Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century

### **Presenters' Abstracts**

# A Suburban Revolution?

An international conference on bringing the fringe to the centre of global urban research and practice

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### Ahmed Allahwala, University of Toronto

Teaching (in) the inner suburbs: Reflections on place-based teaching and learning in higher education

Some of Toronto's inner suburban neighbourhoods have received widespread, and often negative, attention in media, policy, and academic discourse in recent years. Planned and built primarily as caroriented, middle-class districts, many of the high-rise tower communities in Toronto's inner suburbs have witnessed an increase in racialized poverty coupled with sporadic – but highly publicized – incidents of youth gun violence (United Way of Greater Toronto, 2005, 2011; Hulchanski 2010). The new suburban geography of poverty in Toronto has raised important scholarly and policy-oriented questions about the inequitable distribution of social services across the city and the strength of Toronto's social infrastructure more generally. In 2005, the United Way of Greater Toronto and the City of Toronto identified thirteen inner suburban neighbourhoods as so-called *priority* neighbourhoods and earmarked them for increased social investment. Building on my involvement as the instructor of a third-year undergraduate course on community-based research methods and collaboration with community organizations in the Kingston-Galloway/Orton Park neighbourhood, one of Toronto's thirteen priority neighbourhoods, this paper critically discusses the role of community-based research in suburban renewal and explores the opportunities and challenges of place-based learning and student engagement as part of a wider strategy of communitycapacity building in Toronto's inner suburbs.

### Katrin Anacker, George Mason University

Analyzing neighborhood foreclosure risk in mature and developing suburbs in the four Census regions of the United States

The national foreclosure crisis that began in early 2007 has had a disastrous effect on many individuals and households, neighborhoods, cities, states, plus the nation and the global economy. Although the non-academic literature and the media have discussed the foreclosure crisis in the suburbs to some degree, the academic literature seems to have discussed this topic to an insufficient degree.

This paper analyzes neighborhood foreclosure risk in mature and developing suburbs, differentiating among the four Census regions of the United States. The data base consists of two merged data bases; first, the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP) 3 2010 data base, provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; second, the American Community Survey (ACS) 2005-2009 data base, publicly available on the U.S. Bureau of the Census

factfinder2.census.gov website. This study will compare neighborhood foreclosure risk in three groups of Census tracts within the most populous 100 metropolitan area, based on Bulletin 10-02 issued by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB): (a) tracts in principal cities; (b) tracts in mature suburbs; and (c) tracts in developing suburbs. Suburban Census tracts are defined as tracts located within the metropolitan areas but outside of principal cities. Two research questions are asked, differentiating among tracts in (a) principal cities, (b) mature suburbs, and (c) developing suburbs in the four Census regions of the United States: first, what factors determine neighborhood foreclosure risk? Second, what are the differences among the factors that determine neighborhood foreclosure risk? Very preliminary results indicate differences among these groups of tracts as well as among Census regions. Policy suggestions will be offered in this paper, based on final results.

Wolfgang Andexlinger, University Innsbruck, Pia Kronberger-Nabielek, KRONBERGER NABIELEK Research, Kersten Nabielek, PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency

Suburban archipelagos: a morphological analysis of recent developments in Austria and the Netherlands

Suburban areas are often described as monotonous and generic. In Europe, however, they show distinct morphological and functional configurations in

different regions due to cultural, spatial, economic and institutional conditions. This paper compares recent suburban developments in Austria and in the Netherlands, pointing out significant morphological differences and similarities. Using quantitative (aerial images, statistical data, plans) and qualitative analysis (case studies), the paper analyses how the different spatial, economic and institutional contexts influence the actual (spatial) outcome of suburban growth in the regions of Vienna, Innsbruck, Rotterdam-The Hague and Almere-Lelystad. In Austria the planning system is characterized by administrative fragmentation and relatively weak regional coordination. As a result the suburban areas show fragmented residential developments and a strong growth of retail and leisure facilities. In comparison to Austria, the Netherlands has a very strict regional and national planning system. Restrictive policies have avoided the development of large out-of-town shopping centres until now. However, the Dutch suburb is mainly characterized by compact large-scale residential areas and the emergence of commercial areas and peripheral office parks along motorways. In both countries, recent developments have led to the creation of suburban archipelagos at the urban fringes, areas that are characterized by spatial and functional fragmentation. This paper compares the scale and spatial quality of different suburban archipelagos in Austria and the Netherlands, and looks at spatial strategies, for example protected recreational, agricultural and natural areas, to create more liveable and more sustainable suburban areas.

### Caroline Andrew, Angela Franovic and Ting Xu, University of Ottawa

Public transit and the movement of new immigrant populations into suburban areas in Ottawa: What would equitable and inclusive public policy look like?

This paper will look at the question of the increasingly diverse population of Ottawa's suburbs and the impact of these changes, particularly for immigrant women and the challenges they face in terms of mobility given the existing state of public transit. The paper will look at the literature on the changing suburbs, including the increase in low income populations and recent immigrant population groups and on the gendered impact of these changes. It will then examine the results of group discussions conducted in a small neighbourhood in south western Ottawa, Parkwood Hills, which is dominated by large private rental

apartments owned by one of the major builders in Ottawa (Minto) and increasingly populated by very recent immigrants. These discussions are being coorganized by two community developers working out of one of the 14 community resources centres in Ottawa (Nepean, Rideau and Osgoode Community Resource Centre) and by myself and my research assistant, Ayan Hersi. The discussions will deal with residents' experiences in getting to the places they need to get to and the challenges faced by them given the current state of public transit in this neighbourhood. The paper will then conclude with reflections about what good public policy would look like.

### Hassan Arif, University of New Brunswick

Local governance regimes in the era of metropolitanization

New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Michigan represent three forms of local government. In New Brunswick, the Equal Opportunity reforms of the 1960s saw centralization at the provincial level of services such as property tax collection and assessment. In Manitoba, the early 1970s saw regional amalgamation of Greater Winnipeg into one municipality. Michigan, meanwhile, has maintained a largely decentralized and fragmented system of local government informed by American home rule traditions of local autonomy. Suburbanization presents new challenges to local government, including geographically based inequality, something that will be examined with respect to Saint John in New Brunswick, Winnipeg in Manitoba, and Detroit in Michigan.

Where New Brunswick's Equal Opportunity reforms were designed to deal with rural poverty, how is this suited to a Saint John where suburbanization took off beginning in the 1960s? How does it cope with disparities between inner-city poverty in Saint John and (relatively) affluent suburban municipalities? In Michigan, with debate over emergency measures that take authority away from the City of Detroit, a deeper question is neglected, the problems of a system of decentralization and fragmentation where a more affluent tax base in suburban municipalities is cut off from the impoverished City of Detroit.

Amalgamation can be seen as a means to deal with the problems of governance across politically fragmented metropolitan regions. However, early amalgamation debates in Winnipeg highlight some of the challenges, including concerns of suburban city councillors outnumbering central city ones.

The growth of the periphery – and the establishment of polycentric metropolitan regions where the "periphery" can challenge the "centre" – creates new challenges of governing, new pressures on local and provincial/state governments. Looking at different local governance regimes can help highlight the challenges and potential solutions.

### Ludger Basten, Technische Universität Dortmund

In-betweens in time and space: The governance of suburbanisms in the Ruhr

The Ruhr-conurbation in western Germany is somewhat of an unlikely urban region to study when investigating suburbanizations and suburbanisms in Germany. It has a constitutive polycentric or patchwork-like urban form, a similarly complex and multilayered territoriality of government, and "it suffers" from certain doubts regarding its cultures and identities, even while facing the parallel challenges of lagging economic development and demographic shrinkage. These characteristics and problems of its suburbanization and its suburbanisms, then, are quite different from those of fast-growing and sprawling urban regions which tend to dominate the suburbanization debates in developed and developing countries alike.

