and vision, the stakeholders on the government side in Sacramento were also not limited to the city planning department and their immediate consultants. A split dynamic to the city's political environment means that the kind of sustainability orientated narrative that the plans embody receives different responses from those across different levels of government.

"The state codes now have some state wide objectives and agendas that need to be played out in the general plans of local governments. I don't want to call it intrusion because that makes me sound like a tea party member, but it is that state injecting its agendas and policy perspectives into local general plans – that's huge in relation to the past"

As a result, and like the planner above, a number of them spoke about how while they didn't feel sustainability in its all-encompassing sense, certainly from the perspective of planning

and design was given too much thought there does exist an 'ethic' around issues such as 'climate change and the environment' that makes people (and therefore their council representatives) more receptive to the ideas being championed. A member of the consultancy team went further to state that he believed the incumbent mayor and some high profile members of the city council at the time the general plan was being adopted had 'very progressive attitudes' that were tantamount to pushing the vision of the plan along.

> *"…a bunch of it is all about the leadership of the city – having a strong major, a strong staff leadership that really says this is a vision of reaching out to find that vision. And then the secondary piece is how state or federal levels can try to empower"* (interview, transportation consultant)

In terms of direct influence over the general plans production however, it is at a *regional* level where the stimulus for a more state-led engagement with sustainability planning emerged. The problematizing of the city around its physical area and an attitude of "we are all in this together" came from the wider region according to a member of the city council (interview, SCC). The 'Sacramento Area Council of Governments' (SACOG) who, as a political association of six counties across the wider Sacramento region, embrace the concept of sustainability at a scale even greater than just individual city agendas:

> *"There is a lot of awareness about what sustainable design is and that has contributed to the regional government at SACOG who have been nationally praised on their outreach engagements. They had media outlets and thousands of people coming to their public workshops and they had interactive technology so people could sit down and see real world impacts [of uncontrolled sprawl], I think they spent millions of dollars on the public outreach alone"* (interview, Lead city planner)

The SACOG 'effect' as another planner described it, was also boosted by their high profile appointing of a new CEO who came down from Portland, Oregon in 2004 with a strong reputation for sustainable planning and sprawl mitigation. Mike McKeever is known as 'Mr Consensus' by fellow professionals and local media figures alike for his influential role at the centre of the regions planning and sustainability agendas (Bizjak 2016). Having spent most of his career working in Portland, it was his arrival at SACOG that spawned the development of the 'Regional Blueprint' growth scenario for the Sacramento region (Davis 2013). A number

of the consultants have close personal ties to Mr McKeever and recognise the importance of his influence in generating collective impetus towards sustainable planning regimes. During an interview with a member of the SACOG team, she stated that there was a clear emphasis in "moving away from a piecemeal approach towards more generalised understandings of the urban form in the region" and that the fact both Mintier and PBSandJ had clear "regional affiliations with a number of cities" made SACOG "very comfortable" with the direction that Sacramento, as the largest and most prominent city in the region would take with its plan. Others also believed SACOG's work around the blueprint was a vital stimulant not only for *comprehensive* planning but also for a particularly *integrated* approach:

> *"There was a group of people that started coalescing 15 or more years ago that eventually along with a few cities in the region and SACOG, [who] created this blueprint, said you have to have a connection between [land use and transportation]…the first time in this region that we had tried to connect land use and transportation and advocate for a better land use pattern for the region"* (interview, transportation consultant).

5.5 The Supporting Cast

Returning to the master plan production process itself, in this final section before discussing the theoretical implications of for what I have presented in this chapter, I want to focus on the way in which the successful adoption of the plans relied upon a much wider set of actors and agencies to steer its development. For Lusaka, 'steer' is the correct word as it was through the establishment of a 'steering committee' that the MLGH sought to oversee the trajectory of development, casting an eye over the work of the LCC and their JICA consultants (see figure 5.3 below)

```
1) MLGH
2) LCC
3) Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company (LWSC)
4) Ministry of Finance and National Planning (MoF)
5) Ministry of Energy and Water Development (MoE)
6) Ministry of Works and Supply (MoWS)
7) Ministry of Transportation and Communication (MoT)
8) Environmental Council Zambia (ECZ)
9) National Water and Sanitation Council (NWASCO)
10) Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MoCD)
11) Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (MoTENR)
12) Lusaka Province Planning Authority (LPPA)
13) District Council of Chongwe
14) District Council of Chibombo
15) District Council of Kafue
16) Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry (MoCTI)
17) Zambian Development Agency (ZDA)
```

*Figure 5.3 - **Lusaka Master Plan Steering Committee.*** Source: JICA (2009)

JICA, however, argue that this was not so much a monitoring committee as it was a desire on their part to harmonise what would eventually materialise in the new plan. A member of JICA stated the following:

> *"…we pushed for meetings so that all relevant stakeholders like land ministries, departments, the government agencies that are involved in one way or another and are likely to use master plan…from the JICA position we wanted to clearly lay out a common understanding on urban planning"* (interview, JICA)

One particularly important element of this is engagement with governance in the districts surrounding Lusaka which, as the plans point out, form part of the "Greater Lusaka" region and are vital to a broader development paradigm that can share growth and development opportunities. Vital to this outreach process - through engaging with the regional governance in the districts - was to strike up a dialogue with the traditional chieftains' use of customary land tenure, something which is "prominent in the adjacent districts in Greater Lusaka" (JICA

2009). When asked about this, the lead JICA consultant for the plan described the need for this to be seen as an important part of planning in Lusaka[18]:

> *"Yes, Lusaka we must remember is administered by City Mayor and City Council but because we were brought in we knew about [the] problems before with making Lusaka also involved with the chiefs around the city. The land system that they have has been a big problem for planning in the past because there was political issues between the city and the chiefs…I had to hold meetings with them to explain the plan…this was very important to how we decided on [the] strategy for expansion style model with satellite [towns] because we were able to show them where the city development would be"* (interview, Lead JICA consultant)

A similar approach to overseeing the work of planners during the production of the new general plan was taken in Sacramento, and once again, the intricacies of the political context seem to be crucial in defining the makeup of this group. While in Lusaka it was various ministries and organisations, the approach in Sacramento was very different. During an interview with one of the members of what was known as the "advisory committee" - who was also a property developer - he explained to me what exactly their role consisted of:

> *"…we were a buffer between the plan's more 'technically' orientated consultants and planners and those on the ground with a vested interested in certain issues, I guess you might call it 'the people'. We would read the documentation and provide feedback…There was an application process and you got appointed. They wanted a good mix so each council member had one person from their district and everyone else was a miscellaneous – they wanted an architect and a planner and activist etc"* (interview, Sacramento)

As a result of this, the neighbourhood leaders who were selected to the committee, some of which existed as upstanding, well respected members of their district, others as prominent business owners and others as close acquaintances of the respective district councillor, played an extremely powerful role in mediating the plan's production process. An important aspect of this group is the fact that they were assembled not by the city planners themselves as a

---

[18] In Zambia, only 6% of the land is owned by the state. The rest of it that isn't under private ownership is held under customary legal tender and the authority of traditional chieftain leadership.
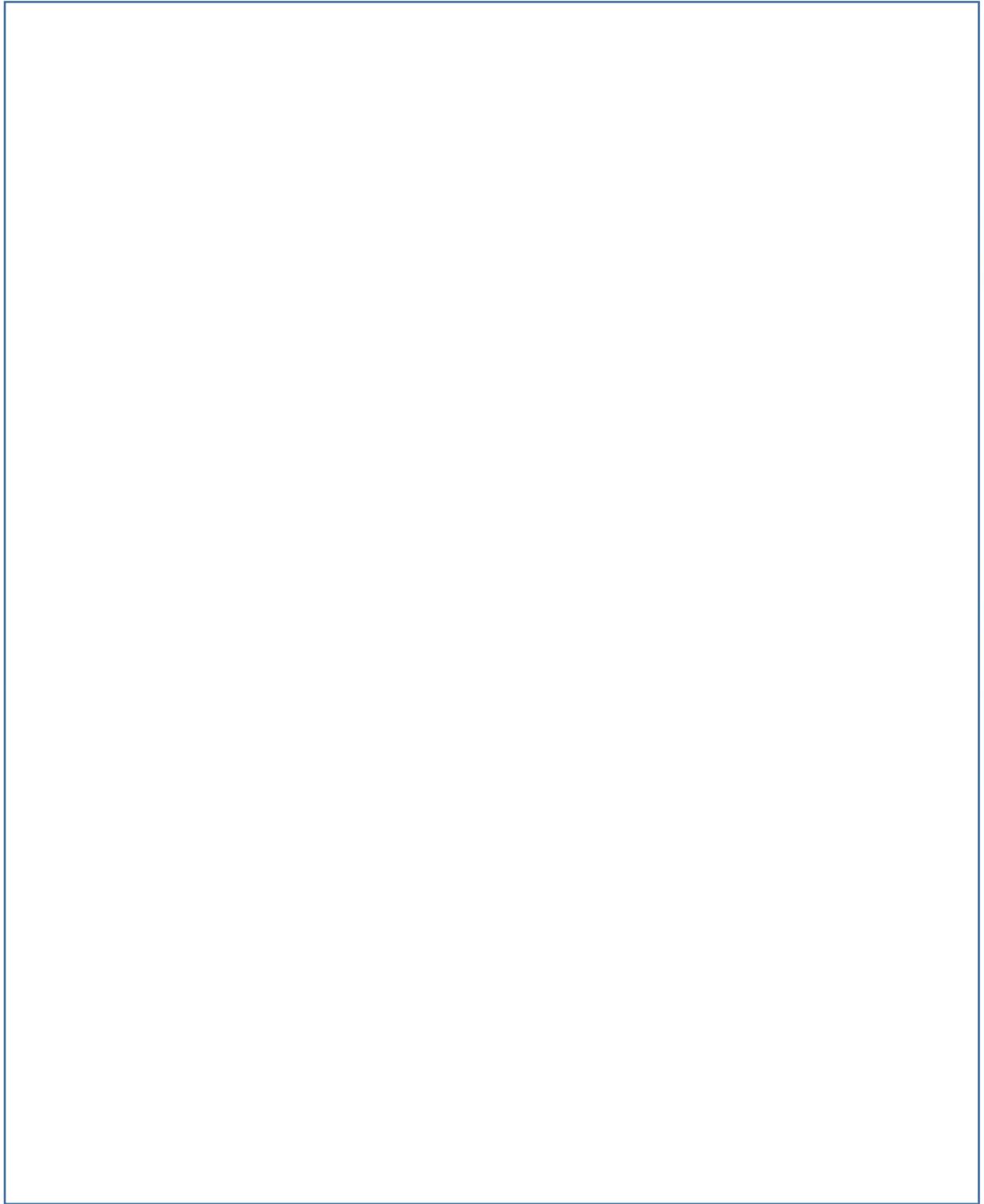
Figure 5.4 - Lusaka 2030 Vision Diagram with outreach summary. *Source: JICA Study Team*

means of outreaching to the community, but by the city council, with each council member appointing representatives from their own city wards. It emerged that another core rationale for the make-up of this team was to try and build a - somewhat estranged - relationship with the local developer community. Those on the team for this purpose would, as one planner described it, "really let us know when we had towed the line on having too big and bold ideas". As another one put it:

"The real estate association didn't want any kind of requirements around efficiency etc. and any attempts we made to insert these were opposed because that would potentially kill house sales and at the time we were at a low point in the real estate values in the economy"

Sacramento's general plan describes in considerable detail the outreach process conducted in order to try and mitigate any later resistance by the community, involving: town hall forums, high school and college summits, community open houses, and public hearings in the lead up to final adoption. Figure 5.5 below is imagery contained in the initial pages of the plan to illustrate these outreach processes while it describes the 2030 general plan as:

"…the result of input by thousands of city residents and business owners representing all segments of Sacramento bringing their ideas, passions, and energy to plan the City's future" (City of Sacramento, 2009)
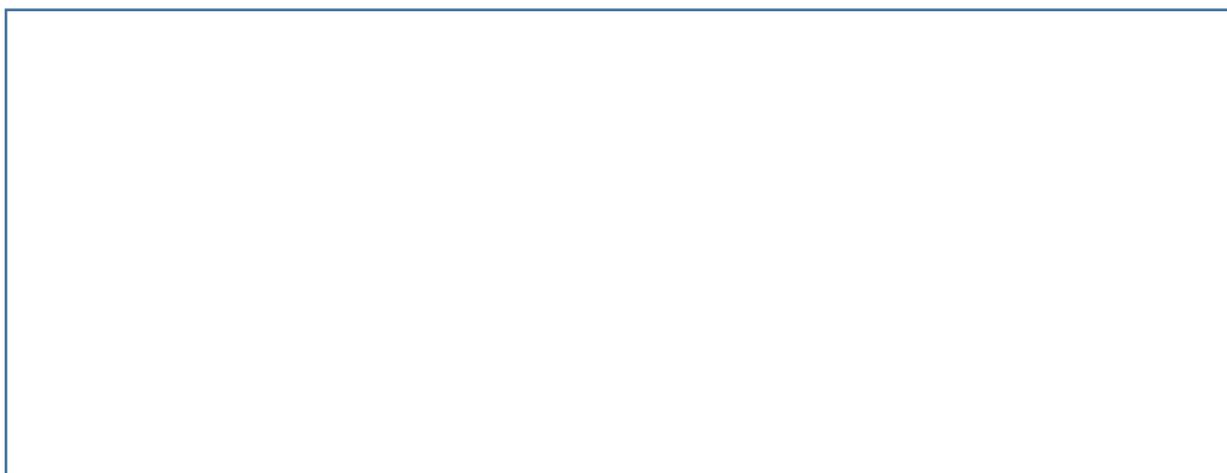
Figure 5.5 - Sacramento General Plan: Outreach photography. Source: City of Sacramento (2009)

5.6 Discussion: Blurred identities of the 'local'

"But the whole idea is just to share knowledge. Even when expertise [from] other countries is brought in…the process involves a lot of consultation and it is not like a transplant of ideas from Japan to Zambia, there is always contextualising concepts to suit the Zambian scenario. So through that approach we are helping the country improve its infrastructure for stimulating economic growth and there is an integrated approach to our intervention as JICA"

How does one know if they count as a 'local' in a particular place at a particular time and in conducting a particular task? What is inherent to the localness of a human being? At what point, for example, does JICA stop being 'external' and become a core part of the local, situated fabric of the planning community in Lusaka? Or at what point does a 'consultant' in Sacramento become so immersed in the local institutional arrangements that they have a vested interest in the future of the city beyond simply being a practitioner? Certain fundamental characteristics of institutions serve to anchor them in particular places, even if only to the extent of the physical bricks and mortar that comprise their offices and similar places of work. However, through connections in both space and time, and, more importantly, in relation to other actors and institutions, such definitions become blurred with what is concrete and rooted in one place taking on characteristics we might be inclined to associate with an elsewhere, and individuals or organisations with their own roots elsewhere putting down new ones in place. As Jager (2001) describes it, what are initially positions in certain discourses can, over time, become fixed and develop into much more fundamental "ideological or institutional positions" (ibid.49). In his book *Verandah's of Power* (2003), Garth Myers uses "the actual experiences of people" at different levels of society to ground the analysis of colonial urban planning (ibid.32). As a provocative way of talking back to and problematizing existing discussions across a 'global-local' divide in the previous chapter, I have approached the institutional planning contexts of Lusaka and Sacramento in a similar way, using commonly assumed definitions of policy 'actors' to do so.

The discussion that I want to present in light of this is more a set of questions at this stage than it is answers. Indeed, in this second part of the thesis, my primary intention is to use the contexts of Lusaka and Sacramento to problematize what I believe is the overly comfortable

invocation of certain geographical terminology in order to do theoretical work on the topic of urban policy making. The quote at the start of this section is from a JICA employee, who is Zambian, talking about Japanese ideas, and moulding them to the Zambian context. This is helpful for highlighting an important ontological tension described in chapter three regarding attempts to build social theory based on action alone - actions are deeply unstable concepts. The individual in question saw fit to make it very clear to me that the ideas were moulded to the local context. Why would he do that? Why would he need to do that given the fact that he is, *obviously,* a part of what is perceived as the 'local' context himself? The point here is not that moulding of ideas to a 'context' is something that takes place, but that it is something so utterly accepted as necessary that its use as a critical representation of policy making, is meaningless. This exists for the same reason that JICA, and indeed Mintier Harnish in Sacramento, as 'external' consultants, maintain a *materially* local presence in the two cities - a powerfully stabilised notion of what constitutes 'context' in the minds of practitioners, policy makers, and academics alike. They are positioned both 'inside' and 'outside' of the context in question through various different mechanisms involving the materiality of both their buildings and their employees themselves. 'Local' isn't a description of something, it's a political statement in itself.

In both cases, very unique sets of relationships are at the heart of the formulation of the teams that produce the plans and how they engage with the city in question before, during, and after the actual planning process. Some of these are more obvious and the result of long standing relationships between different actors such as between the Zambian and Japanese governments or between members of the consultancy team in Sacramento while others are more subtle such as the demographic makeup of JICA's employees in Lusaka or even the physical way in which Mintier Harnish have embedded themselves as a firm into the fabric of Sacramento and embodied the sustainable planning message they provide for clients. This reflects what Allen (2008) describes as establishing oneself as a 'part of someone else's space' as a means of leveraging power. The identity with which the power is associated may be originally located far away spatially (in Japan for example) or temporally (in the original master plan of Sacramento), but the materiality of its existence today offers the vehicle for this power to be enacted upon. *Scale* in this sense is not merely a 'social construction' (Marston 2000), but has a vital, performative, materiality.

Thinking back to arguments in the previous chapter about the rolling back of the state through 'neoliberalisation', it has been common place in discussions of urban policy making to speak of actors involved in pushing certain knowledge and ideas in order to shape the processes of policy and gain economic advantage from it (Clarke 2012; Larner and Laurie 2010). The notion of the 'consultant', is perhaps the best example of this at an individual identity level. It is, however, merely the strategic representation of a particular subjectivity, rather than a concept that transcends the 'field of events' or 'runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history', as Foucault (1980) described at the end of the previous chapter. We can also reflect here upon Rapoport's (2015) notion that the 'clients' who hire master planners are key agents in the 'hiring' of planning consultancy firms. In the cases of Lusaka and Sacramento, I would suggest that the ability to situate oneself as a 'client' of urban master planning consultancy is a position of considerable luxury, not afforded to those in this case, especially once one scratches away at the surface of the different relationships at work. Similarly, I would argue that a divide between situated planners and external consultants or 'local' civil servants and 'global' private consultants doesn't map neatly onto a transaction based divide of 'sell v tell', in which power merely takes the form of backdrop to dialectical reasoning (Wood 2014).

Discussing this very theme, Peck (2011) invokes the notion of Machiavelli's Prince in a similar way to that which is done by Bent Flyvbjerg in his book *Rationality and Power* - a book from which considerable inspiration was taken in the forming of this chapters 'narratology' (2001). However, unlike Flyvbjerg, Peck doesn't return to problematize the way in which power works to make decisions *appear* rational. In other words, Peck distances contemporary global policy making from the idea that of 'rational choice' but keeps hold of the notion that said rational choice exists somewhere, 'out there'. One reason for this, perhaps, is that unlike Flyvbjerg (an urban planning theorist), Peck is primarily interested in the *geographies* involved with the policy making process and that this focus diverts attention away from the situated institutional contexts of *power*. This is something that is, I would argue, deeply problematic as it overlooks the very way in which ideas *are* presented as rational models. To argue that rationality is not merely instrumental (and this argument itself is debatable) is not enough in a world where we live by the assumption, for a multitude of complex reasons, that it *is.* For example, Wood (2014) criticises political science literature on 'policy transfer' for its

orientation to "politically neutral *truths*" (ibid.1241, emphasis added). In a paper on the 'global and local characters' circulating policy, she states:

> "…*adopting localities are instrumental in cultivating a receptive ground for the application of circulated policy. Global best practice does not simply float around waiting to be selected, but rather local policymakers are actively seeking and transforming innovations…* (ibid.1238).

The issue here is not Wood's suggestion that situated policy makers are responsible for developing new ideas and cementing them into the context, but her opposing of this to a perception that best practices and ideas of sustainable design (Wood's paper focuses on Bus Rapid Transit policy), *could* be 'floating around'. The multiple *intentions* of various actors work to complicate simple understandings of causality. The position that a particular actor or individual therefore fills in relation to the overall dispositive of sustainable cityness does not transcend their entire being, but rather, orientates them in a particular way based upon their relationship to a number of factors. Removed from the contextual circumstances of this particular project, the identity of different institutions becomes considerably less (or perhaps for some, more) stabilised. Melissa Tandiwe Myambo (2014) describes how this dichotomy of the global and local has been deeply entrenched as a metaphor for the gap between modernity and tradition, with the 'global' signifying particular regions of the world, or indeed more precise locations that exhibit a particular 'globalness'. Moving on from this, the 'global' has been shown to be a powerful practitioner tool, with policy makers and 'experts' able to leverage their position by identifying with some sort of 'globalness' while maintaining a material 'localness' (Goldman 2005; Tsing 2000; Tsing 2005).

Focusing more generally on situated urban planning and its agenda *as* an institution, embodied by those who populate the field in question, allows an examination of how the prevailing discourse of sustainability works to "determine reality" with regards to the city, through the intervention of different subjects who leverage the knowledge at the disposal of their position in overall societal discourse (Jager 2001:36). The following quote from Bent Flyvbjerg (2001, p.227) illustrates this power-context relationship and the impact it has on how one interprets agency within this sphere:

"Rationality is context dependent, the context of rationality is power, and power blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalization"

In terms of the requisite 'knowledge' for the purpose of governing, understanding the relationship between knowledge and power is vital at a time when technology and connectivity mean *access* to knowledge and ideas is readily available worldwide. Policy and government officials therefore find themselves not disempowered by a lack of availability, but immersed in a wide range of influential narratives which they must then draw on in making decisions (Allen 2008; Forester 1982). As a result of this, the focus going forward in this thesis needs to move firmly away from actors and look at the concepts themselves - the 'knowledges' that are produced in the form of these master plans, and in doing so, begin to crystallise a firmer, more direct argument regarding existing theorisations of the "global age" of urban policy making.

5.7 Conclusion

"This means that discourses determine reality, always of course via intervening active subjects in their societal contexts as (co)-producers and (co)-agents of discourse and changes to reality. These active subjects conduct discursive and non-discursive practices. They can do this because as subjects 'knitted' into discourses they have knowledge at their disposal"

- Siegfried Jager (2001, p.36)

Sidaway (2013) points to the political and structural infeasibility of adopting singular, unified positions of the 'global' and 'local' despite it being so regularly drawn on as an explanatory device. Based on my experiences in Lusaka and Sacramento this is not only true, but the significant complexity through which not only global-local but also more regional and even 'local' scales themselves are blurred ensures that the use of geographically focused frameworks for understanding the positionality of various actors would likely lead to oversight with regards to the important contingencies upon which the emergence of policy rests. As Tsing (2000) writes, we can easily "lose touch with the material and institutional components through which powerful and central sites are constructed, [and] from which

convincing claims about units and scales can be made" (ibid.330). In short if our focus, as it has been here, is on planning and spatial policy making relating to the future development of the city, then the concept of the 'local' offers us no useful conceptual insight into understanding relationships of power beyond simply *describing* the situated nature of the production process and the tightly knit institutionality of the city's planning 'stakeholders'.

Discourse doesn't just govern subjects, it establishes them *through* the process being carried out, and gives specific meaning and purpose to the agenda in question (Foucault 1980; Gaventa 2003; Harrer 2007). The ability that individuals have to leverage power and take advantage of power that they are deemed to 'possess', is secondary for this thesis to the question of *how* they come to find themselves in positions of power within a given agenda. This seems fundamental to the issue of *sovereignty*. If we are to think of the production of city master plans as projects that seek to write particular cities into a competitive 'world of cities', then it is vital that we critically engage with both who such projects are being written *by* and who they are being written *for.* Whether our interest is in criticising Orwellian modes of governance and exploitative profiteering, or in encouraging more democratic planning and policy making processes, we have to understand the way in which rationality is produced and stabilised in particular places over long periods of time. This means we need an altogether different way of using a geographical understanding to explore urban policy making practices, something that will be addressed in the final part of the thesis.

For the next and final chapter of this part of the thesis, however, I want to open up more fully the literature that has been touched on briefly here and in the previous chapter - research on 'policy mobility'. As a body of research this work seeks to construct theory on urban policy making from an explicitly 'relational' perspective, I want to bring this into conversation with a focus on the actual 'knowledges' that coalesced into the form of the master plans in the two cities. Drawing on both the theoretical discussion in the previous chapter and the empirical one presented here, I want to return to this body of work within which I, myself, was originally situated and reflect on how the master plans in Lusaka and Sacramento sit with what is described by (Peck 2011) as a 'rolling conversation'. The prominence of this literature and its evocative representation of the world compels my return in this manner, albeit by moving away from *actors* and towards the concept of planning and spatial policy making 'knowledge'.

Chapter 6: 'Assembling' the city vision

"It is important here that in narrating processes of assembly, care is taken to attend to the forms of power through which particular relations are held stable, fall apart, are contested and are reassembled…This is not to posit power as external to the assemblage…but to locate power as a contingent and multiple force in relation to which assemblages are made and remade"

- Ben Anderson et al. (2012, p.180)

6.1 Introduction

I want to start this chapter with a question. Why, from the perspective of urban geographical scholarship, is it useful to conceptualise spatial policy making as an 'assemblage' process? What is it that is sought in doing this and what, critically and practically, can we gain from it? The concept of the assemblage is now well embedded into the canon of urban studies, where it offers a helpful means of conceptualising a process of 'thinking cities relationally' (Jacobs 2012). Closely related to the ontological turn this thesis is situated within, the 'relational turn' consists of moving beyond rigid interpretations of 'space as scale' and 'location as place' (Creswell 2012: 218). Cresswell describes relational *geographies* as interested in the world "as formed through the way in which things are related to each other". Turning away from a focus on actors in the previous chapter I want to now explore the notion of policy and knowledge 'assemblages' and think again about the sustainable visions in Lusaka and Sacramento as potentially being the "spaces of circulating knowledge" described in the introduction chapter and at the heart of my original research intentions.. I want to do this now in order to review some of these conversations and debates about relational urbanism from a perspective that is informed both theoretically (chapter four), and empirically (chapter five), by our understanding of the sustainable city dispositif.

Through Giorgio Agamben's discussion of '*What is an apparatus'* (2009), and Gilles Deleuze's own '*What is a dispositif'* (Deleuze 1992) the foundations for striking up an important dialogue between the notions of the apparatus and the assemblage are clear and it is helpful to explore whether thinking about a knowledge assemblage helps or hinders our understanding of the way in which ideas are produced within the dispositif of the sustainable city. In order to do this the chapter will base its discussion around what are the central concepts of the two sustainable design master plans - smart growth and the garden city. Ian

Cook and Kevin Ward's (2012) study of a waterfront master plan project in Cleveland, USA, offers us a very helpful definition of how we might conceptualise urban policy as a mode of knowing, describing it as "sets or bundles of expertise, learning, and knowledge *codified* in one way or another into policy form" (ibid.779, my emphasis). Building on this, the chapter will first flesh out what the body of work known as 'policy mobility' defines itself as, and where it has come from. Drawing upon its use of the 'assemblage' I will then examine some of the criticisms levelled at this work. Adding important *empirical* rigour to these critiques, the chapter will build towards highlighting what are problematic appropriations of the assemblage concept and discuss how we should utilise it while seeking to maintain a practical and critical engagement with spatial urban policy making from a geographical perspective.

6.2 Policy 'Mobility' and 'Assembling Urbanism'

The term 'assemblage', deployed as a philosophical and theoretical concept, first appeared in Deleuze and Guattari's follow up book to the *Oedipus Complex* discussed in chapter two - *Capitalism and Schizophrenia: A Thousand Plateaus* (1980). Since then it has been stretched and adapted in different ways to fulfil various tasks, some of which seem to contradict one another in important facets - a separation Jacobs (2012) describes as often having "irreconcilable grammars" (ibid.412). Such tensions perhaps present a danger to the fate of assemblage thinking given the way that its predecessor, 'actor-network theory' (ANT), succumbed to overly literal interpretations of it as a 'theory', something that subsequently prompted Bruno Latour to distance himself from his idea (Farías 2010; Gaventa 2003). Nonetheless, the concept has been put to work to do significant theoretical situating with regards to an influential body of research known as 'policy mobility', having served as a central rationalisation to the book *Mobile Urbanism*, by Eugene McCann and Kevin Ward (McCann 2011; McCann and Ward 2012; Peck and Theodore 2010; Peck and Theodore 2015; Ward 2006). The authors draw on Deleuze and Guattari to apply the concept of the assemblage as a "rubric under which to frame" their understanding of how things come together to constitute urbanism (ibid.xv). A recent 'Debates and Developments' selection in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research provided a collection of progress reports on the status of policy mobility research (Baker and Temenos 2015). These two

collections, and work that has taken place in the interim, provides a useful means of approaching policy mobility as an influential and growing strand of thought in urban studies (Temenos and McCann 2013).

Orientated on "analyses of policies as powerful and productive technologies", and examining the "inter-local" "assembling, emergence, hybridity, mutation, relationality and translation" of policy (Baker et al. 2016), the premise of this research is to unpack and understand the 'fast' nature of policy transfer in the increasingly inter-connected and networked 'global era' (Peck and Theodore 2001). The topics covered by research within this bracket come from a range of different areas of governance. Some examples include Business Improvement Districts (BID's) (Ward 2006; 2011); Drugs Policy (McCann 2008; 2011); Creative Class clusters (Peck 2005; 2011); sustainability (Temenos and McCann 2012); and transportation models (Wood 2014; 2015). The research can be seen as applying a mode of critical, relational thinking in order to problematize what it sees as more 'traditional' policy transfer literature within political science journals, that charted "transnational transfer networks" of policy making (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Stone 2004). As McCann (2011) describes it, policy mobility work is critical of a previous lack of "full attention to the socio-spatial and scalar elements of these transfers" (ibid. 110). Cochrane (2011), meanwhile, in advocating the policy mobility research paradigm, describes this previous policy transfer narratives as a "dry" focus upon "straightforward processes of borrowing and translation" (ibid.x).

McCann and Ward (2015) describe some of the central concerns of the policy mobility conversation as interested in "benchmarking, comparison, consultants and think tanks", all of which play important roles in shaping policy production. Patsy Healey (2010), meanwhile, defines the mobilisation of planning models as "complex interactions of structural forces, individual agency and institutional cultures" (ibid.). These dimensions could be seen to come together in producing the landscape of policy 'circulation', involving a 'flow' of ideas between places and therefore the 'in between spaces' that connect such locations (McCann and Ward 2011; Temenos and Baker 2015). There has been an increased interest in applying this approach to understanding the development of urban planning techniques through the use of modelling from elsewhere (Harris and Moore 2013; Healey 2011; Healey and Upton 2010; Rapoport 2014; Vidyarthi 2010). In reference to what she calls planning's 'distinctive geographies', Ananya Roy (2011) describes 'authoritative knowledge', produced in place and

subsequently 'travelling'. Likewise Astrid Wood's work, drawn on at the end of the previous chapter, emphasises the 'movement of knowledge' pertaining to specific planning ideas – in her case Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) projects (Wood 2014; Wood 2015; Wood 2016)

Thinking about the idea of cities being located within different sets of 'networks' is perhaps the most lucid form of relational urban thinking and one that is particularly familiar to those interested in exploring the functions of 'globalisation' (Amin 2004; Massey 2004; Ward 2010). Indeed there is a rich history of work that opens up the city as vital nodal points in the global flow of resources and people to the extent that their very existence as the places we recognise is dependent upon sustaining their positions within various connections and flows (Massey 1991; Massey 2005). Geographical scholarship has, perhaps naturally, been at the forefront of research into the complexities and implications of an increasingly globalised world, with this lexicon of 'networks' offering a seemingly viable means of narrating these stories of connectivity. (Castells 2010; Sheppard 2002; Smith 2003; Swyngedouw 2004). However, and in light of the previous chapters of this thesis, when dealing with questions of 'knowledge' as a resource, where does this leave *power* in a networked cities theorisation? To begin to answer this, we can look to the way in which some of the policy mobility discussions have made reference to the concept. Baker et al. (2016) conceptualize policy mobility as a process "infused with meaning and power", while Peck (2011) refers to the means by which mobility is "saturated" with power relations that dictate what goes where. Likewise, Sheppard et al. (2013) describe how ideas mobilise "through seductive media images, research, and pedagogic practices of corporate, policy and academic communities and is therefore saturated with inequalities of power" (ibid.3). McCann and Ward (2012) point to the fact that cities are made coherent through the efforts of actors located elsewhere, and through the "power-laden" and uneven relations among these various actors, and Wood (2014) refers to the 'circulatory' nature of power that is located 'everywhere' (ibid.1240).

Despite these anecdotal references, to the best of my knowledge the issue of power is not addressed explicitly by the policy mobility literature. We are therefore left, I would argue, to make one of two assumptions. The first, and not overly problematic assumption is that it is *nowhere*, either deliberately glossed over or seen as secondary to the primary focus of the research. Or, and more troublingly, it is being conflated with the concept of 'resources', in other words, certain knowledges about cities are deemed to be powerful because either they

themselves are desired resources, or, they are only accessible to those who have financial wealth. There is, as with the previous part of the thesis, a troubling question of the *centre* from which all of these things 'flow'. This envisions the global as something ontologically pre-existent to the local, and naturally lends itself to a top down flow of power as the process of 'assembling' local policy is presented as the result of 'deductive modalities of power' (Brigg 2002; Sheppard et al. 2013). To put it in different terms, there is a lack of clarity in this literature about what it is that is making policy 'move' through various networks, connections and trajectories. Indeed, a lack of engagement with the question of power is a useful way, as we will see below, to string together the set of critiques that have been levelled at policy mobility scholarship and its epistemological and ontological assumptions.

6.3 'Best' Practices - A Moth to a Flame

Theorising the complex serendipity of policy making across 'globalised' space, while perhaps an interesting endeavour, does not seem to make for a particularly useful approach to understanding what is shared so much as it is a difference finding device across various examples of 'mobility'. In other words, it starts with an externally rendered similarity (representation of a policy movement), and seeks out difference (ways in which this movement is blocked, re-configured, and facilitated in various cases). As articulated by Mcguirk (2015) the deployment of a theoretical paradigm into which particular cases are drawn, sometimes even before empiricism takes place lends itself to an examination of "general processes and local responses". This is what Anna Tsing (2000) describes, as the all too easy allure of a "seductive distinction" between 'global' forces and 'local' places (ibid.352). Any ontology of 'mobility' dictates that there must be a centre from which such movement is mapped, rooted in an ideological understanding of the concept that is being mobilised. This is in part due to the way in which ideas of 'globalisation' and 'mobilisation' have resulted in an extension across space *of* powerful 'centres', often seen to be embodied by particular actors, be they 'experts', 'consultants' or 'technocrats' who possess the requisite knowledge of particular 'problems'. The terminology of mobility serves to continue the entrenchment of a project rooted, as was described in chapter four, in the expansion of 'the west' over the course of the last 400 years. Likewise, if we think back to chapter three, we

must recognise the west not as a place, but as a *project.* There is no fixed centre, but rather a continually shifting centre that moves "depending on the claims being made" (Trouillot 2003: 2). What we have today, is a scalar vocabulary of power that is more diffuse and consists of "multiple centres rather than a unitary centre" (Allen 2008).

While there is emphasis on a *methodological* interest in 'studying through' (Baker et. al 2016), it is the rendering of what is worth studying in the first place that poses the problem for a body of work that invariably refers to "global circuits of policy knowledge" (McCann and Ward 2011) and the bringing of "fast policies to ground" (Peck and Theodore 2012). Indeed, it is the use of policy mobility as a framework through which to "conceptualize how policy is made and moved across and among cities and urbanized regions" that is being critiqued here (McCann and Ward 2015). When the 'thingness' of the policy being "followed" (Peck and Theodore 2012), is broken down to the ideas at the root of material manifestations, it becomes difficult to delineate them as even "truth statements, let alone fixed movable things" (Lieto 2015:115). Jane Jacobs (2012, p.419) in her own critique of the policy mobility approach, laments a 'back story' of globalised similarities that maps connections and traces the travel of ideas as it seeks to *explain* policy 'presences'. She describes this as an interest in 'joining the dots' to connect cities through these networks, while Robinson (2011) believes that such a task is akin to 'mapping the internet' (ibid. 27). The internet metaphor is a particularly effective one in this regard as in the context of the advanced digital age, the idea that 'knowledge' is unavailable in certain places - particularly if we are talking about *cities* - and can therefore be 'moved' into a location from another, is outdated.

Michel Callon and Bruno Latour (1981) in writing on the way 'sociologists' are complicit in the elevation of powerful 'macro structures', make the point that a desire to fall back on a 'social system' of some kind, leads to researchers crediting processes of translation with a "coherence that they lack" (ibid297). Local data may adjust to the global model but never defy it or push beyond the boundaries of what it can conceive of. 'Friction', for Tsing, is about the struggle over these universals (Goldman 2005; Tsing 2005). Callon (1984), during the earliest explorations of Actor-Network Theory before it was forced to unravel somewhat, described what he called 'obligatory passage points'. These are stabilised, mutually beneficial actions that allow meaning to be taken from some form of interpretation of reality that facilitates the accomplishment of respective goals even if those goals are in fundamental

opposition to one another and allows for the preservation of particular privileges. Any planning policy, model or idea that has been rendered (by someone) as a 'good planning idea' that is fit for travel to other places has been facilitated by the very same discourses that serves to render it as a 'good' idea for researching that very process of 'travel'. In other words, the planning 'idea' is being presented as if it can in some way transcend space and time and therefore exists in an ideological space that the supposedly disinvested, 'neutral' researcher also inhabits.

The attention that has been deployed to thinking about society (DeLanda 2006) in general, and cities more specifically (Farías and Bender 2012), as assemblages, has proliferated in recent years as more and more disciplines are seeking to go beyond the problems thrown up by theory building on the back of *representation* alone. Richard Smith (2003) is one such author who was arguably at the origins of the motion towards drawing on the ideas of "poststructuralism, actor-network theory (ANT) and non-representational theory" which had seemingly been "largely bypassed [in] urban geography" (ibid.26). Remedying this, through an examination of the model of 'new urbanism', Moore (2013) provides a critique of more simplistic interpretations by identifying the complex set of situated tensions and rationalisations that take place during the 'typification' of the model as a viable design strategy. Looking at the idea's rise to prominence in Toronto from "novel and quaint idea…to become normative, if not yet dominant" (ibid. 14), Moore's discussion draws attention to what is obscured by the powerful, unquestioned nature of 'best' practice ideas. Taking us in the right direction in terms of problematizing the unequivocal power of an idea or model, this longitudinal, situated narrative provides interesting links with the concept of *discourse*, something which also features heavily in Bulkeley (2006), more explicit deconstruction of the notion of 'best practice'. In her view, the production of best practices of sustainability should be thought of as an unstable, discursive process in which both policy problem and solution are "challenged and reframed", in a motion that breaks free from the rigidity of policy thinking regarding presence and absence, success and failure. A 'collective re-writing' of such stories (including that by researchers) merely contributes to cementing the truth regime regarding the positive message associated to certain ideas (Lieto 2015).