Yet, the Ruhr has often been described as a laboratory, in view of the many drastic and often radical transformations it has experienced over the last two centuries and the necessity for governance to develop responses adequate to the challenges at hand. Mismatches or states of "in-betweenness" in time and space thus form a recurrent theme of urban and suburban development in the Ruhr.

This paper thus sets out to explore the development of responses to the "suburban challenges" as they presents themselves in the Ruhr today. It will chart some continuities and discontinuities of suburban development in the past, as these frame current interpretations of challenges and responses today. It will focus on the complexities of governance in the region involving a plurality of actors, layers (or scales) and modalities of action in trying to shape some post-industrial (?) and possibly post-suburban future.

### Ranu Basu, York University

Suburban renewal, freedom and transgression: Subaltern perspectives

For subaltern migrants (recent immigrant, refugee and non-status migrants) the suburban renewal process is simultaneously imaginative, material and ideological in nature and stands in sharp contrast to the modernist and Euclidian ideals of urban revitalization. These concepts are explored theoretically and empirically using case examples of 'integrative multiplicity' within public spaces in Scarborough, Ontario. The lived realities suggest that aspiring spaces of renewal, including suburban renewal, necessitate various aspects of freedom: freedom from oppression, danger and humiliation; freedom towards peace and dignity; and where allowances are made for transgressive articulations in its various creative forms.

# Solomon J. Benjamin, India Institute of Technology

Conceptualizing land as contested territory in the south

Thinking about 'suburban land' with the intent of a progressive agenda can be strengthened or then stymied by seemingly progressive narratives. For instance urban crises of globalized cities of poorer countries is often posed as being competitive and inclusive. Such analytical categories are across ideological positions, constituted in oppositional ways: slums underpinned by a corrupting vote bank politics and land mafia, posed against competitive mega regions and associated mega projects. The operative terms include clean and bankable titles, liberalizing regulation, efficient land acquisition, and urban renewal and conservation to clear place for the 'creative class'. This also calls for the state to strengthen police powers against unauthorized 'slums' settlements. An assumption is the inevitability of city territories to operate in a singular logic shaped by meta-level capital. In response, is an ineffectual counter 'progressive' politics where 'inclusiveness' and policy relevance, is disciplined into a financial logic. Here 'welfare' funding is predicated on cities first being competitive to be then 'inclusive'. In effect, such a counter is a narrowed space disciplined by the very neo-liberal turn it critiques. It lies further diluted by the elite mobilizing a rhetoric of 'inclusive planning' and 'transparent governance'. Drawing from literatures of legal pluralism and critical geography, I argue to recover the complex political agencies by viewing land as an active space. Here, we must revisit

terms, categories and narratives in the diverse material practices of how territory is occupied, property reconstituted via diverse logics, and the politics of policy formulation as one such realm.

### Nick Bentley, Keele University

This is the sound of the suburbs: Subcultural suburbia in J.G. Ballard's "Kingdom Come" and Gautam Malkani's "Londonstani"

The dialogue and mutual suspicion between the country and the city, as Raymond Williams noted, has been a recurring theme in English literature, however, the rise of suburban and exurban locations in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has complicated this opposition. The exurban and the suburban are read in terms of an opposition of belonging to and distancing from the metropolitan centre, whereby the suburban privileges the drive toward the metropolis, and the exurban emphasizes civic independence and casts one eye outward to the rural. This competition of imaginary cultural identity can often be in the same physical location and definitions become a matter of imaginative construction, outlook and cultural affiliation. Many towns straddling the M25 ring road around London can be seen in this way, and several contemporary British novels have explored these hinterlands by identifying the complex subcultural identities existing there. Combining close literary analysis with subcultural theory, in this paper I focus on two novels: J.G. Ballard's Kingdom Come and Gautum Malkani's *Londonstani*, each of which presents subcultural communities that engage with issues of belonging to and distancing from the locations in which they are placed. Kingdom Come presents the fictional Brooklands, an exurban town that metaphorically stands for a normalizing, twentyfirst century Englishness. However, this space is presented in Ballard's typical near-dystopian style as a town on the point of civil unrest, violence and factionalism. *Londonstani* is set in the satellite towns of West London around Hounslow and Staines, and through its examination of the Desi youth subculture, dramatizes the attraction and resistance to a cosmopolitan and international subculture of Gangsta Rap and Hip Hop. Both of these novels reflects the complexity of cultural associations with the urban and the rural in suburban and exurban places and examines the creation of alternative imagined communities that negotiate these cultural spaces.

### Harold Bérubé, Université de Sherbrook

From a rural village to an up-to-date town: Paving the way for the suburban revolution in Montreal (1900-1939)

The massive scale of postwar suburbanization cannot be explained by a single factor. Various forces after 1945, including technological changes and the intervention of the state, favoured a massive decentralization of North American cities. This paper explores the roots of this suburban revolution by examining the construction of local governance in the upper-class suburbs of Montreal. I argue that in the years preceding World War II, these suburbs played a significant role in the construction of the suburban ideal by proposing a powerful model of what could and should be an "up-to-date town", and that this ideal had powerful echoes in the second half of the twentieth-century. Thus, I examine different aspects of their political culture and some of the policies created and implemented in the first few decades of their history. First, I explore the ways in which the administrative structures were modified to offer what was considered a more efficient and modern form of governance than the counter-model offered by the central city. Then I show some of the ways they used this political machinery to create a distinct physical environment, guiding urban development through strict construction codes, the first zoning by-laws in the metropolitan region and architectural commissions. Last, I'll show how some by-laws created a certain way of life by preserving "peace and good order" in those communities, but also by offering to their citizens public services that went well beyond what could be expected in the other municipalities of the province at the time. By examining these questions, I hope to show that through these measures, suburban political actors were sketching the portrait of what a suburb should be and that this portrait would become an aspiration used after 1945 to sell the suburban dream to the masses.

### Jeremy Biden, York University

Polar bears and parking lots: Placing suburban theory on the tundra

Remote arctic communities are in a state of arrested development. Still considered tiny rural hamlets and governed as such, these areas have been largely ignored by planners for decades. This lack of oversight has led to development with little forethought for growth. Restrained mainly by the physical landscape

they occupy, these villages have a sprawling physical form that resembles the suburban areas of southern cities. This paper will argue that the form of these communities, as well as their social structures, have morphed into a form of suburban life.

Drawing on Lefebvre's theories of representational space and spatial dialectics (1991, 2003), and Soja's Thirdspace (1996) and Spatial Problematic (1980) theories, the presentation will examine theoretical approaches used to understand suburban space and relate them to the current situation in Canada's arctic communities. Lefebvre and Soja's perspectives on the development of spaces associate suburban identity with spaces beyond the city edge.

I will argue that suburbs and suburban identity can be understood as a complex structure informed by social, cultural, economic and political pressures and conflicts. By relying on theoretical conceptions of space to inform investigations of diverse areas, this expansion of the concept of "suburbs" can potentially create new dimensions in our understanding of critical and human geographies. Suburban form and identity is highly contested and problematized, therefore examining it in relation to areas outside of the typical conception of suburbs may offer insights into the development of these areas and the power and conflicts that shape them.

### Robin Bloch, IGK Consulting Ltd

Lagos suburbanizes: politics, planning, profits

Sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing unprecedented urbanisation alongside rapid urban spatial expansion and economic growth, particularly in large cities. Together, these dynamics are driving an emergent process of suburbanization that is leading to new patterns and forms of peripheral development, hitherto largely undocumented in the African context. Up until now, the discourse on African cities has been dominated by an apocalyptic narrative focused on the urbanisation-with-growth story, which has ignored the opportunities that the inverse scenario presents for transforming and modernising African cities. While recognising Africa's very real problems, this paper seeks to shift the debate on African cities away from the dominant apocalyptic narrative towards the potentially positive impacts that suburbanization can offer. To do so, this paper explores and examines the process of suburbanization in Nigerian cities, using Lagos as a case study. The analysis begins within an historical reading of Lagos' urban growth and expansion trends, followed by an examination of how

shifting economic trajectories and a burgeoning middleclass are stimulating suburban land markets. This paper also examines how the Lagos State Government has instituted a number of progressive urban policy reforms aimed at transforming Lagos into Africa's 'model mega city', which has re-framed spatial planning as a key tool. However, the question of who benefits from this urban modernisation agenda is questioned in light of the evictions and slum clearance that have been required to make room for private development and large-scale infrastructure projects.

### Guillermo Bolis, National Autonomous University of Mexico

Sidewalks and public safety: Pedestrian mobility in suburban Mexico City

This paper addresses the problem of infrastructure for pedestrian circulation in peripheral areas of Mexico City, specifically those spaces designed exclusively for walking: sidewalks or pavements (banquetas or aceras in Spanish). The presentation will describe the characteristics and diverse ways the sidewalks are used both by the pedestrians themselves and other activities. Two aspects are of particular interest: a) the increasing public insecurity experienced in Mexican sidewalks and b) the difficulties faced by people using them, particularly by people with special needs. The first of these points, the insecurity, has grown en recent years due to the rise in organized crime. This affects the whole city but is particularly critical in peripheral areas due, among other things, to less-effective policing, higher rates of unemployment and increasing traffic. Regarding the second aspect, the peripheral areas have far less infrastructure geared for disable access in spite of the fact that a higher proportion of people who live there have special needs, compared with residents of central areas.

### Derek Brunelle, York University

Urban development and labour-community advocacy in Toronto and Los Angeles

In Toronto and Los Angeles, labour-community advocacy has been significant in securing employment-based benefits from new developments and demonstrating the employment potential of specific urban areas. Groups involved in this work reflect a type of union involvement focused on broader community issues and local organizing. Since the 1990s, labour-community campaigns in both cities have addressed land-use issues that focus on job

creation, industrial retention, and securing a living-wage for local residents. In Los Angeles, high-profile labour victories like the Bus Riders Union, Alameda Corridor Jobs Coalition, and various community benefits agreements (CBAs) have achieved gains for low-income communities, particularly with regards to living-wage employment. While much less prominent in Toronto, this type of advocacy work has been successful in addressing broader issues of poverty and economic diversity, most recently in discussions of employment land conversions. This paper will address the ongoing role of labour-community organizing in both cities, particularly conflict over retaining employment areas and securing employment-based community benefits from new developments.

# KEYNOTE - Governance Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, University of Victoria

Title: Forthcoming

This paper is about issues pertaining to the formal and informal arrangements that govern territories, and in particular urban regions. A primary focus is defining forms of formal and informal governance; it is also to question those forms of governance in view of democratic theory and the norms that may be related, but also to raise questions comparative research may shed light on.

Issues of governance, whether formal or informal, are grounded in fundamental theoretical and normative perspectives, which this paper attempts to confront and clarify. Thus while addressing the above questions, this paper discusses critical perspectives on institutional ideas based on normative or positive attitudes. What are conflicts and power struggles? What power is at stake?

### Michelle Buckley, University of Toronto

Deconstructing the homosocial household: Construction migrants, mass- worker housing and the intersectional politics of sub/urbanization in Dubai

Drawing on research in Dubai between 2007 and 2009, this paper explores the proliferation of massworker housing compounds in Dubai during the city's post-millennial construction boom. Often located on the outskirts of the city or in neighbouring Emirates, many of these structures house up to several thousand migrant men who hail primarily from countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

Here I consider how the 'suburban' labour camp is an articulation of the contradictions of capitalist urbanization processes that often require large amounts of blue-collar construction labour to build cities that are ostensibly not designed for them. In Dubai, this contradiction is spatially mitigated through the segregation of workers' residences on the city's peripheries, while their livelihoods are inseparably bound to the construction of new forms of affluent consumer urbanisms within the city's 'core'. For construction migrants, place-specific delineations of the 'urban' and the 'suburban' thus map onto intertwined socio-spatial relations of production and social reproduction, connecting the employers' construction sites to state strategies of household discipline, segregation and surveillance that deeply ethno-nationalized, classed and gendered. In contrast, I also highlight how the very 'peripheral' character of the labour camp has also been integral to its emergence as a major site of collective labour actions among temporary construction migrants in a city where collective bargaining and union-formation are illegal.

# Chloé Buire, University of the Witwatersrand and Ricardo Cardoso, UC Berkeley

Between centrality and periphery: A look into the new Angolan suburbanisms

A new restructuring dynamic is in place in the capital of Angola since the end of the civil war in 2002. One of the fastest growing urban regions in Africa, Luanda has seen the development of several urbanization projects in and beyond the city's periphery. Portrayed and/or promoted as "residential complexes", "social housing projects" or "new centralities", these suburban developments have taken multiple forms and have been planned, built and managed through a variety of governance configurations. This paper looks at two of these cases.

Located 20 to 25 km northeast of the city centre, well beyond the recently built outer ring road, the *Panguila Project* was officially inaugurated in 2003 as a resettlement area for families evicted from land earmarked for infrastructural improvements and other new developments throughout Luanda. Ten years later, over 60.000 people live in ten different sectors. The impressive *City of Kilamba* is equally located on the far side of the ring road, 15 to 20 km south of the centre. Inaugurated in 2011, its streets remained empty and the overwhelming majority of its more than 20.000 apartments unoccupied for almost two years. The

intention was to sell them in the market, but the market did not respond as expected. The state had to jump in and the "city" is finally being occupied.

The objective of this paper is to use these two cases comparatively to think through the contradictory aspects of Luanda's recent suburbanisms and more widely about the condition of cities everywhere.

### Marcy Burchfield, The Neptis Foundation

Planning Geoweb: a platform for understanding change in the suburbs

As Canada becomes an increasingly urbanized nation, understanding the manifestations of this change on the population, urban form and the natural environment of cities is necessary to inform policy that is meant to shape the growth and change in our cities. In the greater Toronto region, both municipalities and the Province of Ontario play key roles in developing plans and planning policy. From the perspective of the citizen that lives in the inner-city, suburbs or ex-urban area of the region, the policy-maker is often mysterious.

Starting in 2001, a suite of provincially-led planning initiatives were introduced as a way of changing "status quo" patterns of development in the region that were leading to a number of regional dysfunctions such as longer commutes and congestion, particularly in the suburban areas. Municipalities were largely responsible for adopting provincial policies and modifying their local official land use plans to reflect the envisioned goal of denser development and "complete communities" that would have greater access to transit options.

Although the new policies are meant to change the "status quo," it is very difficult to understand and assess the impact of these policies on the ground several years later. The Neptis Foundation, in partnership with Ryerson University, has developed an online mapping platform that aims to assist in the visualization of both municipal and provincial land use and transportation policies to better understand their cumulative effect. The platform is a tool for introducing citizens to numerous policies that are meant to create change on the ground and for measuring change over time. This paper introduces the Planning Geoweb platform.

### Himanshu Burte and Amita Bhide, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai

Informal suburbanization? Unauthorised layouts, formal planning and actually affordable housing in two Indian cities

The populations and economies of many non-metro cities in India have grown significantly, prompting a patchy, dependent, and underserviced urbanization beyond their administrative boundaries. In a number of cities in the state of Maharashtra, the urban fringe has been the site of ambiguities related to the reach, intent, and capacities of a highly centralized formal planning and governance system. The paper discusses the ambiguities that mark the fringe; a new form of informally planned but unauthorized residential layout that it often hosts; and the challenges it presents to the fairly centralized urban planning establishment as well as the city. The paper examines the cases of Aurangabad, a Million plus industrial city, and Akola, a much smaller city that is the regional hub of agrobased trading activity. Aurangabad's 'fringe area' is marked by the rampant spread of informal housing, including for the middle class. This officially labeled fringe emerged over the last three decades as the zone where land was cheaper than the city, which rendered well-built housing affordable because of its inadequate formality. A new form of informal housing, the 'gunthewari layout', has emerged at the fringes of Aurangabad, Akola and many other cities and been exported tens of kilometers outside along major highways. Typically, 'gunthewari layouts' are unauthorised subdivisions of farmland that provide affordable land parcels by ignore formal planning controls. This form of informal housing is often experienced as quasi legal by its occupants, especially because it involves a cash transaction recorded on some variety of legal paper. At the same time, even within the city, gunthewaris are not eligible for the basic infrastructure that municipal bodies need to offer 'declared' slums. The Gunthewari Act (2001) has unsuccessfully sought to bring these layouts into the fold of formal planning and governance (including service provision) through regularization. Meanwhile, in step with the galloping land prices in and around cities in Maharashtra, gunthewaris too are slowly becoming unaffordable to the urban poor, being now the lower middle class's preferred form of affordable housing.