6.4 Smart Growth and the Garden City

"[Lusaka] has a lot of problems associated with uncontrolled land use involving the illegal construction of buildings, significant issues of traffic congestion which have been worsening over time…also the existence of many unplanned settlements in the city. All of these were major problems of Lusaka that needed to be addressed"

"[Because] this is the capital city of Zambia the plan needs to have [a] message for the visitors who come here, for example we have to make sure that the plan connects well with international airport and that the plan is in place to provide the right services for this"

- Interview, Lusaka 2030 lead consultant (JICA)

"[It is about] allowing a new identity to be forged that represents a more open and integrated view of Sacramento that can help turn the sprawl problem from one that impacts everyone in different ways, into one that brings them together to create a vision for transforming the sprawl concept"

"As well as sustainability being something to strive for, it was a message of liveability that we wanted citizens to buy into through the process…that compact mixed use message that we really don't have in the city because everything has become so stretched and accessibility between different areas is almost impossible without personal vehicles"

- Interviews, Sacramento 2030 lead consultants (PBSandJ and Mintier Harnish)

6.4.1 Smart Sacramento

"What's the alternative, 'dumb growth'?"

This is the first response I received during an interview when asking one of the planners at Mintier Harnish about the adoption of the smart growth 'model' and its incorporation as the central design principles of the 2030 general plan (see figure 6.1). His point is a clear one and he would thus elaborate:

"These are not new ideas, we are looking to return to the more pedestrian, streetscape style developments that existed in the past before the onset of the car in shaping the city"

<u>**Sacramento's Smart Growth Principles**</u>

- o Mix land use to support vibrant city centre
- o Take advantage of existing community assets emphasising joint use of facilities
- o Create a range of housing opportunities and choices
- o Foster walkable, close-knit neighbourhoods
- o Promote distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place including the rehabilitation and use of historic buildings
- o Preserve open space, farmland, natural beauty and critical environmental areas
- o Concentrate new development and target infrastructure investments within the urban core region
- o Provide a variety of transportation choices
- o Make development decisions fair, predictable and cost effective
- o Encourage citizen and stakeholder participation in development decisions.
- o Promote resource conservation and energy efficiency
- o Create a smart growth regional vision and plan
- o Support high quality education and quality schools
- o Support land use, transportation management, infrastructure and environmental planning that reduce vehicle emissions and improve air quality.

Figure 6.1 - Sacramento General Plan: Smart Growth Principles. Source: City of Sacramento (2009)

The Sacramento plan seeks to both revitalise and reinvigorate the existing city centre while also encouraging further 'suburban centres' to develop in various areas of the city to allow what it sees as deeply disconnected neighbourhoods to re-orientate around particular locations. For the existing centre the 'distinctive urban skyline that reflects the vision of Sacramento with a prominent central core' will be used as a wider place making device (City of Sacramento 2009).

"[There was] a lot of future modelling done of past and future predicted land use patterns for a year-by-year basis [which] allows the planners to see how the city has developed and continues to develop at a regional scale" (interview, lead city planner).

"One of the topics we worked on and kept coming back to throughout was the notion of meeting the overall level of projected growth either through infill or through greenfield and how to combine the two…so we went around on that multiple times" (interview, economic consultant, Sacramento)

In chapter two it was described how Sacramento's general plan seems to place real emphasis on the *environmental* message, not necessarily at the detriment of other aspects but perhaps as the central rationalisation into which other strands feed. Climate change, in particular, is a message that is pushed and that was grappled with in terms of how to approach the issues from a macro design perspective. In many ways climate change has become, not only in Sacramento but in California more generally, at the pinnacle of the 'whole systems' approach to sustainability. If environmental sustainability and a reduction in the environmental impact of development is seen as the top principle, then everything that filters down from this (from California state legislation AB32) can be assimilated into the overall agenda.

"For Sacramento this whole thing really started back in 2001 after the California Energy Commission sponsored an evaluation of local planning processes and published a catalog of development examples that followed the Smart Growth principles adopted by the National Governors' Conference. This was put out there and had mostly state and national success stories. We were still working off of very different models connected to the old general plan and orientated on suburban development…In 2002, SACOG used the regional blueprint effort to identify smart growth land use patterns. They highlighted the benefits of shifting development away from the traditional single use, low density suburban model to one that encouraged more mixed use, compact and urban-style neighbourhoods" (interview, lead city planner)

The original document that inspired this drew upon examples of smart growth projects from across California and the United States more generally. However through the work of Sacog first, and then as part of the general plan outreach process, this was translated into a project

of identifying good examples of smart growth urbanism *within* the Sacramento region itself. The examples that were drawn upon existed primarily not only within the boundaries of the existing city, but within (or in close proximity to) the central area and its original gridded street pattern.

> *'...the city that centred on the use of the traditional block street pattern that characterises the older, more central neighbourhoods in the city. These parts of the city provide excellent examples of highly accessible areas that safely and efficiently accommodate a mixture of cars, transit, bicycles and pedestrians'* (General Plan Issues Report 2005).

> *"We have to look into our history in terms of what did or did not work that can be used to shape and mould our plans"* (personal interview, lead city planner).

As much as reifying the validity of principles through their usage elsewhere, the history of the city's development contains a great deal of insight into the shifting attitudes of planning with regards to the prevailing agenda. What seems to shift, following the above quote from the planner, is how the notion of what did and did not 'work', is defined. Figure 6.2 below shows the original master plan of the city and its gridded street pattern which today, as discussed earlier in the thesis, is bounded by the two rivers and three, elevated, interstate highways. This image is taken directly from the opening pages of the general page where, through a desire to position the new plan in its historical context, a narrative of sustainability is attributed to the city in its 'original' state as much as it is to the version to be presented for 2030 in the pages to follow. This is then orientated in opposition to the overarching problematisation of the city - sprawl.

> *"For a large portion of the population there isn't really a choice over the form or style of urban living that they would like, particularly those who might desire the denser, urban, walkable community lifestyle, for which the midtown area is the only example. In fact, your only real option is to live in a single family detached house and drive a car everywhere"* (interview, transportation consultant)

143
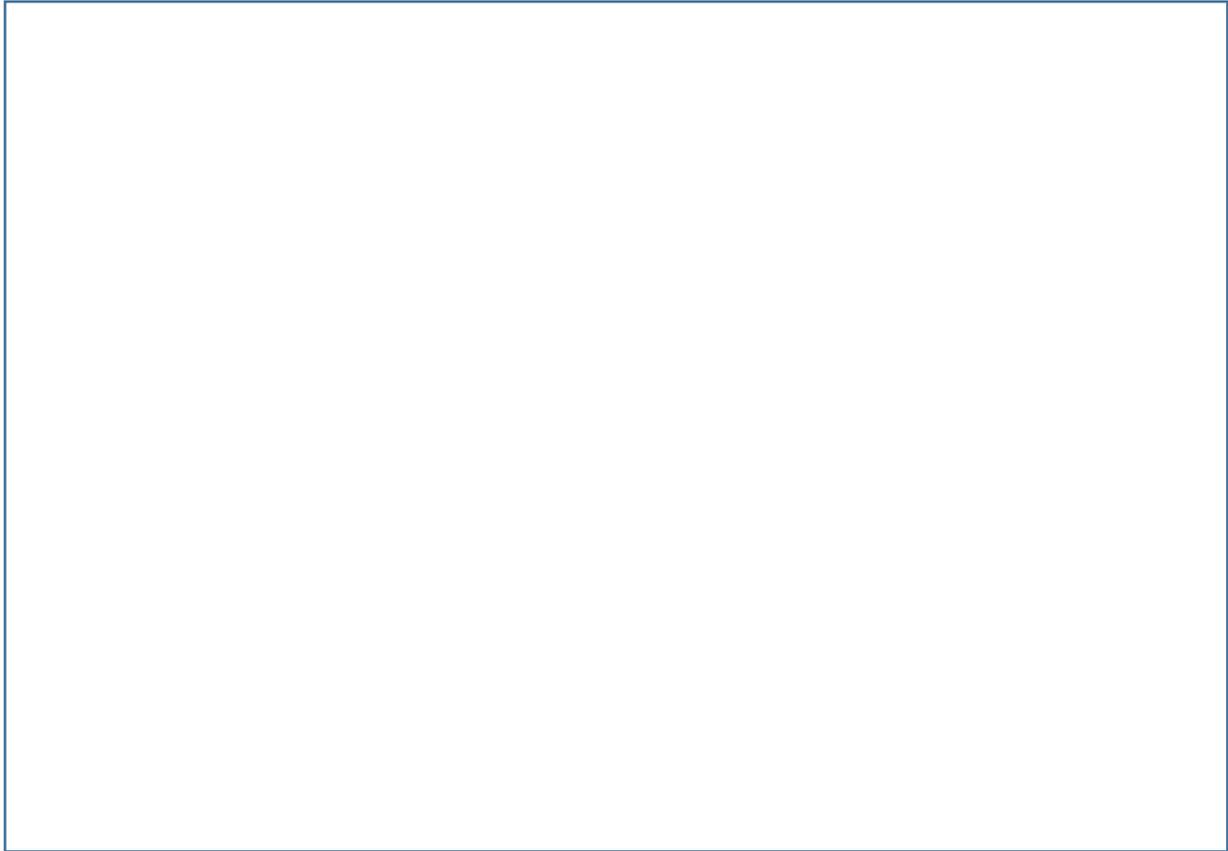
Figure 6.2 - Original master Plan of Sacramento. Source: City of Sacramento

6.4.2 Garden Lusaka

The deeply problematic use of the 'garden city' as a model, or at least as a name, has run in the background to this thesis ever since *that* image at the end of chapter two. At the very least, putting aside the colonial connotations, it doesn't seem on the face of it to connect particularly well with a message of 'newness' and an envisioning of the future in the way that much of the rest of the plans narrative and indeed the demeanour of the JICA consultants, seems to suggest. I now, however, want to look more explicitly at its utilisation and, as was done with Sacramento, try and understand more about how it emerged (this time around). Use of the 'garden city' planning model in the UK, where it was first conceived by Ebenezer Howard, has seen a resurgence in practice (BBC 2014; Biddulph 2016; Cabannes and Ross 2014; TCAP 2014). Likewise, there is also, of course, extensive reflection on the way in which Ebenezer Howard's model - originally conceived in theory and not with any particular application in mind - was explicitly enacted as a colonial city making model and subsequently deployed throughout the British empire from Australia and Malaysia to Nigeria, South Africa

and, of course, Zambia (Home 1990; Howard and Osborn 2013). As Hoffman (2011) suggests in her article looking at the concepts' re-embrace in China, 'overt citation' of the name as indicative of a modelling approach is less important than striking up a dialogue with its historical trajectory in certain locales (ibid. 56). The following are all statements from members of the Lusaka city council engineering department who, as we saw in chapter five, ended up working particularly closely with some of the JICA consultants on the development of the new plans:

> "*I think when you look at the current master plan it wants to take Lusaka back to the garden city and I think it was designed as such from the very beginning*"

> "*Before there was order to the developments because the plan was laid down clearly and organisation of the city was something that had control over it, unlike today. I think garden city is a good term to aspire towards because that is what we are, that is Lusaka's identity*"

> "*An approach was required to achieve environmental protection that will allow the city to suit its old name. I think we have lost this idea of the garden city too much*"

From JICA's perspective, as one of the quotes also suggests, it seems as though the garden city concept offered something to hold onto throughout the process of developing the plans and a way of ensuring that they were not just imposing a new model but that they were using what was already in place to build upon in an ideological sense. For them, the garden city is "a society with abundant greenery and biodiversity, ultralow pollution and low carbon":

> "*The thought of a well-planned garden city stands up particularly well given the current situation of uncontrolled sprawl, beyond planned areas and poorly organised administrative functions in the city government*" (JICA 2009)

It seems, almost too clinical, too simple a correlation to have had any real impact upon the message imbrued by the plans, and yet it would certainly seem as if the connotations the term 'garden' has for depicting a green, environmentally sustainable and harmonious urban space is vital to its recycling in the new plan. What this also does however, is connect well with other elements that the plan incorporates, such as the use of satellite settlements (a

core aspect of Howard's original model) and offers a means of rationalising engagement with the land outside of the central areas in ways that are presented as the anti-thesis of 'sprawl'.

"They wanted to have some options for how to achieve the city goals and to look at what would happen if nothing was done but it was just left to grow. This was the reason for having this process, it was about choosing what was best for the city not just making something else [and imposing it]" (interview, lead city planner)

JICA had worked to 'identify' three possible frameworks and 'tactical approaches' to act as the vehicles for this city-wide approach before settling on the eventual plan which involves transitioning away from a message of uncontrolled *sprawl* and into a paradigm of controlled *expansion* (JICA 2009):

- **New Urban Expansion: Through satellite town formulation in urban fringe areas, embracing the linkage development along the existing urban area.**
- Upgrading Existing City: Through strong urban growth management for compact city formulation with intensive development in the interior area
- New Capital Development: Through decentralization of the capital such as the development of twin city or new capital city in remote area

The combination of the ring roads as a means of containing developments within and establishing a boundary, and then the use of satellite towns as radial connections to the centre, allows the garden city message to rationalise the model that was eventually adopted. Much like in Sacramento, however, while the majority of the urban space which is encompassed by the boundaries of the future city vision fails to meet any of the ideological aspects of what constitutes a well-planned garden city, certain parts of the city *do* fit the description well. In Sacramento we saw this connection drawn in the opening pages of the general plan, while, in Lusaka, they opt for something a little grander…

Figure 6.3 - Depiction of the city's original colonial plan alongside Great East Road, Lusaka. Source:
Author

Figure 6.4 below contains a clearer outline of the same image portrayed on the large billboard
above, and which maps neatly onto what is described in the plans as the 'central area' (where
the Dual-Core CBD is being constructed). Likewise all government ministries, foreign
embassies and the majority of Lusaka's primary commercial activities are contained within
the space defined on this map. With the exception of the Great East Road corridor which is
lined with increasing levels of development projects and infrastructure upgrading, more or
less all of the white areas denoted by 'farm number' in this image, are today comprised of
informal settlements. In the bottom left hand corner of the map where it is labelled 'African
compound', the infamous 'Chibolya' compound now stretches a considerable distance
outside of the city in the South West direction. Independence Avenue, on which the majority

of government buildings, including the Lusaka city council, are based, dissects the city from East to West between the old airport and 'Mumbwa Road'.

Figure 6.4 - Original Lusaka Plan. Source: Collins (1969)

Two of *the* fundamental elements of Sir Ebenezer Howard's *original* garden city model were to tackle the problem of slums in providing healthy living environments for the working class, and to harness the clear sense of community amongst the residents of each containerised part of the city (Howard and Osborn 2013). In other words, the very things required in addressing the most pressing concerns of Lusaka today. But there is no mention of this in the new master plan - the garden city rhetoric is usurped by a narrative of environmentalism and green space combined with *new* satellite cities conveniently aligned with the pre-existent project of MFEZ development. Of course, through the colonist agenda of segregation and uniformity, these original principles were lost and replaced with alternate, racialized ones. One's whose legacy has ensured that not only are the urbanisation problems that exist in Lusaka rooted in its colonial garden city plan, but it seems the sustainable solutions are too. Any ability that Ebenezer Howard's visionary theory might actually have as a means of imagining a better Lusaka for tomorrow were taken away not by this new master plan's use

of the concept, but by the decision of the colonial powers to keep the name of the 'garden city' but shift the models purpose to one that fit the narratives of the imperial mission.

6.5 Disentangling Translation

The 'garden city' and 'smart growth' models, policies, ideas, practices, whatever we may wish to represent them as ('words' would be my preferred choice[19]) were not imported from elsewhere and inserted into the context of Sacramento and Lusaka as rigid forms of transfer or even as more complex processes of 'mobility'. Or, rather, they were, it's just that this took place 157 and 103 years ago respectively, and was facilitated not by complex processes of 'moulding' and 'adaptation' but by the crushing of resistance and the cultivating of an entire cultural identity around what 'the city' is and what it is supposed to do (chapter four). As a result of this, subsequent visions of the future are mapped out through entanglement with not only the material legacies of the past, but also with nostalgic aspirations for a previous era of planning control. In laying out its theoretical origins, research on 'policy mobility' is clear that its agenda can be seen as taking a step to problematize, from a spatial perspective, previous literature on 'policy transfer' that proliferated within political science (Cook 2015; McCann and Ward 2012; Wood 2016). The argument here is that this previous research "focus[es] too much on agents and not enough on agency" and for "focusing too little on the way they mutate as they move" (Cook 2015). This shift from 'agents' to 'agency', however, is hindered in its ability to a) properly account for the issue of power, and b) explore the true extent of the possibilities of reconceptualising policy making in relation to the 'city' as an *assemblage.*

A desire to view 'policy' not as something that moves as a wholesome model between one location and the next but as a more complex and heterogeneous process leaves the policy mobility work with an ambivalence about power that "clouds the whole issue by creating the impression that power as well as resources actually flows and circulates" (Allen 2008:63). It becomes very difficult to avoid the trap identified by Faulconbridge (2006) as global-explicit (policy 'solution') and tacit-local (situated 'problem') interpretations of policy, which, rather

---

[19] My inspiration for this comes from Carol Gluck and Anna Tsing's book *Words in Motion* (2009) which examines the complexity of global travel through space and time associated with the use of words themselves.

than facilitating our ability to investigate actually existing relations, further entrenches the divide between the global and the local. The relative nature of knowledge that stems from its negotiated formation in context can be seen as rooted in a wider interpretation of what counts as 'knowledge' (Verbole 2000). As Allen describes, the 'truth claims of authority figures' which take on an assumption of extensive, even 'global', reach, are themselves networked together by an "authorizing centre through which all translations must pass" (ibid.147). This is precisely what Tsing (2000) is critiquing when she describes a failure to problematize the 'carving of the channel' but a readiness to glorify the narrative of the subsequent 'flows' (ibid.331). To suggest this is simply a neglect of history, however, would be too simplistic a critique. What it is in actual fact is a failure to take into account the "irreversibility" of process. This manifests itself because of a reliance on what Saldanha (2006) describes as a "post-modern dialectic" of fixity and flow involving neoliberalism as a 'mobile' technology of governance and policy making.

By bringing a relational angle to conversations on policy transfer, policy mobility appears to be adding levels of complexity to this policy transfer work by problematizing the notion of 'transfer', rather than the underlying functions of power that facilitate transfer, and indeed stabilise the definitions of what constitutes 'policy'. It is for this reason that I level the above charge of post-modernism at policy mobility research. Policy transfer literature, because of its modernist angle, actually offers a much more effective conceptualisation of the way ideas have come to exist in different parts of the world, from which to orientate an engaged critique. Richard Rose's (1993) book for example, entitled *Lesson-drawing in Public Policy: A Guide to Learning Across Time and Space,* builds on his (1991) idea of 'psychological proximity', which acknowledges the "subjective definition of proximity, epistemic communities linking experts together, functional interdependence between governments and the authority of intergovernmental institutions" (ibid.3). The fundamental issue here is one of direction, i.e policy transfer theories are problematized through a relational lens and then the 'assemblage' *used* to exemplify this more 'complex' connective tissue. This is in opposition to *thinking* cities and the process of spatial making as a practice through an ontological reconceptualization of the assemblage.

While it may not have the evocative terminology of relationality and globalisation on its side, Rose's work is, I would argue, a much better basis upon which to approach a *critical* analysis

of the way in which the establishment of urban planning ideas and models across the world, today, ride merely upon the back of *myths* (Lieto 2015). Laura Lieto's critique of what she describes as a failure to account for "enduring power relations" (ibid.117) offers an additional insight into the problems with a desire for 'global' conceptualisations of policy and knowledge 'circulation'. In her article, she focuses on the way myths of design planning from Europe arise in the Middle East drawing attention to the obvious differences not only in city contexts but in worldviews, meaning that simple narratives of transfer are impossible to define (Alizadeh 2012; Short 2014). Indeed, the Christianity-Islam boundary, whether it is in today's 'globalising' world or during the scramble for Africa is impossible to transcend with narratives of 'circulation' without significant historical accountability of the role of 'power' as a concept in and of itself[20]. The notion that power has an 'externality' has its roots, quite obviously, in a transcendental understanding of the world, in the belief that there is a space from which power is 'grasped'. This, however, in discussions over the application of the 'assemblage' in urban studies, seems to be regularly ignored.

A debated example is helpful here. Based on a stinging critique of the work of geographer Colin McFarlane focusing on informal settlements in Sao Paulo and Mumbai, Brenner et al. (2011), seek to defend 'critical urban theory', by describing "McFarlane and several other assemblage urbanists" as engaging in "naïve objectivism" in their failure to problematize the primacy of 'structures'. The mantle of responsibility in rebuffing these criticisms is then taken up by Ignacio Farías (2011). Summarising his defence through key misunderstandings (perhaps misrepresentations) made by Brenner et al. (2011), Farías (2011, p.366) highlights the divergent trajectory in the agendas being pursued by different modes of enquiry:

> *"…against this background, it becomes evident that stressing the underpinning logics, strategies and contradictions of capitalist urbanization does not really call into question the unity, coherence or objectivity of the real; on the contrary, it accentuates it. Consequently, if there is a 'naïve objectivism', this should be rather predicated of those perspectives that don't engage in an ontological inquiry about the city"*

---

[20] This is something regularly glossed over by globalisation scholars who are persuaded to extend their empirical purview to the middle east by the bright lights and 'western' material forms that cities such as Dubai and Abu Dhabi, appear to take.

Farías argues that both the underlying conceptions of social organisation (assemblages v structures) and the definitive object of study (cities v capitalism driven urbanisation) are at odds with each other in these divergent approaches (Farías 2010). Farías' argument, not too dissimilar to some of those raised in chapter four, is that capitalism needs to be decentred and situated as *a part* of the city assemblage rather than as *the* determinant factor in the production of the urban. Peck (2014:167) describes this argument as borne out of a "refusal of globalized over-determination and hierarchical interpretations of top-down power relations". The assemblage's 'alternative ontology' (Farías and Bender 2012), for the very reasons presented in this chapter, looks to distance itself from the way in which power has been theorised and used in the social sciences, i.e conflated with resources, presumed to be 'held', and generally stuck in an epoch characterised by a fragmented, 'neoliberal' sovereignty where power is simply passed from the state to other actors.

6.6 Epistemic Planning Bricolages

The effect of what Anderson et. al (2012) describe as "*assembled orders*" that are "*stabilized*" (ibid.172) are not operations to which one can somehow make themselves immune to or step 'outside' of. It is in the same register of thought, then, that we must recognise that it is not possible to 'do' an assemblage any more than it is to 'do' chaos theory. No matter how we try and apply Deleuze and Guattari's concept, what they were *actually* representing will always be greater than anything that we try to 'use'. McCann (2016), for example, in describing the idea of 'assemblage work' - something that various actors 'state and private' are involved in doing to 'assemble' policies - is offering an interpretation that *starts* with the rational actor and the infamous desire to engage questions of *intentionality* from this point forward (Baker and Temenos 2015). McCann, Roy and Ward (2013) also state that the 'trans-local' assemblages they refer to are "deducted" from wider flows as part of actors "labour". Temenos and McCann (2013) even argue that "the models themselves can be understood as assemblages: bundles of knowledge and techniques purposefully gathered together for particular reasons" (ibid.347). It is however, I argue, with these 'particular reasons' that all of our critical, and geographical, engagement needs to be orientated towards in order to understand how actions are always contained within the powerful framework of the

apparatus. This is why it is important for us to keep the assemblage concept from being turned merely into "an act of labour and governance" (Legg 2011:131).

Directing assets (resources) to particular points at particular times, it is indeed possible for a broad set of actors to take advantage of favourable context specific conditions and emphasise the relevance of their own expert knowledge in a given situation (Faulconbridge 2012). There is a mode of thought within the 'globalised' world of the 'creative class' to speak not just of a knowledge *economy* but to think of knowledge as a form of *currency* (Bapat 2013; OECD 2002). Intriguing as it is, this is in no way original as, back in 1969, in her childhood memoir, *I Know why the Caged Bird Sings*, Maya Angelou (2010), wrote that; "all knowledge is spendable currency depending on the market" (ibid.210). Her point that knowledge offers great power, but only if others find value in it gives us a simple yet vital way of going beyond the idea that knowledge is merely a 'resource' or commodity that needs to be amassed in order to leverage power in some way. As Donna Haraway (1988) pointed out, using a not too dissimilar analogy, "what money does in the exchange orders of capitalism, reductionism does in the powerful mental orders of the global sciences" (ibid.580). What we have through the words of these two feminist icons, is a currency analogy that helps us to shift the emphasis on the function of power in relation to knowledge *away* from individual 'pieces' of knowledge or forms of learning and to the *relationships* through which their legitimacy is forged. Similarly, sociologist Anthony Giddens (1986), writes how agency "refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability to do those things in the first place" (ibid.686).

Even the very definition of the term 'assembly' can help us here given that it suggests not a bringing together of random, unrelated parts to meet a particular goal, but of a set of strategically provided parts, presented in such a way that it is merely the task of the individual or collective to *assemble* them. The gluing together of these parts, the relationships that tie each element to the next are already pre-determined, much like in the do-it-yourself furniture of Ikea. I want to use this conceptualisation of assembling to point to an alternative concept for separating out the difference between the 'assemblage' interpretation of policy mobility research and a truer affiliation with the assemblage that goes far beyond the intentionality of various actors. This concept is that of the 'Bricolage' discussed by Faulconbridge (2012). Faulconbridge's concept is vital not for the sake of semantic difference, but to shift the

discussion into a position where geographical engagement with planning and policy making *is* productive - in unpacking what facilitated the legitimisation and production of useful knowledge at certain places and times. This allows, in a practical manner, the encouragement of working with what is to hand and building *from* situated, material struggles rather than being forced to embrace colonising narratives that are drawn not from elsewhere, but out from the past and re-appropriated by contemporary universalising discourse.

As Ananya Roy (2011, p.7) states, "planning far exceeds any given object, be it the master plan or the zoning code". She is joined in making this important point by other urban planning theorists such as Vanessa Watson, Ernest Alexander, and Bent Flyvbjerg who have all carried out work on the problem of a defined practice of planning, given that it doesn't have an identifiable epistemic 'object' (Alexander 2015; Flyvbjerg 2004; Watson 2012). The field of planning has essentially always been characterised *in theory* as 'post-political', and therefore nurtured (at a macro level) by the 'contingent universal' of sustainability (Healey 2011; Lieto 2015). This takes on extra importance at a time when 'identity' is experiencing a surge in popularity, with cities keen to portray themselves in a certain way, and embody this through the kind of place making strategies that are bound up within sustainability planning (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005; Riza, Doratli et al. 2012). Drawing on Foucault, Lennon and Fox-Rogers (2016) suggest in a recent *Planning Theory* article, that too much of planning research engagement has been on his 'theories' of power as a detached entity and have ignored - as planning and policy research does more generally - the importance of the planning *subject*. Recognising this, the authors highlight how, "little attention has been shown to how the very constitution of the planner as a 'moral subject' may be ethically problematic for planning practice" (ibid.1).

6.7 Conclusion

"… much of the work in this "relational turn" is relational only in a thematic sense, focusing on various themes of socio-spatial relations without theorising sufficiently the nature of relationality and its manifestations through power relations and actor-specific practice"

- Henry Yeung (2004, p.38)

John Friedmann (2010) asks 'Do planning ideas travel?'. Whether explicitly or not this question has spawned a considerable body of work across urban policy making regarding the movement and circulation of ideas around the world. The answer to the question is, of course, yes. We know this from history and the legacies of these travels are felt nowhere more than in Lusaka and Sacramento where they now, once again, seek to embrace the original ideas as part of universalizing rhetoric's on sustainable urbanism. Despite invoking the terminology of the 'assemblage', there seems to me to be a firmly Cartesian/Kantian approach to 'global' space in much of the literature which now once again wants to open up a lexicon of mobility to describe and theorise the world's urban production. Indeed, the back and forth conversation between a number of urban scholars utilising the assemblage concept in this chapter, appears as a reproduction of philosophical Descartes-Spinoza antagonisms, something explored in depth by Gilles Deleuze himself (Deleuze 1988; Young and Genosko 2013). While there is a strong argument for everything in existence to be seen as in some form of 'motion' (Adey 2006; Cresswell and Merriman 2011), the question becomes one of abstraction. Where we draw the line in identifying what it is that is supposedly moving, flowing and circulating, has significant (intentional and unintentional) repercussions, and the question becomes, what do we lose if we theorise motion at a policy and knowledge level? The argument put forward based on the findings thus far, is an understanding of *power*.

As Yeung describes above, a 'thematic' understanding of relationality needs to be shirked in favour of the actual means through which it works in the emergence of reality. In order to do this we have to let go of the 'thingness' we want - in a Cartesian manner - to associate with 'the city', with 'knowledge', and with 'power'. The potential everywhereness of 'knowledge' and the fictional belief in a transcendental moral subject need to be recognised if we are going to understand situated practices of sustainable city-making and how policy making as an activity can shift from one granting power *to,* into one facilitating power *over.* First and foremost, the operation of power is impossible to understand, theorise, or critique if one is perpetually circulating their attention, seeking narratives of flow. Power operates to stabilise, orientate, position, and restrict, and therefore in order to understand its operation across vast scales, one has to stand still. With this in mind, as we move into the next part of the thesis it will be from this very situated, critical perspective that I seek to approach issues of relationality and its possibilities for helping us understand the problems faced by these master

plans. For example, I would contest the assertion of Cochrane and Ward (2012) that "policies are not just defined in place" (ibid.6). This, I would argue, is the only place they are *defined* for it is impossible to define a policy anywhere other than the location to which it pertains. What varies - and is therefore of interest to the critical geographer - is the unstable, and thereby stabilised, concept of *place*. To speak of the "geographies of territoriality and relationality" (McCann and Ward 2011: xvi) seems, to me, to be a contradictory set of terms. In a relational paradigm of thought, the 'geographies of territoriality' *are* the relations that stabilise the existence of a 'territory'.

PART III - *The Place and Time of the Sustainable city*

Chapter 7: Place(ing) the sustainable city

"Instead of looking for world-wrapping evolutionary stages, logics, and epistemes, I would begin by finding what I call "projects," that is, relatively coherent bundles of ideas and practices as realized in particular times and places. The choice of what counts as a project depends on what one is trying to learn about, but, in each case, to identify projects is to maintain a commitment to localization, even of the biggest world-making dreams and schemes"

Anna Tsing (2000, p.347)

7.1 Introduction

In chapter two, the presentation of the two plans and an insight into their post-adoption worlds sought to problematize whether or not these 2030 visions were stimulated by historical trajectories in particular locations intersecting with a 'universalising' discourse of sustainable cityness, or a global concern over the issue of capitalist urbanisation intersecting with a crisis of representation faced by cities confronting their place in a globalising 'world of cities'. Or rather, it sought to deliberately problematize the ability to associate any sort of linear *causality* with their emergence and to, instead, see it as a form of self-reproducing governance at stabilised moments in space and time. This was partially as a response to what I would argue, is the somewhat self-indulgent nature regarding the way the 'relational turn' has been adopted by urban research, as the 'world wrapping logics and epistemes' critiqued above by Tsing are given greater credence by cherry picking case studies of knowledge 'circulation' as evidence of global connectivity. However, having sought to show in the previous section that all generation of knowledge is very much a situated practice, attention to issues of relationality as a means of practicing geographic thought needs to embody a much more critical agenda and address the most pressing questions facing urban policy making.

Following Tsing, and maintaining a commitment to 'localize' *critique,* I now want to return to chapter three and retrieve the critical lens 'from the south' once again, this time orientating it not on the state of urban theory, but on the process through which *place* is constructed by these master plan visions. I am therefore shifting from a concern with how the emergence of the master plans in Lusaka and Sacramento problematize some of the theoretical assumptions regarding the 'local' scale of urban planning and policy making, and more

interested in a critical exploration *of* their emergence and, more importantly, the difficulties faced in embracing them as governance tools. In order to do this, I will draw upon the thought of a group of Latin American scholars, particularly Arturo Escobar, Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Ramon Grosfoguel, and Nelson Maldonado Torres, whose work on 'Coloniality', or to give it its proper name '*Coloniality of Power',* has spawned a strong movement towards critiquing and ultimately overthrowing the continued colonisation of minds and bodies both inside and outside of the western academy. Firmly anchoring the perspective taken in the situatedness of Lusaka and Sacramento, as argued for at the end of the previous chapter, will allow us to think about what Robinson (2015) describes as the 'arriving at' of materialised policy regimes which are not located *in* various networks of expertise but are, themselves, the result of relationally emergent contingency. Bringing this idea into conversation with an emerging body of scholarship in urban planning theory that is engaging explicitly with Gilles Deleuze will also allow the chapter to explore, across the two cases, the way in which a transcendental definition of the city frames urban areas, projects, and institutions.

7.2 Anchoring Critique

Richard Smith (2003; Smith and Doel 2011) contrasts what he sees as a theorisation of cities 'in' networks (flows of knowledge, ideas, capital) with an alternative theorisation of cities *as* networks. While his (2003) article pre-dates much of the literature on assemblages and geography that has been drawn on in the previous chapter, it marks an important shift towards this altogether different theoretical register of relationality, most notably the rejection of scale as a principle analysis of 'networks' (Smith 2010). Pauline McGuirk (2015, p.4) summarises this endeavour most eloquently:

> "…*a relational ontology of the city as produced through a complex array of connections and relations, across multiple scales and temporalities. Through their varied moves, the idea of systemic regularities across cities is repositioned from being a source of explanation to something that needs to be explained by unpacking their relational constitution, practical construction and political accomplishment under diverse conditions*"

Having begun this research project with an interest in exploring the production of policy and the mobility of ideas, the materialised master plans for Lusaka and Sacramento continue to offer an important *realism* in this regard that acts as the starting point for the thesis' now deconstructive mode of enquiry. Understanding the production of the city and its embodiment in the urban master plan 'as a network' allows a focus on situated questions of power and on the settings in question through a centred understanding of agency in place, rather than simply seeing cities, plans, and actors as at the mercy of wider 'forces'.

Despite its inclusion in a collection of papers on policy mobility, the title of Jenifer Robinson's (2015) piece *'Arriving At' Urban Policy: The Topological Spaces of Urban Policy Mobility'*, suggests something different. Using an example from Johannesburg, Robinson builds *up* to the finalised policy in question. Critical of the notion that ideas might be seen to arrive 'from' somewhere, she highlights the fact that policy production is "profoundly local" and that the explicit ideas, knowledges and policy principles are already *in* and available to the locale. The relationality that is most interesting and important (Robinson argues it is not only difficult to 'track' topographical movement of ideas, but it is also not the most interesting aspect) is that which is bound up within interpretations and framings of the 'local'. Focusing on cities and on *place* as it is produced rather than on the de and re-territorialisation of specific policies or knowledge's, is more important for examining the *actualities* of power. The following is an extract from Robinson's (ibid.831) article in which she describes what is gained by losing topographical interpretations in favour of the *topological* framing of situated contexts:

> *"…influence and inspiration…long buried memories of policy terminology. Here topological spatiality's, concerned less with tracing physical mobilities and connections and more with exploring the spatiality's of presence and proximity, accounting for the intermingling's of interiority and exteriority, or exploring how institutions and agents might secure influence at a distance, are, I would suggest, crucial if we are to be able to investigate many of the spatial dynamics operative in determining policy outcomes"*

Making extensive use of the work of John Allen (2011), Robinson encapsulates the fact that the notion of topology provides a much better starting point to grasp the relational dynamics and multiple forms through which the distant influences the close at hand. Operating with this emergent, unstable notion of place also allows us to also bring in work from urban

planning theory that seeks to problematize what spatial policy making in fact *is,* by inflecting it through the concept of the *Plane of Immanence* discussed in chapter three (Ansaloni and Tedeschi 2015; Deleuze 2001; Hillier 2008; Wood 2009). It is Jean Hillier who has arguably been at the forefront of pushing this "Deleuzian Inspired" approach to spatial urban planning that emphasises the situated, historical, relational, way in which the question of ethics - rather than being based on the moral subject criticised at the end of the previous chapter - sits upon staunchly anti-parochial, universally becoming, immanence (see also Hillier 2011). In her elucidation of a 'multi-planar' paradigm of planning, Hillier (2008) contrasts content specific projects that target actualisation in the short term (what she calls the plan(e) of transcendence), with the sort of planning that cannot help but populate the place of immanence - conceptualisations of the city as an object and a vision. In the case of master planning, then, we have an important crossover point - a desire to bring immanent urban space into the plane of transcendence.

> *"There is a lot going on, and it does not all matchup. Were we to limit ourselves to one of these visions as a description of the new global landscape, we would miss the pleasures and dangers of this multiplicity. Furthermore, we might over valorise connection and circulation rather than attending to the shifting, contested making of channels and landscape elements"*

This quote from Anna Tsing (2000, p.336), can be applied to the visions of the city that both practitioners and researchers alike are drawn towards through its representation in a transcendental form. For exploring how Lusaka and Sacramento 'arrived at' the versions of their cities portrayed in the garden city and smart growth visions, thinking about the city 'as' a network allows us to explore how *this* version serves to frame out other means of visioning. This in turn means embracing a critical, de-colonial engagement with power - something which will be embraced across this chapter and the one to follow.

7.3 Relationality as Coloniality

The concept of relationality is a complex one. Indeed the whole point of a 'relational turn' is to open up the world to its emergent complexity and take us away from a tendency to search, all too quickly, for identifiable causality. An unboundedness to representations of contingency

has not only benefits for our desire to understand the world, but also for our ability to conduct life in a more ethically attuned manner. It offers us a way to think about the concept of place, across different scales from the household to the continental, as emergent in both materiality and conceptualisation. More importantly it offers us a way of thinking about the world that is universal in its ontology, in other words the production *of* the household in a particular location is useful for shedding light on the way in which a continent is produced, and vice versa. However, as discussed in the introduction to the chapter, given the problems faced by the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento, and the re-emergence of master plan strategies on a global scale, the interest here is more on the inhibitors to embracing a relationally attuned form of urban planning and spatial policy making. This means examining the process through which immanent becoming is curtailed, inhibited and re-directed by desires for transcendence and representation (Gandhi 2006). Exploring this requires a particular orientation on the world as well as what Myers (2006) describes as 'tools for discourse deconstruction'. My argument here is that research on the 'coloniality of power' offers just such tools.