### Laura Calbet i Elias, TU Berlin

Suburban Transformations: Some reflections on a financialized urbanization

The current transformation processes in suburbia differ substantially from the traditional Fordist suburban development. A significant difficulty for the understanding of those transformations is, in my view, that after the collapse of Fordism no clear accumulation regime has emerged. What has prevailed is a finance-led capitalism. As has been made clear at the latest in the subprime crisis, this form of accumulation is closely connected with (sub)urbanization. However, the role of finance has been - except for a few notable exceptions (e.g. Harvey 1982; 2012) long neglected in urban studies. Financialisation approaches and their "accumulationcentred view on economic change" (Krippner 2005) foster a better integration of the role of finances in the analysis of space and places. In this paper, I (1) discuss the differences between an 'activity-centered' and an (at least complementary) 'accumulationcentered' view of economic change, in the explanation of Post Fordism and financialisation processes; (2) briefly present different financialisation approaches and (3) make a first reflection on how to relate them to some questions in the current debates on suburban development.

### Anthony Campbell, University of Nebraska

The question of community: Why a critical examination of community is essential for suburban governance

The concept of community enjoys a positive connotation that borders on axiomatic, especially in democratic societies. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is a very limited amount of research that explores community from a critical perspective. However, an enhanced exploration into how community is understood and experienced is essential in a society where the concept is inextricably bound to the act of civic engagement both as an input and an output. Moreover, with governance's emphasis on citizens as active as opposed to passive partners, it is vital that governments understand community's inclusive and exclusive dimensions.

Far too little research differentiates the suburban context in terms of citizenship and the role of government, such research can be informative for non-suburban areas as well, but the primary focus has to be on what it means to exist within a suburb. An especially rich site for discovery is that area where people first fled in the urban exodus – first-ring suburbs. It is in this swath of the metropolitan fabric where we find unique self-other and us-them tensions, which have profound implications for how community is experienced and how civic engagement is undertaken. First-ring suburbs are where new understandings of the self-other tension in a democratic context can be awakened. Without this new understanding, individuals can continue to come together in various "communities" and governments can create assorted methods for engaging citizens, but there exists the grave risk of being little more than collectively disconnected.

### Suzanne Lanyi Charles, University of Michigan

A typology of residential redevelopment in innerring suburban neighborhoods

As the inner-ring suburbs surrounding North American cities have aged, some have begun to experience population and income decline, crime increase, and a reduction in their tax base. However, at the same time as some inner-ring suburbs are experiencing disinvestment, others are receiving a significant amount of reinvestment; their housing stock is being transformed through the incremental, private-sector redevelopment of the single-family housing stock. The redevelopment of single-family housing in affluent suburban neighborhoods is a common sight, however during the American housing boom of the previous decade, redevelopment began to appear in more modest suburban neighborhoods as well. This paper examines differentiation among inner-ring suburban neighborhoods that have experienced reinvestment in the single-family housing stock between 2000 and 2010. I use principal components analysis (PCA) followed by cluster analysis to identify several different types of suburban neighborhoods in which reinvestment took place. I then describe the diversity of neighborhoods that experienced redevelopment in terms of housing characteristics, class, and race.

### Karen Coelho and M. Vijayabaskar, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Chennai

On the charts, off the tracks: Disconnected development in Ambur Town

Straddling the national highway and the railway line running between Chennai and Bangalore, Ambur town has been renowned for over 3 decades as a leading national and global producer of leather and finished leather products. It, and the surrounding villages, are home to about 10 large shoe factories and 100-odd medium and small factories catering to export markets, in addition to home-based and small workshop-based production, catering to the domestic market. The leather sector has attracted interventions by central government and multilateral agencies like the UNIDO as a part of the latter's cluster development initiative. Yet, the town remains hemmed in and constrained. Spatially and infrastructurally, the town's expansion is blocked by developments that lie inside its territory but outside its jurisdiction, namely the railway and highway lines, which disconnect the congested eastern core from expanding residential areas on its western side. Socially, it remains a space of production but not of consumption for both the industry heads and executives, most of whom reside in Chennai, and the large masses of unskilled factory workers from nearby villages who commute daily. The town's residents comprise the intermediate industrial and working classes, along with large numbers of informal entrepreneurs. Industrially, it is constrained by court orders against expansion of its leather processing activities, and faces several blocks to diversification. This world class producer hub, then, is far from being, or even becoming, a world class city. This paper asks various questions, such as how can

This paper asks various questions, such as how can such a place be understood vis-à-vis the metropolis of Chennai, 120 km away, with which it exchanges flows of labour, students and capital? Is the metropolis a beacon of opportunity or a great shadow over the development of this town? Based on a case study, involving a household survey, interviews with key actors in the town's economy and governance, and mapping of material and labour flows into and out of the town, the paper establishes the multiple disconnects between socio-economic developments in the town and urban governance interventions.

# Priscilla Connolly, Autonomous Metropolitan University

Mexico's recent peripheral growth: What's new, what's not, and what's different

The paper will provide an overview of recent tendencies in suburban development in Metropolitan Mexico City. Using cartographic representation of statistical analysis and a methodology for classifying the various formal and informal ways that urban space is produced, the presentation will compare the observable tendencies with some popular beliefs about the following topics: policentricity (old and new);

balance of formal / informal growth; resulting densities; intra-metopolitan residential mobility patterns; daily pendular mobility patterns; spatial distribution of housing quality indicators and access to transport and other services; automobility; land values, etc. In other words, the intention behind the maps is to question some general assumptions about the application of tendencies or models based on observations of North American and European cities in other contexts. "Sprawly", "diffuse", "fragmented", "segregated", "policentric" are some of the much-used terms that need to be invoked with care. In many ways, not only do these adjectives fail to depict accurately or meaningfully the processes occurring on the outskirts of cities in the global South, but also they may distract attention from other fundamental issues. "Dangerous", "distant", "deep-rooted", "defensive" and "dense" could perhaps better describe some of the processes observed in Mexico City. Perhaps some of the models derived from observing such urban environments could even be useful for understanding what is happening in cities to the North. While most of the information presented has been generated by the Mexico City Observatory at the Metropolitan University at Azcapotzalco, Mexico City, the paper will also try to reflect some recent research findings by colleagues based locally.

### Tom Cowan, King's College London Fragmented citizenships in Gurgaon

Gurgaon, India's 'millennial city' represents an "urban metonym" for India's embrace of global capital (Kalyan 2011). Free from the vestiges of postcolonial urban compromise, it has been developed by a coalition of real-estate visionaries and a parastatal government agency eager to attract transient, mobile capital to the hinterlands of India's national capital. If existing urban settlements are party to reclamation by middle-class consumption practices and aspiration the idea of Gurgaon represents its opposite; a splintering off from the urban "battle space" a relinquishment of competition for spatial control of the existing and the emergence of a built environment entirely premised on the lifestyle and consumption preferences of a modern, global citizen. In Gurgaon, like many other spaces of frontier accumulation, the State withdraws itself from official governance, as a variety of de facto actors in parastatals, private developers and empowered exvillagers optimise spaces fertile for accumulation. In doing so, the suburban-city is fragmented into zones of exemption, optimization, and immiseration; the mall,

urban-village, and gated community. As these emerging neoliberal kingpins enact spatial reconfiguration, they are inherently confronted with residual spaces and citizenships from previous forms of production and alternative interpretations of space. This dialectical relationship between 'old' and 'new', 'rational' and 'lived', represent tangible ruptures in otherwise seamless flows of accumulation; representative in everyday subversion, violence and anxiety within the contemporary suburban.

This paper conceptualises the production of the suburban-city as inherently conflictual, attempting to trouble notions of the "urban" which fetishise 'global' modes of production as the defining characteristic of socio-spatial production. Instead, the paper attempts to explicate the everyday and informal processes of governmentality, which produce the suburban as a site of overlapping sovereignties and conflictual territorial claims.

### Blair Cullen, Trent University

Innovation in suburban governance: A case study of local immigration partnerships from Durham Region, Ontario

Historically, immigration in the global north has been primarily an urban phenomenon; however, thanks to a recent influx of newcomers, it is increasingly becoming a suburban phenomenon. Yet, in a North American context, research shows suburbs lack the experience, exposure, and have a relatively under-developed settlement sector compared to their core cities. In Canada, literature has documented other handicaps including minimal funding, no mandate, and limited multilevel government collaboration. Implemented in Canada in 2008 in response to these issues across an array of places, Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) are upper level government funded broadly based partnership councils aimed to facilitate coordination across sectors with locally developed settlement plans. Featuring a case study of Durham Region, a suburban region bordering the Greater Toronto Area, the objective was to understand the impact of Durham's LIP by interviewing 52 key-informants within six sectors involved in local settlement. Findings indicate improved governance between sectors, heightened awareness of diversity issues, higher levels of diversity competency amongst certain organizations and increased settlement capacity due to the LIP's role in the acquisition of two Welcome Centers. Perhaps most interesting is the LIP's role as an advocate for diversity, filling the void of an under-developed ethnocultural sector, a product of suburban circumstances. Results demonstrate LIPs as a policy hold the potential to address the shortcomings of the suburban immigrant settlement experience. Although starting to grow, this research seeks to build on the relatively limited understanding of immigrant settlement in the suburbs, particularly as it relates to governance.

### Shruti Dubey, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Un-mapping villages: The case of Khora Colony, National Capital Region, India

This paper is an attempt to study contestations taking place on the border of Delhi, NOIDA and Ghaziabad by tracking the history of transformation of a village that has been erased from the official documents of the concerned planning authority of NOIDA. In it I map the deeply political and contested nature of changes in land use of the village of Khora into an unauthorized colony thriving on rent economy inhabited mostly by migrant workers.

The industrial town of NOIDA was created on the south eastern periphery of the capital city of Delhi primarily to accommodate small and medium sized industries operating illegally in the non conforming areas in Delhi. The paper looks at the speculation which took place immediately after the acquisition of land of Khora by NOIDA authorities for development. It aims to understand the operation of informal land markets, which are sustained by the dealers entering local politics and maintaining political networks operating at the state and national levels. The land bought after multiple rounds of land deals between the farmers, the property dealers and land mafia, was plotted and sold to the incoming migrant workers at cheap rates, leading to densification of the area.

Currently with a population of around 850,000, Khora Colony provides the workforce for all the three cities of Delhi, NOIDA and Ghaziabad despite being owned by none. The planning authorities of NOIDA officially shunted Khora to Ghaziabad in 1997 with the carving out of Gautam Budh Nagar. Khora was excluded from the map of Master Plan of NOIDA, which boasts of a Special Development Area on the space where Khora exists. We will try to make the larger argument that such erasure and exclusion is central to the making of urban peripheries.

Claire Dwyer, University College London; Justin Tse and David Ley, University of British Columbia

'Highway to heaven': The creation of a multicultural, suburban religious landscape in Richmond, Vancouver

In the multicultural suburb of Richmond, Vancouver the clustering of religious buildings along the Number 5 Road highway which marks the eastern boundary of the city has earned the colloquialism 'Highway to Heaven'. However the agglomeration of more than twenty religious buildings including mosques, churches, religious schools, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh temples within 3 kilometres is not accidental but the product of an unusual city planning designation which unites 'Assembly Use' with a long term plan to safeguard agricultural land and prevent urban sprawl. This paper examines the evolution of this planning policy and its role in the creation of a distinctive multicultural suburban religious landscape in the context of wider debates about planning, multiculturalism and suburban space. Our analysis argues that the policy has contributed to the creation of a landscape of 'spectacular multiculturalism' which is celebrated by municipal authorities and even marketed as a site of touristic encounter. However faith communities themselves remain ambivalent about the ways in which religious worship is accommodated in suburban planning.

### Abbe Edelson, University of Toronto

Applying CHAT to the Mimico Secondary Plan: A cultural historical activity theory analysis of learning in community organizing and resistance

Although community resistance to gentrification has declined since the period of "overt conflict" in the 1970s and 1980s (Smith & Hackworth, 2001), such resistance is far from dead (Slater, 2008). Little is known, however, about present-day struggles (Slater, 2008) and few case studies focus on the experiences of non-gentrifying groups in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Slater, 2006). Since 2006, the City of Toronto has been developing *Mimico* 2020, now called the *Mimico* by-the Lake Secondary plan, a land-use and physical infrastructure plan to support an intensification of development in the neighbourhood of Mimico. Several rental buildings have been designated for redevelopment, and many low-income tenants are concerned that they will be displaced. While some residents welcome the "revitalization", a growing number of area residents oppose the plan, which they

claim will alter the village-like atmosphere of their neighbourhood and restrict access to Lake Ontario. In this paper, I explore the social relations embedded in two community organizations within Mimico and consider how key dimensions of residents' social identity (e.g., class, race, gender) and their housing tenure shape both their differential participation in these organizations and their individual and collective processes of learning which occur as they seek to alter the city's plans to "revitalize" their community and prevent displacement from their homes.

## Theresa Enright, University of California / University of Toronto

Metropolis derailed: The Grand Paris Express and the future of Île-de-France

The Grand Paris Express mass transit network was announced in January 2011 as part of the multifaceted "Grand Paris" suburban renewal and agglomeration initiative. The network promised to address regional fragmentation by providing much needed infrastructure to the peripheries of Paris and to symbolically unify the Île-de-France by reimagining Paris beyond its historical core. An important tool of gentrification, the Grand Paris Express was also set to orient suburban development toward real estate markets, rent production and territorial competition through the creation of functionally differentiated clusters of industry, finance and technology to be built around proposed transit stations. This paper assesses the progress of the Grand Paris Express and the polycentric global city it is designed to bring about. In particular, it focuses on three main challenges that threaten the completion of the network: a change in leadership at the presidential level from Nicolas Sarkozy to François Hollande, ongoing intergovernmental disputes and a deepening European climate of economic austerity. The paper ends by analyzing the broader problematic of suburban transit in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as well as the resiliency and/or crisis of the neoliberal model of suburbanization upon which the Grand Paris Express is based.

### Dena Farsad, York University

The Core and the periphery: Close to-market narratives and aggregate Mining in southern Ontario

Exurban growth, sprawl and the aggregate industry are all tied in an intricate network of (re)development that has shaped and defined the landscape of Southern Ontario. The purpose of this presentation will be to

examine the core-periphery relationship as it relates to aggregate mining and land-use conflict.

The demand for aggregates by the core for growth (residential, infrastructure, transportation) has had significant consequences for the periphery, the source of aggregates. Of particular interest is the close-tomarket (CTM) argument put forth by government and industry. CTM narratives are problematic for several reasons. The most obvious is that "close-to-market" invariably means close to populated areas, which leads to more instances of land-use conflict (that move beyond issues of NIMBYism). Second, aggregate mine siting highlights issues related to land ownership and land grabs, by which domestic and international aggregate companies purchase vast expanses of land in order to explore and potentially mine for aggregates. An example of this is the recently rejected Melancthon mega-quarry in Southern Ontario, which saw the purchase of 937 hectares (2,316 acres) of agricultural lands to be explored for high-quality limestone. Third, CMT projects have led to the encroachment of aggregate mining on greenlands and farmlands. This is particularly problematic in Southern Ontario where aggregate policy permits mining in protected areas such as the Greenbelt and Oak Ridges Moraine, and on prime agricultural lands. This is related to the fourth issue, which is the overall direction of provincial aggregate policy. The history of aggregate mining policy began with a push from both government and industry to ensure continued access to deposits—a policy direction that is proving to be more and more contentious as the boundaries between the core and periphery become blurred.