Thinking back to chapters three and four of the thesis, the first important point to draw attention to is the difference between postcolonial theory and de-colonial scholarship on coloniality. The transition that the thesis has taken from one of theoretical critique in the previous part, to active criticism of planning *practice* in this, is helpful for illustrating the difference between what is primarily a literary critique in the case of the former, and a much more comprehensive desire to draw attention to the corruptive imperialism of Occidental rationality in the latter (Escobar 2004). This takes the de-colonial project beyond merely a project of recovering subaltern experiences from beyond dominant narratives of the past, rationalised on the fact that "the heterogeneous and multiple global structures…did not evaporate with…juridical-political decolonization" (Grosfoguel 2007: 219). According to Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007), while colonialism "denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation", coloniality defines the 'intersubjective relations…well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (ibid.243). Arturo Escobar has built extensively on his earlier work critiquing developmentalism (Escobar 1995) to align with ideas of coloniality in examining a broader paradigm of imperialism that encompasses it in the aftermath of colonialism. It is,

however, Anibal Quijano (2007) and Walter Mignolo (2007) who perhaps offer the best definition of what this paradigm encompasses - outlining the following four domains of power: "control of economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labour, control of natural resources); control of authority (institution, army); control of gender and sexuality (family, education) and control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity)"

Thinking about the concept of 'the city' through this framework, it is possible to draw correlations between these four domains and what, in chapter four, was referred to as the 'Three C's' of colonialism (Commerce, Christianity, and Civilisation) which themselves served, I argued, to illustrate the entanglement of rationality that fed into the establishment of cities as nodes of imperialism. The final and arguably most important domain of the four, as it works to underpin all of the others - control of subjectivity and knowledge - can then be seen as the way in which the concept of 'the city', *itself* is represented. This will be returned to and explored in depth in the chapter to follow this one, allowing me to focus attention on the other three in this chapter. First, however, thinking back to the discussion in chapter 3.4, there is a need to be clear here about the different forms of 'power' that we are referring to with regards to the planes of immanence and transcendence, particularly as coloniality's epistemological critiques are facilitated by somewhat of a *Spinozist* understanding of powers ontology. Critical of a lack of any real possibility for "genuine radicalism" emerging from the academy of the global north, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2015) traces this failing right back to 1677, where spies were sent to find out if, on his deathbed, Spinoza had renounced pantheism, and succumbed to the "evidence that human beings are natural believers" (ibid.3).

In chapter four, Walter Mignolo (2007) was cited as stating that "[d]e-colonial projects cannot be subsumed under Marxism ideology". His argument is that, on the contrary, "Marxism should be subsumed under de-colonial projects" (ibid.164). The reason for this is to push the humanism and eurocentrism out of a Marxism that leads to a very parochial understanding of class based proletariat which, given imperialism's identity based rationality (and perhaps even irrespective of this), cannot be extended to encompass the entirety of the world's population. This is what lies at the root of the argument presented in chapter four, that we cannot approach neoliberalism as a roll back of the 'local state' as neither the local, nor the

state, offer us concepts against which to render neoliberalism as problematic, or globalisation as a 'thing'. Anna Tsing (2000) describes how the extension of a post-modern critique of capitalism's 'circulation' and 'flow' have come to take on the role of descriptive terminology for the way in which the world is interconnected, and has served as a shift from previous terminology such as the 'penetration' of capitalism associated with 'Marxist world systems theory' (ibid.336). She draws on the strong metaphor of rape – as the forcing of certain powerful interests upon others – to highlight this contrast between healthy connectivity suggested by pseudo-organic 'circulations' and more violent impositions of the past. We cannot let the lack of explicit, forced interests, deter us from problematizing relationships of power and their effects on how we understand situated sovereignty.

Negri (1991) describes how Marxian conceptualisations of power are not dismissed through a Spinozist lens but are, rather, enriched due to the way in which static dichotomies are replaced by a back and forth understanding of the relationship between state formations and the advanced capitalism of a becoming-world. In short, the complexity of the *developmental* state (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). The argument here is that by switching from a Hegelian Marxism to a Spinozist autonomous Marxism, such as that associated with Antonio Negri, not only do we lose the extreme racism of Hegel as a convenient side[21], but transition to a continuum of nature-culture, inseparable from the worldview that lies at the origins of colonialism and racialisation of 'the other' as a subject. The concept of 'Empire' famously presented by Antionio Negri (Hardt and Negri 2001), for example, is more helpful for understanding this than the idea of 'global governmentality' presented by Wendy Larner and others in chapter four that 'stretches' Michel Foucault's work on power to global scales, rather than seeing the 'global' as *produced* by the back and forth relationship between the plane of immanence and the active constituting of transcendental subjects. The eventual goal of critical engagement with the world as produced by the power (*puissance*) of immanence, is the eventual, and complete, erasure of Power (*pouvoir*) as a mode of controlling this[22].

---

[21] Mbembe (2015) cites Hegel's stated views that the "Negro" has "nothing harmonious with Humanity" and that Africa is "no historical part of the world…[a] condition of mere nature".

[22] Rather than using a capitalised and un-capitalised (P)ower - 'Puissance' and 'Pouvoir' represent the two terms used in the French language to denote power, which unlike the singular representation in English, maps much more neatly onto the Latin terms *potestas* and *potentia* used by Spinoza. Numerous authors working in English make reference to this problem, but I would argue it is Michael Hardt, in his translators foreword to Antonio

Foucault and his concepts of biopower and governmentality, as was discussed in chapter three (and to be once again returned to in the chapter to follow this), then becomes a critical means of engaging with the shaping of subjects that are 'taken' as universal, as stated by Deleuze in the text *Pure Immanence* (2001: 26):

> *"When the subject or the object falling outside the plane of immanence is taken as a universal subject or as any object to which immanence is attributed, [...] immanence is distorted, for it then finds itself enclosed in the transcendent"*

Combining the concept of coloniality and the empirical reflection on the practice of designing and developing urban plans and spatial policies for particular cities, it is possible to explore a means through which neo-colonialism is actually enacted and put to work, beyond theoretical conceptualisations or merely the identification of certain institutions as 'being' neo-colonial in nature. In other words, it provides a window onto the *process* of neo-colonialism that goes beyond actors and institutions who merely act as *vehicles* for coloniality and not its instigators. Additionally, given the global orientation of the research and its drawing upon case studies from the African and North American continents, I see real value in utilising a framework developed primarily from or with the South American continent, as this build's in yet further elements of an orientation from the south, or beyond Euro-centric theory building agendas. The rest of the chapter will seek to use coloniality of power's critical framework to interrogate the development of the master plans and will do this by drawing on two elements from each - one that has been framed *out* of the visions and one that has been framed *in*, but done so in a manner that has left it stagnated since adoption. Of particular interest is the relationship between these areas in their respective cities and to the city as a cohesive space.

7.4 Control of Economy

> *"The problem is how exactly you can translate such things into the form of a plan. What is key for Sacramento is forecasts and growth indices, what exactly is possible for the future…It is all well and good drawing on these ideas of sustainability and from*

Negri's book *The Savage Anomaly,* that presents the most lucid discussion of this divergence in relation to Spinoza's understanding of power.

other places and build up some sort of ideal for 15 years down the line, but simply knowing what someone else did or what you would like to be is a waste of time, we need to think about how it can be done"

- interview, economic consultant, Sacramento

In Sacramento I had great difficulty getting the additional consultants who worked on the plans alongside the two lead firms, to talk in depth about anything beyond their own roles and what they do as a firm. One important exception to this were the economists. Defining their role as the "realists" of the team, necessary to counter the desires of overly ambitious others, they took a very critical line on the use of general plans and offered a deeply pessimistic outlook of what they might actually achieve with regards to the vision. The point they would make was that the general plan project, and other 'sustainability' orientated initiatives driven by the government had nothing to do with figuring out how to achieve economic sustainability in Sacramento to ensure a prosperous and resilient future, but were about an economics associated with sustainable design ideas such as smart growth and transit corridors "in the hope that we might catch lightening in a bottle" (interview). Arguing that the government was intervening far too much in matters with projects like the general plan, one of them suggested that a much more effective approach would be to focus on the "things the city can control – like city owned buildings, government workers etc. and focus operations on these elements in the hope that wider private attitudes will follow". He then gave the example of 'CADA'.

CADA (Capitol Area Development Authority) is a self-supporting public agency established to redevelop a part of downtown Sacramento, south of the state capitol, which had run into extreme disrepair. It describes itself as being about "building neighborhoods for people, not for profits…fiscally prudent…and driven to build safe, affordable and environmentally sustainable urban neighborhoods that people are happy to call home"[23]. Having initially received grants to transform this seven by ten block area into what one of the CADA officials described as "the first properly green plan in California", the project is now "self-sustaining", generating its income from the rents on the 750 apartments that provide a range of different options in terms of affordability. The employee of CADA spoken to also acknowledged that

---

[23] http://www.cadanet.org/overview

their infrastructure, institutional arrangement, and nicely contained area of the city does indeed offer the perfect space in which to "test the water" and "push the envelope" with sustainable design practices.

> *"Whether it's LEED[24], or tree canopy level, or small scale garden agriculture…we are able to approach these things not as actual practices rather than the marketing fads that they normally are"* (interview, CADA)

'Grown' from the bottom up so to speak, the idea of a rural-urban divide is lost here amongst the concept of a sustainable community, even when it is located - as the CADA project is - in a very central area of the city. This circumvention of a dualism that plagues attempts to engage with the concept of sustainability is facilitated by development *from* a particular place rather than *for* it. This stands in direct contrast to what one of the economist described as the "whole systems approach" to sustainability, where the city, having "failed in one particular area of the city like North Natomas" tries to make up for it in another (interview, economic consultant). The most common outcome from this macro approach to sustainability is a form of 'offsetting', explained below by a member of the city council:

> *"It is an environmental issue, for every acre you develop it requires an acre of mitigation. So the idea is that if you want to develop some of this farmland you have to purchase mitigation land. This means that you offset the impact and keep land set aside for wildlife."*

Just as the solutions to reshaping the spatial fabric of Sacramento in the longer term most likely lie in the aspirations and attitudes of their most suburb-inclined citizens, the 'solutions' to sustainability concerns in Lusaka most likely exist amongst the majority population within the supposedly 'informal' urban space. The notion of a 'rural/urban' divide is fundamental to this. The quote below comes from the director of a small NGO employing local citizens and located within one of the informal settlements, on the very periphery of Lusaka

> *"…so Matero is actually the well-established peri-urban settlement but now due to greater overcrowding and rising population more settlements like this one in Madimba have sprung up even further out. We already know about so many problems with the*

---

[24] LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) is a green building certification programme developed in the United States

informal settlements that have existed for a long time now and bigger NGO's than us tend to focus their attention on these areas...we decided to locate ourselves right in this community...otherwise what else is there" (interview, NECOS)

Madimba is probably *the* most raw and literal manifestation, from a spatial and material perspective of the 'global' issue of urbanisation. Meaning 'garden' in one of the local languages, it is completely disconnected from the city's existing water and sanitation infrastructure and a lack of drainage ditches makes the area particularly prone to flooding, and subsequently cholera as well as numerous instances of children drowning in shallow bore holes (Kawanga, Sinkala et al. 2005). Despite its extreme density however (6000 people live on a round 2 sq. km.), its fertile land makes it a good location for small scale agriculture. As a result of locating right in the heart of this area, NECOS - the NGO described above - have been able to source funding for a long term project to transform Madimba into an 'eco-village' sustainable project. This has come from various overseas governments and development institutions including the Swedish and Finish governments and even, in 2004, from JICA. So, were NECOS and the situation in Madimba part of the conversation in producing the master plan? No, not at all. The director told me that they were not aware of the master plan but would be very interested to learn about how such initiatives "plan to engage with us places that don't technically exist yet" (interview, NECOS). Of course, while Madimba exists in a material sense, as either an explicitly *urban* space or as a *place* in relation to other parts of the city, it does not.

Unsurprisingly then, given that there is no recognition of it in the new master plan and when it comes to dealing with these issues and searching for ways to work on settlement upgrading in the context of the master plan, it is not to the work in Madimba that anyone looks to for inspiration, it is to a generalised narrative of formalisation strategies with the infamous Chibolya utilised as the 'pilot study'. This is despite all of the 'key players', from an institutional perspective (including JICA), being involved with Madimba on some level. Even individuals in the city council who are aware of NGO driven initiatives not just in Madimba but across the informal settlements, were not in a position to bring this into the narrative surrounding the general plan's production. Essentialist representations squash the ability to see connections between situated realities and ultimate goals without going through a specific trajectory. For example the density and mixed land use that exists *within* the informal settlements of Lusaka

cannot be directly connected to that desired by sustainable compact city narratives and, likewise, the lifestyles of those living in suburban Sacramento cannot be assimilated into a narrative of collective 'liveability'. This produces a sense of 'hermeneutical injustice' relating to the ability to articulate and 'render intelligible' the ideas, understandings and experiences of individuals and groups (Fricker 2007). As Watson (2013) argues, notions such as 'smart growth', despite their potential, "ignore the obvious human and social dimensions in the form of social capital". What's more, in 2010, the very same year as the master plans adoption, the Madimba project and NECOS, alongside their Finnish partners, were awarded the UN Habitat Dubai best practices award for sustainable sanitation.

7.5 Control of Authority

"Yes absolutely, the city cannot run without planning….If it had grown without planning it would be a huge problem and just one huge market, it would not exist as a city in the true sense. There is a lot of planning except the number of issues to be dealt with are huge and the resources available are not enough. That is why you end up with cities like this with some things running out of control, for example unplanned settlements."

- interview, Zambia National Technical Advisor, UN Habitat

I had posed the very simple question of 'is comprehensive planning worthwhile' to the UN Habitat technical advisor. His association of uncontrolled 'unplanned' settlements with a lack of comprehensive long term planning is a well-rehearsed one and an argument that is regularly invoked as rationalisation for producing the city vision:

"There was a realisation that the city is expanding and the population is expanding and proper social amenities are not in place. There is a lot of unplanned settlements which the government realises they need to legalise the structures of, but before you do this you need to have proper plans put in place" (interview, lead JICA consultant)

JICA (2009) also sought to attribute Lusaka's unsustainable status quo to "an old and spatially limited existent urban design" and "inadequate control of developments on the part of local authorities". Rationalising this requires very little work in terms of conducting actual

engagement with the institutional setting in question given that, close to hand, is United Nations documentation suggesting that "environmental planning and management was weak due largely to inappropriate planning, such as the reliance on out-dated master plans and a lack of stakeholder participation in the planning process" (UN-Habitat 2006). Watson (2013) describes how the pre-existent urban plans for many of Africa's cities "are usually to be found in dilapidated condition, perhaps pinned to the wall in a central government ministry or folded into a large technical report". This, however, is as true for Sacramento as it is for Lusaka. According to one city planner the previous general plan for Sacramento was "very technocratic" and "prepared in the back room away from exposure to the community".

> *"Here we have these cross town freeways which would never have been constructed if it involved a community consultation process due to the bad affects…our planners forgot about the values of the environment and the importance of foresight"* (interview, Mintier Harnish)

In light of the above quote, it is important to remember that then, like now, the whole purpose of these cross town freeways was to allow the majority of Sacramento's suburban citizens to either access the city or bypass it altogether on their commuter journeys to various other centres of employment across the valley and the San Francisco bay area. Despite being able to trace the concerns over a spatially problematic urban fabric, and the attributing of problems to 'wider' forces such as the "conspiracy of Detroit" or the "Wall street housing boom" (interview, Mintier Harnish), these particularly raw manifestations of urbanisation, not only inflect the *problem* 'locally' but also the *blame*. A recognised urban sustainability challenge associated with the United States, as a nation, is first taken down to state level by its entanglement with government policy on 'Roadway Level of Service' (LOS) as discussed in chapter two, and then to city level:

> *"Sacramento has had this complex and let developers do what they want so I think the general plan was about setting the stage and solidifying a city vision that, this is what we are doing and it will be the go to document"* (interview, lead city planner)

The key tension in this regard relates firstly to the developer community as vital to being able to actually *achieve* visionary agendas that are put in place by the plans, and secondly to the disproportionate value of land between *greenfield* and the *brownfield* sites that are part of

the general plan's core message for change. In putting the general plan together, a 'pick and choose' mentality was seemingly combined with the blanket approach by identifying and designating particular areas where brownfield development is possible on vacant lands in the inner city (such as the railyards located next to the new council buildings).

> *"The cheaper land is outside the city and the developers already have the land in options and they can develop it and sell a house there for $100,000 whereas here [central areas] it is going to cost $300,000... That's what you are battling with in drawing up the plans it's not just what should be done but what can be done if we are going to meet densification targets* (interview, infrastructure Consultant).

In Lusaka there is a clear desire to maintain close dialogue with various ongoing agendas and with the ambitions and aspirations of the complex arrangement of stakeholders, sectors of city management, and even the highest levels of national government. This comes after the failure, in 2000, to adopt the comprehensively produced, World Bank funded 'Lusaka Integrated Development Plan' (LIDP), which was put together by a group of South African consultants using their own country's legal requirements for all cities to have IDP's in place as development blueprints (Harrison 2001; Harrison 2006). One of the driving factors behind the LIDP project was a desire to bring more land into the city's boundaries as a means of meeting shortages, something that was met with resistance from surrounding districts through an amalgamation of the interests of both local councils and the traditional authorities located in these areas (Mulenga 2003).

> *"Rather than trying to take land from neighbouring districts [this time], they decided to expand the boundaries of the city and bring the surrounding areas on board with some joint planning approaches by drawing attention to how the issues impact on Lusaka and the surrounding areas in an interrelated way...If we had extended this land into their (customary tenure) areas then we would push them out and not plan it. This time we say we plan these activities together and it remains their land but we just update venture planning so they are aware of the whole situation"* (interview, lead city planner)

We saw in chapter five, across the two cities, that irrespective of whether the 'stakeholders' in question were citizen groups, NGO's, wider government departments, or even private

developers, the direction of engagement was already defined by the pre-conceived purpose of the interactions - to muster support for the master plan project. NGO's exist as the predominant authority in Lusaka's informal settlements, in precisely the same way that property developers and community activist groups are intricately bound with the rationalities of life in suburbia. These actors are not engaged with by the outreach process as a source of information about the very peoples whose lifestyles are at the core of what (supposedly) makes these cities so 'unsustainable' however - they are used as rationales *for* having a plan that goes above and beyond these phenomena and their situated complexities. Non-governmental forces beyond the control of the city council, meanwhile, are vital to the smooth operation of the city's activities. It is through this that the ward development committees have evolved from simply being community groups, to being active voices in the city. Members of the wards generally feel that it is the vehicle provided by the NGO's that gives them a voice:

> *"It has changed in the last few years to become a real bottom up process I would say. In our community we work with Care [International] but now they have started using this with the council and we have this new concept of the ward development committee that makes us sort of employees"*

As mentioned above and in chapter two, the compound of Chibolya remains both before and after the adoption of the master plan, *the* go to informal settlement for developing the 'pilot' redevelopment model. This approach doesn't set legal boundaries for particular settlement types itself, but rather embeds in the legal adoption of the master plan the *need* for formalization and legalisation to take place under the authority of LCC and MLGH. In producing the plans, once again the JICA consultants could draw extensively from a previous community profiling agenda carried out between the Lusaka city council and the United Nations in Chibolya and two other compounds (Chinika and Mandevu). These reports, according to the UN, offer "baseline information on the socio-economic status of settlements" (UN-Habitat 2007). In chapter five, one of the planners mentioned not only the role of NGO's such as Habitat for Humanity and Care International in this process, but also of the United Nations.

> *"These programmes help to strengthen those linkages so that now the WDC are recognised as part of the planning structure. They never hold meetings in the ministry*

without having residents from the area in question present. Now through these sustainable city programmes we have facilitators in each ward where groups of residents can contribute to their own development" (interview, UN Habitat Zambia)

It is worth remembering here that the United Nations, not just through its operations as described at the start of the section by the Zambia technical advisor, but with the documentation they produce, push the fact that "Lusaka City Council" has an "[i]nability…to deliver services to the residents [which] has undermined its credibility and esteem" meaning "[h]ighly qualified or trained people are reluctant to work for the LCC and other local authorities" (ibid.6) (UN-Habitat 2006). Putting aside the fact that, as someone who has spent a lot of time with many of them, I would find such an argument considerably wide of the mark, this serves to very effectively capture the way in which the concept of the city 'planner' in Lusaka is suspended between concurrent narratives of comprehensive planning on the one hand and bottom up, community resilience on the other. This leaves them with the impossible task of connecting these two polarised conceptualisations of the city and how it should be governed. As one of them described it to me: "It is difficult to shake off the fact that we are constantly seen as people who are in need of support". The master plans therefore become less a tool for the planners to use in guiding their work, and more a technology that usurps their capacity as part of the city's governance. Their engagements remain orientated on working with communities either in a responsive capacity, dealing with various public requests as arbiters of disputes and disagreements or, where possible through the work of the planning academy in Sacramento and the ward development committees in Lusaka, in trying to encourage certain attitudes and relationships to form.

7.6 Control of Identity

"It raises a whole number of questions about what Sacramento is. Sacramento is the capital, [but] is it an extension of the bay area, a central valley city or something else. We grappled with that a lot…I guess now it's difficult to say whether a general plan project helped answer that question or if it made us ask a question none of us had the answer to"

- interview, Mintier Harnish

"We really grew up thinking Zambia was a landlocked country and we were like bottom on the list as compared to countries that had harbours and ports. Now things are changing, we have realised that Zambia can be a land 'linked' country not really calling it land locked. So if you look at what JICA is doing, in terms of transport right now we are looking at regional integration - linking Zambia to these regional transport networks, the Tazara connections [Zambia-Tanzania linkage], like a North-South corridor, Nacala corridor out to Mozambique…so even when we look at the urbanisation of Lusaka, we now look at it as a town that can play a role in regional trade and transport"

- interview, JICA

The anecdotal reflection on the situated issues within the areas of Chibolya, Natomas, CADA and Madimba, presented thus far in the chapter offer an intriguing way to illustrate the various disconnects between master planning, the city planners, and the concept of sustainability as something achieved through urban development. Chibolya and Natomas, despite one being located right alongside the existing CBD and the other on the very periphery of the city are brought into the purview of the master plan visioning as problems to be solved due to their supposedly unsustainable nature. Meanwhile, in precisely the opposite manner, the CADA project (alongside downtown Sacramento) and Madimba (on the very periphery of Lusaka) - as the result of very different historical trajectories, and with very different material realities - have established cohesive sustainability *driven* projects that offer a sovereignty and resilience over their own affairs.

"A city is such a hard thing to wrap your arms around and direct it in some way, I mean you are driving right at the heart of everything that is American about America with that, or maybe Californian about California!" (city planner, Sacramento)

"If you look at the population for Chibolya the people there work in town and they walk to town, they walk to school. Their fear is that if they upgrade it, it will become a high cost area and they will be misplaced. I think the CBD will continue to deteriorate with development concentrated in the east" (city planner, Lusaka)

174

What both Lusaka and Sacramento share, first and foremost when reflecting on the notion of a city 'identity', is their role as provincial capital cities of Zambia and California respectively. This, of course, has governance and legislation based implications, but it also takes on an additional requirement for *leadership* when inflected through the prism of becoming sustainable. One of the economic consultants in Sacramento stated that "now there is this long range aspirational planning tendency in Sacramento" (interview). The following is an extract from the Sacramento General Plan's 'Vision and Guiding Principles' that illustrates his point:

> 'The City must be the regional leader in sustainable development and encourage compact, higher-density development that conserves land resources, protects habitat, supports transit, reduces vehicle trips, improves air quality, conserves energy and water, and diversifies Sacramento's housing stock'

For all of its supposed 'failings' at being sustainable itself, Sacramento finds itself located in a region of the world where the *discourse* around sustainable cityness is particularly strong. San Francisco, and the Bay Area in general, is well recognised as particularly liberal and "forward thinking" with regards to sustainability planning in the United States, as one city planner described it. Forging a sense of place through the general plan can be seen as a way of trying to cement a legacy and vision for the city that is recognisable and admirable in terms of the elements it incorporates. The city centre is therefore seen as being particularly important to Sacramento's sense of place – through both the area around the State Capitol and the values placed on the downtown skyline in US cities (the plan refers to the 'development of a distinctive urban skyline that reflects the vision of Sacramento').

Much like Sacramento, Lusaka's attempts to forge an identity is stretched between its role as the capitol and its connection into a wider regional economy. JICA (2009) emphasise the importance of embracing the existing commercial developments that are taking place in the east of the city with the proliferation of drive-up "American-style" shopping malls particularly along great east road out towards the airport. It should also be impossible to ignore, however, the liveliness of the existing CBD's commercial activity, much of which takes on a more informal nature as it moves in a westerly direction, away from the more 'formal' activity. While this divide is in many ways pulling Lusaka apart with Cairo road and the CBD acting as

the seam, this, of course, is not as easily codified into the form of an urban master plan vision. For example, one member of the city planning department described how there was a common understanding amongst many of the local employees, that the externalised growth and development of Lusaka in particular directions did not primarily reflect connections to particular economic regions but, rather, regional and tribal affiliations of the political elite in the country that had evolved into a series of political relationships between developers, politicians and tribal leaders. Of course, identification and engagement with customary, traditional elements of the political fabric *did* take place in the production of the plans, however the discourses that governed how those interactions took place ensured it was an exercise in legitimation rather than lesson drawing.

7.7 Epistemicide

"We struggle with how to characterise our role in doing general plans because we are not outside experts coming in to do a plan and dropping it on the community and saying yeah we are heading back to the home office…We are social engineers who are well motivated and wouldn't have picked this profession if it was just about a pay check. If you are not in it to improve your society, your community and neighbourhood, then go to Wall Street or work for a large multinational firm"

- interview, Mintier Harnish, Sacramento

In his piece on blackness and the city, Abdoumaliq Simone (2015) writes that "American cities on the surface are fully black and white, but there still persists a seeming determination to get rid of collective black life from the surface of cities (ibid. 6), and that, drawing on Edouard Glissant, "a black urbanism becomes not so much a culmination or destination of clearly delineated city-making processes, but…a place you pass through, not yet a country" (ibid.8). Beyond whitewashed narratives, lie possibilities for thinking about the 'becoming' nature of the relational city as the arena in which 'the world' is being made through an urbanization that is not the 'raw' capitalist production of problematic space, but a vital identity orientated materialization of life. While none of this is actively ignored by an urban visioning project, it is impossible to represent and to codify into its pages. This, instead, turns the immanent potential of the urban, and the multiplicity with which the city as an "ideological object, a

repository of aspiration and cultivator of subjectivities" (ibid.2) exists, into a transcendental city-subject through urban planning and spatial policy making's normative, Cartesian strive for the 'view from nowhere' (de Certeau and Rendall 2011; Haraway 1988; Nagel 1989).

Irrespective of how loose or visionary its guiding principles may be, master planning nullifies this as soon as it brings into view the perception that the city, or indeed any particular area within it, can be 'known' and the subsequent knowledge of its "Strengths, Weaknesses Opportunities and Threats (SWOT)" - as the JICA team used to guide their study - codified. When I posed potential problems of master planning to the member of the city council in Sacramento who, earlier in the thesis, had been a big advocate for this sort of high level visioning, he responded as follows:

> "Well…your job is to recommend what to replace it with then. A Brit from Portland, planning must be your thing…" (interview, city council member)

An influential member of Sacramento's political elite suggesting that simply because of an identity I embodied, I might be able to offer some actual advice on the general plan. While connections to Portland and to the UK were undoubtedly important in shaping my experience in Sacramento, race never was. Why not? Sacramento is a city with a Black Mayor in a country with a black president. It is also one that has a population of whom less than 50% are white and where the black population is higher than the national level. More importantly, it is a city that has recently been awarded the title for existing as one of the most diverse and integrated in the United States (Silver 2015). Why am I bringing this up? Because despite this, how many black individuals did I engage, meet, interview, or liaise with in relation to the general plan. Two. One was the secretary of a consultancy firm and the other was a lady who was attending the planning academy as a representative of her local community. My point here is not that there are not enough people of colour involved in planning in Sacramento - I may just not have encountered many myself and, in any case, this is beyond the scope - but that the need to produce a master plan vision for the city brings to the fore issues of who exactly the production of a city vision is *for*. How, for example, does the 'liveability' that seems so central to the Sacramento general plan play out across racial divides given that it is seemingly a vision created with very little high level input from the black community. This seems an even more pertinent question to ask, given the fact that half way across the world a city in the heart of

the African continent has adopted an urban master plan vision that contains images of white families playing in green parkland.

I do not wish to argue that JICA are responsible for 'enacting' a paradigm of hegemonic coloniality in Lusaka any more than Mintier Harnish are in Sacramento. This is why, in the conclusion to chapter two, I invoked Donna Haraway's (2006) notion of the 'Cyborg' to refer to the posthuman city as "one in which material processes and agencies are visible that are not encompassed by locally recognisable human actors" (Sattler 2016:260). There is no one 'responsible' for the neo-coloniality of the master plans and what, certainly in the case of Lusaka, appears to be a step back in time to the utopia of green space and white liveability rather than forward to a better future for the city's residents. What results from privileged access to 'socially constructed' space, however, is, as Saldanha describes, the leaving open of the "discursive arena" for actors to insert themselves into various positions of power (ibid.10). Continuing with his critique, irreversible materialisation of territoriality emerges *from* relations, or *from* the 'flow' (ibid.18). To position oneself as being able to identify something as being *both* territorial and relational is to position oneself in the ill-fated *view from nowhere*. Whether that 'self' is a policy researcher like myself or a policy maker like JICA, is irrelevant. It is as a response to such problems, that Carlos Vainer (2014) calls for explicit projects that seek to 'decolonize knowledge' associated with cities as a vital step to ultimately allowing a 'plural epistemology' to proliferate (ibid.54). This can only be achieved by challenging an "Occidentalism in theory and policy", as the variant of 'orientalism' that works on the false ascription of "cogency" to the "intellectual and cultural products of the west", whatever their critical orientation may be (De Waal 2016).

In Sacramento, the general plan has won a number of awards, including from the American Planning Association, acknowledging its comprehensiveness in a manner that grants a legitimacy and empowers those who worked on it and who identify with the city. Meanwhile, Lusaka's vision finds itself journeying further afield both in terms of its circulation through the internet as part of JICA's portfolio of development projects completed, as well as its presentation in academic spheres. For example, in January 2016, the plan was presented by the Lusaka city council town clerk at a conference hosted by the London School of Economics. Entitled 'Making Cities work for Growth', the conference was organised by the International growth Centre (IGC), and featured talks from a number of its prominent leaders including

Johnathan Leape and Sir Paul Collier, the latter of which presented as part of the same session on housing and land use policy, as the Lusaka town clerk. Freed from the hegemony of both place and time, the new master plan vision was able to present Lusaka to the audience in all its sustainable, garden city glory. This is illustrative of the fact that, in certain circles, at particular moments, the Lusaka city council as representatives of 'the city' to a 'global' audience, are able to take real ownership of the master plan and the coherent message it conveys. While other cities across the world may be lauded for their sustainable design practices at the level of bricks and mortar, Lusaka and Sacramento gain their legitimacy in this regard through their plans and the condescending congratulation of an ability to recognise what they *should* be.

7.8 Conclusion - Towards the past…and away from the future

"We shape our cities and our cities shape us…but who are *we*"

- Gerald Frug, The Architecture of Governance Lecture (2011)

In the context of policy making and political struggles, cities are less the "battlegrounds" of relational contestations (Leitner et al 2007, cited in McCann and Ward 2011: 173) so much as they are entirely packaged concepts in and of themselves. Following this, I would argue that sustainability is representative not of a post-political status of the 'global', but of a post-global political status for the vast majority of the world's population, as urban, regional, and national groups struggle to harness autonomous identities and means of governing, while at the same time trying to cater for the 'wider' world and the shared challenge of urbanisation. Rather than being a means for "strong interrogation of externally rendered policy solutions" as argued by Robinson (2011: 31), these master plan strategies become the very vehicles for an external rendering of the city as both space and place. It seems much urban scholarship, however, is more interested in sustaining the definition of 'the city' as something that can do analytical work, than it is in pushing into a new era of sovereign rights for urban citizens. David Harvey, following Henri Lefebvre's work on the "right to the city", states that "The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey 2003). The problem here, however, is the rigid definition not just of 'the city' that one might have a right to, but also that of the 'human' that

lies at the heart of the "our" in question. Unable to recognise the impossibility of codifying the future, as a result, what we are actually doing with spatial policy, is reproducing the past.

Not only does the 'need' for a master plan precede its production, but so does its *purpose*. As a technology, its embodied regime of truth takes hold of its subject long before it does its object. Indeed it does this long before it even materialises as an object in and of itself. The moment in which a policy to address a particular issue is conceived of in a form that is able to be *codified*, it has already been de-politicised. This is true for any level of urban policy, but with the master plan it establishes this at the level of the entire city. There is, therefore, a need to focus our attention more directly on the stimulant for 'problems' to be rendered as such in particular places, rather than with what eventually materialises in order to address this. In the trajectory of the thesis, then, we need to transition away from the means through which a limiting discourse of sustainable cityness defines place, and towards understanding the temporal contingency upon which the desire to produce these master plans, rests. As an outcome of this chapter, it is only once a coherent subject has been brought into the 'plane of transcendence', that it is possible for epistemicide to take. The question therefore remains regarding how subjects come to exist in this form - what status of the city-subject ushers it into one of crisis that requires it to be engaged with in a comprehensive, interventionist manner? This, and its relationship to the post-human, will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 8: The Post-Human Crisis of Urbanisation

> *"Silence itself, is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, within them and in relation to them within an overall strategy. There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one doesn't say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and cannot speak are distributed, which type of discourse is authorised, or which form of discretion is required in either case."*
>
> - Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality,* (2012, p.27)

8.1 Introduction

Arun Saldanha (2009: 306) describes what he sees as "postmodern forays into the infinite sumptuousness of representation", and associates this with an approach to the philosophy of science that dominated throughout the 80's and 90's. As a colleague once mentioned to me, somewhat tongue in cheek however, "geography has always been behind the times" and, as a result, the extent to which evocative metaphor is still drawn upon in order to characterise the 'globalised' system of flows would permit one to assume that there is some sort cognitive intertropical convergence zone overhead through which 'things' circulate. This perhaps flippant analogy is not without merit, given that, as Allen (2008:60) points out, there is certainly a distinct correlation between many discussions of power in accordance with the concept of globalisation, and the way physical energy flows are represented in the natural sciences (see also Tsing 2000). This universalising discourse about the world as a coherent 'system', naturally leads to what Peter Marcuse (2015) describes as us, seeing cities 'anthropomorphically' and prompts him to ask whether, at a time of increased urbanisation worldwide, *'Is it "cities" that have a crisis?',* in order to encourage us to explore what it is we mean when we speak wholesomely about individual cities as coherent entities facing a shared, global 'crisis' (ibid.154)[25].

---

[25]These lexicons are not merely the domain of the urban of course. The notion that 'the world' is in crisis whether it be in the form of refugees, climate change, or poverty, and the separation of 'us' from 'the world' in this manner, prevails across mainstream discourse about planetary governance.

To explore the way in which the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento tie the two cities into a much wider paradigm of problematic urbanisation, this chapter will be framed by the arguments of Giorgio Agamben - most notably his ideas of *Homo Sacer* and the *State of Exception.* The suggestion, given the anthropomorphication of the global 'system' and the placing of cities 'into' such a framework, is that his concepts can be extended and helpfully used to illustrate how the performativity of the 'sustainable city' as a powerful trope in engaging with global urbanisation as exception, subsequently transforms sustainability as a potential regime of governance that grants power *to* individual cities, into one that leverages control *over* them. In between the presentation of this argument, the chapter will also draw upon the final sphere of 'colonality' presented in the previous chapter - control of subjectivity and knowledge. Taking leave from the connection between coloniality and the work of Frantz Fanon, this will explore the means through which a city-subject is not only controlled but, as Simone (2015) writes - is embodied by individuals who "internaliz[e] the values and capacities that the city was thought to represent" (ibid.2). Recognising the extreme pessimism associated with the master plans (and therefore the thesis!), the chapter will also look *beyond* the plans once again to reflect on the way in which geographically represented relationally is drawn on in different, more empowering ways but such individuals.

8.2 Urbanisation 'Crisis' as a 'Global' State of Exception

In the previous chapter, through the work of Jean Hillier (2008), the important distinction was made between the city in the 'plane of immanence' and a more directed, project based focus on urban development in a 'place of transcendence'. Based on her own research conducted through the prism of Deleuze, she is strong in her argument for "performance-based planning rather than performance-measured, target-based master plans" (ibid.24). Given that, while I would wholeheartedly agree with her argument, in this thesis we are working with already adopted, struggling master plans, the important issue for us, is trying to understand the stimulant for the need to approach the city space in an explicitly transcendental manner. Not all cities have long term master plan visions, and of those that do, they are all unique in the extent to which they seek to prescribe a rigid definition of future design. There is no secret to the fact that, for example, Lusaka's plan is considerably more design based than Sacramento's

which is more principle based, albeit still (in relation to others) with a fairly rigid analysis of the city's unsustainable form and the need for significant intervention to address this. What I argue is shared however, is the *dispositif* of the sustainable city which is produced as an increasingly reactive practice and something which, as discussed by Legg (2011: 130), exists in particular places as a response to an identifiable *urgency*. The following is an extract from Siegfried Jager's (2001) work on the dispositive:

> *"Evidently Foucault sees the emergence of dispositives as follows: an urgency emerges and an existing dispositive becomes precarious; for this reason a need to act results and the social and hegemonial forces which are confronted with it assemble the elements which they can obtain in order to encounter this urgency, that is speech, people, knives, cannons, institutions, and so on in order to mend the `leaks' - the urgency - which has arisen, as Deleuze says"* (ibid.41).

Throughout much of this thesis, I have drawn sporadically upon the work of Giorgio Agamben in helping to elucidate the concept of the dispositive apparatus and its governance of cities as concepts for both practitioners and academics alike. I now want to turn the table and draw explicitly on some of his more radical concepts to see how they can help us to think about the emergence of sustainable design master plans. To begin with, the connection that I wish to draw with Agamben's work relates to his idea of the 'state of exception' with regards to what lies at the root of a contemporary moment in which desire for 'sustainable' cities is proliferating - 'planetary urbanisation'. In chapter four, Agamben's work was drawn on in order to move beyond a dichotomous relationship between sovereign power and biopower, to view acts of interventionism as being facilitated by an alignment with biopolitical discourse (Agamben and Heller-Roazen 1998). His most famous example of this is the way in which the torture of Guantanamo Bay inmates post 9/11 was legitimised by placing the subjectivities embodied by perceived terror suspects outside of existing legal parameters on the use of torture (Agamben and Attell 2008). At a time of recognised 'exception', the ability for sovereign, top down intervention, is facilitated, not as a new paradigm of law enforcement or holistic governance, but as a *momentary* reaction to a wider, more pressing, agenda. As Agamben tells us, the ability to proclaim a state of exception, in which the enactment of interventionist government is legitimised, "stands outside the juridical order and yet nevertheless belongs to it" (1998: 15). In other words, the ability to enact centralised,

sovereign intervention - such as the production of a new master plan - will always be legitimised internally, but with an 'external' contingency.

Perhaps the most prominent application of the state of exception in relation to the urban is through the concept of 'informality', such as Ananya Roy's (2009) discussion of the 'crisis' facing the nation of India. Roy seeks to look upon the informal nature of urban life in the south in a more constructive and active manner however, citing the need for planners to work with this 'state of exception' which is now a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization like any other (Miraftab 2009; Roy 2005; Yeoh 2001). Oldfield and Parnell (2014) describe informality as "as central to legitimate urban narratives as the vacillations in modern urban capitalist public policy" (ibid.2). However, we can now also observe somewhat of a converging of theorisations about urbanisation in different parts of the world, whether that be suburban housing developments or slum proliferation – or a combination of the two, as discussed in depth by Gilbert and De Jong (2015) for Mexico City – through a narrative that draws together a broader concern over sprawling communities and the consequences for a cohesive spatial definition of the city-form. Balbo's (1993) conceptualisation of the 'dual city' consisting of the formerly planned areas, and the informal settlements is increasingly blurred in terms of both the dividing line between the two, and also in the geographical regions from which such a separation offers a pertinent critical lens. If we recognise the existence of the 'dual city' and the informal/formal divide as one that is seemingly well embedded into the way in which the vast majority of the world's cities are problematized, how does this fit, or rather how is this negotiated by agendas that approach 'the city' as a territorial unit for the purposes of policy making?

The criticism of how, historically, urban studies has failed to account for different forms of urbanism, and thereby been complicit in the rigid binary between formal and informal that currently plagues not only theorisations, but also legal frameworks across the world, was opened up in chapter three (see also Bayat 2000). However, the interest here is in the way that interpretations of particular urban spaces are maintained and reproduced within new, sustainable urban regimes that actively 'sweep the poor away', as Watson (2009) describes it. Legrand and Yiftachel (2014) are critical of Roy's application of *State of Exception* above because, much like its application to Guantanamo Bay inmates by Agamben, it can only take us as far as a state exercising a sovereign power *over* populations by defining what is

'informal', and therefore not a fully recognised part of the city. As a result of this, "urban planning remains a state prerogative, an exclusive domain" which rests upon rigid, enlightenment based definitions of 'sovereignty' and 'informality' (ibid. 217). This, then, prevents us from understanding what *produces* collective buy-in to a perceived mode of sovereign governance and the inherent acceptability of the agenda in question, and to correlate this with a wider 'global' form of governmentality which produces materialised plans and spatial policies in particular locations. As the question asks, what makes it valid at a certain place and *time*?

Braidotti (2013) is also critical of Agamben for what she sees as a continued fixation on a pre-existent and pre-determined *being* upon which powerful despotic forces can *act*, in order to 'de'-humanise and order, something which ultimately succumbs to a problematic impasse of finitude, perishability, and death. While Agamben builds considerably on the work of Foucault, for Braidotti, this enactment of the sovereign seems in direct contrast to the productive possibilities that underpin a Foucauldian understanding of how power functions that would allow for a sovereignty beyond rigid definitions of the nation state and its ability to leverage - at will - a state of exception (Mbembe 2003). It is vital to hone in upon the productive concept of *Life/Zoe* as the principle focus of critical, political engagement in order to avoid an exclusively "gloomy and pessimistic vision not only of power, but also of the technological developments that propel the regimes of bio-power" (Braidotti 2013:121). Taking leave from Agamben's use of the term, Braidotti reforms this by thinking it explicitly through the immanence and 'becoming' of Spinozist and Deleuzian frameworks that "emphasise the politics of life itself as a relentlessly generating force including, and going beyond death" (ibid.120). Such a project is vital to engaging in a critique that doesn't end in a pessimistic nihilism with little hope for rescuing the futures of a separated, informal, illegal and (necessarily) sub-human set of subjectivities.

8.3 Control of Subjectivity and Knowledge

As Foucault's quote on silence at the opening of the chapter suggests, the limiting, normalising nature of the sustainable city should not be seen as strictly defined but the result of accepted definitions as to the dominating representations of materiality. Going back to the

presentation of the master plans in chapter two as significant primarily for their existential quality and not part of a presence/absence dualism - we must not, as I believe literature on 'policy mobility' does, mistake *silence* for *absence.* We saw in the previous chapter the way in which certain aspects of projects (or indeed entire framings) placed *outside* of the master plans' agenda were actually embracing a situated, sovereign message of sustainability, and only due to elements of their institutional or spatial materiality, were they subverted from the master plan's rhetoric. The existence of alterity on the plane of immanence is framed out by a belief in a self-other dichotomy facilitated by transcendentalism and shaped by the workings of biopower. As was discussed towards the end of the previous chapter, it is purely the *view* and not the *authority* from nowhere, that grants power to an individual or institution. In light of this, I separated this final element of the modalities of coloniality in order to highlight that the constitution of subjects is a) the most important given all of the others can be seen to feed from this, and b) the 'location' at which power operates and, therefore, is resisted.

Posing a philosophical question that can be traced back to Friedrich Nietzsche's 'god is dead', and subsequently Foucault's 'death of man', the conundrum here is associated with how authority on an issue such as sustainability in the face of urbanisation that is deemed to have 'global' applicability should function at the level of governance. Achille Mbembé (2001) asks 'what today remains of the recognition of oneself as free will?' (ibid.237). What is it about merely designing and creating an autonomous urban master plan for one's city that should allow it to provide sovereign governance over urban space? This question invokes a critical rather than accepting approach to the 'law like extension' of what comes to constitute materialised reality in different places, and therefore what should and shouldn't count in defining (and designing) the future of the city (Humphreys 2006). The trap of assuming the external, omnipotent sovereign befalls both practitioners and academics alike as they pursue agendas that orientate around some degree of 'cityness', abstracted from concrete reality. This is particularly so given questions about what this new version of the urban design master plan represents for the cities of the world against the backdrop of a supposedly 'post-political' era of a global sustainability discourse (Agamben and Attell 2008; Swyngedouw 2010). Existence in one 'location', is existence everywhere. 'Ideas' do not travel to different places; places are produced within the confines of ideas. This is also, of course, precisely what

colonialism's legacy consists of. Lusaka, and indeed Sacramento, were pulled into a particular world from which point on their existence as 'cities' ensures that they were not distant locations, but were proximately connected to the centre through the very form of their existence.

To render a particular 'thing' as 'global' from a research perspective is to blur the boundary between an actual *elsewhere,* and potential *everywhere*. In practice then, we need to be vigilant in seeking to understand the *actual* connections and relationships that are important to informing the agendas of different individuals and communities. The concept of 'relationality' offers a means of thinking about the world in a way that emphasises the shared nature of uniqueness. Much like the anti-parochialism of Spinoza, this is precisely what Jean-Luc Nancy is stressing in his book *Being Singular Plural* (2000) as we grapple with a way to recognise the material diversity of the world as its wholeness. Everything that can be conceived of, is done so in relation to everything else and the world that is 'known' by any individual or group is one continuous space. Lusaka and Sacramento, for example, exist in the same world. While Lusaka might not explicitly be on the minds of planners in Sacramento - indeed many may never have heard of it - it is embodied within the materiality of, for example, the 'global south' or the 'developing world'[26]. Lusaka is a piece - albeit a small one - of a particular relation, a particular world that feeds into the very existence of Sacramento and its practitioners' ideas of what constitutes the sustainable city.

As was already argued in the previous chapter, the parts of both Lusaka and Sacramento that are perhaps *the* most illustrative materialisation of this era of 'planetary urbanisation' are those which receive the least amount of treatment in terms of accessing understanding and knowledge in the production of the new master plans. As a result the plans are presented as a means of sanitizing the very materialities of the city's most diverse, complex, and interconnected spaces. In the first instance this is generic such as 'informal settlements' or

---

[26] See Koptiuch (1991) for an illustrative example of this through the way in which the term 'Third World' has developed deeply performative characteristics, in this case through its use in the context of the United States. The book *Adios, America: The Left's Plan to Turn Our Country into a Third World Hellhole* by conservative political commentator Ann Coulter (2015), is perhaps the best mainstream example of this. Some other recent (and increasingly common) examples include a BBC article pointing to the fact that the quality and efficiency of dental treatment in England has dropped so substantially, that it is now at a level associated with the 'third world' (BBC 2015) and the argument by an Australian (even more ironic given its geographical situating in the world) politician that the country's population growth rate has reached 'third world style' (Guardian 2016).

'sprawling suburbs' but then it becomes more specific. Particular areas of the city are singled out as the problem incarnate if you will. As I have been drawing back to regularly since chapter two, in Sacramento the problem area is invariably North Natomas, while in Lusaka, it is Chibolya compound which has the pleasure of acting in this capacity. This is continually reproduced by practitioners from all backgrounds just as it is in the plans themselves. What Chibolya and North Natomas do is make the universalising discourse of sustainability, unavoidably 'local'. When discourse evolves through actions into materialisations in certain locations, what results and is left behind by physical movements across space is merely a continued emergence of what Deleuze and Guattari might describe as "strata" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). Audrone Zukauskaite (Zukauskaite 2014) describes this as the "principle of creation [meaning] accumulations, coagulations, sedimentations, and foldings…like the creation of the world from chaos" (ibid. 79). As she goes on, this means that *stratification* is the process of organisation, coding and, crucially for us here, *territorialisation*. The accumulation of physical matter is what takes place to produce the *actually existing* space of the urban in various locations across the globe; high rises here, overpasses there, compound settlements here, and suburbs there. It is then *from* this materiality that meaning is created and produced, communicated and embodied in a continual process of production.

8.4 Othering

> *"For planning in this era a similar process means decolonizing planners' imagination by questioning the assumption that every plan and policy must insist on modernization. This mental decolonization requires recognizing how the ideal of the Western city has been deployed historically in the colonial era, and is now deployed in the neoliberal era to advance a certain paradigm of development"*

This quote from Faranak Miraftab (2009, p.44) captures precisely what is at stake here with regards to the way in which practitioners are drawn to the materiality of problems, and the discursivity of solutions which Carlos Vainer (2014) describes as governing how cities are "conceived and designed" (ibid.48). Likewise, Edensor and Jayne (2012), write that, in the contemporary era the "colonial imaginary remains crucial in stimulating responses to the 'non-western' city, influencing policies and ideals of urban elites" (ibid.24). Sabelo Ndlovu-

Gatsheni (2013) has devoted significant attention to drawing the paradigm of coloniality out of its roots in Latin American scholarship and applying it to the African perspective through the way in which people on the continent continue to be entrapped within the existing global matrices of power that define their ways of 'knowing' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). This is a form of entrapment in which subjects are complicit in some way in any power that is perceived to be 'held over' them by dominant paradigms of thought - a system of compliance that has its own geographies as they are lived and breathed by modern subjects through the everyday (Maldonado-Torres 2007). In both cities, the problematic status quo, exemplified through very specific, material spaces is a vital part of presenting the possibility for sovereign intervention at a 'city' level. A process of 'normalization' doesn't just move towards a desired state, it is always exceptional and is always culturally and historically shaped, requiring a "dangerous *other* against whom to mobilize" (Tagma 2009: 429).

A project that engages with the decolonisation of the knowledges upon which the city is produced, and thereby with a "decolonisation of the mind", can subsequently lead to liberation of the urban imagination beyond the seeing of the self as *an* 'other' or in relation to *others* (Ahluwalia 2001; Thiong'o 1994). In the case of the latter, we can seek to understand which important others play a role in shaping the meaning generating activities of planning and spatial policy making in a given location through both universalist and essentialist representations (Howitt and Stevens 2010). Well-rehearsed and brought to life within postcolonial studies through the concept of Edward Said's orientalism as a function of western 'othering' techniques, 'The Other' is in many ways an important link between western post-structural and psychoanalytical philosophy on the one hand, and postcolonial and coloniality orientated agendas on the other (Cooke 2001). With this in mind, it is the work of Frantz Fanon that is of particular note and the idea of a 'Critical Fanonism' approach to understanding the production of the complex geographies of post-colonial subjectivities is suggested by Marcus Power (2003, p.55).

Earlier, in chapter three, the focus with regard to Fanon orientated on his famous text *The Wretched of the Earth* (Fanon, Philcox et al. 2007)*. Here, however, it is his earlier *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon and Markmann 1967) - a book that one can appreciate is written more from the mind of Fanon the psychiatrist as opposed to Fanon the political philosopher - from which inspiration will be taken. As the title of the text suggests, it focuses on entrapment

through the 'racialisation of consciousness' and the subsequent embedding of an inferiority complex as a result. Fanon pulled apart the internal racialisation of the colonial encounter and its impact on subjectivity – something taken further by Ashis Nandy (Nandy 1983) and Ngugi wa Thiongo (Thiong'o 1994). Through long processes, essentialised understandings of how the self is represented in the rest of the world become internalised in the consciousness of individual and collective society (Nielsen 2013). This involves dominant narratives of the norm working as "machinery" to draw attention to and elevate particular differences that render the individual problematic and in need of certain change/attention (Foucault 1977; Nielsen 2010). Revolution will always be an exercise in critical self-emancipation at different scales and therefore involve an essential element of 're-cerebralisation' (Zeilig 2014).

To engage with this here means probing the cognitive functions that govern the management of knowledges and how these are enacted through decision making at both an individual and a collective, societal level (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013; Van Dijk 2008). As Fanon informs us, *othering* - as a relational process of subject formation - conforms individuals, groups or entire populations to positions of placeless exclusion, where an "abandonment-neurotic" leads to rejection, exclusion and a "superfluous" lack of place (Fanon and Markmann 1967). This therefore means engaging not with theorisations of cities, but with the "professional epistemes of urban planning and policy making" (McCann, Roy et al. 2013), and in a manner that takes questions of 'relationality' beyond simply the way in which "urban elites compare their cities to others" (McCann and Ward 2010; 2015). Indeed, the link between relational policy making and postcolonial engagement with *othering* as a mode of power has been overlooked by policy mobility research which nevertheless makes reference to "mental maps…conditioned by wider institutions and infrastructures such as those that provide information on best practices" (Temenos and McCann 2013: 350). Relationality-as-othering becomes not only a process of looking for inspiration through other individuals in isolation, but the establishment of a hierarchical system of identity that strives to move closer and closer to the 'ideal' or 'true' state. Fanon (1967) uses the differing proportions of 'blackness' in relation to the white man to illustrate this point and its subsequent effect on relations between and amongst the colonized subjects. This is something we can map quite vividly onto the idea of an anthropomorphised 'world of cities' in which benchmarks in the 'next step' towards some sort of supposed ideal of 'cityness' are drawn upon as policy makers compose

their ideas about their city "in the midst of a myriad influences from elsewhere" (Robinson 2015).

By way of a poignant example, Melissa Tandiwe Myambo (2014) describes one of the most prominent geographies of the imagination on the African continent:

> *"If you are in Johannesburg and you mention to a South African that you are travelling*
> *north to Zimbabwe, he will say, 'Heysh! You're going to Africa'. Thus, sometimes*
> *neither South Africa, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Morocco nor Egypt is part of 'Black Africa'*
> (ibid.2)

Myambo makes her point here in discussing what she calls the "ontological crisis of the self" (ibid. 8) that involves seeking to give some sort of relationally produced, geographically represented identity. There is always an underlying rationale, for drawing comparison, making connections and it is these rationales that can help us understand the relational production of the world. In other words, and for our interests here, processes of "actor engagement with places elsewhere" and "contextual framing in relation to other cities", described by Cook and Ward (2012: 774) need to be recognised not as the result of some sort of free will and choosing, but as always governed by what has gone before, and carried out by materialising 'the other'. For example, the way in which geographical space is compressed into a specific nodal point that can be used to rationalise the validity of one's knowledge stretches from 'Africa', or even 'developing world' in the case of Lusaka, to the 'West Coast' or even 'Northern California' in the case of Sacramento. The use of this as a rationalisation of one's expertise is the same however and so, more importantly, are the implications for the way in which the city perceives itself in the context of these regional affiliations, which Allen and Cochrane (2007) describe as becoming "lodged" in the political context of place making practices.

8.5 'Lodging' South Africa, the Pacific Northwest, and…Bogota

There is a need to understand *how* exactly certain geographical scales and spaces become 'lodged' into the imagination in different places, as a means of opening up the intersection of historical trajectories of development with contemporary discourses around sustainable

cityness. Are these relations seeking to draw on innovative ideas in these locations? Or, in stark contrast, are certain relationships so entrenched as to subordinate the ability to engage in a much broader array of possibilities for learning from elsewhere. Throughout the thesis and through various practical registers and connections, two dominant parts of the respective worlds of Sacramento and Lusaka's city making processes have come to the fore. Something drawn on heavily during the process of constructing the general plan in Sacramento, which received significant attention from the planning team as a potential direct, interventionist and top down design solution for form related concerns - but was ultimately left out of the plan - is the idea of an urban growth boundary.

> *"Portland was having the same issues we were 30 years ago and they put a hard urban growth boundary and that is the one thing Sacramento has not done"*

Utilised effectively by Portland as part of their own sustainable urbanism mantra, the policy of adopting a hard urban growth boundary around the city directly tackles the issue of sprawl and provides extra incentive for infill development to take place. The city planners also explain why this was not possible for Sacramento:

> *"Politically it isn't tenable in most of California, there is just too much pressure to grow. The closest thing we do have to that was the blueprint at the regional level which Mike [McKeever] was central to adapting into a kind of Sacramento version of the growth boundary albeit at a regional level. I guess we reached the conclusion that you can't take it down any further than that here"*

A city with a strong reputation when it comes to both government planning and the discourse of sustainability, Portland, and indeed the Pacific-Northwest region (which is often seen to include not just Seattle, but also Vancouver across the border is Canada) is portrayed as being particularly pioneering when it comes to sustainable city making practices. Their ability to embrace the essence of contemporary 'cityness' has seen Portland and Vancouver "become lauded in the literature" as examples of urban exceptionalism (Kirby 2014; Lowry and McCann 2011). For Sacramento though, as some of the quotes in figure 8.1 below highlight, this is something more entrenched than simply a 'global' exemplar. Recognition over different political situations in Oregon and California and an understanding of the infeasibility of adopting an explicit growth boundary - so fundamental to Portland's success story - has not

stopped comparisons being drawn, aspirations being rendered and inferiority complexes being embedded. The discourse of achieving a more sustainable design for the city is so powerful that it can overcome these problems and continue to position problematics situations in relation to other 'more' sustainable cities. This is something that has been entrenched over a significant period of time that transforms relationships into more fundamental and stabilised arrangements.

As was discussed in chapter five, a similar relationship to that between Sacramento and Mike McKeever, played out in Lusaka in the years leading up to their new master plan when Malaysian consultant Dato' Jegathesan was brought in by JICA to provide expertise to the city in the area of investment, as the relationship between authorities in Lusaka and JICA proliferated significantly. This was facilitated by a number of factors and became embodied within the 'Triangle of Hope' relationship. Central to this was the identification, by JICA, of Malaysia as a country that Zambia should be utilising as inspiration in its economic development. This is outlined as follows by JICA's documentation for the ToH partnership (JICA 2010):

> 'When Malaya and Zambia achieved independence both were similarly optimistic about a hopeful future…The colonial power, Britain, had developed the natural resources of both countries, in the case of Malaya (subsequently renamed Malaysia) such commodities as tin and rubber and for Zambia, copper, laying a firm foundation for prosperous economies. Because of very different subsequent political, economic, military and social conditions, however, both countries and the wider regions of Africa and Asia, experienced vastly different fortunes'

"Portland is the planning mecca of the US…[so]we felt we were getting a little piece of Portland's planning [when Mike McKeever moved down]" (SACOG planner)

"Well there has been a lot of Portland envy because it is similar sized metropolitan area with similar demographics and income levels. Of course its location is also vital, I guess that's true for the Pacific Northwest generally" (Economic Consultant, Sacramento).

"When you look at the coastal cities in the west, LA, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle you find they tend to have 2 to 3 times the level of public transportation users, to us in Sacramento…Portland actually has always been the one to look for Sacramento. We look at them with a lot of jealousy" (Sacramento Lead Planner)

"The Pacific Northwest has the whole thing pretty tied up, but it is political as well of course…not just about cities and planning…if we were in a strong market like San Francisco or Portland even we could really push these things more and they would catch on with greater ease" (Sacramento Transport Consultant)

"As much as you want to have a unique case and take Lusaka in that way, there could be a way to learn about concept from other places, for example South Africa, and the way they have developed their cities and if there are concepts which we think would be applicable for the situation then it is wise to always incorporate them" (Lusaka Lead Planner)

"It is important to learn from the way concepts have worked in cities in other countries…The way South Africa has developed its cities and the approaches they use have been assessed to see if they are applicable for integration into the plan for Lusaka" (JICA Consultant)

"Of course when we started this whole process of a new plan we had some ideas as much as we want this and that, but can it be effectively applied here in Lusaka? Look at South Africa, they have high population, their culture is this and this. Even the Japanese when they came are looking at what is happening in South Africa, at what rate we are moving in terms of development to see what cities we can take to model ourselves on and come up with these designs…Botswana, Gaborone is talked about in the same way I think that has latched onto the South African model" (Lusaka MLGH Planner)

Figure 8.1 - Extracts from Initial Interviews involving references to role of the Pacific Northwest and South Africa as important pace setters in sustainable design planning.

Recognising this differential, JICA, like many other practitioners in Lusaka (see figure 8.1 above) orientated their gaze in terms of sustainable city inspiration, upon South Africa's cities. Indeed, it would seem that not even the failure to adopt the previous 'Lusaka Integrated Development Plan', modelled extensively on the use of IDP's in South African cities and produced *by* a group of consultants from South Africa did not prevent the subsequent JICA plan from seeking inspiration from South Africa, nor the consultants from using the data and ideas collated during that previous planning process. While it is not something to be probed in great depth here, the long relationship between Japan and South Africa, cemented during apartheid when the Japanese were granted 'honorary white' status by the government in order to benefit from trade and investment opportunities, should not be ignored. However, the notion that any practical lessons can be extrapolated from South Africa at a governance level, or theoretical insight into the complexity of urban life, given its history, should surely be contested[27].

South Africa has arguably played this role for a long time with regards to the African continent in the way described by Myambo in the previous section, and there is no escaping the fact that there is an explicitly racialized angle to this. This has been addressed somewhat in recent years and the edited collection on Johannesburg by Mbembe and Nuttall (Nuttall, Mbembe et al. 2008) moved to re-position the city in wider urban theorising "on its own terms" by going beyond "rigid rationalities" to explore and reinvent Johannesburg's unique brand of "cityness". There is no doubt, however, that Johannesburg (and other South African cities) - because of elements pertaining to modern cityness (and ties to modernising whiteness) - has been inflected through the lens of western urban theory and viscerally lodged into wider urban interpretations. While in 'the west' this offers a way of representing South African cities as almost European in their modernity, this has profound impacts upon how cities elsewhere in Southern Africa, as we see from the quotes above, frame 'their' problems and imagine possible futures. When pushed more on this, JICA officials, and indeed many others, would pick out Johannesburg as the dominant location from which to draw inspiration, while Cape Town is "more of a global example" (interview, JICA).

---

[27] One area where there is perhaps helpful theoretical light-shedding from apartheid and its legacy is in illuminating the current tensions in Israel-Palestine. Sean Jacobs and Jon Soske's recent book *Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy* (2015) explores this very question.

In the context of 'global' exemplars however, the best illustration of this point comes from another city - the only one outside of Europe drawn on by practitioners in *both* Sacramento and Lusaka when asked about benchmarking, pace setting and sustainable cities. As anyone remotely familiar with sustainable urbanism will recognise, the fact that *Bogota, Colombia* is the city in question is not an altogether surprising one, irrespective of where in the world said discussions are taking place. What is interesting, therefore, is the contrasting rationales for its identification as a good model in each case. In their "Sustainable Urban Development Reader", Wheeler and Beatley (2014) include a number of 'case studies' from around the world. Bogota is on this list. Indeed it, and Gaviotas - another Colombian city - are the only examples cited from *either* the South American or African continents (unsurprisingly both Vancouver and Portland feature heavily not only in this case study section but throughout the book). The attention Bogota has received in wider circles has arguably been the result of its Bus Rapid Transit System, which has gained many plaudits and pushed the city to take on the role as a key node in urban development for the global south (Gilbert 2006; Gilbert 2008). The United Nations also have a big part to play in this. The city of Bogota however, is not actively forcing its agenda onto different cities, no one from Bogota has visited Sacramento or Lusaka and no one from either city governments has visited Colombia (to my knowledge).

Bogota embodies various different territorial spaces depending on the perspective in question. Because of its increasingly lauded reputation when it comes to issues around sustainable design, it has become an exemplar against which *all* cities, can render themselves. For Sacramento it takes the form of, 'if it can be done in the 'global south', then surely it can be done here', while in Lusaka the opposite is true and the narrative is one of 'look what can be achieved, even if you are located in the global south'. This is what Spivak (1999) calls the 'native informant' and is an excellent example of an agency that extends far beyond the notion of *intentionality*. Bogota, then, almost as if it has been handed the key to its cell in the panopticon that is the 'global south', is brought into discourse on the urban age offering, in the process, a success story of escapism and rehabilitation to which all its fellow prisoners should strive. Indeed the equally famous Medellin, along with eight other Colombian cities,

features on the United Nations 'Global Compact Cities Programme'[28], a networking of cities that includes only four on the entire African continent (two of which are in South Africa), while of the three on mainland United States that make the list, yes, one of them is San Francisco. Unfortunately, unlike their Colombian brothers and sisters, neither Lusaka nor Sacramento possess the fetishized image of contemporary sustainable cityness, nor an exciting history of drug cartelism to wet the appetite of westernised audiences (and the financial rewards that come with both).

In drawing on this concept of geographically represented benchmarking, we can now return to the very start of this thesis, and to John Kirkland Wright's concept of 'geosophy' - something that seems to have passed by so much of geographical scholarship since the term was invented.

> "…*every important activity in which man engages, from hoeing a field, or writing a book, or conducting business, to spreading a gospel or waging war, is to some extent affected by the geographical knowledge at his disposal*" (Wright 1947, cited in Creswell 2012).

'Geosophy' in this sense refers to the 'geography of knowing', meaning the internal geographies of the mind. As the final, and most important geographical exploration, the aim is to understand how people 'know' their world and the way in which this is shaped by discourse (Creswell 2012:108). Given the fact that we must seek to actively push back against and resist attempts to produce 'theory' based on human action alone, engaging with what Magnus Course (2010) describes as the ontological turn's "commitment to recalibrate the level at which analysis takes places", is essential (ibid.248). The concept of 'the other', and its critical impetus emerging from postcolonial theory and as a tool for engaging with ongoing coloniality can, it is to be argued here, offer a tangible means of approaching this analytically.

---

[28] This is a business orientated initiative that takes sustainable urbanism beyond government and civil society and encourages the marketability of the concept through the practices of private organisations locating in the cities http://citiesprogramme.com/

8.6 Geosophy: Breaking the Silence

"You must have heard the "cow town" and "Sacra'tomato'" stuff…Sacramento has always been a town that is frustrated with itself especially through watching San Francisco and watching San Jose and Tahoe and these other places grow and become important destinations and Sacramento is just known as the capital and as this kind of backwards hick town".

- interview, CADA employee (and former city planner), Sacramento

"Well I guess it is an issue of acceptability. I believe there is some expertise in the country that could have done this. But I think there is this ideas that people think because we are a developing country we lack capacity and we need to be assisted by these developed countries because they have done it before. I think that's why they quickly rushed to things…So I want to believe it is just the psychology of the situation".

- interview, Lead city planner, Lusaka

The geographical framing of these perceptions of inferiority correspond closely to the way in which an experienced based expertise is proclaimed by the external consultants. In JICA's case both the planners themselves as well as the way in which they present themselves as an organisation seeks to highlight their experience "undertaking a number of projects in many developing countries" (interview, lead JICA consultant). Likewise in Sacramento the status of being as embedded in somewhat of a "no-man's land between the uber-liberal coast and the staunch conservativism of the rural valley", as one of the planners described it, was fundamental to the need for consultancy to bring the experience with working elsewhere described in chapter five. Over my time in both cities, and through conversations with the planners, frustrations with the plans themselves continued to evolve into a more general frustration with the way in which attitudes to the city's location in the world -whether this is associated in relation to backwardness as conservativism or under-development - pre-determines the way in which they are perceived as an institution.

Ashis Nandy (1983), in his book *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*, writes about how deeply the west is engrained as a psychological category. Again, this is part of a project of recognising the performative nature of our mapping

tendencies in the past, and how they become inflected to shape emergent realities 'on the ground'. Recognising this means seeking to engage with the deeply performative nature of such terms and what they come to *represent*. Julia Vorhölter (2012) provides an excellent example of how this plays out in her examination of gender and sexuality discourses in Northern Uganda. She uses her findings to contrast the 'elitist' notion of neo-colonialism, explored in and through western institutions, with the actually lived experiences of 'westernisation', as inflected by local peoples who incorporate the idea into the shaping of their own lives. The crucial point here is that we cannot allow the paradigm of coloniality to slide away from our critical analysis, not only by succumbing to a belief in a now 'post'-colonial world, but also by simply 'writing away' the entrenched geographical discourses so fundamental to the notion of the 'world system'. Instead, we must realise that the project of engaging with and developing 'the city', "cannot be transcended, only understood and rearranged" (Saldanha 2006: 9).

One way that this is done is by seeking inspiration from elsewhere in a more strategic manner that goes beyond well-established lineages and relationships. For example, as part of the CADA project in Sacramento, considerable impetus was generated through the way that similar, initially small scale, densification and redevelopment projects were carried out in Salt Lake City, Utah. This even involved, bringing staff on board who had worked for *Envision Utah,* "a non-profit organisation from salt lake city that had sourced funding in a very similar way" (interview, CADA employee). In Lusaka, a very different kind of connection with an 'elsewhere' was discussed in depth by one of the city planners with regards to the way in which external funding from overseas is utilised.

> *"It should be a case of, when you come with money - because that's what the [JICA master plan] was also - we have a policy that says we will tell you what we want. Rwanda is doing this, they are saying if you want to help Rwanda, this is what we need…I know there are a lot of people here who want us to do the same"*

Rwanda is a very interesting country to find being cited by planners in Lusaka as one from which they wish they could seek to learn. Rwanda regularly finds itself under the microscope of the western media for a number of reasons, most of which stem back to the Rwandan Genocide and its legacy. Tyrant to some, vital Africanist to others, Paul Kagame's elongated

time as president of Rwanda divides opinion perhaps more than any other leader on the continent. The important point here however is the sovereignty that drawing inspiration from Rwanda gives to these Zambian planners in a way that can never be achieved through formalised planning regimes that automatically direct attention Southwards towards Europe, via South Africa, and a more normative trajectory of 'cityness'. Indeed, perhaps we might conceive of the CADA and Madimba projects as examples of 'bricolage' where, by working with what is to hand - and having done so as a result of being left with little alternative - a cohesive strive for the establishment of self-sustaining community life prospers. Both projects were constructed by making use of what was possible in both their physical locations, through the cognitive, and indeed financial resources - from either government grants or foreign aid - via specific connections.

My interest in the city's new plan was always a subject of humour amongst comrades in Lusaka. Stories from planners and consultants about lack of interest in outreach processes and public participation become considerably more understandable when you spend time in the city, with its people. The combination of a comprehensive spatial map and the possibility to even conceive of the year 2030 let alone make plans for it couldn't be less at home here. Relationality is a way of life in Lusaka, it's not a theory, or a different way of 'seeing the world'. Ask for directions anywhere and you will be given a perfect description of exactly how to traverse the city's streets and reach your destination via a set of unique landmarks. Show the same person a map of 'their' city and you can expect to be left wanting. "Maps are for the bush"[29].

> "*So I really look forward to the kind of planning that will really look at things the African way. I liked planning but it is very difficult to do here. You don't get time to do planning in its real sense here. Perhaps planning is not an African kind of concept?*"

Obviously invoked by my own identity and the relationship between her and myself, this is the most literal 'disturbing' of the silence that has stuck in my mind ever since it was stated by this planner and pushed me towards thinking about planning in relation to Foucault's

---

[29] Thanks to my great friend Shawn Muntanga for this beautifully simple analogy.

silence metaphor[30]. Breaking down this silence does not mean looking for instances of absence of something that is already conceived of 'elsewhere', but rather trying to counter and remove existing discursive frameworks that would perhaps offer new ideas and possibilities to emerge. Research that seeks to do this invariably relates to the need for emancipation or 'freedom' from overarching structures and ultimately the granting of independence of individuals (Sekyi-Otu 1996). This forms the agentic power of the individual in Foucault's work as he rebels against that which is normalising the agenda, giving him a freedom to participate in alternate narratives and, in the words of Frantz Fanon, to 're-script his own' (Nielsen 2010). As Fanon writes at the conclusion of *Black Skin White Masks* (ibid.180-81):

> *"Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself? Was my freedom not given to me then in order to build the world of the You? At the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness"*

8.7 Homo Sacer Cities

A 'crisis' of sustainability at planetary scales serves as a rationalisation strategy for a temporary, stabilised, moment of sovereignty in the governance of particular cities. Post-implementation, a lack of sovereignty and control over the problematic status of the city on the ground and the challenges faced is temporarily relieved, as we saw in the previous chapter, by the return of this sovereign identity, legitimised in certain circles by the existence of having 'a plan'. Meanwhile, the complexity of the material urban and its governance plays out in the background both undermining the plan and acting in an 'informal' manner that rationalised the need for a new master plan in the first place. It does not seem remotely surprising that an anthropomorphisation of cities themselves would go hand in hand with the de-humanisation of urban subjects. Allowing the transcendental concept of the city to

---

[30] The planner in the Lusaka city council who made this statement is the same one with whom I used my original encounter to open chapter two of the thesis. Born and raised in Lusaka, she was educated at a European university and had previously worked in Uganda before returning to Lusaka and getting a job with the city council planning department.

materialise as a subject in the form of the master plan serves to both replace the function of governance by planning institutions *and* render the inhabitants of urban space as objects. The planet is urbanising, but in dealing with the associated concerns, 'cities' are on their own. Pursuing a paradigm of 'planetary urbanisation' *and* advocating the importance of individual places, anthropomorphised in a 'world of cities', thereby lays the foundations for the production of a form of global 'Homo Sacer'.

Giorgio Agamben's understanding of the 'state of exception' discussed at the outset of the chapter, needs to be understood in relation to its complimentary notion of *Homo Sacer.* Homo Sacer, taken by Agamben (Agamben and Heller-Roazen 1998) from Roman Law, is the "body that can be killed but not sacrificed" (ibid.72). As the title of the text in question suggests, this operates in relation to the concept of 'Bare life' (or *Zoe*) which dehumanizes bodies in order to separate them from societal discourse and contain them within a "non-human status of extreme vulnerability bordering on extinction" (Braidotti 2013: 120). There are a number of examples of scholars applying the concept of *Homo Sacer* to urban dwellers that fall outside of the 'formal city' (Danta and Vardoulakis 2010; Schinkel and van den Berg 2011; Žižek 2009). This, in turn, also connects to a much broader set of literatures that develop the argument in relation to the socio-legal status of migrants, of which rural-urban migration is of course a vital part (Mitchell 2006; Oelgemöller 2011; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2004; Schinkel 2009; Van Houtum and Pijpers 2007). In fact, we might even bring this itself into a different light with regards to the notion of 'planetary urbanisation' (Brenner and Schmid 2011) and see all forms of migration, as eventually contributing to some form of urbanisation. The movement of bodies, resulting in their collective settling in particular points on the earth's surface, whether temporary or permanent, forms a vital part of earth's materialisation during this period known as the 'Anthropocene' (Gemenne 2015).

In light of this, and given the difficulties faced by the master plans explored in this thesis, we might even problematize what the 'successful' implementation of the vision would ultimately look like anyway. The work of Amin Kamete (Kamete 2012; Kamete and Lindell 2010) analyses technologies of governance that work to 'normalise' understandings of the city in different sectors. In Harare, Zimbabwe, he examines how urban citizens are defined as 'abusers' of space in a way that justifies the overtly violent forms of disciplinary power used against the urban poor occupying 'illegal' land. In this case, authorities are utilising a particular –

normalised - view of what it means to be an urban citizen (and indeed a 'city') to justify vastly different approaches to various demographic groups in bringing all of the urban population into such a state. Likewise Filip De Boeck (2012) shows how the still existent division of quarters in colonial cities has translated into a desire to 'clean up' the city as part of a modernist-neoliberal vision on the part of the authorities, which involves the demolition of the informal economy that exists in the city. Navigating this eventuality, Watson (2013: 14) argues that it is considerably easier for governments to "avoid the difficulties of removal of dense urban fabric and to seek less fiercely contested land on the urban edge". In precisely this manner, the city of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia had adopted a new master plan vision of which the rationalisations, while of course unique, also echo somewhat those of Lusaka[31]. The problems that arose from its implementation however (beyond that of the continued lack of coherent solutions to the struggles faced in many informal settlements), were catastrophic. With the new Addis plans set to subsume large amounts of farmland belonging to the *Oromo* people, it was eventually abandoned as a result of widespread public outrage and the subsequent deaths of 140 protestors (Chala 2016).