### Gabriel Fauveaud, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University

The new residential areas in Phnom Penh: Redraw the meanings of power in the peripheries

As revealed by a rise in land speculation, the realestate business has become a key sector of the domestic economy. The multiplication of private urban projects is due to a modification of the role of private developers in the socio-political environment of Phnom Penh. For individuals and families, the promoters tend to be a substitute for the territorial administration that let private companies take over the management of semi-private residential areas. The tripartite relation between the inhabitants, the territorial authorities and the promoters reveals how the privatization of the space production in Phnom Penh changes deeply the meanings of power at a local

scale. For the peripheral inhabitants, the new residential areas became the "promoter territory": by moving there, they are integrated into the "residential unit" of the real estate actor and can therefore benefit from their integration into the symbolic kinship network of the promoter, which ensures them protection and privileges. For the urban dwellers, to live in the new urban peripheries means a "reanchorage" in the urban society as well as a redefinition of their position into a rapidly changing socio-politic environment.

In this paper, I would like to present some of the conclusion of my Ph. D. thesis defended in February 2013, which is the result of 3 years of field work in Phnom Penh and of 7 years of research on the urbanization processes in South-East Asia.

### Rob Fiedler, York University

Constructions of suburban space: To investigate, or presume?

On what basis do we *know* the suburbs, and what does it mean to call something, someone, or someplace suburban? The answer is not straightforward. Metrics such as density, automobile usage, or distance from the urban core stand alongside political status, sociopolitical connotations, and cultural metaphors. In Toronto and Vancouver, the cities I am most familiar with, "city" and "suburb" often stand in for powerful social distinctions that shape how issues, places, and lives are framed in public discourse. As we consider "ways of knowing the suburbs" is it necessary to cast a critical gaze toward the relatively small cohort of people—writers, bloggers, pundits, academics, and the like—who play an outsized role in the description, analysis, and interpretation of suburbs and suburbanism? The question strikes at the very heart of the suburban research agenda. The physical and social spaces that are constructed in most discourses as "the suburbs" are presumed to be everything outside "the city". But who and what determines where "the city" ends? In my paper, I examine this question with regard to Toronto's recent history, and in particular with reference to the post-amalgamation (in 1998) dynamic in which the "city limits" no longer correspond with "the city" in public discourse.

#### KEYNOTE - Infrastructure

Pierre Filion, University of Waterloo

Suburban infrastructure and social justice

The presentation will focus on the North American suburban model, an urban form that was pieced together in the fifteen years following World-War-II and that has since dominated urban development across the continent. It will chronicle major suburban infrastructure policies over the last 65 years and consider their social consequences from two perspectives: that of individual infrastructures and the aggregate effect infrastructures have had on the suburban form. The social impact of individual infrastructures can be seen from an environmental justice perspective: who is advantaged or disadvantaged by the effects, which are largely spatial, of a given infrastructure. In the case of the collective impacts of infrastructures, social effects are mostly a consequence of the imperfect match between suburban life styles and the income and values of different social groups. The presentation will end with a consideration of the role infrastructures can play in efforts to retrofit North American suburbs.

### **KEYNOTE**

### Robert Fishman, University of Michigan

Perimeter center: Global suburbs and the transformation of urbanism

The history of suburbia is fundamentally the history of the momentous shift in human population from agrarian village to city which required the explosive growth of the urban periphery we call suburbanization. This history began with the first truly global city, 18<sup>th</sup> century London, and is now reaching its climax in the megacities of the developing world. A century ago Ebenezer Howard looked at the megacities of his time (London, New York, Chicago) and posed the key questions about this explosive growth: what metropolitan/regional design at the edge would create a truly human city-form for its people? And what form of ownership and land use would most equitably distribute the immense economic gains derived from urban growth? The keynote will attempt to respond to Howard's two questions from a 21<sup>st</sup>-century global perspective on sustainability and equity.

## V. Gajendran, Indian Institute of Technology Madras

Reconfiguration of peri-urban space and its social implications

The reconfiguration of urban space has increased tremendously in India, precisely after 1991- i.e., after the adoption of the neoliberal policy. Thousands of acres of land were acquired by the government of India for the use of multinational companies who were also provided with tax exemption. In case of Tamilnadu, multinational companies like Hyundai and Nokia plants in Sriperumpudur, an urban periphery of Chennai. Tamilnadu's government is directly involved in acquiring land for these companies while people in the core of Chennai, mainly slum dwellers, were displaced by developmental projects (roads, flyovers) to facilitate the transportation of the goods produced in the industries of the city's periphery. The displaced population was resettled to the periphery, thus making it an interesting location for studying land dynamics. The presentation focuses on the reconfiguration of land in urban peripheries of Chennai, especially pertaining to its acquisition, utilisation, and ownership patterns. Though there are many studies about urban peripheries, very few, with the notable exception of Pushpa Arabindoo (2006), examine Chennai's urban periphery.

The research focuses on two objectives. Firstly, it tries to explore the role of various scales and parts of the state in reconfiguring the peri-urban space of Chennai. The focus will be on three locations in the periphery in order to map the diverse patterns of transformation and their material politics. Second, I explore the notion of land and livelihoods of the people who were displaced from the core and resettled at urban periphery.

### Sutama Ghosh, Ryerson University

Exploring the rental high-rises in Toronto's innersuburbs as spaces of power

Rental high-rises have a formidable presence in Toronto's inner suburbs. Built primarily in the 1960s and 1970s, over half a million people reside in these aging towers, most of whom are newcomers, visible minorities, and low income families (Statistics Canada 2006; The United Way 2011). Ongoing debates regarding the future of these towers reveal that, while some policy makers and planners advocate for their renewal, others argue that such policies are in fact a means of displacing the poor. The actual users of these spaces -- the residents -- emphasize how these buildings are their "homes", imbued with a variety of emotions

and sensibilities. The main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how the everyday lives of residents within these high-rise buildings are (re)produced and structured by complex processes of power, and to underscore how conscious and unconscious "human activity guided by unrestrained use values, generalised self-management and unalienated human relationships" (Goonawardena and Kipfer 2005: 675) reflects resistance to unfair and restrictive operational-structural impositions and controls within these spaces.

### Antonio Gomez-Palacio, DIALOG

Transit urbanism: Transforming cities through transit

Increasingly, cities are investing in transit as a means to transform their communities and deliver on a number of city-building objectives. Conventional transit goals are expanding to address the promise of liveable communities and environmental improvement, of economic and social development, as well as of quality living and public health. This represents a paradigm shift, which I describe as "transit urbanism". This more rounded vision is fuelled by a growing number of success stories, often in cities that we consider lofty vacation destinations: Lyon, Copenhagen, Melbourne, NY, and so on. And now, a number of unsuspecting Canadian cities have recognized the potential and are taking the initiative: Mississauga, Edmonton, Calgary, Hamilton, and others. Will they get it right? Can they truly deliver? The answer to these questions will depend on the extent of the commitment and vision of each city. Ultimately, transit investment only makes sense when coupled with a comprehensive strategy for directing growth and urban structure – and a public realm that supports walking, active transportation, and transit use. The presentation will employ evidence-based analysis and national case studies to illustrate a rational for a renewed approach to delivering transit facilities – one that is geared to address and leverage aspects of quality of life, economic development, and public health.

### Liette Gilbert, York University

Global suburbanism or subaltern urbanism?