In chapter three, Jennifer Robinson's (2002) work was drawn on with regards to her idea of cities being located 'off the map' of theory building for an emerging 'world of cities'. She states that:

> *"There are a large number of cities around the world which do not register on intellectual maps that chart the rise and fall of global and world cities. They don't fall into either of these categories, and probably never will – but many managers of these cities would like them to"*

Concurrent focus on individual cities as 'exceptional models' and entire swathes of the world as the location of the urbanisation crisis' materialisation creates a powerful combination. David Bell and Mark Jayne (2009) draw on the notion of 'small cities' to make a similar point regarding the way "urban theorists…in seeking to conceptualize broad urban agendas and depict generalizable models have tended to obscure as much as they illuminate" (ibid.683). Striking up a dialogue with Agamben's concept of Homo Sacer, because of their seemingly

---

[31] I explore this connection and the implications it has for implementation of projects such as the MFEZ in relation to the concept of master planning in a recent book chapter.

chronic issues associated with urbanisation, and thereby (un)sustainability, we can see why - as was also argued earlier in chapter three - it is not as simple as placing cities 'on the map' by engaging with them in a theoretical or empirical sense. The UN Habitat's 'Lusaka Urban Profile' (2007) explicitly correlates a problematic status for urban planning with "insufficient resources" in the Lusaka City Council including "inadequate human resources, the slow pace in issuing security of land tenure [and] the failure of master planning" (ibid.6). On the contrary, however, I would argue that the 'problems' faced by Africa's cities are the result of the spectacular *success* of master planning at doing precisely the job it is supposed to do throughout its history as a tool for governance.

The original master plans for Lusaka, and indeed Sacramento, produced a century ago would have been considered - if the concept had existed in the lexicon of the time - as undoubtedly sustainable in terms of achieving the agendas in question. The 2030 visions for the cities are just as sustainable in the same registers and they do exactly the job they were supposed to do - rescue the loss of identity and purpose of the city as a cohesive entity given the proliferating spatial and material manifestations of a crisis of humanity. Space, as Mbembe told us in chapter four, may well have provided the 'raw material' of sovereignty in colonial control but it is *time* that is crucial to being able to act upon this. Colonial city building was so utterly successful because it *both* built (in a material sense) and made (in a legal sense), the city. In other words colonial powers had control over both space and time in terms of the shared identify of the city, the fabric of the community, and the bricks and mortar that would shape the relationship between the two. The actual building of the city itself, in other words the temporal legitimation to *enact* the master plan, was facilitated not by man, but by god's will and the civilizing mission - the true 'master' in any form of 'master planning'. In order to confront this, then, a vital post-human shift to a pantheistic god/nature, is required.

In chapter four I made a brief reference to the case of Benin City (Edo), where some of the greatest feats of structural engineering in aid of urban design planning, were destroyed by British colonialists (Koutonin 2016). What is most significant about Benin City - and what connects it to many other urban design practices across the African continent, is that it exhibited evidence of being *fractal* in nature.[32] Along with Senagalese physicist Professor

---

[32] Fractals are naturally occurring mathematical 'sets' which repeat across all scales. It offers a means of exploring the self-organisation and self-reproduction of complex systems

Christian Sina Diatta and others, Science and Technology Studies (STS) cyberneticist Ron Eglash's work on 'African Fractals' has examined the sustainable, self-organising design of settlements across the continent as part of research at the meeting point of pre-colonial culture, mathematical science, and urban design (Eglash 2007). Since his work, and as STS has proliferated in the humanities and humanism has, *finally,* been somewhat undermined, considerable attention is now being paid to the role of fractals and to the complexity with which self-organising matter functions to assemble life. As Eglash (1999) is keen to stress, this is not about the romanticising of a uniquely African, or 'different' way of looking at the world - he cites Mudimbe's (1988) *Invention of Africa* in making this point - but of drawing attention to the fact that developments in computer science, technological innovation, and fractal modelling find a considerably more accommodating ontological and philosophical home with pre-colonial African societies than they do in the post-monothesitic, humanistic societies of western Europe (Hamminga, Museveni et al. 2005).

It is certainly, at the very least, safe to say that it is *this*, and not any utopian projects of contemporary urban design developed by a western, Cartesian, 'view from nowhere', that constitutes any true 'science' of city-making. This is *ontologically,* and not *ideologically,* 'bottom-up' city making and offers a means to reintegrate posthuman theory that includes both scientific and technological complexity and its implications for political subjectivity, political economy, and forms of governance" (Braidotti 2013: 43). Indeed, given that Lusaka is seeking to establish close ties to the local university and bring theory and practice together[33], perhaps science and technology departments here and elsewhere on the African continent can act as the source of inspiration in city-making practices as a way to embrace an immanent urban past that exists as transcendental Europe's, future. These might form, in the words of Ahluwalia (2001), "important moments in the long and arduous journey towards decolonisation".

> *"I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the orderly harmony of what exists, not in a God who concerns himself with fates and actions of human beings."*
>
> - Albert Einstein

---

[33] Lusaka is the site of a new pilot scheme of African planning schools based in Africa, for Africa, launched – initially - at the University of Zambia in 2013 (Watson and Agbola 2013).

8.8 Conclusion - The City of God

> *"There is an old joke in this city: Two Sacramentans die in a car crash and they end up going to heaven and at the pearly white gates the first thing they do is turn to one another and go, 'man we really need to start a committee'… And that's Sacramento, people start committees all the time because they trust that they can go and influence something. They create the general plan document in this way but then they stop. There is a committee that meets every year to see if the city is spending its taxes right, but where is the committee to see if the general plan is moving along?"*

> \- Interview, former Sacramento City Council Member

In his introduction to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's *Cannibal Metaphysics,* Peter Skafish (de Castro and Skafish 2014) describes how the project seeks "not only to rid thinking of its theological and humanist residues but also to ensure that no concept is naturalized as a necessary referent so that thought is kept radically, anarchistically plural" (ibid.18). This neatly captures the immense frustration that I myself feel with regards to writing about the urban in a manner that is inevitably drawn away from the exciting prospect of the latter, and towards the debilitating idealism of the former. My own frustrations, however, pale in comparison to those of planners in Lusaka and Sacramento who struggle to know how to deal with their *actual* idealistic visions of what the 'city' should be - the 'white masks' of cityness. In this post-human, anthropomorphised world of globalisation, cities such as Vancouver, Bogota, and Cape Town, cannot be framed in certain ways whether it be as sustainable or as exemplifying particularly 'European' characteristics (we might problematize whether there is a difference given the discussion in the thesis) without the alternative, unsustainable, anti-city against which to render them. This, however, is not just an imaginary other, but one that is material, a phenotypical urban without clear form that serves to blur the boundary between the powerfully colonising representations of urban and rural, formal and informal. This lauding of certain places and fetishisation of the city condemns other locations to a status of *Homo Sacer* that I argue Sacramento and Lusaka found themselves in when rationalising their new master plan visions.

God is implicitly written into (and explicitly out of) more work on globalisation than any other actor and yet is the most important by far. Literatures abound with questions over the different actors that are involved with the circulations and flow of ideas around the globe impacting on various locations, pulling them together, and pushing them apart. The word 'power' is almost always invoked to do descriptive work of these processes but is rarely presented in a clear manner that seeks to elucidate the definition of the concept that is being assumed. Rejection of an anthropomorphic god, without subsequently problematizing the form of humanism given to us by mono-theism is not only what separated Descartes from Spinoza but is something that has led to a populist anthropomorphication of the world system. In other words we attribute human characteristics *to* the non-human in order to replace the sovereign father figure of god as the *explanation* of a causality that we so desperately seek and yet know is impossible to find. Indeed this is the most important aspect to note about anthropomorphication - its inherent anthropocentrism (Marchesini 2015). The transition from a human-like god to a human-like world 'system' is, in a critical sense, a very small step.

In the introduction to this chapter I drew upon the critiques of both John Allen (2008: 60) and Anna Tsing (2000: 336), who lamented the adoption of metaphorical "physical energy flows" and "healthy flow of blood in the body" as representations of how power functions in the global 'system'. Such scholarship is what forms the "dishonesty of grandiose posturing" described by Braidotti, at the outset of the thesis. As she states, a "provincialism of mind" has translated into a desire for universalising arguments, rather than a universalising engagement with the complexity of the human mind acting as the vehicle for a pan-human struggle for sustainability. At the beginning of the thesis I also made reference to the humanistic paradigm of geography emerging at a time when Fanon set out his critique of the stain upon humanity that imperialism served up. My own embracing of the ontological turn, facilitated particularly by the work of Rosi Braidotti as a vehicle in to Deleuzian, and subsequently Spinozist philosophy, was not something I merely chanced upon or sought to use as an alternative means of understanding the world. Rather, it was the natural result of trying to understand these two cities of Lusaka and Sacramento in the complex, relational world of today and the realisation that the ultra-humanist status of the Anthropocene has made these locations more like theoretical concepts and ideas, than actual, material, places.

In stark contrast to this, the emergence of Benin city and other examples of fractal governance forms that emerged from pan-theistic civilisations prior to colonisation had no need for sovereignty in the western definition of the concept, as autonomy, in the Spinozist sense, was achieved through integration with, and the intelligent channelling of, nature. If we cast our minds back to chapter three and de Castro's citation of Levi Strauss' reflection on the contrasting behaviour towards 'the other' of the 'Indians' and the 'Europeans'; despite their showing "equal ignorance", not only did the "Indian's behaviour [have] greater dignity", but their worldview and understanding also offers considerably more opportunity to continue the project of becoming less ignorant and furthering an understanding of the natural laws of the world. In essence, speculative, exploratory, *Science[34]*.

---

[34] The speculative realism discussed in Eduardo Viviero's de Castro's book as well as by many other theorists is not something I have explored in this thesis as it is beyond the scope of the critique presented of these master plans. However, in coming full circle, it is a fitting way to end this chapter regarding the possibilities for thinking about what the materialisation of different urban society, beyond the project of the west, can offer to our understanding.

Chapter 9: Conclusion - Assemblages, Apparatuses and Bricolages of the sustainable city

"…late-modern political criticism has unfortunately privileged normative theories of democracy and has made the concept of reason one of the most important elements of both the project and of the topos of sovereignty. From this perspective, the ultimate expression of sovereignty is the production of general norms by a body (the demos) made up of free and equal men and women. These men and women are posited as full subjects capable of self-understanding, self-conciousness, and self-representation. Politics, therefore, is defined as twofold: a project of autonomy and the achieving of agreement among a collective through communication and recognition. This, we are told, is what differentiates if from war"

- Achille Mbembe (2003, p13)

The geographical form of what Mbembe describes here as 'late-modern political criticism' is, I would argue, an infatuation with the 'local'. This erroneous concept acts as a facilitator in stabilising the link between reason, and the perceived universal definition of the sovereign that Mbembe laments. This allows great power to be embodied by the things we believe *should* give us sovereignty - such as the autonomous production of a master plan vision. Recognising this, and in the interest of making the core argument of this thesis very clear, I want to bring the above quote into dialogue with the description of city strategies from Jennifer Robinson (2011) as "creative, locally generative strategic visions and comprehensive plans", with the potential "to act as sites of opportunity for reformulating and redirecting local futures" (ibid.36). The 'localness' of the plans in both Lusaka and Sacramento certainly seem to represent both a 'project of autonomy', as well as the 'achieving of agreement between a situated collective as to the future direction of the city'. But do they constitute vehicles of sovereign governance for the individual cities and the planners responsible for their operationalisation? Contrary to Robinson's admirably optimistic interpretation of such projects, my argument since very early in the thesis has been, absolutely not. Unfortunately, an overly glorified approach to the benefits provided by the geographical scale of 'the local' by both geography's long established position in a subjective 'view from nowhere', has led to a failure to critically problematize what is meant by the 'local' context of planning and policy making, often invoking it as a vital means of resisting the forces of globalisation or neoliberalism.

In presenting this argument, and focusing on issues of power and geography at an epistemological and ontological level, this thesis has critically challenged some of the dominant narratives in urban geographical thought regarding the situating of institutions and development of knowledges about the city. In this conclusion, I wish to draw the findings into a much wider conversation regarding city-making practices in the era of 'globalisation'. I will do this in three ways. First I will reflect on the vital importance of not only theoretical, but also philosophical awareness in the development of practical *and* ethical geographical research and the benefits of the dual-case study in facilitating this. Secondly, I will explore how we can pursue research into the problems facing individual cities as well as global society and - recognising the failure to properly theorise the relationship between the two in the past - advocate for paying very close attention to issues of *sovereignty.* Finally, I will address a question that has been hovering in the background throughout the thesis without being explicitly addressed thus far - what exactly *is* a 'master plan'? The answer, I will argue below, can be thought of by presenting it as three interrelated elements - an 'assemblage', an 'apparatus', and a 'bricolage'. One by one these will be returned to and explained, as clearly as possible, how they relate to the ideas of the city, of master planning, and of sustainability.

9.1 What is geographical about critical urban geography?

While it is a charge levelled at social science more generally, urban geography has a real problem with the material. Economic geography, cultural geography, legal geography, political geography, and a host of other vital strands of enquiry, manage to navigate the critical and philosophical questions posed both by and to them, a great deal more effectively than their urban counterparts. While, of course, these strands of scholarship are all intertwined and related, disciplinarity, or rather the enduring status of disciplinarity, is important. What stands urban geography apart from the rest is the impossibility of even *imagining* how its project might be detached from the material. What results from the problem of materiality is a form of enduring representation that is not only *difficult* to resist, but also an undesirable step for the theory building agendas of the neo-liberal academy's Cartesian anxiety. The *concepts* of the city and the urban, not only present a vital ordering and anchoring point for the function of advanced capitalism (rather than being the product

of it, see chapter 2.5) but also, an equally appealing concept on which to anchor the building of *theory* regarding both capitalism and globalisation through the black-boxing and *de-*politicising of "local politics". This combination, which I will elaborate on further, is fundamental to the problem described by Anna Tsing (2000) of "subsuming one's own analysis under the truths these claims promote" (ibid.345). The material legacy and enduring category of the city, makes it of little surprise that urban theory would inevitably become a central target once, to draw on Ashcroft et al.'s (2002) evocative book title, the empire began to "write back".

Nancy Fraser's (1985) famous question, 'what is critical about critical theory?' has been reworked in order to ask it with regards to the concept of the 'urban', first by Neil Brenner (2009) who asks 'what is critical about urban theory?' and more recently by Ananya Roy's follow up of 'what is urban about critical urban theory?' (Roy 2015). Brenner's argument seeks to bring critical social theory to bear on an "increasingly generalized, worldwide urbanization" (ibid. 198) while, in somewhat of a response, Roy problematizes the universalising tendencies and parochialism that has emerged in how the concept of the 'urban' is put to work within social theory. As a conversation about the status of urban enquiry, this divide is framed by what Peck (2014) describes as "planetary and particularist modes of theorizing" (ibid.162). I will come back to the 'planetary' shortly, but first, and sticking with Peck's (2014) important article 'Cities beyond Compare', I want to address the perception that there is such a thing as 'particular' urbanism. My conclusion, having now completed an ambitious form of comparative urban research, is that the impasse of western multi-culturalism and its 'view from nowhere' has found a welcoming home in a discipline that polarises the existential, the material, and the situated, with the socially constructed, the immaterial, and the global.

Conceptualisation of the 'particular' allows western scholarship to circumvent the project of colonialism which, by inventing the notion of a spatially distant (and particular) 'other', facilitated the violent domination of space as a mode of control. The theory that any city on planet earth occupies its own cohesive space, "strictily internalist" and "monoscalar" (ibid.178) in nature - separated from the rest of the world and wider 'structural' forces - perhaps reveals its failings no more clearly than through the enduring history of the city of Lusaka. Today we let ourselves off the hook by suggesting that such places now constitute their own unique 'locals' when the reality is that there is a no more 'western' city, no designed

urban space anywhere that more fundamentally represents a European conceptualisation of what the city should be, than that of Lusaka. This is not to say that the vast number of its citizens are living 'European' lifestyles, on the contrary, they are living unique and complex Lusakan lifestyles, a hybrid existence analogous in its heterogeneity with the citizens of any other location. Despite illuminating a deeply *relational* picture of the city, towards the end of his article Peck, I would argue, undermines this - and provides a window into the problem that many attempts to embrace relationality in urban geography fail to confront - when he refers to the fact that this relationality "jar(s) with more locally manufactured situations, moods and movements" (ibid.178). This is the alluring trap of particularism that assumes a purity of existence *beyond* the global, outside, cut off from the very externality that defines somewhere as 'local' in the first place.

As Rita Abrahamsen argues regarding the 'postcolonial challenge' of unravelling the philosophical and theoretical paradigms that produce and sustain colonial relations, we need to think *of* the world through places and not of places as existing 'in' some ideological world (Abrahamsen 2003; Abrahamsen 2015). Translating that for cities explicitly means approaching the 'cities *of* the world' rather than a 'world *of* cities'. Peck however, and reflecting on "successive rounds of post-structural and postcolonial critique", argues:

> "…plenary calls for a comparative turn – in effect, a methodological strategy for exploring the zone between planetary and particular urbanisms – risk becoming more of a continuing chorus than an actual achievement" (ibid.169)

Using the comparison *between* Lusaka and Sacramento, and not the drawing of either one into conversation with endless 'particular' others, or indeed with a singular 'planetary' whole, as its "methodological strategy"; it is into this "zone" that the thesis has travelled and will, now, reflect upon. In keeping with the tone of the confessional tale, I wish to first problematize what I, myself, *was* during time spent in various institutions and during conversations with a diverse collection of individuals in Lusaka, Sacramento and, most importantly, beyond them both. John Van Maanen (1988) begins his chapter on the ethnographic method of 'Confessional Tales' with a quote from anthropologist Clifford Geertz that states, "[i]f you want to understand what a science is you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not what its apologists say about it; you should

look at what the practitioners of it do" (ibid.73). It is certainly - as indicated by the radical shift in research purpose - the problematizing of the question of *method* and *data* that forced me to confront my own assumptions about the world.

There exists a tension in the application of ethnography to the concept of 'globalisation', that I feel is beautifully captured by a journey I have taken between two books on the subject. The first of these, presented in the introduction chapter, is Michael Burawoy's *Global Ethnography* (Burawoy, Blum et al. 2000). The work of Burawoy is drawn upon by a number of those seeking to shape the methodological element of work on policy mobility (McCann 2011; McCann and Ward 2011; Wood 2016). As a result, my initial engagements with the methodological question in relation to debates around sustainable urban policy making and the adoption of circulating ideas into the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento was shaped by the idea of conducting a globally orientated (and therefore globally relevant) research model. One way in which this literature has sought to explore these processes is by opening up somewhat of a middle ground space between specific city locations through the exploration of international and regional conferences and events focused on certain policy themes where practitioners congregate to share ideas, learn from one another, or engage in "policy tourism" (Gonzalez 2011; McCann 2011; Ward 2011)[35]. Despite acknowledgment over the fact such "tracing" is "not cheap, in financial terms and in terms of the time it takes to do it properly" (McCann and Ward 2011: 168), this approach has taken a foothold in this literature and is encapsulated in what Wood (2016) describes as "following the meetings" (ibid.139) and locations 'along the way' such as conference and 'study tours' (Cook and Ward 2012; McCann 2011; Ward 2011; Wood 2014). There is a clear desire here to engage with globalisation in its most 'global' of locations.

The book that I want to bring this into conversation with is Anna Tsing's text *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (2005), and use the obvious implications in the difference in wording of the two titles to highlight exactly why my own conceptualisation as the result of this research and its confessional approach, has - inspired by Tsing's work - transitioned from one of actioned Global Ethnography, to cognitive Ethnographic Globality. The difference

---

[35] There are even scenarios where academics such as Richard Florida (2000) and his 'creative class' become the objects of research themselves as western researchers carry out research on the global travels of other academics (Peck 2011, for example).

might seem semantic but the implications could not be any greater. As was conveyed by the transition in the thesis from parts II to III, this is fundamentally a question of situated research orientation and how to best represent the fact that globalisation is something that produces rather than destroys, and therefore the need to avoid giving precedence to its conceptualisation as one of "grounding" (Gille, Riain et al. 2002) and "localizing" of knowledge (Wood 2016). Again, reading Anna Tsing through an earlier paper cited throughout the thesis - there is a danger that spaces such as those mentioned above act as the 'internationalizing [of] venues' rather than as a critical point of insertion (Tsing 2000, p. 328). Is it not the very essence of the thing called 'globalisation' upon which so much of this geographic research bases its purpose, that is should be seen as having infiltrated *everywhere*? That the 'global community' is now so connected, so 'known', that it is impossible to escape its jaws? The global policy realm is not the opposite of the local, the product of multiple locals or even thought of alongside the local. The local *is* the global.

We, as researchers, must avoid being the very 'processes' of globalisation that we claim to study as we embed ourselves into the 'flows' and 'circulations' of post-modernity and lose the ability to establish a foothold from which to develop a *critical* stance. On the theme of 'venues', for myself frustration always gives way to humour when reflecting on these situations, given that most urban policy conferences are excruciatingly difficult to endure even when one has a very specific reason for participating. Remove this, and replace it with the ethnographer, merely interested in 'being there' to 'observe' the happenings, on the premise that the conclusions drawn will reflect some profoundly interesting issues regarding policy globalisation - something I can testify to having attempted - and it naturally evolves into a struggle over which subjectivities are most irrational in their nature, yours or those of whom you are objectifying[36]. I do sympathise somewhat with my fellow geographers who

---

[36] I must not take full credit for thinking in this manner about the conference space as a nothing world of subjectless bodies, as it was stimulated considerably by reading Rosi Braidotti's (1994) description of airports as "oases of non-belonging". I have long found this description of "transit areas" particularly applicable to my own detachment when attending conferences irrespective of the capacity in which I am 'supposed' to be there. As Braidotti shows us, the nomadism of subjectivity becomes most powerful in these very spaces of decontextualisation. While in the airport the freed subject of the holidaymaker or businessmen clashes with that of the restrained immigrants and asylum seekers, at the urban conference the practitioner/researcher slips into an identityless body that they only momentarily share with the urban citizens, objectified by power point slides. Like airports, and short of meditation, conferences perhaps represent the closest one can get to existence in the plane of immanence.

may have also conducted such experiments (or who plan to in the future), as such spaces, in their seemingly decontextualized globality, offer an appealing answer to the desire to embrace 'globalisation' as a tool to reinvigorate geographical scholarship.

This thesis has resulted from a complex emergence of relations that served to drive me towards its conclusion. It is impossible for me to identity why exactly I produced it in this way. It is possible, however, to reflect on a number of important moments and interactions that were vital in solidifying (territorializing perhaps) its agenda. The original vignettes presented in the introduction represent what I have identified as the three most prominent of these, all of which have been further unpacked throughout the thesis. At this point in the conclusion, I now wish to add a fourth.

Vignette 4

> *Attending an urban geography conference, I became engrossed in a conversation with a particularly senior academic about the possibility of studying the international transfer and circulation of urban planning practices from the global south to the 'west' as a way of navigating the issues around colonialism and domination. Suggesting, as I did, that it would be impossible, for instance, for a city planning idea from the African continent to come to Europe in a way that even remotely resembles the wider frameworks that would (and did) facilitate movement in the opposite direction without completely dismantling the way in which we think about the question of geography, I was met with the rebuttal that I shouldn't stress over this aspect and see it as a barrier for those who, and I quote, "are interested in studying these processes". The implication here, I believe, was that such cognitively logistical hurdles merely represent stumbling blocks in the pursuit of 'our' (presumably human-kind's) understanding. Not seeking to challenge this further for fear of overstepping the critical permissions afforded to me by my status as a (very) junior researcher, I left it at that.*

Returning to this moment now after a number of years and a great deal of PhD facilitated pondering, I don't believe that the individual in question harboured any genuinely unethical belief on a personal level. It was most likely an off-the-cuff remark - indeed the individuals in this story, including myself, are irrelevant to the point I wish to make. The response however, whether dredged up or plucked from the flow of consciousness in his mind, is indicative of a

much wider attitude within the urban geographical canon regarding entitlement and the universal access to 'knowledge' as first and foremost a theory-building process. The problem faced by those interested in researching globalisation is not just that of actually producing the very thing we are supposedly interested in studying - highlighted above by Tsing - but also of reconciling any critical lens with the very essence of globalisation as a fetishisation of the world as a space of seeming alterity. Whether its origins lie with Voltaire or with Uncle Ben from Spiderman (this is hotly debated), the adage "with great power comes great responsibility" seems applicable, even when that power is somewhat self-cultivated by geography's role as a discipline in establishing the discourse of colonialism and, subsequently, globalisation. Coming to realise the deeply post-modernist and unspeakably privileged, not to say arrogant, ability to define oneself as a 'globalist' and use the very discipline of geography as a means of elevating oneself above the functions of power that constrain our research subjects, was a moment of awakening on my part.

The most unfortunate aspect is the fact that the tools to combat this already exist but are often, as with so much of the valuable anti-imperialist scholarship, lost in the rendering of postcolonial theory as merely an alternative, self-indulgent and apolitical, perspective. As Myers (2006) argues as part of his assertion presented earlier in the thesis that postcolonial theory offers a great repertoire of tools for the deconstruction of hegemonic discourse; "postcolonial geography, if it does its history, can enrich the indictment of the contemporary setting for the remarkable longevity of its throwbacks" (ibid 305). Adding to this - and hopefully the empirical impetus of my thesis can illustrate this fact - we should encourage urban geographers to recognise that we are *all* post-colonial scholars, irrespective of where we target our empirical enquiry or where we seek to publish our 'findings'. From a methodological standpoint, embracing the 'space clearing gesture' (Appiah 1991) of post-colonial and post-imperial urban scholarship mentioned in the introduction, means accounting for the 'geographies of responsibility' that pertain, not merely to the ethical consideration of fieldwork (see chapter 7), but to critical reflection on research purpose and learning practices (Jazeel and McFarlane 2010; Noxolo and Raghuram 2012). These practices must be orientated not just *on* policy, but on confronting the problems of policy based evidence-making (De Waal 2016)

The starting point one takes with regards to the formulation of questions and foci for research projects is so vital in this regard and has significant implications for how we present the wider implications of particular, particularities. It will be clear, reading the thesis, that the empirical and critical elements of the narrative have drawn more from Lusaka than they have from Sacramento. This is neither surprising nor problematic for the arguments being presented. Indeed, Sacramento's role has been vital in allowing me to frame the questions about the implementation failings of the master plan in Lusaka (and vice versa), as well as being central to the push-back against narratives of incommensurability that rest upon tired legacies of colonialism and developmentalism and compartmentalise the globe. The vividness with which Lusaka has re-embraced its colonial garden city concept and adorned this with the sorts of graphic representations shown throughout the thesis has allowed me to go beyond the obvious nature of control and hegemony to probe deeper into the subtleties of what Mbembe (2001) calls the "conviviality, even connivance" of truth regimes (ibid.128). This in turn led me to identify the very same processes at work in connecting Sacramento's embracing of smart growth urbanism to *its* original plan and a nostalgia for sustainable cityness as a form of governmentality (chapter 6.4).

I must admit, when I first began to work with the Lusaka master plan and probe its pages in search of aspects to focus on and interesting stories to tell that could complement existing discussions in "the literature", I overlooked, on a number of occasions, the infamous image of the greener (whiter) city presented in chapter two. I can't actually recall the precise moment that I noticed this image, and when it was in relation to the other multitude of moments already mentioned that re-orientated my critical gaze, but it may well have been after my time in Sacramento and the difficulties I had faced there trying to square my pre-conceived narratives with the challenges they too were facing. The two cities have long existed in this back and forth dialogue, all the time posing questions of one another inside my mind, each framed by something in the other. The most vital part of this process is that it has liberated me from the deeply problematic question that so much of social research tends to pose of itself when working with case studies - what exactly is this a case study *of*? Desperate attempts to justify this with some sort of grand meta-narrative or theory-building agenda inevitably leads to a "dramatic 'thinning' of 'the social'…understood as a matter of *order* and

contract rather than as the locus of *experiment* and *artifice*" (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 349, their emphasis).

Does any of this detract from the fact that I *could* have written a story about sustainable planning model circulation across the world, using the city of Lusaka as a case study? Certainly not. If it hadn't been for the presence of Sacramento, the equally treated, unbiasedly approached (br)other, off which to bounce this critical lens, would I have changed my approach in the way I did? Impossible to say. What is possible to say however, is that if I *had* sought to tell such a story, it would have been one that included the characters of a British researcher, Lusaka citizens, and the global re-embrace of the 'garden city' concept. A story we have read before, and for which Laura Lieto (2015) offers us the most telling of narrations:

> *"The urban village, intended as an original idea, is an evocative expression, a common frame to which actors may refer in order to progressively attach specific meanings and practical implications. It is the myth (a very British one) of the community in harmony between the urban and the rural, re-elaborated many times in the history of British planning (garden cities, new towns, neighbourhood units) with very differentiated practical outcomes, but also outside of Britain's borders. It is a plastic device provided with a strategic polyvalence for thickening and coordinating an actor–network"* (ibid.121)

I am thankful that my research approach and the use of two cases rather than one, pushed me away for trying to fit findings around existing theories, research agendas or literary debates. It is worth dwelling for a moment however on the fact that this does not and did not, need to be the case. Bent Flyvbjerg's (2006) article 'Five misunderstandings about case study research' offers an excellent window into the need to push back against a theory building agenda that tempers the illuminating possibilities of case studies by pulling them under umbrella terminology. What this leads to, is the putting up of defence mechanism to 'shield' such theory building practices from the instability of the social world. Consider the following from a recent paper that seeks to provide some definition on what 'policy mobility' research is 'committed to', first at a conceptual, and then at a methodological level:

> *"To political-economic and social constructivist approaches to policy mobilization that take poststructuralist and postcolonial critiques seriously"*

"To detailed description, informed by theory and directed toward theory-building"

(Baker et al. 2015).

Setting aside the specific terms used here and the fact many of the problems with their application have, I would argue, been addressed throughout the thesis as I have journeyed from the status as someone who would wholeheartedly agree with these statements, to someone who sees them as deeply problematic and contradictory, it is the way in which an *essentialisation* of the concept of 'mobilisation' is inferred that is problematic given that it constrains and moulds cases around this concept.[37] This also, as Braidotti (2013) argues, hinders our ability to think creatively with new concepts that can help illuminate the complexity of given instances and their importance to our understanding of the world. Brought into dialogue with, for example, the strategic essentialism of the term 'global south', used to do valuable political work in drawing attention to the parochialism of mainstream discourse (see chapter 3), we might pose the question of what exactly is gained from essentialising the process of city making across the world as one of policy 'mobility'? Faist (2013) describes this as the "generalization of one aspect of contemporary society to the detriment of other features" which should encourage us to "go beyond descriptions and start accounting for the mechanisms underlying the production of social inequalities" (ibid.1637). Saldanha (2009) also eloquently frames this with regards to how social research has picked itself up following the infamous Sokal Affair and tries to think critically about the question of rationality in order to "prove it can do *more* with science than raid its terms for metaphor" (ibid.308, his emphasis).

Given that the question 'why is this research important' could, conceivably, be addressed with the blanketed rationalisation of one's pursuit of 'knowledge' via blind empiricism and data mining, containerised only by the invocation of the concept of the 'field', we need to instead frame this question as one of '*why not*'. This encourages sincere ethical reflection on how

---

[37] This is an important point to explain further as I am well aware of the possibility that my critique may come across as aimed, *ad hominum*, at the work of certain authors. Far from it. My criticism is purely on the desire to take what are vitally important individual instances of policy making research and critical engagement with place and then refract this through a collective paradigm of thought in order to elevate its supposed importance to the 'global' conversation. This is problematic for its implications on both the universalising of social theory *and* for undermining the importance of the case study as a research methodology.

research *affects* various subjectivities and how it should be adjusted, evolved, or outright rejected, accordingly[38]. Extending far beyond direct impacts on specific participants, to encompass much broader questions regarding theoretical frameworks and universalising rhetoric, this question strikes to the heart of how research 'findings' ultimately affect prevailing discourse in particular locations. Rosi Braidotti's ontological paradigm of 'matter-realism', drawn on throughout this thesis, might at first seem like an overly simplistic view of the world. But this is the situation that social science has got itself into in the ways described above, particularly since the Sokal Affair. Actually existing histories of material formation have been pushed to the back in favour of socially constructed paradigms that run wild with our imaginations as we seek ways of (re)-representing the world. This makes navigating the ethical minefield of an empirical research project that has one eye ostensibly trained on the project of representational 'theory-building', incredibly difficult.

In chapter six, an important critique was levelled by Jane Jacobs (2012) at urban policy research that seeks to "map and explain how neoliberal programmes get extended across space" and does so by "joining the dots", before writing a "back story of connection, translation and arrival" (ibid.418/19). Now, and reflecting on how I, myself, could, and indeed began to do this, we can unpack this a little further. It is important, I think, not to merely critique this process, but try to understand the rationale behind its ascendency as a research model. Whether it is a specific policy terminology, or one's own representation of what constitutes the 'urban', there seems to me to be an inherent, and inescapable theism at work here. Consider the following (annotated) quote:

> *"Ask (those being interviewed) and it (data) shall be given you; seek (evidence of neoliberal globalisation at work), and ye shall find (a story to tell); knock (on practitioners' office doors), and it shall be opened unto you (providing 'you' are able to position your identity as a geographer ahead of other facets of your identity or,*

---

[38] The 'affective turn' as the non-representational analysis of emotional and cognitive *affects,* rather than of *effects* (of this on that), can be seen as somewhat of an analytical counterpart to the non-essentialist philosophy of the ontological turn. Deleuze's notion of 'Immanent evaluation' and Antonio Negri's 'Anomaly' (both drawn adapted from Spinoza), offer ways of rejecting the idea of transcendent moral judgements of right and wrong.

indeed, if other facets of your identity are more powerful than that of being a geographer)".

This quote, the seventh verse of the gospel of Matthew in the New Testament, and part of the Sermon on the Mount (Campbell 2010), is *the* best explanation I have ever come across regarding exactly what is taking place when one tries to practice a defined, field-bound empiricism of advanced neoliberal 'globalisation'. No amount of methodological cartwheels or theoretical tightrope walking in trying to elucidate a *description* of these processes, can adequately rationalise the *critical* element being sought. Urbanisation and globalisation, acting together as the empirical ground for research, are self-fulfilling prophecies that, at least for me, manifest themselves in front of your very eyes in situations such as that described above and discussed in both vignette 3 of the thesis and again in chapter 3. Much of the urban policy canon today is dominated by theories built on precisely this research model which, no matter how 'unstructured' or open minded one is when approaching the 'field', has already adopted its political impetus, and therefore its relevance as inflected through the separation of self and other, inside and outside, *before* its steps through the door. This has been instrumental in leading me to take up the position of staunch anti-empiricism as one outcome from this research[39]. The question that immediately falls out of this, and where the reconciliation between science and the humanities lies, is once again on the issue of *ethics.*

---

[39] It is important to be clear here that I am referring to anti-empiricism in a field-bound methodological sense and *not* in the philosophical sense. In other words, it is vital to highlight that I am not critical of the act of *doing* empiricism, but of using it in the construction of theory as opposed to explicitly defined, collaborative, political work that benefits the subjects in question. This is why it is under a paradigm of research *ethics* that questions of method should be subsumed, and not the other way around. Of course, anthropologists are well aware of the need to embody an ethical research practice with local communities but why, we might ask, is the same consideration not afforded by those who work in urban areas on issues of policy and governance through engagement with 'elites'. There is a vital need to elevate institutional ethnographies in fields such as urban geography in order to illustrate the fact that we do not need to succumb to commonly held beliefs that anthropology inspired ethnography is somehow the counter-thesis to political and economic research into the development of policy. While certain scholarship has become associated with "the indigenous, the alternative, the subaltern and the grassroots", and therefore not a project about or for the state, policy making is a human endeavour that can only be properly understood through close engagement with context (Power 2003; Watts 2003). Otherwise, as pointed out by Dikec (2010), we end up with provincialized ideas about what constitutes the 'field' in different regions of the world (villages, tea plantations and slums being the examples he gives for the 'developing world') while state policy making contexts are simply extensions of global developmental institutions and do not need to be 'known' (Sidaway 2013). Recognising that 'policy' is simply the orientation of

Is it naïve to hope that we might have learned our lesson regarding attempts to 'map' the world and practice the science of 'geography' in a *supposedly* apolitical manner? Where we once mapped the globe, we now map the 'global age', and the seeming globality of the 'urban question' is what we use to legitimise our epistemicide (de Sousa Santos 2015; Grosfoguel 2013). The continued desire to approach the world in this way is not surprising, and is symptomatic of the fact that, as stressed *very* strongly in chapter three, if one fails to adequately address the *ontological* question regarding their research, then the door will always be left open for a metaphysical doctrine of some kind, to creep in and flourish in its subsuming of the philosophical realm. Of course, and more importantly, this also leaves open conceptually powerful spaces - as not just 'the global' but increasingly 'the local' are filled by the potentially Orwellian agendas that we would presumably be interested in critiquing (see chapter 6.6 for discussion of this vicious circle). The 'black box' of globalisation, containing the immaterial elements of power, identity and truth, so desperately sought to be understood by scholars of globalisation, does not exist. Or rather it does, but is contained within the relational subjectivities of those in question.

Thinking with Braidotti's (2011) concept of the nomadic subject, rather than approaching the world as a socially constructed 'global' space that connects material local(ities), we can approach the materiality of the planetary global, through our embodied, subjective, 'local', worlds. Braidotti's nomadism appealed to me in this regard because of the difficulties that arose from multifaceted elements of my European identity, when conducting rigid empiricism in *both* Lusaka and Sacramento.

> *"…my own nomadic thought defends a post-individualistic notion of the subject, which is marked, by a monistic, relational, structure. Yet it is not undifferentiated in terms of the social coordinates of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and race. Nomadic subjectivity is the social branch of complexity theory"* (Braidotti 2013: 87)

Recognising the fact that the *subject* acts as the undeniable seat of powers operation (chapter 8.3), it is with the subject and not with the material body (or world) that the focus of research

---

a community towards a particular issue or set of issues, helps emancipate us from rigid interpretations of political 'contexts'.

and of the ethical conducting of social research needs to be focused. Like John Kirkland Wright's concept of *Geosophy,* Braidotti's nomadism should have (already have had) profound effects upon how we think about studying 'the global' and allow us to maintain a vital role for urban geography that recognises the continual (re)constitution of the subject through empirical research processes. Ethics cannot be written away, usually in the form of a review panel, and which invariably does not involve face to face discussion of purpose (see Chapter 3.6). Simply recognising one's identity on a sheet of paper will never be enough for global (or any) research where ethics is performed, not accomplished. In addition to this, and as Braidotti describes throughout her books, particularly in *The Posthuman* (2013), it is an indescribably liberating process to recoil from trying to adopt the view from nowhere over certain places, problems, and individuals and, accepting one's ignorance, to instead embrace a navigation that lets the world see you, rather than you seeing it. Post-human subjectivities are necessitated by the combination of the deeply differentiated global inequalities caused by structural humanism's failings in the past, and the emergent cyber-world of today that pushes us all forwards. Embracing the nomadic subject, in this regard, can be seen as the vital vehicle for achieving a decolonization of the mind (Thiong'o 1994).

9.2 Planetary Sovereignty?

The idea of *planetary* urbanism put forward by Brenner and Schmid (2011) seems, at first, to offer a great deal of potential for a new ontological mode of thought that dispenses with debilitating dualisms and resultant parochialism, in favour of a monistic wholeness that seeks to reconcile divergent perspectives. The focus however, seems to be primarily on an epistemology of the urban as an *effect*. Brenner and Schmid (2014) argue that urbanisation represents "an increasingly worldwide, if unevenly woven, fabric in which the sociocultural and political-economic relations of capitalism are enmeshed" (ibid.751). Much like with the concept of 'globalisation' discussed above, unless one takes a clear, situated stance regarding the impact of urbanisation as a force, the question remains as to what is achieved by this universalising representation. How does this form of urbanisation fit with nested governance at a city, regional, or national level, given the challenges presented throughout the thesis in both Lusaka and Sacramento? Both 'planetary urbanisation' and the idea of a 'world of cities'

exist not as representations but as deeply performative mainstream discourses about contemporary urbanity that govern the lives of the vast majority of the world's citizens in some form or another. The anthropomorphication that results from this and the idea of a 'global' space detached from materiality, presents a problematic cocktail from which the notion of 'the local' is dispensed and subsequently operationalised. Once again, nothing 'local' exists prior to this process taking place, it is merely another transcendental subjectivity, *produced* by 'globalisation'.

Ananya Roy (2015) states that planetary urbanisation seeks to "underscore the importance of thinking about the urban rather than about the city" (ibid.6). Unfortunately it is the cliché 'easier said than done' that comes to my mind here in light of the focus of this thesis and the struggles faced by planners in both Lusaka and Sacramento to turn the concept of urbanisation, rendered as problematic in its materiality far beyond their control, into a sustainable typology of 'the city'. The contrast presented itself to me in the most clinical of fashion on numerous occasions when I, the white, male geographer, armed with all the theoretical concepts that emerge from the western academy, encountered the melancholy of black, female, urban planners situated in the Lusaka city council, now confronted by me asking them questions about the production of a plan for which they can afford to devote little of their precious time. The establishment of an 'urban theory without an outside' (Acuto 2015; Brenner 2014), offers little comfort to those already well and truly trapped on the *inside*. Why, then, do we require "new epistemologies of the urban"? (Brenner 2013; Brenner and Schmid 2015). Or, more specifically, *who* requires new epistemologies of the urban? Those planners certainly don't. What *is* needed, is a mode of subjectivity that can allow the embodied knowledge of situated practitioners and professionals to be put to work and facilitate an engagement with the materiality of their respective jurisdictions. What they need, is the ability to relinquish the shackles of the transcendental moral subject that concomitantly ties them to narratives of both a failure to control urbanisation and a responsibility to enact and mobilise the sustainably city visionary paradigms of the future. What they need, is a *vehicle* for their knowledge, currently "excluded from the new circulating globality" (Tsing 2000:346).

Turning to the question of the urban itself, the agenda of Brenner's recent (2014) edited collection is to embark on a "relentless pursuit for re-imagining the urban" (Arboleda 2014).

However, I would argue it is impossible to simply 're-imagine' the urban given its inherent materiality. It is for this reason that I have taken considerable inspiration in this thesis from Arun Saldanha's (Saldanha 2006; Saldanha 2010; Saldanha 2011) work on the topic of race in how we think about the materiality of the city as not just a concept we have in our minds but as a material, machinic, phenotypical place. Indeed the Deleuzian-feminist work of both Braidotti and Saldanha from which I have drawn throughout, orientates on the phenotyoes of both race and gender, and present much more pressing foci for the problems of the 21st century than my work does. However, given some of the identity based struggles reflected on in this thesis, we might also concern ourselves with the how the hegemonic paradigm of 'cityness' is powerfully folding both gendered and racialized conceptions of sustainable utopianism, into its mandate. Sticking with the spatial form of the city for now however, one might ask how it is possible to 're-imagine' an informal settlement such as Chibolya or a suburban exclave like North Natomas, navigating their material attachment *to* and discursive subordination *of* their respective cities. There must be, as discussed in the latter half of chapter 8, a reason to facilitate alternative engagement with materiality and actively push past informal/formal divides in governance.

For example, the rural-urban divide is critiqued by Brenner and Schmid as becoming "increasingly" unhelpful as a means of understanding the urban world under "twenty first century capitalism" (ibid.750). The reality however, in light of the philosophical level discussion in this thesis, is that this divide has *never* served as a helpful tool in the furthering of our understanding and it is neither the rural, nor the urban, that is problematic, but the notion (and in the case of urban/rural, the colonising *history*) of the binary divide itself. As Roy (2015) argues for a particular space in the Kolkata metropolitan region, Chibolya - like all of Lusaka's compound settlements and, I hasten to add, Sacramento's peripheral suburbs - "is a rural that is not the antonym of urban. It is not not-urban. Needless to say, the rural, like the urban, is not a morphological description but rather an inscription of specific regulations and logics of territory, land, and property" (ibid.8). Rural and urban, or any amalgamation of the two terms, applied to such spaces, increasingly seems like an exercise in the quelling of Cartesian anxiety, than it does as a form of interventionist governance. Elevate this to the level of the academy as a whole and theory building on the subject becomes what Braidotti (2015) describes as a 'scholarship of anxiety'.

The idea of a particular city finding itself off any 'map' of urban theory building (chapter 3.2) or a desirability index, is not the result of a lack of attention paid to these spaces - this is once again merely an *effect* - but due to the subsuming of the city as an institutional space of governance under the city as a conceptual idea. The transcendentally established concept of 'the city', becomes the self-fulfilling prophecy of desirable urban governance within an anthropomorphised representation of the human world. Gerald Frug presents these very different understandings of what the city *is,* as being, on the one hand the city as a legal concept and an institutional *space* for society to organise and govern itself, and on the other the city as a *place* of increasing interconnectivity and accumulation that elevates it above the nation state. Working with these definitions, there is a vital difference between trying to build what Frug (2011) calls the 'architecture' of city governance through legal and institutional frameworks, and trying to *use* the concept of 'the city' *as* a form of governance. Recognising this distinction is helpful in forcing us to accept that asking what the city, or indeed the urban is as a theoretical concept, is less important than the questions regarding the city as a legal concept in understanding the way situated regimes of urban governance are produced (Frug 1980).

Avoiding the 'one size fits all' approach to planning doesn't just mean giving individual cities autonomy over their planning affairs or relinquishing, at a theoretical level, the values of universal, critical scholarship. John Friedmann, a leading scholar in the field, has long highlighted the problem of planning's ambivalence about power and the fact that in the future researchers needed to ponder the question of power with a point of departure in what is *actually* happening in city politics and planning as opposed to what we *normatively* would like to see happen (Friedmann 1998). A reflective praxis approach is argued for by planning researchers in contrast to the disciplines often apolitical analysis of what *should* be done on the basis of pre-formed social theories (Flyvbjerg 2007; Flyvbjerg 2013; Myers 2006; Watson 2013). The spaces for resistance and challenge to dominant paradigms lie not on the inside, but on the *outside* of hegemonic theoretical paradigms. Suggesting an urban 'theory' that doesn't leave room for this, leaves no room for any radical change or possibility. It isn't the diversity of urbanity that needs to be centred, but the very paradigms of western thought that underlie the desire to produce such theorisations which need to be *de*-centred. It is only

be achieving this that actual actionable changes can be pursued *in place* in more desirable, sovereign, directions.

> *"Theoreticians and intellectuals in general are not prepared for either the joys or sorrows, for either mourning or the celebration…they know how to name these affections, as Spinoza called them, but do not live them; moreover they are incapable of making the absence of such affections into a problem for thought or reason"* (de Sousa Santos 2015:5).

The concept of the 'south' is always inflected through the lens of 'the west' whether it be as theory, as empirical case drawing, or as was discussed in chapter 8.5 with regards to Bogota, as exemplary evidence of success. This is why, as Boaventura de Sousa Santos discussed in his book from which the above quote is taken, epistemological shifts are not enough without the willingness to engage more deeply with the predicates on which ways of knowing, rest. It is for this reason that the paradigm of 'seeing from the south', in which I presented the theoretical and methodological stance of the research in chapter three, is as much an *Ontological* standpoint as it is a geographical one. Post-human in its nature and, therefore, universal in its agenda, seeing from the south is a way of going beyond the west not as a place, for its locating is impossible, but as the governance of subjects by Occidental humanism. This is also vital as, by giving it a geographical fixing point in conceptual terms, we can maintain the worldliness of ontology and reject monolithic, nihilistic paradigms such as 'anti-enlightenment'. Critiques of the moments in history when the colonial leveraging of power was at its most evident, be it during the holocaust, apartheid, the racial segregation of colonial Lusaka or the use of the Miwok peoples in rationalising the civilising mission in the Sacramento Valley, should always be seen as part of the much bigger agenda of ridding the world of the possibility for such events to once again arise. This is done by engaging with the genealogies of (ir)rationality that feed into these manifestations of *colonialite du pouvoir*[40].

---

[40] Once again I find it useful to invoke the French here (or indeed any of the other languages that offer up alternative definitions), in order to think about bringing an end to the 'coloniality of power' as the manifestation of control over others, without suggesting that the concept of power itself (puissance), is inherently problematic (or avoidable).

At a time of unprecedented instability in the world, where the cohesive bond of a supposed pan-humanity is being stretched to breaking point, it seems not only naïve but borderline insane to think that we will actually be able to reconcile around the shared identity of the 'human'[41]. What this culminates in, if we return to the very opening of this thesis, is a realisation that Frantz Fanon's aspirations for the installation of a 'new humanism' (Fanon and Markmann 1967) have not only been overlooked for decades, but are now pushed into a position where the establishment of a new form of pan-humanity will need to first become an explicitly *post*-human endeavour. Moreover, it is geography that, by approaching its task as understanding the topos of sovereignty and *not* by playing god in the sovereignty of the topos, can offer a useful means of thickening our understanding of these processes and their manifestation as governance of the individual, the community, the city, the nation, and - in terms of Hardt and Negri's (2000: xii) notion of 'empire' - the world. Accepting its own colonising history, urban geography can mobilise its agenda not against urbanisation-as-capitalism (both of which due to their existing everywhere, are material nowhere), but against 'the city'-as-Occidentalism. In the final part of this thesis, I want to reflect back upon how I myself have attempted to approach understanding the emergence of master plans in Lusaka and Sacramento, the theoretical tools drawn upon, and what this has revealed about the two cities and their struggles to realise respective futures.

9.3 Emerging Cities, Critical planning, and Being Singular Plural

> *"We had a very senior chief who came down from Northern Province when he heard we were looking for land to sell for biofuels…He stood and told us that the colonialists have gone but if you are not careful you are going to be the colonialists in terms of investors. He told us that god had stopped making new land so why were we looking to give it away. What god has given us if we don't manage it well, it can be taken away from us… So what we need to do is to secure the model that works for all of us, the*

---

[41] As I pen these concluding remarks, I have on in the background the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro where, for the first time in history, a group of refugees are competing under the Olympic banner. The unprecedented codification of the stateless in front of the world, is a telling reminder of the explosion of the contemporary refugee crisis that, surely, exists as the backdrop to all ongoing and foreseeable future research in the humanities.

people, the parliament, and for everyone in this nation, we must see benefits of the land"

- Senior Planner, Zambian Development Agency (ZDA), Lusaka

"In order for the human to be discovered, and in order for the phrase "human meaning" to acquire some meaning, everything that has ever laid claim to the truth about the nature, essence, or end of "man" must be undone. In other words, nothing must remain of what, under the title of meaning, related the earth [fa terre] and the human to a specifiable horizon. Again, it is Nietzsche who said that we are now "on the horizon of the infinite"; that is, we are at that point where "there is no more 'land,'" and where "there is nothing more terrible than the infinite."

- Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural,* (2000,xi)

In order to think affirmatively, I believe that the adoption of unachievable, utopian, blindly produced master plans for cities across the world can represent an end-point in urban theorisations to which not a single one of us is devoid of blame. Using this as turning point, then, short of 'grandiose posturing and the grip of fear', how *should* we approach an understanding of city making its possibilities, its barriers, and most important of all, its sovereignty. Moving away from what I see as the failures of certain mainstream urban geographical scholarship, this final part of the thesis is interested in what I believe *are* productive, useful and informative trajectories of enquiry which, by pulling in theories from a broad plethora of thinkers and philosophical conceptualisations of the world, as well as building on the work of other critical urban theorists and planning scholars, have allowed me to think of the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento in three separate but complimentary ways. The first step in doing this, however, *is* provided by the concept of 'planetary urbanisation' given that, as mentioned briefly above, if *everything* is urban then it is equally true that *nothing* is, and hereby we have the blank conceptual canvas that is required in order to re-make the city in a way that, as the title of Nancy's book suggests recognises the world as a multiplicity of singularities and not a singular multiplicity. With this in mind, as well as recapping the narrative of the thesis that has gone into approaching the question of why the plans in Lusaka and Sacramento fail to provide the governance tool it was hoped they would,

the arguments presented in what follows are intentionally provocative, tentative, and somewhat suggestive.

9.3.1 Relational *Assemblages* - 'The City'

Embracing the ontological turn as a means of drawing comparison into a practical and ethical level, adopting an orientation 'from the south', and leveraging a *very* strong critique of Occidentalism, cannot detract from the fact that this thesis has only been writeable due to the ideas of three prominent European philosophers and the incredibly diverse forms of scholarship that have emerged from them. It is therefore to Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, and Baruch Spinoza, that I will return in outlining what I see as the three forms that city-making practices take. Kicking us off in this regard is Deleuze, and I want to start with a caveat. Deleuze's work, even more than that of Spinoza is incredibly difficult for me to grasp and yet embracing Deleuze, thinking with Deleuze, has become essential in what seems a time when, once again like in 1968, post-structuralism is being ushered in to both deal with and respond to a particularly turbulent world. Deleuze first appeared on the horizon of this thesis not because I sought to embrace his work myself, but because one of his most notable concepts, the *assemblage,* has seen particularly wide embracement across the humanities (and beyond) in order to do conceptual work for many different - and often contrasting - philosophical projects (see chapter 6.5). Indeed, I don't think it is a stretch to say that I could have dropped the concept into this thesis with little thought for what doing so actually means or trying to explain why exactly I was doing it. I wouldn't have been the first one. As Allen (2012) states, it is because of this spurious use of the concept that it is particularly welcome when scholars take it upon themselves to "put assemblage thinking onto a firmer ontological footing", as Anderson et al. (2012) do for the discipline of geography (ibid. 190).

> *"…it has nothing to do with adding things together in a mindless descriptive exercise, yet everything to do with the careful conceptualization of entities and their powers in relation; that is, in the tangle of relations and things that comprise an assemblage"* (Allen 2012:192).

In his article, Allen also asks 'what kind of realism works for assemblage theory?' I would argue that the best approach that we can adopt with any degree of rigour is that of exploring the actually existing assemblages that feed materialisation, by embodying the 'matter-realism' of

the ontological turn (Braidotti 2013). I would also stress that it is the 'ontological turn' and not the 'mobility turn' that presents itself in a manner more appropriate for assemblage thinking. It is not possible to pick and choose what is and isn't to be represented as an assemblage. By prescribing to the concept of the assemblage, and using it to encourage a particular form of thinking, one is embracing a metaphysical worldview that must be universally adopted in order to give it critical purchase. This is not to say that one must embrace a totalitarian view of what the assemblage *is*, but that as debates over the complex nature and functionality of assemblage thinking, and Deleuze's work more widely, evolves, one is clear about what it is *not* - possible to transcend. Assemblage, as a means of understanding the continuing materialisation of life is, therefore, as much a framework for living as it is for conceptualising the world prior to doing research of any kind whether it be the composing of a PhD thesis, a journal article, an urban policy, or a city strategy.

For working with the concept of sustainable city making, it is vital we move away from any perception of ideas, principles, policies, and models existing 'out there' on the global smorgasbord of knowledge, and towards understanding how one gets an invite to the buffet. How can we free the project of writing cities into the world, as the fulfilment of a 'worlding' desire, from the powerful constraints that already situate the writer (planner) *in* their world? Addressing this question is not possible if the assemblage is invoked merely as the descriptive glue to hold together a *particular* instantiation of the tired structure-agency dualism masquerading as "large impersonal forces of change, conflict, and transition", and "site specific actor orientated narratives" (Lieto 2015: 117). Invoked as description of urban policy practices, relational thinking is not being utilised to *open up* possibilities, but rather to close them down and assimilate a multitude of disparate and complex case studies under the "rubric" of the assemblage. This mode of thinking about the world *as* instead of *with* assemblage is, for me at least, precisely the *opposite* of a Deleuzian project that completely inhibits the ability to "practice *amor fati* affirmatively" (Braidotti 2013:131). By arguing for the transcendence of the assemblage, the 'doing' of assemblage 'work', we lose sight of the most important element of assemblage thinking - the ability to harness the puissance of *Immanence.*

The city in the plane of immanence is best described as that one that is in your mind right now because I wrote the word 'city' down in front of you (it has now changed, most likely

become more vivid when I made you read it a second time), along with all - and this is the most important part - materiality that has fed into whatever picture it is you are seeing. There is no one representation of the city, there are a multitude of versions assembled by individuals and collectives as various different *perspectives* come together, align with one another and then diverge. The city in this sense, involves the enactment of an object "otherwise inexistent" (Farías 2010).

> "It allows and encourages the study of heterogeneous connections between objects, spaces, materials, machines, bodies, subjectivities, symbols, formulas and so on that 'assemble' the city in multiple way - as a tourist city, as a transport city, as a playground for skateboarders…as a no go area, as a festival…etc…" (ibid.14).

There is nothing beyond immanence, no left and right, no presence and absence, no success and failure, no life and death, and, most importantly for this thesis, no global and local. Unless, of course, they fall through and *become* taken *as* transcendent. Stimulated by a crisis of representation the stability of the concept becomes 'thinkable' and drops into the abyss upon which it is swarmed by the workings of Power (pouvoir). In chapter eight of this thesis this is precisely what was argued to have happened due to Lusaka and Sacramento's lapsing into a status of global *Homo Sacer* due to the impossibility of squaring their materiality with a discourse of sustainable cityness. We find ourselves, then, with a window onto the gross contradiction of embracing the 'the city's *own* identity in a 'world of cities', regionally inflected by the aspirational terms of 'most liveable city in America' or 'the focal city among cities in Southern Africa', while at the same time having clearly traceable lineages as the city-scale manifestation of fundamentally existential challenges at a state/regional (AB32 and SACOG blueprint) or national (Zambia 2030 vision), level.

9.3.2 Situating *Apparatuses* - 'Urban Planning'

Despite the shift in foci and critical impetus, because the research has, from a very early stage, sought to engage with and understand more about the *discourse* of sustainable cityness, the pertinence of Michel Foucault's work has never been far from reach. Foucault is often associated with the notion of a 'positive' understanding of power that sees it as productive rather than destructive and its 'everywhereness' as a driving force of the biopolitical realm. This, however, is not at all how I (and I think/hope many others) read Foucault, particularly

his later work. In fact, in precisely the opposite fashion, if we are to see Foucault as a theorist of power beyond *puissance* - something we know he disputed - then it as an extremely destructive force operationalised in the carving out of subjects from the bodily machine, that we should take it as. Once again, the thought of Giorgio Agamben (2009) is helpful for drawing attention to the inherent 'assemblageness' in dispositif thought. Referring to his extended conceptualisation of Foucault's dispostif, the apparatus, according to Agamben, is the "*network* that is established between [assemblage] elements" (Agamben 2000:3, emphasis added). The 'positive' reference in terms of power in a Foucauldian sense denotes what is "reinforced and obligated, rather than natural or free" (Legg 2011: 130).

Foucault's work on the constitution of subjects, and their capturing in the framework of the 'apparatus', is the means of understanding the boundaries, constraints and limitations placed on emergence upon the plane of immanence. An apparatus is what fundamentally *situates* subjects as they fall from the plane of immanence into what, in chapter seven, Jean Hillier described as the 'plan(e) of transcendence'. In a matter-realist world, then, the apparatus of power is matter's framework for self-organisation. If the city represents the emergent Deleuzian assemblage, always becoming, evolving, creating, then the accompaniment to this, its older brother, always looking over its shoulder, keeping it in line, is the Foucauldian dispositif apparatus. This is otherwise known as 'planning'. It provides the historically contingent structure to transcendental space and what Banville and Torres (2016), describe as it's "social constructions and hierarchical relations" (ibid.8). Hillier (2008) contrasts content specific projects that target actualisation in the short term, with the sort of planning that populates the place of immanence - "broad trajectories or 'visions' of the longer-term future" (ibid.24).

Master plan projects, then, represent the point of crossover where, for the aforementioned reasons, 'the city' as holistic and cohesive space drops from the virtual, to the soon-to-be-codified. As the city lands in this plane of transcendence, it is met with the plethora of 'others' that populate the terrain and set the agenda; Portland, Vancouver, Johannesburg, Gaborone. Not San Francisco though, like Bogota, it already stands tall, the tip of the Trans-America building puncturing the plane of Immanence with striations from Natomas to Chibolya. The rest, they shift from somewhere, out there, to right here, looming over the process of

production as the planners and policy makers seek their bearings before identifying, in the distance, the year 2030 and a hook upon which to hang the future.

> *"It was not intended for any specific purpose, for anything one expects of a table. Heavy, cumbersome, it was virtually immovable. One didn't know how to handle it (mentally or physically)…A dehumanized table…A table which lent itself to no function, self-protective, denying itself to service and communication alike. There was something stunned about it, something petrified. Perhaps it suggested a stalled engine."*

Henri Michaux, (1974), cited in Deleuze and Guattari (2004: 6)

How does one plan away already existing problems? Or, more pressingly, how does one convince themselves that it is possible to plan away existing problems? The city master plan is best thought about as a schizophrenic object, and "[w]e cannot, we must not attempt to describe [it] without relating it to the process of production" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004: 6). It is very clear what its supposed purpose is and yet the ability for it to do this job is prevented by all of the other jobs that it has to do, and minds it needs to put at rest. It is the stalled engine. A totalitarianism without a dictator. Would Lusaka have created a master plan for 2030 if the garden city label hadn't provided the easy vehicle for it? Most probably. Would it have been called the 'garden city' in line with its resurgent proliferation as a label worldwide? Possibly not. Would any of the other 'models' such as smart growth, new urbanism or the eco-city fit the characteristics of the Lusaka plan? Absolutely. The stabilising view of cities that adopt master plans comes from a subjectivity beyond them, it has to. Everyone in the world gains a little piece of sovereign reassurance from the existence of Lusaka and Sacramento's new master plan visions, except of course, the city planners in the two locations, possibly the only ones *not* engaged with the task of planning. The most responsive, adaptable, *nomadic* subjects, darting in out of an external gaze, unsure whether to defend their *master* plans or ridicule its failings.

Beyond the plan, as was discussed in depth throughout chapter five, comfort is found in work that takes place in different directions - planning academies, Ward Development Committees, NGO collaboration, it all continues to unfold across multiple planes. All the time however, the

horizon is set, the possibilities curtailed. It looms large, reappearing whenever focus strays from the immediacy of everything else that falls from the plane of immanence, and onto the desks in front of them. Perhaps even an update on the work being done in Madimba, or the Capitol Area Development project, so close and overflowing with agendas of greening, sustainability, community, and change. Perhaps, in some cases they can even see these from their windows. But no, the function of power has ensured, now that the "far off" has been (re)embedded into the office walls, "the close at hand seem[s] remote" (Allen 2008:2). Unable to reconcile the continued emergence of history and the transcendental "moral subject…ethically problematic for planning practice", a constant struggle for sovereign identity forms (Lennon and Fox-Rogers 2016:1) . The singularity of how we understand 'the city' is given its literal boundaries in the form of the master plan, stabilised by relationships that extend through both space *and* time. This prevents the imagining of urban(s) in different ways that allow both a proper *understanding* of particular place formations to be conducted and, following this, alternative, more sustainable, futures to be imagined.

9.3.3 Sovereign *Bricolages* - 'Sustainability'

Art historian Anna Dezeuze's (2008) short piece on 'Assemblage, Bricolage, and the practice of Everyday Life', offers a wonderful insight into "the value of conceiving assemblage as a model of engagement with the world rather than as a formal category" and that allows us to conceive of the "assemblage-bricolage nexus" (ibid.31). Stephen Legg (2011), meanwhile, in striking up a dialogue between Deleuze and Foucault; argues that the apparatus and the assemblage "can and should be thought [of] together" (ibid. 128). I would go further and argue that, for the purposes of critical research practice they *must* be thought of together. The play between immanent *puissance* and the enactment of *pouvoir* upon transcendental subjects, when thought about as the 'dialectic' Legg suggests, serves to produce material reality. If the assemblage offers a means of conceptualising the becoming world, and the apparatus the limiting, orientating, situating framework, then it is the *bricolage* where the possibility lies for *active* engagement in the world. I believe bricolage, as a concept, and means of thinking about *doing* not only helps establish breathing space away from the flows of the assemblage, but does so in a manner that emphasises the reflexivity with which one identifies the territorial presence of 'parts of elsewhere' (Allen and Cochrane 2007)

In trying to understand the complex emergence of materiality, applying assemblage thinking in a manner that suggests an *active* drawing together of parts draws *us* back, closer to reconciling the process of city-making with that of colonialist planners seeking to impart *their* control over space and populations on a mission from the divine, than it does towards thinking about the city as something we (post-human humanity) can self-reproduce. We need - as was described by drawing this very comparison between the success/failure of master planning today and that conducted under the authority of imperialism in chapter eight - a means of taking sovereign control over space *and* time simultaneously. While, as discussed in chapter 6.5, Brenner et al. (2011: 232) take issue with what they see as assemblage thinking's "flat ontology devoid of scalar or territorial differentiations", it is precisely this freedom that facilitates engagement with the *long duree* of powerful subject formations. In other words, flattening ontology is the only way to *unflatten,* and subsequently centre, the history of place erased by a post-modernist era of metaphorical globalisation.

Deleuze and Guattari's discussion on the schizophrenic table in the previous section, is immediately followed in *Anti Oedipus* by the quote that opened this thesis in chapter two. Following *this*, they continue:

> *"When Claude Levi-Strauss defines bricolage he does so in terms of a set of closely related characteristics: the possession of a stock of materials or of rules of thumb that are fairly extensive, though more or less a hodgepodge—multiple and at the same time limited; the ability to rearrange fragments continually in new and different patterns or configurations; and as a consequence, an indifference toward the act of producing and toward the product, toward the set of instruments to be used and toward the over-all result to be achieved"*

Before the concept of *assemblage* was thrust into the theoretical realm through the second volume of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, this passage, that now frames this thesis, is presented very early on in the first volume. Reflecting upon it through the practice of producing urban policy and city visions, it captures the impossibility of there being some sort of boundary between researchers and researched, the former of which in such a scenario would simultaneously be both the bearer and the withholder of the tools. As representative of the tension between possibility and restriction, at the crossroads of "process/object",

where power brings together the 'pieces' of the assemblage, the *bricoleur* is dispensed. Drawing on Levi-Strauss's own definition of bricolage as a "science of the concrete" through which one "speaks not only with things…but also through things" Dezeuze (2008: 31) writes:

"…hinged on this very nexus of recognisability and transformation, which related to more general discussions of the artists' approach to their materials…This dialogue with objects, in which assemblage artists were also engaged, was interpreted at the time as a break from the autonomy of Abstract Expressionist painting. As Conceptual artists sought to dematerialize the art object as a commodity in the later 1960s, assemblage's deliberate focus on objects was seen as regressive at best and, at worst, complicit with the ever more dominant forces of capitalism. The figure of the bricoleur, however, did not disappear: rather, his tools changed. Instead of glue or nails, the conceptual bricoleur used words and documentation in works privileging process, performance, and language over the object…analysis of a new "systems aesthetics" reflecting a "transition from an object-oriented to a systems-oriented culture" revolves around the definition of the system as a complex of components in interaction…"

Post-modern bricoleurs of theorisation and rhetoric who, rather than illustrating the complexity of the world through the metaphor of the concrete (even the mundane, such as the table above), opt for evocative terminology harvested from the natural sciences, have taken us further and further away from the materiality of domination and control, played out between the situated mind and the mind situated. In essence, the science of revolution. The 'system' and all its unidentifiable complexity circling above in fictitious space does precisely the work we tell it to do. 'Globalisation' is the biggest barrier to the successful establishment of the planetary community. Not the 'thing' itself, nor merely the semantics of the word, but the multitudinous way in which it materially lives, thereby inhibiting its own role as the shared perspective *of* the multitude[42].

James Faulconbridge (2012), also drawing on Levi-Strauss as well as a number of ideas that share considerable parallel with the literature on policy mobility and 'assembling' urbanism,

---

[42] The term 'multitude', in the context of Spinozan political discourse, refers to a group with a collectively shared identity on a level beyond that which is currently aligned with a sovereign, and which, therefore, provides the principle of resistance to that very formation of sovereign power.

refreshingly opts not to embrace the rubric of the assemblage but to instead deploy the concept of bricolage as "a means of overcoming institutional limitations to the usefulness of mobile knowledges [and] a way of generating new, *context-specific* and *embedded* solutions" (ibid.3, my emphasis). The emphasis on a process of reproduction, rooted first and foremost in the institutionality of context, is fundamental to the development of liberating technologies. The mobilization of *attitudes* in both the CADA project and in Madimba, described in chapter 8.6 of the thesis, are examples of this approach where, having been somewhat cut loose from the holistic narrative of the city, were forced to start from the bottom by grafting what was at hand, embodying a learning process out of necessity on the road to forging a unique identity. Likewise, the quote at the opening of this final section, the voice of one of Zambia's chiefs relayed to me through an influential member of the ZDA, encapsulates the tension in the relationship between artist and (access to) their canvas.

Bricolage forces us, all of us, to confront the essential question of the *long duree* upon which an idea rests in place and time. Ideas are brought in not from an elsewhere, from a yet-to-be-here, but from a silence, from a yet-to-be-said (chapter 8.6). 'Knowledge' never leaves the body, the mind, the memory, but is facilitated by the fluidity of individual and collective consciousness and the resultant establishment of subjects. Towards the end of his paper, Faulconbridge suggests it might be asked:

> *"…whether the benefits of bricolage are eroded by power relations that enable or compel the mobilisation and utilisation of some knowledges and prevent the mobilisation of others; in effect curtailing opportunities for the intelligent use of relational topologies"* (ibid.13)

The very recognition that the bricoleur is the *product* of power and not enmeshed within it, is precisely what gives it the ability to draw its bodily intelligence back into the endless flow of immanence, "tapp[ing it] for the endorsement of multicultural enrichment, freedom, mobility, communication, and creative hybridity" (Tsing 200: 337). To define the bricoleur as the assembler, is to adorn them with a power to hope that they do not have. To theorise a *world* of assemblers, is to create the space in which to organise collective hope. The "space between pleasure and necessity", Dezeuze writes, "is perhaps where the true potential for

bricolage lies…run[ning] through the economies of desire…[it] fails to conform to traditional political models of oppositionality" (ibid.37).

It is with this that we arrive at the conclusion of this thesis, and with the 'Prince', the 'Christ' of philosophy[43], and an immanent *puissance* that strives to turn the world from a patriarchy into a status of post-feminism, anthropocentrism into post-environmentalism, imperialism into post-postcolonialism, capitalism into post-Marxism, and whiteness into Blackness. Until such time as we can move into a truly post-human world and leave the *pouvoir* of the occident behind us, all of these counter historical critiques will continue to be vital in limiting the power of their corresponding ideologies, providing, that is, they don't attempt the ill-fated agenda of humanistic 'theory' building which inevitably seeks its conceptual space in the realm of the 'socially constructed'. Lusaka and Sacramento are the victims of just such a world, their 'social constructions', plastered, *materially*, onto walls and minds alike. On a journey that began with the *affects* of their existence on these very walls, the thesis has sought the need to continue this back, deep into the roots of the European enlightenment, and to Spinoza. It is here that Deleuze, Foucault, Braidotti, Mbembe, Agamben, and so many of the other theorists I have drawn upon along the way to try and illuminate the complexity surrounding these master plans, find their intellectual meeting point.

 'Sustainability', *could* be invoked as another term for preservation, maintenance, or endurance. As *the* definitive purpose of existence, it is self-preservation, driven by desiring immanence, which exists at the centre of the worldview presented by Spinoza in *Ethics.* It *should* be, the vehicle that allows us to embrace a different mode of existence on planet earth at both an individual and collective level. Challenging any alternative invocation of the term, therefore, should be met with both critique and resistance. In other words, in this supposedly post-political, post-ideological, post-modern, post-truth world, it is not sustainability that is meaningless discourse, but humankind's dancing around of what exactly it is it wishes to sustain and which 'ideology' is seemingly usurped by its apparent universality. We are, of course, the only species that does this and 'the city', it seems, has become an arena in which to locate this vivid, complex, performance. It is important to be clear here, not *cities*, but the enduring concept of 'the city'. The biggest barrier to existing in a world of sustainable cities,

---

[43] Deleuze described Spinoza in both terms.

is the sustainable city. The possibility of Lusaka and Sacramento existing not as functions of relative 'cityness', but 'the city' as a relational function of Lusakaness and Sacramentoness, seems further away from the mechanisms of state planning and governance than perhaps ever before.

Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) asks the simple question for examination of the outcomes from any governance project: "Is it desirable?" (ibid.145). Directing it to the master plans in Lusaka and Sacramento we might certainly conclude now that it is not. But the more pressing question, is, was it ever? Who is it that actually *desires* to codify the city, to create urban policy that provides definition to the object of their work, and yet positions it just out of reach of the everyday, tempting the possibility of difference while simultaneously ensuring the impossibility of change? Which form of subjectivity is responsible for the enduring category of the city, of the urban, and into which point of view (perspective) has that subjectivity been allowed to form? I think the thesis has answered this question. Relationality cannot be 'theorised' separate from the things that it produces. It cannot be 'mapped', mobilised through, or represented as a 'network' by anything other than that which it is producing. This is why it is so vitally important to see every materialisation, every urban minutiae as the tangible head of its own unique set of relationships, rather than as part of some bigger structure that prevents identification, resistance, reformation.

One does not achieve sovereignty by mastering the concept of reason, one achieves reason by recognising the topos of the sovereignty that is trying to be achieved at any given moment. Spinoza's project, as one of replacing the purist moral subject, rooted in the transcendental with a relational ethics of subject formation, centres the wonders of scientific discovery regarding the boundaries of possibility. What grants you sovereignty of your affairs is different to what grants it to me and what grants it to me is different to what will grant it tomorrow. Where into the topos of your sovereignty I enter, invited or uninvited, will forever shape the relationship that results. Sovereignty, as something relationally satisfied, then, remains vital to unlocking the path from a xenophobic resistance to similarity, to a xenophillic acceptance of difference, whether this be at the scale of the 'individual', or the 'city'.

> *"We must recognize that our crises emerge from clinging too tightly to a single story, from drinking out of a single drying wellspring while others flow unattended. This*

recognition also implies that there are no convenient 'others,' no convenient enemies, and that we are the systems we oppose. It means admitting that we don't know the answers, talk less of the questions — and that's okay…It is in these moments that one realizes that the world is too large to be condensed to one language convention, too promiscuous to abide faithfully to any one conception of it".

- Bayo Akomolafe, *They Sang with a Thousand Tongues* (2015)

Afterword - Knitting the world together

Chibolya compound remains in a state of flux. Designated the pilot settlement for upgrading, it is codified and formalised into Lusaka's master plan vision, while remaining beyond the reach of government and many NGO's, who struggle to penetrate the complexity of its designation as a dangerous space and establish vital residential development committees within. It is 'the' notable compound, just as it was when - albeit on a much smaller scale - it was the original compound for the 'Africans' under European rule. Today, its integration into the city proper comes not from connection to formalised infrastructure, but because its boundaries blur into adjacent compounds Misisi and Kanyama, only arbitrarily distinguishable *as* the main radial roads of the cities original plan. The central element of the unplanned urban settlement 'renewal method' embedded into the master plan, and still waiting to be enacted in Chibolya, is the freeing up of land within the compounds that can be sold in order to generate money for the community. Chibolya, offers prime real estate in this regard, right alongside the existing CBD. This is an example of what has become known in international policy making circles as a 'value-capture' mechanism of public financing, and a trans-atlantic case study of perhaps its most famous modality, 'tax increment financing' was used by Baker et al. (2016) to "illustrate the approach" of policy mobility research. On 28th June 2011, inside the State Capitol building in Sacramento, California governor Gerry Brown signed into state legislation an effective dissolution of the state's 'redevelopment agencies' in order to divert financial resources to more "critical" public services. This brought an end to the use of tax increment financing in the state. In the 1950's, it had been California that pioneered the establishing of this concept and the use of redevelopment agencies as the institution responsible for managing and allocating funds to municipal revitalisation projects, particularly, in struggling downtown areas…

Pick out of that, if you will, what is 'local'.