Mexico City is a unique case of North-American suburbanism. A megaurbe of 20 million people, Mexico City is known as "the city of all, thousand cities in one." Perhaps it is better understood as a city of suburbs. Mexico City offers an amazing diversity of suburban forms ranging from traditional villages with

communal land regime covered with new subdivisions, to traditional dormitory suburbs, to rich cosmopolitan enclaves and to marginal underserviced settlements crawling the edges of the Valley. This presentation examines the particular process of suburbanization and its ac/cumulative effects of segregation and marginalization created by the brutal expansion of the city. At the core of this suburban revolution is an array of contrasts: peripheral growth and core renewal; formalization process of informal neighborhoods; precolombian land use and megapolitan process, social insecurity and social conviviality, among many others. Mexico City therefore stretches, subverts and challenges our conventional understanding of suburbs and cities.

### Azat Z. Gundogan, University of Michigan

Suburbanization, governance, and contention on the outskirts of Istanbul: The case of Gebze

Despite its economic importance in Istanbul's global city status, until recently Gebze has been invisible to most urban researchers who have focused on various aspects of Istanbul's urbanization. These scholars have produced important works on the dynamics under which Istanbul integrated into global urban system and the social repercussions of this process (such as informality, housing, poverty and marginalization). As an extension of our limited knowledge on how peripheries are formed and affected by the relentless growth of Istanbul, the characteristics of urban contention in the peripheries are still an issue to focus on. Popularly labeled as the "backwater" of Istanbul, Gebze has always been a hotbed of social and political contestations ranging from unionized labor movement in the 1970s to the recent protests against top-down urban transformation/regeneration projects targeting informal squatter settlements (gecekondus). My paper focuses on the suburban characteristics of this city and the changing forms of governance and social movements from urban populism of importsubstitution era to 'neo-Ottomanist' neoliberalization. I argue that a bottom-up perspective to urbanization in the peripheries of the Istanbul city-region can shed light on the ways in which urbanites in the peripheries have cumulatively inscribed their social and political struggles in city space. The paper aims at showing an alternative picture of the suburban areas by examining a different geography than that of the over-highlighted central Istanbul by the urban policy holders. My insights are based on the findings of a multidisciplinary ethnographic (in-depth interviews,

participant observation) and archival research (local and national dailies).

#### Oded Haas, York University

Suburban occupation: Exploring 'colonization' in Israel and beyond

Only 2% of Israelis live in 'settlements' (hitnachluyot) in the occupied West Bank, however, the pace of construction of new housing there is double the rate in Israel. This may be part of global suburbanization, but what explains the particular spatiality of the 'settlements'? Using a Lefebvrean lens, this paper looks for answers in Israel's national spatial agenda. In The Urban Revolution (1970), Lefebvre describes how everyday life is 'colonized' by the logic of state and capital. In the case of the 'settlements', a sub-urban morphology enforces a spatial separation that reflects the state's aspiration for Judaising the land, and shapes the everyday life on both sides of the occupation. I argue that to play their role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 'settlements' space must be produced with a distinct suburban image. The 'settlements' are therefore an ultimate example of how suburbs are in fact part of the 'urban revolution'.

# KEYNOTE - Land Anne Haila, University of Helsinki Development at the margin of transference

Two reasons for the spread of urban development in suburbs in Finland have been purchases of raw land by developers beyond the city limits, and the regulations such as zoning, height control and other norms restricting construction inside the city limits. In contemporary China, urban development flourishes in collectively owned land in urban villages beyond the control of town planners. In both of these cases, the suburbanization question is the land question. This paper analyzes the suburban land question, first, by analyzing the mobilization of land along three dimensions: horizontal (extending the use of land, subdivision of land and suburbanization), vertical (intensifying the use of land) and redevelopment (densification); and, second, by analyzing the payment for the use of land, that is land rent with its various forms and origins: the price of land, land speculation and public revenue.

In order to explore the role of landownership and regulation in suburbanization processes this paper discusses two city-states, Singapore and Hong Kong, where there is a pressure to further development but

where an extension to fringe land is limited. The paper asks why Hong Kong did not develop like Los Angeles despite huge low-density and vacant areas in the New Territories, and analyses regulations, price controls, land acquisitions and collective land sales in Singapore.

# KEYNOTE - Land Richard Harris, McMaster University Suburbanisation? Follow the money

Suburbanisation is driven by many forces. To become effective, these must be channeled through the market for land. Suburban development, involving the conversion of rural land to urban use, and the creation of a built environment, is usually very profitable. To understand how, and to some extent why, it occurs we need to know the magnitude of those profits, and their distribution between several types of private agents and public agencies. This distribution is subject to an endless process of negotiation, sometimes transparent but commonly not. The basis, visibility and outcome of these negotiations depends on the extent to which those involved agree as to the source of increases in land values and the capacity of the state to enforce the public's claim. These considerations suggest a vital, but neglected, research agenda.

### Rachel Heiman, The New School, New York

Shop local, support less: Middle-class fault lines in a suburban New Jersey town

There is an emerging body of research in North America on efforts to retrofit the low-density landscape of single-family homes for a more sustainable future. Amid innovative new approaches to grappling with economic instability, energy concerns, and climate change, there are simultaneously emerging new modes of entrenchment of the spatialization of inequality. This paper draws on long-term ethnographic fieldwork (since the late 1990s) in a New Jersey suburb of New York City in which one such example has emerged. The town recently developed a "shop local" program that gives citizens credit on their property tax bill for a percentage of money spent at local businesses. While at first glance this program resembles local currency movements, the benefits are only available to homeowners (and not renters). Building on research that raises concerns about the exacerbation of regional class inequalities through shop local movements when more affluent towns pull funds and tax dollars away from less affluent neighboring municipalities, this paper explores the compounding of class inequalities within a

middle-class town as homeowners (and not renters) are given this financial leg-up. While shop local movements often reinscribe municipal borders and boundaries in a time when calls for regionalism are pronounced, this example complicates the paradox of who counts as part of the "community" when certain social goods are in question. My discussion of interviews and ethnographic moments brings to life tensions along the fault lines of the fracturing middle class in the United States.

# Mathew Idiculla, Azim Premji University Bangalore's contesting suburbanism

Bangalore's globalization has witnessed several political, institutional and economic changes that have transformed ways of work, mobility, claims to both basic and high end infrastructure and services. The city has become a site for contesting realms of political and legal regimes within which mega projects operate and in turn realign governance structures. A related transformative realm relates to new forms of civic and political representation with the promotion of 'participatory planning' by elite 'civil society' groups. These changes are sharply defined since 2007 but have been a trend since 1998. Using a wide range of both academic literature but also documents of legislative committees, policy makers, and other materials, the paper provides a grounded socio-legal perspective interfaced with the sorts of institutional architectures that underpin mega projects and moves within 'civil society'.

## KEYNOTE - Infrastructure Louise Johnson, Deakin University

Digital suburbs? Some infrastructure implications of greater domestic connectivity

In the light of massive internet uptake and the looming National Broadband Network across Australian cities, it is timely to investigate just what the impacts may be in terms of house design, service access, socialisation and connections to localities. What does it mean for the very design of the dwelling that all of its members have separate or wireless connectivity? And what of the design and servicing of the neighbourhood? What are some of the policy implications for those charged with managing and planning our cities of such developments? Has it indeed led to far more people working from home rather than commuting (with implications for transport planning), with more on line

shopping (not just for clothing, books and music but a range of consumer goods with implications for retail planning), on line socialising (with a corresponding drop in at home, neighbourhood or other forms of face to face interaction and space use), and on line service access (be it the shift to b-pay robbing the local post office of custom, the use of on line health and information services to replace or supplement local clinics or libraries). Or has it just meant that the form of information flow has altered but the physicality of service provision, job access and socialisation is just if not more important? This paper will discuss some preliminary desk top and interview research work in Melbourne's western suburbs which has been exploring and documenting some of the policy implications of growing domestic connectivity.