Appendices

## Appendix 1 - Lusaka's 2030 vision master plan

Source: JICA (2009)
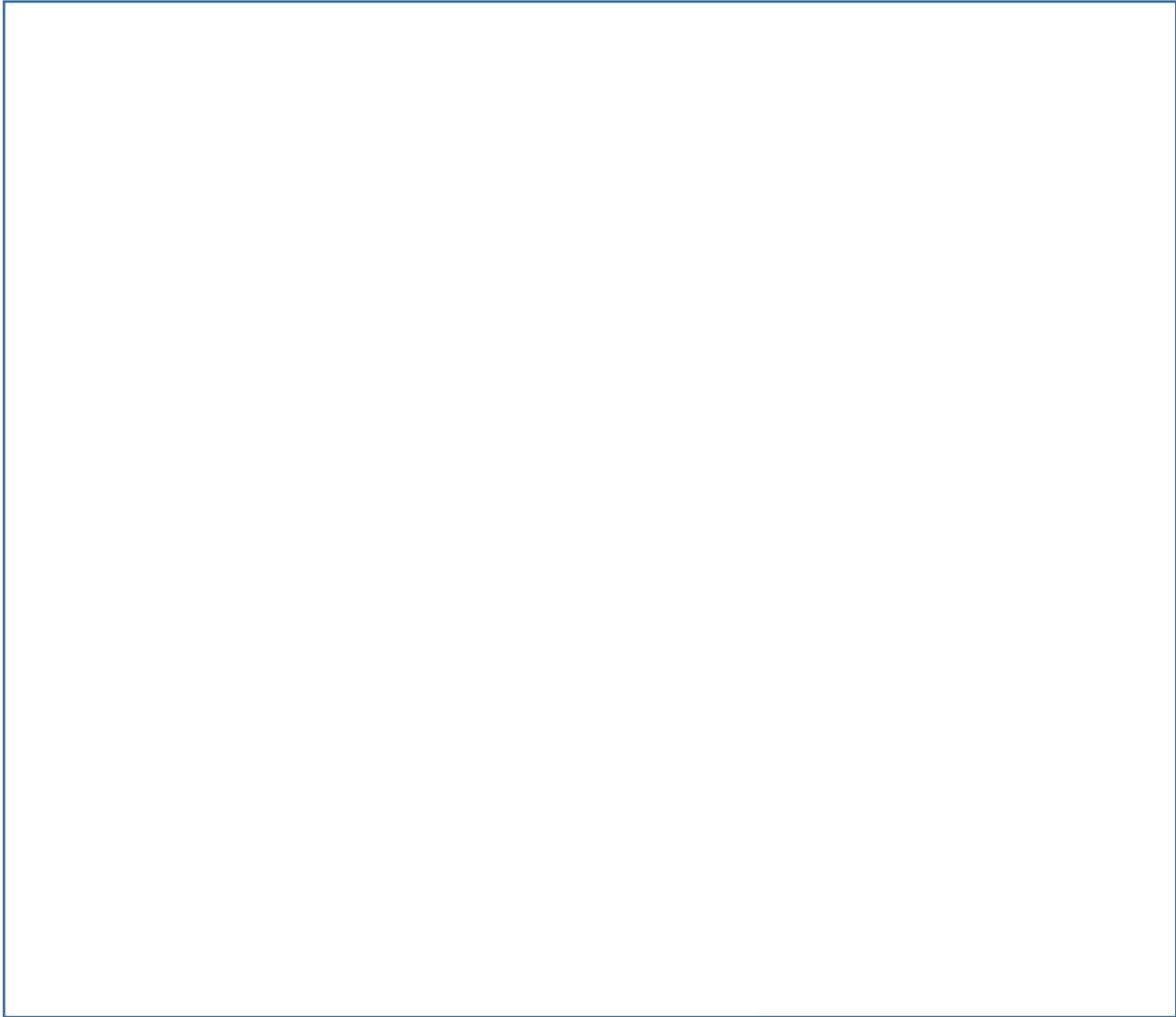
Lusaka Master Plan Consultancy Team (JICA 2009)

Appendix 2 - Sacramento's 2030 General Plan

Source: City of Sacramento (2015)
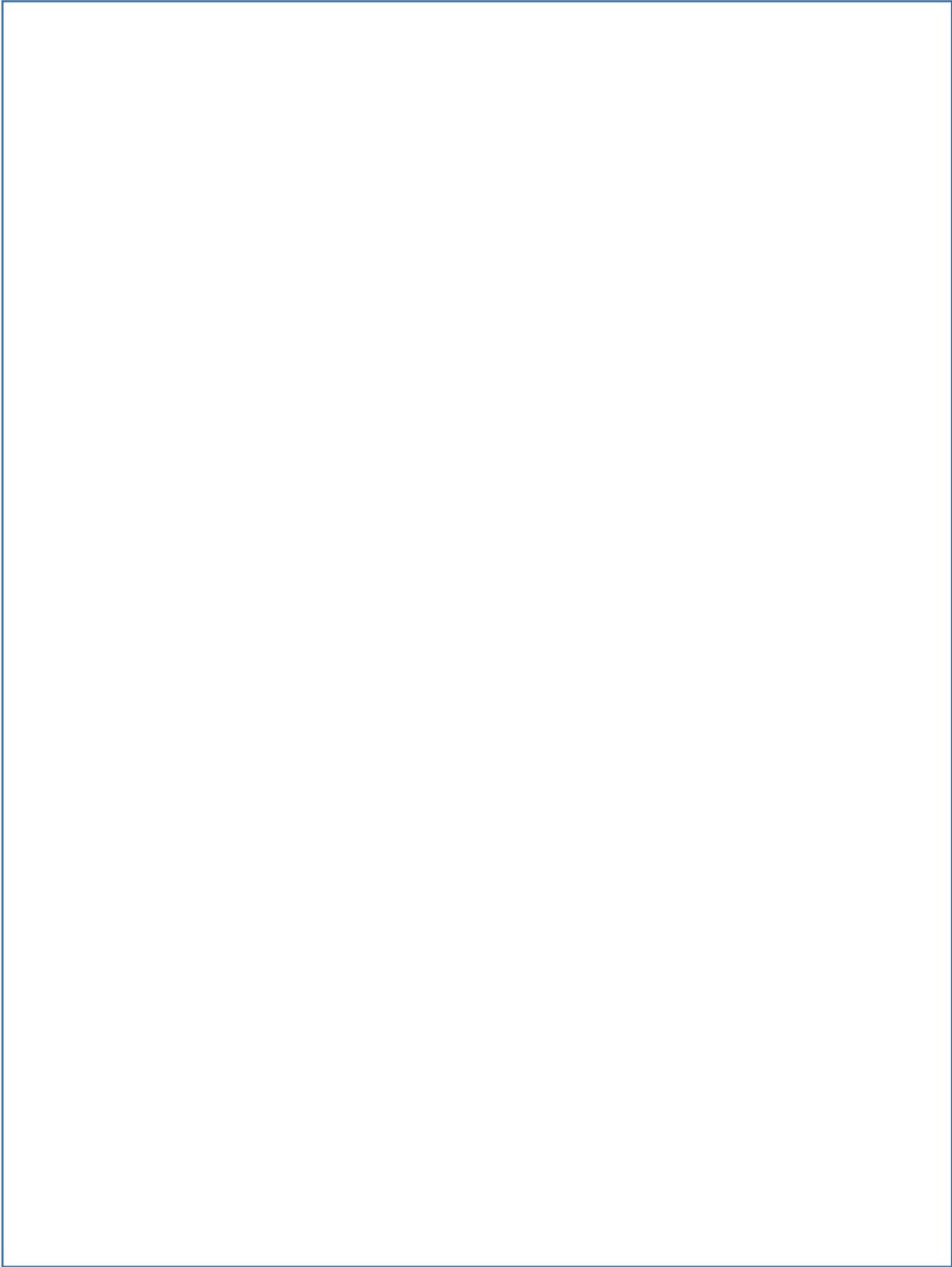
Sacramento General Plan Consultancy Team (City of Sacramento 2015)

Appendix 3 - Original Fieldwork Methodology

As I was keen to stress throughout, this thesis has been facilitated not by a bounded time spent in the 'field', harvesting data on a particular element of the master plans and their implementation, despite the fact that, regrettably, that *was* the original intention of the research project. Part of the realisation that came about from the research is that length of time spent in a particular location is of secondary importance to the *perspective* that one adopts relative to the issues being explored. Over the duration of this PhD I spent, in total, eight months in Lusaka and three in Sacramento, but as a writing task, the production of the thesis has been firmly situated from the perspective of situated city planning in the two locations up until this very moment. The evolving nature of my relationship to planning in the two cities and the reflexivity with which I forced myself to approach them as places has meant that what eventually materialised in the thesis as was much a mirror on conducting ethnographic fieldwork in cities and with urban governance institutions as it was on furthering our 'knowledge' of policy globalisation practices.

The material presented in chapters one and two are primarily taken from earlier probing of the 'field' - a two month pilot study between October and December 2013 in the case of Lusaka, and a skype conference call with a number of city planners in Sacramento in February 2014 as well as the tour of the city and discussions with the two planners upon my arrival in March 2014. These original experiences had not been considered for inclusion into the thesis proper until more recent, post-fieldwork, critical shifts were taken which brought my 'findings' into conversation with wider theoretical and philosophical debates. While ultimately they have served as the jumping off point for the thesis' confessional tale, at the time, I would build on these pilot investigations to firm up a methodology for the primary period of fieldwork across the two locations. This fieldwork methodology was to consist of a triangulation of methods - Discourse analysis, Interviews, and Ethnography of sustainable design project implementation. Mentioned in chapter three, this was, from a very early stage, shaped by Siegfried Jager and Florentine Maier's (2010) dispositive analysis but not for the reasons eventually presented in the thesis.

In seeking to construct a comprehensive methodological approach for the research, Jager and Maier's brand of discourse analysis appealed to me due to its provision of a framework upon

which to attach a triangulated set of methods consisting of those described above. Given that my focus was on the circulation of sustainable design models into the two cities through their plans, a discourse analytical lens offered the perfect way to explore, prior to 'on the ground' fieldwork, the way in which the different contexts were framed by a discourse of sustainability. Using the concept of discourse 'entanglements' as laid out by the authors along with other 'elements' of critical dispositive analysis, I sought to understand how the primary strands of sustainability - economy, society, and environment - became entangled with existing contexts through the process of *problematisation*. In doing so, the CDA based approach is interested in how sustainable city discourse has 'ruled in' certain ways of thinking and also 'ruled out', limited and restricted other ways of thinking about the issues at hand (Phillips, Lawrence et al. 2004; Van Dijk 2008). I quickly came to realise the enormity of such a task however, and the fact that such a process conducted across the two plans would, itself, constitute a substantial 'data set' and lead to a questioning of the relationship between this and the interview-based fieldwork on the ground. In short, it is impossible to understand what has been 'ruled in', and indeed out, by discourse without a deep understanding of the institutional context in question. As a result of this, I decided to let this process become less of an analytical exercise and more a means of generating questions and discussion topics for interviews.

The use of 'semi-structured interviews' would be deployed to target an insight into the processes through which the plans were produced and the knowledges that were drawn upon through this. The interviews therefore comprised a 'post-hoc' study through discussions based on the actor's reflection on their roles and the actions they had taken (Faulconbridge 2012; Tokatli 2007; Wood 2016). According to Kelly (2010) semi-structured interviews normally consist of a set of themes, that ensure the areas of interest are covered while allowing space for new questions and themes to arise. Furthermore, Kelly (2010: 18) points out that:

> "*the tension between flexibility and focus is one of the strengths of semi structured interviews, and managing this tension is an important skill. The semi structured interview also is characterized by tension between 'normal' skills of interpersonal interaction – attention, active listening, reflecting, tact – and the professional skills of the researcher – guidance, focusing, tracking, progression".*

248

The balance described here between flexibility and focus was, still, too heavy on the side of focus and failed to offer me the ability to explore, in depth the issues faced by the plans and how they relate to the ways in which they emerge as a mode of governance. In other words, they fail to draw out the vital relationship between specific contexts and instances, and more general questions about master plan technologies - leaving such a connection to be drawn out by the researcher themselves as part of a subsequent 'analysis' process. A more ethnographically attuned approach, not as its own targeted method for engaging with a particular aspect of implementation as originally intended, but a framework within which to couch the entire research process, allows such a process to itself be embedded with the overall research apparatus. In this case, it would be inspired during time in the two cities by the work of Bent Flyvbjerg (1998; 2001) and Anna Tsing (2005), and in the following period of reflective writing, by that of John Van Maanen (1988).

What was originally a triangulated trajectory of discourse analysis - interviews - ethnography, correlated to Jager and Maier's stages of Discourse - Action - Materialisation, would eventually be turned on its head as described in chapter 3.6, and the four critical questions used to unpack the materialisation of discourse in the form of these plans[44]. In other words - and because of the numerous realisations I was confronted with as described in the introduction and conclusion - the boundaries between discourse, action, and materialisation were no longer treated as distinguishable temporal categories with associated methodologies, but the integrated elements of a governing apparatus of power associated with the concept of the 'sustainable city'. As a result, while it might not have been created in such a way at the time, the research took on a 'snowballing' process orientated on a methodological 'pluralism' as part of a more 'experimental' research approach (Clark 1998; Faulconbridge 2012; Wai-chung Yeung 2003). Part of this shift centred on the important, but difficult, task of freeing myself from viewing critical discourse analysis as a 'method' to be

---

[44] Thinking about Lusaka's master plan as a process of discourse-action-materialisation and the challenges this throws up, is the topic of an earlier book chapter that I produced prior to my desire to invert it as an analytical means of approaching the world.

'used' in social research and to take it, as intended through the wider dispositive and its Foucauldian roots, as a way of critically engaging with the world.

Bent Flyvbjerg (2001, p.145), in outlining his approach used in the study of the city master plan project in Aalborg, Denmark describes an effective means of exploring planning projects and their power relations as consisting of "archival data, interviews, participant observation and informants". The approach to both experiencing the field and also to analysing ones reflection *upon* it is more effectively characterised however, not by how it manifests as particular methods but by the primary purpose of engaging with the field. As Faulconbridge (2012) argues for much of contemporary institutionally orientated research in *economic* geography, "issues of validity and reflexivity restrict existing empirical work's ability to advance understandings of power" (ibid.1). The following extract from Cunliffe (ibid. 229) describes the benefits of an ethnographic approach to organisation and institutional research:

> *"Because ethnographers are concerned with sociality—with how people live their lives and make meanings together—they are interested in interactions (e.g., meetings, formal, and informal conversations), written texts (policies, vision statements, media statements, emails, work manuals), talk (stories, narratives, metaphors, gossip, jokes), actions (routines, work practices), symbols (de´cor, dress, logos), and language (jargon, common phrases and words, technical language) of organizational members"*

As a methodology, institutional ethnography has evolved substantially since the early eighties when it was first developed and has been deployed across a wide range of fields and sectors (Campbell, DeVault et al. 2006; Devault 2006). In order to go beyond that which is either written in the form of policy documentation, or spoken through interview discussions, ethnographic observation of actors interacting with one another and their institutional environment opens different doors for research (Cunliffe 2009). From the perspective of research into knowledge, the ethnographic provides a view from 'within' the setting in question that tries to develop an understanding of the contextual nuances of situated relationships. Likewise, given that the subjects I was engaging with are also the combined 'subjects' of the dispositive, aspects such as their demeanour and attitude with regards to power, including that embodied by myself, were all important to shaping both my own

attitude to the research and what I deemed to be important elements of reflection, as elucidated in the thesis' vignettes (Bogdan and Biklen 2007).

In this ethnographically driven research, any discussion however short or seemingly mundane, constitutes an 'interview', or rather is worthy of being designated as 'data' vital to our understanding of the phenomena in question. Beyond targeted interviews with actors involved to simply learn more about their roles in the process, it was much more important here to approach interactions, in an unstructured manner, guided only by the concept of the sustainable city and its manifestation in these master plans as well as my specific interests in the *geographies* behind its leveraging in particular locations. This was particularly the case with regards to my engagement with the two city council's employees and to my relationships with key informants, such as the environmental consultant described in chapter two. Therefore, and as stated in a footnote at the outset of chapter two, 'interview' data presented in the thesis took two different forms. Formal sit-down interviews with individuals involved in the master plans production process - designated in the thesis by the term 'interview' in brackets - and more informal dialogue, fully embedded and used to drive the narrative of the thesis and the perspective from which the various chapters are written. Excluding these informal discussions, the table contains details of the number of formal interviews conducted with those involved with the master plan project either directly or as interested stakeholders (brackets denote further follow up interviews with the same individual). These total 54 interviews across the two cities (30 in Lusaka and 24 in Sacramento). As mentioned it does not include engagements with city council employees (beyond the project leaders) nor does it include engagement with the planning academy in Sacramento or focus groups with the WDC's in Lusaka, both of which were discussed in chapter five of the thesis.

Position	Number Interviewed in Lusaka	Number Interviewed in Sacramento	Job Description
City Council project leaders	1 (x2)	1 (x2)	City planners given the responsibility of directing the master plan projects
Lead 2030 Project Consultants	1 (x2)	2 (x1) 2 (x2)	Members of the lead consultancy organisations for the project of producing the master plans
Additional Project consultants	6	7	Members of the wider consultancy teams with specific 'expertise' (see Appendixes 1 and 2)
'Supporting' Actors	20	9	Individuals either involved in the plans production in some capacity or as representatives of an organisation that was. This includes government ministries, advisory committee members, city councillors, and NGO's

List of Formal Interviews across the two cities

References

Abrahamsen, R. (2003). "African studies and the postcolonial challenge." African Affairs **102**(407): 189-210.

Abrahamsen, R. (2015). Keynote: New Political Topographies: Trans-boundary Flows, Power and Legitimation in Africa and Beyond. Centre Of African Studies Annual Conference, University of Edinburgh

Abu-Lughod, L. (1996). "Writing Against Culture". In R. G. Fox (Ed.), Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present, 137-162. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press

Acuto, M. (2015). "Implosions/explosions. Towards a study of planetary urbanization, edited by Neil Brenner." Urban Geography **36**(1): 154-156.

Adey, P. (2006). "If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities." Mobilities **1**(1): 75-94.

Afary, J. and K. B. Anderson (2010). Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Affolderbach, J. and C. Schulz (2015). "Mobile transitions: Exploring synergies for urban sustainability research." Urban Studies **53**(9): 1942-1957.

Agamben, G. (2009). "What is an Apparatus." What is an Apparatus: 1-24.

Agamben, G. and K. Attell (2008). State of Exception, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Agamben, G. and D. Heller-Roazen (1998). Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ahluwalia, D. P. S. (2001). Politics and post-colonial theory : African inflections. London/New York: Routledge.

Ahluwalia, P. (2010). "Post-structuralism's colonial roots: Michel Foucault." Social Identities **16**(5): 597-606.

Akomolafe, B. (2015) "They Sang with a Thousand Tongues: The Poetry of Diversity" Retrieved 05/03/2016, http://www.kosmosjournal.org/article/they-sang-with-a-thousand-tongues-the-poetry-of-diversity/

Alexander, E. R. (2015). "There is no planning—only planning practices: Notes for spatial planning theories." Planning Theory **15**: 91-103.

Alizadeh, H. (2012). "The Concept of Privacy and Space in Kurdish Cities". In, T. Edensor and M. Jayne. (Eds.) Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities, 137-155. Abingdon: Routledge.

allAfrica (2015). "Zambia: Chibolya Drug Shocker!". Retrieved 08/09/2015, http://allafrica.com/stories/201503080289.html.

Allen, J. (2008). Lost Geographies of Power, Oxford: Blackwell

Allen, J. (2011). "Topological twists: Power's shifting geographies." Dialogues in Human Geography **1**(3): 283-298.

Allen, J. (2012). "A more than relational geography?" Dialogues in Human Geography **2**(2): 190-193.

Allen, J. and A. Cochrane (2007). "Beyond the territorial fix: Regional assemblages, politics and power." Regional Studies **41**(9): 1161-1175.

Allison, D. (2013). "The problem with rolled curbs." Retrieved 03/06/2016, https://gettingaroundsac.wordpress.com/2013/09/04/the-problem-with-rolled-curbs/.

Amin, A. (2002). "Spatialities of globalisation." Environment and Planning A **34**(3): 385-399.

Amin, A. (2004). "Regions Unbound: Towards a new Politics of Place." Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography **86**(1): 33-44.

Anabela, C. (2003). "Reading the papers. Ideological cultures and media discourses on scientific knowledge", paper presented at a conference entitled Does Discourse Matter? Discourse, Power and Institutions in the Sustainability Transition, Hamburg, Germany 11- 13 July

Anderson, B., M. Kearnes, et al. (2012). "On assemblages and geography." Dialogues in Human Geography **2**(2): 171-189.

Angelou, M. (2010). I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings, New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks

Ansaloni, F. and M. Tedeschi (2015). "Ethics and spatial justice: Unfolding non-linear possibilities for planning action." Planning Theory **15**(3): 316-332.

Antrop, M. (2006). "Sustainable landscapes: contradiction, fiction or utopia?" Landscape and Urban Planning **75**(3–4): 187-197.

Appiah, K. A. (1991). "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?" Critical Inquiry **17**(2): 336-357.

Arboleda, M. (2014). "Implosions/explosions: towards a study of planetary urbanization edited by Neil Brenner."Area **46**(3): 339-340.

Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, et al. (2002). The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures, London/New York: Routledge.

Baker, T., I. R. Cook, et al. (2016). "Policies on the Move: The Transatlantic Travels of Tax Increment Financing." Annals of the American Association of Geographers **106**(2): 459-469.

Baker, T. and C. Temenos (2015). "Urban Policy Mobilities Research: Introduction to a Debate." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(4): 824-827

Balbo, M. (1993). "Urban Planning and the Fragmented City of Developing Countries." Third World Planning Review **15**(1): 23.

Banville, M. S. and J. Torres (2016). "On embracing an immanent ethics in urban planning: Pursuing our Body-without-Organs." Planning Theory: 1-20.

Bapat, V. (2013). "Why Knowledge Is Becoming The Ultimate Currency." Retrieved 31/03/2016, http://www.forbes.com/sites/sap/2013/06/10/why-knowledge-is-becoming-the-ultimate-currency/#1f88bceb17b2.

Barotseland-Post (2016). "Zambia supports the people of Saharawi's right to self-determination and independence - President Lungu." Retrieved 17/04/2016, http://barotselandpost.com/index.php/all-news/barotseland/item/2077-zambia-supports-the-people-of-saharawi-s-right-to-self-determination-and-independence-president-lungu.

Bayat, A. (2000). "From `Dangerous Classes' to `Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South." International Sociology **15**(3): 533-557.

BBC (2014). "Three garden cities to be built, Nick Clegg announces." Retrieved 08/11/2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-27020578.

Bell, D. (2005). "The Emergence of Contemporary Masterplans: Property Markets and the Value of Urban Design." Journal of Urban Design 10(1): 81-110.

Bell, D. and M. Jayne (2009). "Small Cities? Towards a Research Agenda." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 33(3): 683-699.

Benjamin, K. (2012). "Suburbanizing Jim Crow: The Impact of School Policy on Residential Segregation in Raleigh." Journal of Urban History 38(2): 225-246.

Berglund, J. and J. Roush (2011). Sherman Alexie: A Collection of Critical Essays, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Biddulph, M. (2016). "Should we build a garden city? Politicising knowledge and concepts in planning policy and practice." Town Planning Review 87(2): 117-124.

Biss, E. (2015). "White Debt." Retrieved 03/12/2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/magazine/white-debt.html?_r=0

Bizjak, T. (2016). "Sacramento region's planning chief – aka 'Mr. Consensus' – to retire" Retrieved 12/01/2016, http://www.sacbee.com/news/local/article54309840.html

Blok, A. (2013). "Urban green assemblages." Science & Technology Studies 26(1): 5-24.

Bogaert, K. (2011). "The Problem of Slums: Shifting Methods of Neoliberal Urban Government in Morocco." Development and Change 42(3): 709-731.

Bogdan, R. and S. K. Biklen (2007). Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods, Boston: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.

Bonnett, A. and A. Nayak (2003). "Cultural geographies of racialization: The territory of race." In Anderson, K (Ed.) Handbook of cultural geography: 300-312. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Braidotti, R. (1994). Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory, New York: Columbia University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2011). Nomadic Theory: The Portable Rosi Braidotti, New York: Columbia University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2013). "Rosi Braidotti answering the question why matter matters" Retrieved 11/01/2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IYfguDJvf38

Braidotti, R. (2013). The Posthuman, New Jersey: Wiley.

Braidotti, R. (2014). After Poststructuralism: Transitions and Transformations, London: Taylor & Francis.

Braidotti, R. (2015). "Prof. Rosi Braidotti - Keynote Lecture - Posthumanism and Society Conference - 9 May 2015." Retrieved 11/02/2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3S3CulNbQ1M

Branch, A. (2015). Mamdani's Citizen and Subject: 20th Anniversary Roundtable. African Studies Association, San Diego, CA.

Brenner, N. (2009). "What is critical urban theory?" City 13(2-3): 198-207.

Brenner, N. (2013). "Theses on Urbanization." Public Culture 25(1 69): 85-114.

Brenner, N. (2014). Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization. Berlin: Jovis.

Brenner, N., J. Peck, et al. (2010). "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways." Global Networks 10(2): 182-222.

Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2011). "Planetary urbanization." Urban constellations: 10-13.

Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2014). "The 'Urban Age' in Question." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 38(3): 731-755.

Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2015). "Towards a new epistemology of the urban?" City 19(2-3): 151-182.

Brigg, M. (2002). "Post-Development, Foucault and the Colonisation Metaphor." Third World Quarterly 23(3): 421-436.

Brown, W. (2003). "Neo-liberalism and the end of liberal democracy." Theory & Event **7**(1).

Bulkeley, H. (2006). "Urban sustainability: learning from best practice?" Environment and Planning A **38**(6): 1029-1044.

Burawoy, M. (1991). Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burawoy, M., J. A. Blum, et al. (2000). Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bwalya, K. (2014). "Chibolya PKG." Retrieved 15/03/2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=x9MfYMZiHQc

Cabannes, Y. and P. Ross (2014). 21st Century Garden Cities of To-morrow. A manifesto, Stroud: Hawthorn Press

Caborn, J. (2007). "On the methodology of dispositive analysis." Critical approaches to discourse analysis across disciplines **1**(1): 115-123.

Callon, M. (1984). "Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay." The Sociological Review **32**(S1): 196-233.

Callon, M. and B. Latour (1981). "Unscrewing the big Leviathan: how actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so." In Knorr-Cetina, K and Cicourel, A.V (Eds.) Advances in social theory and methodology: Toward an integration of micro-and macro-sociologies: 277-303. London: Routledge

Campbell, G. (2010). King James Bible: 400th Anniversary Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, M. L., M. L. DeVault, et al. (2006). Institutional ethnography as practice, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Caprotti, F., C. Springer, et al. (2015). "'Eco' For Whom? Envisioning Eco-urbanism in the Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-city, China." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(3): 495-517.

Castaneda, C. J. and L. M. A. Simpson (2013). River City and Valley Life: An Environmental History of the Sacramento Region, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Castells, M. (2010). "Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the Information Age." Urban Studies **47**(13): 2737-2745.

Césaire, A. (2000). Discourse on Colonialism, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chala, E. (2016). "Ethiopia scraps Addis Ababa 'master plan' after protests kill 140 ". Retrieved 16/01/2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/14/ethiopia-addis-master-plan-abandoned.

Chang, I. C. C. and E. Sheppard (2013). "China's Eco-Cities as Variegated1 Urban Sustainability: Dongtan Eco-City and Chongming Eco-Island." Journal of Urban Technology **20**(1): 57-75.

Chibber, V. (2013). Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital, New York: Verso.

Chiodelli, F., B. De Carli, et al. (2014). Cities to be Tamed? Spatial Investigations across the Urban South, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publisher.

Clark, G. L. (1998). "Stylized Facts and Close Dialogue: Methodology in Economic Geography." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **88**(1): 73-87.

Clarke, N. (2012). "Urban policy mobility, anti-politics, and histories of the transnational municipal movement." Progress in Human Geography **36**(1): 25-43.

Cobbinah, P. B., M. O. Erdiaw-Kwasie, et al. (2015). "Africa's urbanisation: Implications for sustainable development." Cities **47**: 62-72.

Cochrane, A. (2011). Foreword to E. McCann, and K. Ward. Mobile Urbanism, ix-xi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Collins, J. (1969). "Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City." Zambian Urban Studies, Lusaka: Zambian Institute of Social Research

Comaroff, J. and J. L. Comaroff (2012). "Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa." Anthropological Forum **22**(2): 113-131.

Cook, I. R. (2015). "Policy Mobilities and Interdisciplinary Engagement." _International Journal of Urban and Regional Research_ **39**(4): 835-837.

Cook, I. R. and E. Swyngedouw (2012). "Cities, Social Cohesion and the Environment: Towards a Future Research Agenda." _Urban Studies_ **49**(9): 1959-1979.

Cook, I. R. and K. Ward (2012). "Conferences, informational infrastructures and mobile policies: the process of getting Sweden 'BID ready'." _European Urban and Regional Studies_ **19**(2): 137-152.

Cook, I. R. and K. Ward (2012). "Relational Comparisons: The Assembling of Cleveland's Waterfront Plan." _Urban Geography_ **33**(6): 774-795.

Cooke, B. (2001). _From colonial administration to development management_, University of Manchester: Institute for development policy and management (IDPM).

Course, M. (2010). "Of words and fog: Linguistic relativity and Amerindian ontology." _Anthropological Theory_ **10**(3): 247-263.

Crampton, J. W. and S. Elden (2007). _Space, knowledge and power: Foucault and geography_, Farnham: Ashgate

Cresswell, T. (2012). _Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction_, New Jersey: Wiley.

Cresswell, T. and P. Merriman (2011). _Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects_, Farnham: Ashgate.

Cumbers, A. (2014). "Advancing theory in urban research." _Urban Studies_ **51**(5): 865-867.

Danius, S., S. Jonsson, et al. (1993). "An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak." _Boundary 2_: 24-50.

Danta, C. and D. Vardoulakis (2010). _The Political Animal: Special Issue of SubStance, Issue 117, 37:3 (2008)_, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Davis, M. (2006). _Planet Of Slums_. New York, Vigo.

Davis, University of California. (2013). The ELS Symposium. Retrieved: 15/03/2016, http://mediasite.ucdavis.edu/Mediasite/Play/e531881be98b40a79da7ea5eb2b914e11d

Daza, S. L. (2008). "Decolonizing researcher authenticity." Race Ethnicity and Education 11(1): 71-85.

De Boeck, F. (2012). "Spectral Kinshasa: Building the City through an Architecture of Words." In T. Edensor and M. Jayne (Eds.) Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities, 311-328. Abingdon: Routledge.

de Castro, E. V. and P. Skafish (2014). Cannibal Metaphysics, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

de Certeau, M. and S. Rendall (2011). The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press.

de Sousa Santos, B. (2015). Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide, London: Taylor & Francis.

De Waal, A. (2016). A Social Science in Africa Fit for Purpose. Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Fellowship Workshop Addis Ababa: Next Generation Social Sciences.

DeLanda, M. (2006). A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Delaney, D. (2002). "The Space That Race Makes." The Professional Geographer 54(1): 6-14.

Deleuze, G. (1988). Spinoza: Practical Philosophy, San Francisco: City Lights Publishers.

Deleuze, G. (1992). "What is a dispositif." In T.J Armstrong (Ed.) Michel Foucault: Philosopher, 159-168. New York: Routledge.

Deleuze, G. (2001). Pure immanence, New York: Zone.

Deleuze, G. and F. Guattari (1988). A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Deleuze, G. and F. Guattari (2004). EPZ Thousand Plateaus, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Deleuze, G., F. Ì. Guattari, et al. (2004). Anti-Oedipus, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Deleuze, G. and P. Patton (2004). <u>Difference and Repetition</u>, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Demissie, F. (2012). <u>Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories</u>, Farnham: Ashgate.

Derickson, K. D. (2014). "Urban geography I: Locating urban theory in the 'urban age'." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **39**(5): 647-657

Derickson, K. D. (2016). "Urban geography II: Urban geography in the Age of Ferguson." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u>. Online First

Devault, M. L. (2006). "Introduction: What is Institutional Ethnography?" <u>Social Problems</u> **53**(3): 294-298.

Dezeuze, A. (2008). "Assemblage, Bricolage, and the Practice of Everyday Life." <u>Art Journal</u> **67**(1): 31-37.

Dikeç, M. (2010). "Colonial Minds, Postcolonial Places." <u>Antipode</u> **42**(4): 801-805.

Dolgushkin, M. (2012). "Sacramento's West End." <u>Sac History Happenings</u>. Retrieved 09/12/2015, http://blogs.sacbee.com/sac_history_happenings/2012/03/sacramentos-west-end.html.

Dolowitz, D. P. and D. Marsh (2000). "Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making." <u>Governance-an International Journal of Policy and Administration</u> **13**(1): 5-24.

Dong, H. and P. Zhu (2014). "Smart growth in two contrastive metropolitan areas: A comparison between Portland and Los Angeles." <u>Urban Studies</u> **52**(4): 775-792.

Economist, T. (2014). "Essay · A planet of suburbs " <u>Suburbs</u>. Retrieved 09/01/2016, http://www.economist.com/suburbs.

Edensor, T. and M. Jayne (2012). Introduction: Urban Theory Beyond the West. In T. J. Edensor, M. Jayne <u>Urban Theory Beyond the West</u>, 1-29. Abingdon: Routledge.

Edensor, T. and M. Jayne (2012). <u>Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities</u>, Abingdon: Routledge.

Eglash, R. (1999). <u>African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design</u>, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Ellis, C. (2002). "The New Urbanism: Critiques and Rebuttals." <u>Journal of Urban Design</u> **7**(3): 261-291.

Elwood, S., V. Lawson, et al. (2016). "Geographical relational poverty studies." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u>: 1-21.

Escobar, A. (1995). <u>Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World</u>, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2004). "Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements." <u>Third World Quarterly</u> **25**(1): 207-230.

Faist, T. (2013). "The mobility turn: a new paradigm for the social sciences?" <u>Ethnic and Racial Studies</u> **36**(11): 1637-1646.

Fanon, F. and C. L. Markmann (1967). <u>Black Skin, White Masks. 1952</u>, New York: Palgrave

Fanon, F., R. Philcox, et al. (2007). <u>The Wretched of the Earth</u>, New York: Perseus Books Group.

Farías, I. (2010). "Introduction: Decentering the object of urban studies." In I. Farias, and T. Bender (Eds.) <u>Urban Assemblages: How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Studies</u>, 1-24. London: Routledge.

Farías, I. (2011). "The politics of urban assemblages." <u>City</u> **15**(3-4): 365-374.

Farías, I. and T. Bender (2012). <u>Urban assemblages: How actor-network theory changes urban studies</u>, London: Routledge.

Farrar, L. (2008). "Is America's suburban dream collapsing into a nightmare?" Retrieved 08/03/2016, http://edition.cnn.com/2008/TECH/06/16/suburb.city/index.html

Faulconbridge, J. R. (2006). "Stretching tacit knowledge beyond a local fix? Global spaces of learning in advertising professional service firms." <u>Journal of Economic Geography</u> **6**(4): 517-540.

Faulconbridge, J. R. (2012). "Economic geographies of power: Methodological challenges and interdisciplinary analytical possibilities." Progress in Human Geography **36**(6): 735-757.

Flint, L. S. (2003). "State-Building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and Subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi." The International Journal of African Historical Studies **36**(2): 393-428.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). "Phronetic planning research: theoretical and methodological reflections." Planning Theory & Practice **5**(3): 283-306.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research." Qualitative Inquiry **12**(2): 219-245.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2007). "Policy and planning for large-infrastructure projects: problems, causes, cures." Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design **34**(4): 578-597.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2013). "How planners deal with uncomfortable knowledge: The dubious ethics of the American Planning Association." Cities **32**: 157-163.

Forester, J. (1982). "Planning in the Face of Power." Journal of the American Planning Association **48**(1): 67-80.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). Questions on Geography. Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography. J. C. S. Elden. Aldershot, Ashgate: 173-182.

Foucault, M. (2002). Archaeology of Knowledge. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (2002). The Order of Things. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. and C. Gordon (1980). Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fraser, N. (1985). "What's Critical about Critical Theory? The Case of Habermas and Gender." New German Critique(35): 97-131.

Fricker, M. (2007). Epistemic Injustice:Power and the Ethics of Knowing: Power and the Ethics of Knowing, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friedmann, J. (1998). "Planning theory revisited." European Planning Studies **6**(3): 245-253.

Friedmann, J. (2010). "Crossing Borders: Do Planning Ideals Travel?" In P. Healey, and R. Upton, Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices, 313-328. Abingdon: Routledge

Frug, G. E. (1980). "The City as a Legal Concept." Harvard Law Review **93**(6): 1057-1154.

Frug, G. E. (1999). City Making: Building Communities Without Building Walls, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Frug, G. E. (2011). "The Architecture of Governance Lecture" Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal

Fulong Wu and Jingxing Zhang (2007). "Planning the Competitive City-Region: The Emergence of Strategic Development Plan in China." Urban Affairs Review **42**(5): 714-740.

Gale, J., H. Herzog, et al. (2009). "Greenhouse Gas Control Technologies 9Paths to a low-carbon economy—The Masdar example." Energy Procedia **1**(1): 3951-3958.

Gandhi, L. (2006). Affective communities: anticolonial thought, Fin-De-Siècle radicalism, and the politics of friendship, Durham: Duke University Press.

Gandy, M. (2006). "Planning, anti-planning and the infrastructure crisis facing metropolitan Lagos." Urban Studies **43**(2): 371-396.

Garde, A. M. (2004). "New Urbanism as Sustainable Growth?: A Supply Side Story and Its Implications for Public Policy." Journal of Planning Education and Research **24**(2): 154-170.

Gaventa, J. (2003). "Power after Lukes: an overview of theories of power since Lukes and their application to development." Brighton: Participation Group, Institute of Development Studies.

Gemenne, F. (2015). "The Anthropocene and its Victims." In C. Hamilton, and C Bonneuil (Eds.) The Anthropocene and the Global Environmental Crisis: Rethinking modernity in a new epoch, 168-175. New York/London: Routledge

Giddens, A. (1986). The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilbert, A. (2006). "Good Urban Governance: Evidence from a Model City?" Bulletin of Latin American Research **25**(3): 392-419.

Gilbert, A. (2008). "Bus Rapid Transit: Is Transmilenio a Miracle Cure?" Transport Reviews **28**(4): 439-467.

Gilbert, L. and F. De Jong (2015). "Entanglements of Periphery and Informality in Mexico City." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(3): 518-532.

Gille, Z., S. Riain, et al. (2002). "Global Ethnography." Annual Review of Sociology **28**: 271-295.

Gledhill, L. (2006). "Elk Grove / Sacramento County city is nation's fastest-growing" Retrieved 21/03/2016, http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/ELK-GROVE-Sacramento-County-city-is-nation-s-2532741.php

Gluck, C., A. L. Tsing, et al. (2009). Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon, Durham: Duke University Press.

Goldman, M. (2005). "Reviewed Work: Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections by Anna Tsing " American Journal of Sociology **111**(2): 648-650.

Gonzalez, S. (2011). "Bilbao and Barcelona 'in Motion'. How Urban Regeneration 'Models' Travel and Mutate in the Global Flows of Policy Tourism." Urban Studies **48**(7): 1397-1418.

Gordon, C. (1991). "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction". In G. G. Burchell, and P Miller The Foucault Effect, 1-52. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Gordon, L. R. (2002). "A Questioning Body of Laughter and Tears: Reading Black Skin, White Masks through the Cat and Mouse of Reason and a Misguided Theodicy." Parallax **8**(2): 10-29.

Gough, K. V. (2012). "Reflections on Conducting Urban Comparison." Urban Geography **33**(6): 866-878.

Grant, J. L. (2009). "Theory and Practice in Planning the Suburbs: Challenges to Implementing New Urbanism, Smart Growth, and Sustainability Principles1." Planning Theory & Practice **10**(1): 11-33.

Grosfoguel, R. (2007). "The Epistemic Decolonial Turn" Cultural Studies **21**(2-3): 211-223.

Grosfoguel, R. (2013). "The structure of knowledge in westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides/epistemicides of the long 16th century." Human Architecture 11(1): 73.

Guardian, T. (2011). "Population growth in Zambia: a view from the slum." Global Development. Retrieved 11/11/2014, http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/may/06/world-population-country-un.

Guardian, The. (2016). "Migration pushing Australia to 'third-world style population growth rate'." Retrieved 16/02/2016, http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/feb/16/migration-pushing-australia-to-third-world-style-population-growth-rate

Guinier, L. and G. Torres (2009). The Miner's Canary: enlisting race, resisting power, transforming democracy, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hamminga, B., Y. Museveni, et al. (2005). Knowledge Cultures: Comparative Western and African Epistemology. New York/Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Haque, M. S. (2000). "Environmental Discourse and Sustainable Development: Linkages and Limitations." Ethics and the Environment 5(1): 3-21.

Haraway, D. (1988). "Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective." Feminist studies 14(3): 575-599.

Haraway, D. (2006). A cyborg manifesto: Science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late 20th century. New York: Routledge.

Hardt, M. and A. Negri (2001). Empire, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harrell, S. and L. Xingxing (2013). "Textual Desert–Emotional Oasis: An unconventional confessional dialogue on field experience." In S. Turner (ed.) Red Stamps and Gold Stars: Fieldwork Dilemmas in Upland Socialist Asia, 260-278. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Harrer, S. (2007). "The Theme of Subjectivity in Foucault's Lecture Series' Herméneutique du Sujet'." Foucault Studies 2(1): 75-96.

Harris, A. and S. Moore (2013). "Planning Histories and Practices of Circulating Urban Knowledge." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 37(5): 1499-1509.

Harrison, P. (2001). "The genealogy of South Africa's Integrated Development Plan." <u>Third World Planning Review</u> **23**(2): 175-193.

Harrison, P. (2006). "Integrated development plans and third way politics." In U. Pillay (Ed.) <u>Democracy and delivery: Urban policy in South Africa</u>: 186-207. Pretoria: HSRC Press

Harrison, P. (2006). "On the edge of reason: Planning and urban futures in Africa." <u>Urban Studies</u> **43**(2): 319-335.

Hart, G. (2001). "Development critiques in the 1990s: culs de sacand promising paths." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **25**(4): 649-658.

Hart, G. (2002). "Geography and development: development/s beyond neoliberalism? power, culture, political economy." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **26**(6): 812-822.

Hart, G. (2004). "Geography and development: critical ethnographies." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **28**(1): 91-100.

Harvey, D. (2003). "The right to the city." <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</u> **27**(4): 939-941.

Harvey, D. (2014). <u>Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism</u>, Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2015) "The Crisis of Planetary Urbanization". Retrieved: 29/03/2016, <u>http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/520-the-crisis-of-planetary-urbanization</u>

Healey, P. (1997). <u>Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies</u>, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Healey, P. (2006). <u>Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies: Towards a Relational Planning for Our Times</u>. Abingdon, Routledge.

Healey, P. (2011). "The universal and the contingent: Some reflections on the transnational flow of planning ideas and practices." <u>Planning Theory</u> **11**(2): 188-207.

Healey, P. and R. Upton (2010). <u>Crossing borders : international exchange and planning practices</u>. London/New York: Routledge.

Henry, N., J. Pollard, et al. (2001). "Beyond the Margins of Economics: Geographers, Economists, and Policy Relevance." Antipode **33**(2): 200-207.

Herbert, C. W. and M. J. Murray (2015). "Building from Scratch: New Cities, Privatized Urbanism and the Spatial Restructuring of Johannesburg after Apartheid." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(3): 471-494

Hernandez, J. (2009). "Redlining Revisited: Mortgage Lending Patterns in Sacramento 1930–2004." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **33**(2): 291-313.

Hillier, J. (2008). "Plan(e) Speaking: a Multiplanar Theory of Spatial Planning." Planning Theory **7**(1): 24-50.

Hillier, J. (2011). "Strategic navigation across multiple planes: Towards a Deleuzean-inspired methodology for strategic spatial planning." Town Planning Review **82**(5): 503-527.

Holeywell, R. (2015). "Does Urban Planning have a race problem?". Retrieved 09/02/2016, http://urbanedge.blogs.rice.edu/2015/10/29/does-urban-planning-have-a-race-problem/#.V0J7no-cGhc.

Home, R. (2013). Of Planting and Planning: The making of British colonial cities. London: Taylor & Francis.

Home, R. K. (1990). "Town planning and garden cities in the British colonial empire 1910–1940." Planning Perspectives **5**(1): 23-37.

Howard, E. and F. J. Osborn (2013). Garden Cities of To-Morrow. London: Taylor & Francis.

Howitt, R. and S. Stevens (2010). "Cross-Cultural Research: Ethics, Methods, and Relationships." In I. Hay (Ed.) Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography, 40-66. Ontario: Oxford University Press.

Humphreys, S. (2006). "Legalizing Lawlessness: On Giorgio Agamben's State of Exception." European Journal of International Law **17**(3): 677-687.

Hurtado, A. L. (2006). John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jackson, E. (2016). "Urban Studies beyond the male and pale." Retrieved: 21/05/2016, https://emmakjackson.com/2016/04/14/urban-studies-beyond-the-male-and-pale/

Jacobs, J. M. (2012). "Commentary—Comparing Comparative Urbanisms." Urban Geography **33**(6): 904-914.

Jacobs, J. M. (2012). "Urban geographies I: Still thinking cities relationally." Progress in Human Geography **36**(3): 412-422.

Jacobs, J. M. and S. Cairns (2011). Ecologies of Dwelling: Maintaining High-Rise Housing in Singapore. The New Blackwell Companion to the City, Wiley-Blackwell: 79-95.

Jager, S. and F. Maier (2010). "Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis." In P. R. Wodak and M. Meyer, Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, 34-61. London: Sage.

Jarosz, L. (1992). "Constructing the Dark Continent: Metaphor as Geographic Representation of Africa." Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography **74**(2): 105-115.

Jazeel, T. (2014). "Subaltern geographies: Geographical knowledge and postcolonial strategy." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **35**(1): 88-103.

Jazeel, T. and C. McFarlane (2010). "The limits of responsibility: a postcolonial politics of academic knowledge production." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers **35**(1): 109-124.

JEC (2015). "Japan Engineering Consultants Ltd." Retrieved 08/09/2015, http://www.idi.or.jp/english/idi_members/japan_eng.htm.

JICA (2009). "The Study on Comprehensive Urban Development Plan for The City of Lusaka." http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/11932845_02.pdf.

JICA (2010). "The Triangle of Hope: Strategic Action Initiatives for Economic Development" Retrieved 10/11/2013, http://www.jica.go.jp/project/english/zambia/0901055/outline/pdf/brochure.pdf

Jørgensen, M. W. and L. J. Phillips (2002). Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method. London: Sage Publications.

Kamete, A. Y. (2012). "Interrogating planning's power in an African city: Time for reorientation?" Planning Theory **11**(1): 66-88.

Kamete, A. Y. and I. Lindell (2010). "The Politics of 'Non-Planning' Interventions in African Cities: Unravelling the International and Local Dimensions in Harare and Maputo." Journal of Southern African Studies **36**(4): 889-912.

Kavaratzis, M. and G. J. Ashworth (2005). "City branding: an effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick?" Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie **96**(5): 506.

Kawanga, O., A. Sinkala, et al. (2005). Madimba peri-urban integrated sanitation project: a Zambian experience. 31st WEDC International Conference, Kampala, Uganda, 2005., Water, Engineering and Development Centre (WEDC) Loughborough University of Technology.

Kelly, S. E. (2010). "Qualitative interviewing techniques and styles." Qualitative methods in health research. Londres: Sage: 307-326.

Kim, J. (2015). "Legacy of Segregation Lingers in Baltimore". Retrieved: 05/04/2016, http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/data/bal-baltimore-segregation-map-20150710-htmlstory.html

Kipfer, S. (2007). "Fanon and space: colonization, urbanization, and liberation from the colonial to the global city." Environment and Planning D: Society and Space **25**(4): 701-726.

Kirby, A. (2014). "Current Research on Cities." Cities **41**(0): S1-S2.

Klopfer, L. (2007). "When globalization sticks." Current Anthropology **48**(1): 175-176.

Koutonin, M. (2016). "Story of cities #5: Benin City, the mighty medieval capital now lost without trace ". Retrieved 18/03/2016, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/18/story-of-cities-5-benin-city-edo-nigeria-mighty-medieval-capital-lost-without-trace.

KRI, I. C. (2014). "KRI International Coporation Corporate Profile Tokyo." Retrieved 11/03/2016, http://www.kri-inter.co.jp/english/about/docs/profile_en_201311.pdf

Lane, M. B. (2005). "Public Participation in Planning: an intellectual history." Australian Geographer **36**(3): 283-299.

Larner, W. (2000). "Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality." Studies in political economy **63**: 5-25

Larner, W. and N. Laurie (2010). "Travelling technocrats, embodied knowledges: Globalising privatisation in telecoms and water." Geoforum **41**(2): 218-226.

Larner, W. and W. Walters (2004). Global Governmentality: Governing International Spaces. London/New York: Routledge.

Latour, B. (1984). "The powers of association." The Sociological Review 32: 264-280.

Law, J. (2004). After Method: Mess in Social Science Research. New York/London: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (1992). The Production of Space. Malden: Blackwell.

Legg, S. (2007). "Beyond the European Province: Foucault and Postcolonialism". In J. Crampton and S. Elden, Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography, 265-287. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Legg, S. (2011). "Assemblage/apparatus: using Deleuze and Foucault." Area 43(2): 128-133.

Legg, S. and C. McFarlane (2008). "Ordinary urban spaces: between postcolonialism and development." Environment and Planning A 40(1): 6-14.

Lemke, T. (2001). "'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality." Economy and Society 30(2): 190-207.

Lennon, M. and L. Fox-Rogers (2016). "Morality, power and the planning subject." Planning Theory, Online First: 1-29.

Lieto, L. (2015). "Cross-border mythologies: The problem with traveling planning ideas." Planning Theory 14(2): 115-129.

Linner, B. O. and H. Selin (2013). "The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development: forty years in the making." Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 31(6): 971-987.

Loomba, A. (2015). Colonialism/Postcolonialism. New York/London: Routledge.

Lowenthal, D. (1961). "Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 51(3): 241-260.

Lowry, G. and E. McCann (2011). Asia in the Mix: Urban form and Global Mobilities – Hong Kong, Vancouver, Dubai. Worlding Cities, Wiley-Blackwell: 182-204.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). "On the Coloniality of Being" <u>Cultural Studies</u> **21**(2-3): 240-270.

Mamdani, M. (1996). <u>Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism</u>, Princeton University Press.

Marchesini, R. (2015). "Against Anthropocentrism. Non-human Otherness and the Post-human Project." <u>NanoEthics</u> **9**(1): 75-84.

Marcuse, P. (2015). "Depoliticizing urban discourse: How "we" write." <u>Cities</u> **44**: 152-156.

Marshall, S. and O. Çalişkan (2011). "A joint framework for urban morphology and design." <u>Built Environment</u> **37**(4): 409-426.

Marston, S. A. (2000). "The social construction of scale." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **24**(2): 219-242.

Marzagora, S. (2016). "The humanism of reconstruction: African intellectuals, decolonial critical theory and the opposition to the 'posts' (postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism)." <u>Journal of African Cultural Studies</u> **28**(2): 161-178.

Massey, D. (1991). <u>A global sense of place</u>, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. (1999). "Cities in the world." In, D. Massey, J. Allen, and S. Pile (Eds.) <u>City worlds</u>, 94-150. London/New York: Routledge

Massey, D. (2004). "The Political Challenge of Relational Space: Introduction to the Vega Symposium." <u>Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography</u> **86**(1): 3-3.

Massey, D. (2005). <u>For Space</u>. London : Sage Publications.

Massey, D. (2011). "A Counterhegemonic Relationality of Place". In, E McCann, and K. Ward <u>Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age</u>: 1-14. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press**.**

Mawdsley, E. (2015). "Development geography 1: Cooperation, competition and convergence between 'North' and 'South'." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u>: 1-10.

Mbembe, A. (2015). "Achille Mbembe on The State of South African Political Life." Retrieved 26/09/2015, http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/.

Mbembe, A. and S. Nuttall (2004). "Writing the World from an African Metropolis." Public Culture **16**(3): 347-372.

Mbembé, J. A. (2001). On the Postcolony, Berkeley: University of California Press.

McCann, E. (2011). "Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **101**(1): 107-130.

McCann, E. (2011). "Veritable inventions: cities, policies and assemblage." Area **43**(2): 143-147.

McCann, E. (2016). "City Debates 2016: Keynote 1 (Part 1) - Eugene McCann ". Retrieved 23/05/2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HS3uOJiRbWM.

McCann, E., A. Roy, et al. (2013). "Assembling/Worlding Cities." Urban Geography **34**(5): 581-589.

McCann, E. and K. Ward (2011). Mobile urbanism : cities and policymaking in the global age. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McCann, E. and K. Ward (2012). "Assembling urbanism: following policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policy making." Environment and Planning A **44**(1): 42-51.

McCann, E. and K. Ward (2012). "Policy Assemblages, Mobilities and Mutations: Toward a Multidisciplinary Conversation." Political Studies Review **10**(3): 325-332.

McCann, E. and K. Ward (2015). "Thinking Through Dualisms in Urban Policy Mobilities." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(4): 828-830

McCann, E. J. (2004). "'Best Places': Interurban Competition, Quality of Life and Popular Media Discourse." Urban Studies **41**(10): 1909-1929.

McCann, E. J. (2008). "Expertise, truth, and urban policy mobilities: global circuits of knowledge in the development of Vancouver, Canada's 'four pillar' drug strategy." Environment and Planning A **40**(4): 885-904.

McEwan, C. (2008). Postcolonialism and Development. New York/London: Routledge.

McFarlane, C. (2010). "The Comparative City: Knowledge, Learning, Urbanism." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 34(4): 725-742.

McGuirk, P. (2015). "Geographical theorizing for a world of cities." Progress in Human Geography: 1-7.

Meller, H. and R. Home (2013). Lusaka: The New Capital of Northern Rhodesia. Abingdon: Routledge.

Melo, V. (2012). Urbanization processes in the expansion areas of Luanda, Maputo and Johannesburg: urban planning and everyday practices. International Planning History Society (IPHS) Conference

Mignolo, W. D. (2007). "Introduction" Cultural Studies 21(2-3): 155-167.

Miraftab, F. (2009). "Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South." Planning Theory 8(1): 32-50.

Mitchell, K. (2006). "Geographies of identity: the new exceptionalism." Progress in Human Geography 30(1): 95-106.

Mitchell, T. (1991). Colonising Egypt: With a new preface, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moore-Gilbert, B. J. (1997). Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics. London: Verso.

Moore, S. (2013). "What's Wrong with Best Practice? Questioning the Typification of New Urbanism." Urban Studies 50(11): 2371-2387.

Morris, R. C. (2010). Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea, New York: Columbia University Press.

Moudon, A. V. (1997). "Urban morphology as an emerging." Urban morphology 1: 3-10.

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988). The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mulenga, C. (2003). "The Case of Lusaka, Zambia." Lusaka, Zambia: Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Zambia.

Müller, M. (2015). "Assemblages and Actor-networks: Rethinking Socio-material Power, Politics and Space." Geography Compass **9**(1): 27-41.

Murdoch, J. (1997). "Towards a geography of heterogeneous associations." Progress in Human Geography **21**(3): 321-337.

Mwansa, A. (2016). Making Cities Work for Growth: The Lusaka City Case. 2nd Annual IGC Cities Conference. London School of Economics - Alex Mwansa, Lusaka City Council.

Mwimba, C. (2002). The Colonial Legacy of Town Planning in Zambia: The Need for Evolution, A Seminar Paper. The South African Planning Institution International Conference on 'Planning in Africa'. Durban, South Africa.

Myambo, M. T. (2014). "Imagining a dialectical African modernity: Achebe's ontological hopes, Sembene's machines, Mda's epistemological redness." Journal of Contemporary African Studies: 1-17.

Myers, G. (2014). "From expected to unexpected comparisons: Changing the flows of ideas about cities in a postcolonial urban world." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **35**(1): 104-118.

Myers, G. A. (2003). Verandahs of power: colonialism and space in urban Africa, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Myers, G. A. (2006). "The unauthorized city: Late colonial Lusaka and postcolonial geography." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **27**(3): 289-308.

Myers, G. A. (2014). "Toward Expanding Links Between Political Geography and African Studies." Geography Compass **8**(2): 125-136.

Nagel, T. (1989). The View From Nowhere, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nancy, J. L. (2000). Being Singular Plural, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Nandy, A. (1983). The intimate enemy: loss and recovery of self under colonialism, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Närman, A., D. Simon, et al. (1999). <u>Development as theory and practice: current perspectives on development and development co-operation</u>. London: Longman.

Nation, D. (2014). "Modernisation of Chibolya underway." Retrieved 04/03/2015, <u>http://zambiadailynation.com/2014/06/30/modernisation-of-chibolya-underway/</u>.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013). <u>Empire, Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity</u>. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013). "The Entrapment of Africa within the Global Colonial Matrices of Power: Eurocentrism, Coloniality, and Deimperialization in the Twenty-first Century." <u>Journal of Developing Societies</u> **29**(4): 331-353.

Negri, A. (1991). <u>The Savage Anomaly: The Power of Spinoza's Metaphysics and Politics</u>, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nielsen, C. R. (2010). "Fanon, Foucault and the Interiorization of a Panoptic Gaze ". Retrieved 12/12/2015, <u>http://percaritatem.com/2010/01/01/fanon-foucault-and-the-interiorization-of-a-panoptic-gaze/</u>.

Nielsen, C. R. (2013). <u>Foucault, Douglass, Fanon, and Scotus in Dialogue: On Social Construction and Freedom</u>. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nielsen, C. R. (2013). "Frantz Fanon and the Négritude Movement: How Strategic Essentialism Subverts Manichean Binaries." <u>Callaloo</u> **36**(2): 342-352.

Nightingale, C. H. (2012). <u>Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

NipponKoei (2015). "About Us." Retrieved 11/08/2015, 2015, from http://www.n-koei.co.jp/english/aboutus/index.html.

Njoh, A. J. (2008). "Colonial Philosophies, Urban Space, and Racial Segregation in British and French Colonial Africa." <u>Journal of Black Studies</u> **38**(4): 579-599.

Njoh, A. J. (2009). "Urban planning as a tool of power and social control in colonial Africa." <u>Planning Perspectives</u> **24**(3): 301-317.

Noxolo, P. and P. Raghuram (2012). "Unsettling responsibility: postcolonial interventions." <u>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</u> **37**(3): 418-429.

Nuttall, S., A. Mbembe, et al. (2008). Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis, Durham: Duke University Press.

OECD (2002). "OECD Global Forum on the Knowledge Economy OECD Global Forum on the Knowledge Economy ". Retrieved 31/03/2016, http://www.oecd.org/sti/ieconomy/1961126.pdf.

OECD (2015). "15th International Forum on Africa: Africa Beyond 2015." Retrieved 21/09/2015, http://www.oecd.org/africa-forum/africa-forum-2015-press-release.htm.

Oelgemöller, C. (2011). "'Transit' and 'Suspension': Migration Management or the Metamorphosis of Asylum-Seekers into 'Illegal' Immigrants." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 37(3): 407-424.

Oppermann, E. (2011). "The discourse of adaptation to climate change and the UK Climate Impacts Programme: De-scribing the problematization of adaptation." Climate and Development 3(1): 71-85.

Pakenham, T. (2015). The Scramble For Africa, London: Little Brown Book Group.

Parnell, S. and S. Oldfield (2014). The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South. London/New York: Routledge.

Paulsen, K. (2013). "Geography, policy or market? New evidence on the measurement and causes of sprawl (and infill) in US metropolitan regions." Urban Studies 51(12): 2629-2645.

Peck, J. (2011). "Creative moments: working culture, through municipal socialism and neoliberal urbanism". In, E. McCann and K.Ward, Mobile urbanism: cities & policy-making in the global age, 41-71. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Peck, J. (2011). "Geographies of policy: From transfer-diffusion to mobility-mutation." Progress in Human Geography 35(6): 773-797.

Peck, J. (2014). "Cities beyond Compare?" Regional Studies 49(1): 160-182.

Peck, J. and N. Theodore (2001). "Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer." Political Geography 20(4): 427-460.

Peck, J. and N. Theodore (2010). "Mobilizing policy: Models, methods, and mutations." Geoforum 41(2): 169-174.

Peck, J. and N. Theodore (2012). "Follow the Policy: A Distended Case Approach." Environment and Planning A **44**(1): 21-30.

Peck, J. and N. Theodore (2015). Fast Policy: Experimental Statecraft at the Thresholds of Neoliberalism, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Phillips, N., T. B. Lawrence, et al. (2004). "Discourse and institutions." Academy of management review **29**(4): 635-652.

Pløger, J. (2008). "Foucault's Dispositif and the City." Planning Theory **7**(1): 51-70.

Power, M. (2003). "Re-Imagining Postcolonial Africa: A Commentary on Michael Watts' "Development and Governmentality"." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **24**(1): 49-60.

Power, M., G. Mohan, et al. (2006). "Postcolonial geographies of development: Introduction." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **27**(3): 231-234.

Pulido, L. (2002). "Reflections on a White Discipline." The Professional Geographer **54**(1): 42-49.

Quijano, A. (2007). "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality" Cultural Studies **21**(2-3): 168-178.

Rabinow, P. (1989). French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment, The MIT Press.

Raghuram, P. and C. Madge (2006). "Towards a method for postcolonial development geography? Possibilities and challenges." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **27**(3): 270-288.

Rajaram, P. K. and C. Grundy-Warr (2004). "The irregular migrant as homo sacer: Migration and detention in Australia, Malaysia, and Thailand." International Migration **42**(1): 33-64.

Raju, S. (2002). "We are Different, but Can We Talk?" Gender, Place & Culture **9**(2): 173-177.

Rakodi, C. (1986). "Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and its Legacy." Third World Planning Review **8**(3): 193.

Rapoport, E. (2014). "Utopian Visions and Real Estate Dreams: The Eco-city Past, Present and Future." Geography Compass **8**(2): 137-149.

Rapoport, E. (2015). "Globalising sustainable urbanism: the role of international masterplanners." Area **47**(2): 110-115.

Rapoport, E. and A. Vernay (2011). Defining the eco-city: a discursive approach. Management and Innovation for a Sustainable Built Environment MISBE 2011, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, June 20-23, 2011.

Raposo, P. A. (2013). Japan's Foreign Aid to Africa: Angola and Mozambique Within the TICAD Process. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ravazzi, S. and S. Belligni (2015). "Explaining "Power to": Incubation and Agenda Building in an Urban Regime." Urban Affairs Review **52**(3): 1-25.

Reiche, D. (2010). "Renewable Energy Policies in the Gulf countries: A case study of the carbon-neutral "Masdar City" in Abu Dhabi." Energy Policy **38**(1): 378-382.

Resnick, D. (2013). Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riza, M., N. Doratli, et al. (2012). "City Branding and Identity." Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences **35**: 293-300.

Roberts, J. M. and T. Sanders (2005). "Before, during and after: realism, reflexivity and ethnography." The Sociological Review **53**(2): 294-313.

Robertson, R. T. (2003). The three waves of globalization: a history of a developing global consciousness. London: Zed Books.

Robins, N. (2002). "Loot: in search of the East India Company, the world's first transnational corporation." Environment and Urbanization **14**(1): 79-88.

Robinson, J. (2002). "Global and world cities: a view from off the map." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **26**(3): 531-554.

Robinson, J. (2003). "Postcolonialising Geography: Tactics and Pitfalls." Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography **24**(3): 273-289.

Robinson, J. (2005). "Urban geography: world cities, or a world of cities." Progress in Human Geography **29**(6): 757.

Robinson, J. (2006). Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity And Development. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Robinson, J. (2011). "Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 35(1): 1-23.

Robinson, J. (2015). "'Arriving At' Urban Policies: The Topological Spaces of Urban Policy Mobility." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39(4): 831-834

Robinson, J. (2015). "Thinking cities through elsewhere: Comparative tactics for a more global urban studies." Progress in Human Geography 40(1): 3-29.

Robinson, J. (2015). "Thinking Cities through Elsewhere: Comparative tactics for a more global urban studies." Department of Human Geography, University of Stockholm, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n2mMoIWvXj0

Robinson, J. and A. Roy (2015). "Global Urbanisms and the Nature of Urban Theory." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 40(1): 181-186

Roithmayr, D. (2014). Reproducing Racism: How Everyday Choices Lock In White Advantage, New York: NYU Press.

Rose, G. (1993). Feminism & Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rose, G. (1994). "Engendering and degendering." Progress in Human Geography 18(4): 507-515.

Rose, R. (1991). "What is Lesson-Drawing?" Journal of Public Policy 11(01): 3-30.

Rose, R. (1993). Lesson-drawing in Public Policy: A Guide to Learning Across Time and Space. Chatham: Chatham House Publishers.

Roufs, T. G. (1992). American Indian Quarterly 16(2): 304-305.

Rousseau, J. J. and G. D. H. Cole (2003). On the Social Contract. New York: Dover Publications.

Roy, A. (2005). "Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning." Journal of the American Planning Association 71(2): 147-158.

Roy, A. (2009). "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization." Planning Theory **8**(1): 76-87.

Roy, A. (2011). "The Agonism of Utopia: Dialectics at a Standstill." Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: **XXIII**(1): 15-24.

Roy, A. (2011). "Commentary: Placing Planning in the World—Transnationalism as Practice and Critique." Journal of Planning Education and Research, **31**(4): 406-415

Roy, A. (2011). "Urbanisms, worlding practices and the theory of planning." Planning Theory **10**(1): 6-15.

Roy, A. (2015). "What is urban about critical urban theory?" Urban Geography: **37**(6): 810-823.

Roy, A., F. Giovannini, et al. (2008). "Global Norms and Planning Forms: The Millennium Development Goals Towards an Intellectual Leadership: Rediscovering the Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century The Central Role of Local Organizations in Meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) The Story of Chintan." Planning Theory & Practice **9**(2): 251-274.

Roy, A. and A. Ong (2011). Worlding cities: Asian experiments and the art of being global, New York: Wiley.

Rudolph, K. (2001). Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Said, E. W. (1979). Orientalism. New York: Pantheon.

Saldanha, A. (2006). "Reontologising race: the machinic geography of phenotype." Environment and Planning D: Society and Space **24**(1): 9-24.

Saldanha, A. (2010). "Skin, affect, aggregation: Guattarian variations on Fanon." Environment and Planning A **42**(10): 2410-2427.

Saldanha, A. (2011). "The concept of race." Geography **96**: 27.

Saldanha, A. (2014). "Climate Change as Biopolitical Assemblage (climate migration / race) - talk by Arun Saldanha", Retrieved, 11/05/2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mY_yg9IrS8w

Saldanha, A. J. (2009). "Back to the great outdoors: Speculative realism as philosophy of science." Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy 5(2): 304-321.

Salingaros, N. A. (2006). "Compact city replaces sprawl." Crossover: Architecture, Urbanism, Technology 10: 100-115

Sassen, S. (2013). The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sattler, J. (2016). Urban Transformations in the USA: Spaces, Communities, Representations, New York: Transcript Verlag.

Schindler, S. (2014). "Understanding Urban Processes in Flint, Michigan: Approaching 'Subaltern Urbanism' Inductively." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 38(3): 791-804.

Schinkel, W. (2009). "'Illegal Aliens' and the State, or: Bare Bodies vs the Zombie." International Sociology 24(6): 779-806.

Schinkel, W. and M. van den Berg (2011). "City of Exception: The Dutch Revanchist City and the Urban Homo Sacer." Antipode 43(5): 1911-1938.

Sekyi-Otu, A. (1996). Fanon's Dialectic of Experience, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sharp, J. P. (2013). "Geopolitics at the margins? Reconsidering genealogies of critical geopolitics." Political Geography 37: 20-29.

Sheppard, E. (2002). "The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality." Economic Geography 78(3): 307-330.

Sheppard, E., H. Leitner, et al. (2013). "Provincializing Global Urbanism: A Manifesto." Urban Geography 34(7): 893-900.

Short, J. R. (2014). Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sidaway, J. D. (2013). "Geography, Globalization, and the Problematic of Area Studies." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 103(4): 984-1002.

Silva, C. N. (2015). <u>Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures</u>. London: Taylor & Francis.

Silver, N. (2015). The Most Diverse Cities Are Often The Most Segregated. fivethirtyeight.com, FiveThirtyEight.

Simone, A. (2015). "It's Just the City after All!" <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</u>. **40**(1): 210-218

Skafish, P. (2013). "From anthropology to philosophy Introduction to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro." <u>Radical Philosophy. (</u>182): 15-16.

Smith, R. G. (2003). "World city actor-networks." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **27**(1): 25-44.

Smith, R. G. (2010). "Urban studies without 'scale'." In, I. Farías and T. Bender, <u>Urban Assemblages: How Actor-network Theory Changes Urban Studies</u>: 73-91. London: Routledge.

Smith, R. G. and M. A. Doel (2011). "Questioning the Theoretical Basis of Current Global-City Research: Structures, Networks and Actor-Networks." <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</u> **35**(1): 24-39.

Solinís, G. (2006). "Utopia, the Origins and Invention of Western Urban Design." <u>Diogenes</u> **53**(1): 79-87.

Spindler, F. (2010). "Gilles Deleuze: A Philosophy of Immanence". In, J. Bornemark and H. Ruin, <u>Phenomenology and Religion: New Frontiers</u>, 149-164. Södertörn: Södertörn University Library.

Spinoza, B. and M. L. Morgan (2002). <u>Spinoza: The Complete Works</u>, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company

Spivak, G. C. (1990). <u>The post-colonial critic: Interviews, strategies, dialogues</u>. London/New York: Routledge.

Spivak, G. C. (1999). <u>A critique of postcolonial reason</u>, Cambridge: Harvard university press.

Stanley, B. (1983). "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, The Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism Of Free Trade, 1842–1860." <u>The Historical Journal</u> **26**(01): 71-94.

Stanton, G. and W. Maley (2014). <u>Postcolonial Criticism</u>. London: Taylor & Francis.

Stone, D. (2004). "Transfer agents and global networks in the 'transnationalization' of policy." <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> **11**(3): 545-566.

Subedi, B. (2006). "Theorizing a 'halfie' researcher's identity in transnational fieldwork." <u>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</u> **19**(5): 573-593.

Swyngedouw, E. (2004). "Globalisation or 'glocalisation'? Networks, territories and rescaling." <u>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</u> **17**(1): 25-48.

Swyngedouw, E. (2007). "Impossible "sustainability" and the postpolitical condition." <u>The sustainable development paradox: urban political economy in the United States and Europe</u>: 13-40.

Swyngedouw, E. (2010). <u>Post-democratic cities for whom and for what</u>. Regional Studies Association Annual Conference Pecs, Budapest.

Tagma, H. M. (2009). "Homo Sacer vs. homo soccer mom: Reading Agamben and Foucault in the war on terror." <u>Alternatives: Global, local, political</u> **34**(4): 407-435.

Talen, E. (2003). "Measuring urbanism: Issues in smart growth research." <u>Journal of Urban Design</u> **8**(3): 303-303.

TCAP (2014). "New towns and garden cities: lessons for tomorrow". London, Town and Country Planning Association. <u>http://tcpa.brix.fatbeehive.com/data/files/Garden_Cities_/TCPA_NTGC_Study_Stage_1_Report_14_12_19.pdf</u>

Temenos, C. and T. Baker (2015). "Enriching Urban Policy Mobilities Research." <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</u>: **39**(4): 824-827

Temenos, C. and E. McCann (2012). "The local politics of policy mobility: learning, persuasion, and the production of a municipal sustainability fix." <u>Environment and Planning A</u> **44**(6): 1389-1406.

The Guardian, C. (2015). "Who runs our cities? How governance structures around the world compare." <u>The Guardian</u>. Retrieved 25/11/2015, <u>http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/nov/25/who-runs-our-cities-how-governance-structures-around-the-world-compare</u>

Thiong'o, N. (1994). Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Thrift, N. (2000). "Not a Straight Line but a Curve, or cities are nor mirrors of modernity", In, D.Bell and A. Haddour (Eds.) City Visions, 233-263. London: Longman.

Times, L. (2013). "Lusaka city to clock 100 years however July 1st centenary celebrations deferred." Retrieved 17/08/2013, https://www.lusakatimes.com/2013/06/27/lusaka-city-to-clock-100-years-however-july-1st-centenary-celebrations-deferred/.

Toal, G. (2003). "Re-asserting the regional: political geography and geopolitics in world thinly known." Political Geography 22(6): 653-655.

Tokatli, N. (2007). "Asymmetrical power relations and upgrading among suppliers of global clothing brands: Hugo Boss in Turkey." Journal of Economic Geography 7(1): 67-92.

Trouillot, M. R. (2003). Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tsing, A. (2000). "The Global Situation." Cultural Anthropology 15(3): 327-360.

Tsing, A. L. (2005). Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

UN-Habitat (2006). Rapid Urban Sector Profiling for Sustainability. Nairobi: UN-Habitat.

UN-Habitat (2007). Zambia: Lusaka Urban Profile. Rapid Urban Sector Profiling for Sustainability. Nairobi: United Nations.

UN-Habitat (2010). State of the World's Cities 2010/11: Bridgin the Urban Divide. London: Earthscan.

Vainer, C. (2014). "The coloniality of urban knowledge and city models." In, S. Parnell and S. Oldfield, The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South, 48-56. London/New York: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T. (2008). Discourse and Power. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Houtum, H. and R. Pijpers (2007). "The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two-faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU." Antipode 39(2): 291-309.

Van Maanen, J. (1988). <u>Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1995). "Crossroads style as theory." <u>Organization science</u> **6**(1): 133-143.

Verbole, A. (2000). "Actors, Discourses and Interfaces of Rural Tourism Development at the Local Community Level in Slovenia: Social and Political Dimensions of the Rural Tourism Development Process." <u>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</u> **8**(6): 479-490.

Vidyarthi, S. (2010). "Reimagining the American Neighbourhood Unit for India". In, P. Healey and R. Upton, <u>Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices</u>, 73-93. Abingdon: Routledge.

Vigh, H. E. and D. B. Sausdal (2014). "From essence back to existence: Anthropology beyond the ontological turn." <u>Anthropological Theory</u> **14**(1): 49-73.

Vorhölter, J. (2012). "Negotiating social change: Ugandan discourses on Westernisation and neo-colonialism as forms of social critique." <u>The Journal of Modern African Studies</u> **50**(02): 283-307.

Wade, E. (2014). "Lusaka, Zambia (1913-)." Retrieved 12/11/2015, <u>http://www.blackpast.org/gah/lusaka-zambia-1913.</u>

Wai-chung Yeung, H. (2003). "Practicing New Economic Geographies: A Methodological Examination." <u>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</u> **93**(2): 442-462.

Ward, K. (2006). "'Policies in Motion', Urban Management and State Restructuring: The Trans-Local Expansion of Business Improvement Districts." <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</u> **30**(1): 54-75.

Ward, K. (2010). "Towards a relational comparative approach to the study of cities." <u>Progress in Human Geography</u> **34**(4): 471-487.

Ward, K. (2011). "Entrepreneurial Urbanism, Policy Tourism, and the Making Mobile of Policies". In, G. Bridge and S. Watson, <u>The New Blackwell Companion to the City</u>, 726-737. New York: Wiley.

Ward, S. (2010). "Transnational Planners in a Postcolonial World." In, P. Healey and R. Upton, <u>Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices</u>, 47-72. Abingdon: Routledge.

Watson, V. (2002). "The Usefulness of Normative Planning Theories in the Context of Sub-Saharan Africa." <u>Planning Theory</u> **1**(1): 27-52.

Watson, V. (2009). "'The planned city sweeps the poor away…': Urban planning and 21st century urbanisation." <u>Progress in Planning</u> **72**(3): 151-193.

Watson, V. (2009). "Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues." <u>Urban Studies</u> **46**(11): 2259-2275.

Watson, V. (2012). Building a Southern Prspective on Urban Planning Using the Comparative Case Method. <u>A World of Cities? Comparison across the Disciplines</u>. Manchester, UK.

Watson, V. (2013). "African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares?" <u>Environment and Urbanization</u> **26**(1): 1-17.

Watson, V. (2013). "The ethics of planners and their professional bodies: Response to Flyvbjerg." <u>Cities</u> **32**(0): 167-168.

Watson, V. and B. Agbola (2013). Who will plan Africa's cities? <u>Counterpoints</u>. London: Africa Research Institute.

Watts, M. (2003). "Development and Governmentality." <u>Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography</u> **24**(1): 6-34.

Weedon, C. (1996). <u>Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory</u>. New Jersey: Wiley.

Wheeler, S. M. and T. Beatley (2014). <u>Sustainable Urban Development Reader</u>. London: Taylor & Francis.

Wodak, P. R. and M. Meyer (2001). <u>Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis</u>. New York: SAGE Publications.

Wood, A. (2014). "Learning through Policy Tourism: Circulating Bus Rapid Transit from South America to South Africa." <u>Environment and Planning A</u> **46**(11): 2654-2669.

Wood, A. (2014). "Moving policy: global and local characters circulating bus rapid transit through South African cities." <u>Urban Geography</u> **35**(8): 1238-1254.

Wood, A. (2015). "Multiple Temporalities of Policy Circulation: Gradual, Repetitive and Delayed Processes of BRT Adoption in South African Cities." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **39**(3): 568-580.

Wood, A. (2016). "Tracing policy movements: Methods for studying learning and policy circulation." Environment and Planning A **48**(2): 391-406.

Wood, S. (2009). "Desiring Docklands: Deleuze and Urban Planning Discourse." Planning Theory **8**(2): 191-216.

Yeoh, B. S. A. (2001). "Postcolonial cities." Progress in Human Geography **25**(3): 456-468.

Yeung, H. W. c. (2005). "Rethinking relational economic geography." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers **30**(1): 37-51.

Young, E. B. and G. Genosko (2013). The Deleuze and Guattari Dictionary. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Young, R. (2004). White Mythologies: Writing History and the West. New York/London: Routledge.

Zeilig, L. (2014). Frantz Fanon: The Militant Philosopher of Third World Revolution. New York: I.B. Tauris.

Žižek, S. (2009). In Defense of Lost Causes. New York: Verso.

Zukauskaite, A. (2014). "Intensive Multiplicities in A Thousand Plateaus". In, P Ardoin, S. Gonartski, and L. Mattison, Understanding Deleuze, Understanding Modernism, 75-89. London: Bloomsbury.