### Violaine Jolivet, University of Montreal

Suburbs in the Cuban-Americans political chessboard: Insights from New Jersey

This paper analyzes the suburb as a crucial base for immigrants' political representation. In the greater New York, Cuban-Americans remain most concentrated in two suburban municipalities of New Jersey where blue collars began to settle attracted by the manufacturing district jobs opportunities before the Cuban Revolution and where post-1959 exile give birth to the "Habana en el Hudson". Now, Cuban-Americans are a minority among these mostly Hispanic suburbs, but they still remain active voters as political and economic leaders. Through the study of Union City and West New York (Hudson County, NJ, USA), I want to examine the process by which Cuban-Americans maintain their control over those suburban territories by using the toolbox of redistricting and claiming to represent a wider Hispanic community. By using a multi-scalar approach of the local politics, the study of governance of such suburban spaces concerns how it works. In the context of immigrants and minorities political representation in which suburbs are playing a new part, this paper claims to understand how Cuban-American elites govern the American suburb and how they act to keep those political territories under a Cubanized leadership.

### Lalitha Kamath and Pranjal Deekshit, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Madras

Tenure as strategy? The agents and politics of peripheral urbanization in Solapur City, India

Solapur, a city of about 900,000, is a major textile centre in India and known internationally for its production and export of Turkish towels and trademark Solapuri chaddars or bedsheets. Its urbanization process is characterised by informality. The formal planned location of industrial units by state agencies in the 1970s did little to formalize already existing factories but spawned informal powerloom industries and led to the establishment and consolidation of a range of informal residential settlements through the 1980s. The five-fold expansion of the city's limits in the early 1990s opened up a large swathe of rural lands for urban and real estate development and created differentiations between informal settlements in the core city and in the newly added areas. Studying the politics of land use, conversion, and occupation particularly in peripheral parts of the city reveals a technology of unmapping, which allows the state and other actors considerable flexibility to alter land use and claim/occupy land. The paper traces how state and non-state actors (buyers, sellers, intermediaries, trade unions, politicians) deploy multiple types of leadership, cultural capital and political strategies to exploit and turn the deliberate opacity in land records to their (tenurial) advantage. The paper's findings seem to bear out Roy's (2009) conclusions that Indian planning proceeds through systems of unmapping and practices of calculated informality on the part of the state, and that the differentiation between the informal and the informal is a fundamental pivot of inequality in India today. Yet the particulars of how different community groups strive to transform their livelihoods and living conditions and how the local/regional polity mediates these claims holds insights for urban transformations underway in smaller urban settlements in India.

### Virpal Kataure, Wilfred Laurier University

A suburban state of mind: The housing preferences and location choices of second generation South Asians in Brampton, ON

Immigrants have had an immense impact on the Canadian landscape since the introduction of international Canadian immigration policies in the 1960s, particularly though ethnic clustering in major metropolitan centres. Over time, the implications of second generation visible minority residential patterns

have become increasingly important. This research will examine the housing choices of second generation South Asian immigrants (Canada's largest ethnic minority group) residing in the ethnic enclaves within the suburban city of Brampton, Ontario. The purpose of this research is to explore the influence of the second generation on suburban residential settlement and urban change. What factors do second generations prioritise when examining residential location preferences? Is there continued preference for suburban settlement or a shift toward urban living? How does residing in a suburban ethnic enclave (with cultural, social, familial, etc. influences) affect future residential location preferences? This research will also examine whether educational variances in this group lead to differing settlement patterns and changes in neighbourhood choice, particularly in relation to the creative city theory. Findings from the mixed method approach used, (telephone surveys, focus group interviews and key informant interviews with a city planner, private sector planner and a real estate agent) will help explore these topics in detail. By assessing housing experiences and preferences, this thesis will engage with the suburban/urban debate in the planning literature.

### Azam Khatam, York University

Suburban processes and centrifugal politics of decentralization in Tehran

This paper examines the patterns and dynamics of suburbanization in the Tehran Metropolitan Region(TMR). This involves the state policy as well as the market forces which have structured rapid process of suburbanization in the province during the last three decades. The population of Tehran has been doubled since the 1979 revolution, growing from 4.5 to 9 million in 2011. Tehran's growth was accompanied by an ever increasing centrifugal trend in its metropolitan area. Peripheral cities, mainly informal settlements, mushroomed along the main roads and their population increased from less than 1 to 5 million. Currently, almost half of the population of the TMR live outside the city.

My research examines the origins and outcomes of the growing informal land market around the city, as well as the failures of the government's new town planning around the city. I will focus on Hashtgred new town and Islamshahr informal city to compare the dynamics of the two main processes of suburbanism around the city. This paper will argue that public investments in the building four new towns around the city have turned to provide the deposit land bank or empty housing units

for the higher and middle classes, investing in the profitable land market. Meantime, the emerging informal settlements absorbed the population moving away from rural areas, as well as those Tehranis who can no longer afford the unprecedented increase in city's housing prices. The migration of the low-income Tehranis from core to the periphery has social and political implications for the changing of the nature of the informality in Iran's urban context.

### Kristy Kilbourne, York University

Planning for the 'Motor City' in a post-industrial era: Comparing urban spatial patterns, economic restructuring, and urban revitalization in Oshawa, Ontario and Dearborn, Michigan

Once strongly entrenched in urban settings across the Great Lakes Region of Canada and the United States and beyond, production spaces are virtually absent from recent discourse on urban revitalization, yet in many manufacturing suburbs, they remain a reality. This paper explores factors that contributed to the suburbanization of manufacturing, the shift in urban spatial patterns over the last century, economic restructuring from a production-based economy toward a consumption- or knowledge-based economy, and revitalization strategies and approaches being pursued by municipal governments in the context of Dearborn, Michigan and Oshawa, Ontario, two predominant manufacturing suburbs where the North American automotive sector has been a pervasive influence in the local economy, society, and the built environment.

In contrast to assertions by prominent scholars such as Edward Glaeser and Richard Florida that prescribe complete abandonment of manufacturing in favour of the pursuit of highly-skilled jobs in the knowledge economy, a more sustainable path of diversifying the local economy while maintaining the manufacturing sector so important to these local economies is suggested and several recommendations made for future municipal government strategic planning. These include: preservation of the manufacturing sector and related-employment through land use zoning, concentrated efforts to thwart gentrification, greater participatory planning approaches and attention on the needs of current residents, along with the preservation and showcasing of the unique automotive and industrial history of these places through place making.

### Stefan Kipfer, York University

'Suburban' counterrevolution III? Mixity and desegregation in the Paris region

The notion 'urban revolution' coined by Henri Lefebvre referred to dynamics of spatial transformation as well as possibilities of political revolution created by these dynamics. Even though it destabilizes the very distinction between 'city' and 'suburb' (as well as 'the country'), the urban revolution he described was phenomenally quite 'suburban' in character: the production of urban networks and metropoles defined by Fordist-functionalist social spaces; and radical claims of social groups peripheralized by this (sub-) urban explosion. As Rudolf Lüscher had it, urban revolts in and after 1968 were claims to urbanity (as well as social and political power) in ('sub-urban') situations where urbanity no longer existed in any historically integral sense. 43 years after the Urban Revolution was published, it makes sense to return to the Paris region to revisit the suburban aspects of the urban revolution. Based on a number of years of research, this paper interprets the last round of French urban policy (and public housing demolition) as the third counterrevolutionary moment in French urbanism. After the Haussmannian period and the neo-Haussmannian era of the postwar period, lapolitique de la ville and la r énovation urbaine also aim at destructuring working-class social spaces, notably, but not only those located in functionalist postwar suburbs. In partial contrast to previous rounds of political intervention *qua* urban policy, the current round ischaracterized by two relative shifts: (1) the tendential eclipse of separation by desegregation as a modality of territorialization; and (2) the supersession of the core Fordist workers by those segments of the precariat with family connections to France's Afro-Caribbean colonies as the most important target of territorial destructuring (euphemistically labelled policies of *mixit é sociale*). These shifts – and broader processes of restructuring in the urban field - force us to ask whether the urban revolts of the 2000s can be still be called claims to the 'right to the city'.

### Anna Kramer, University of Waterloo

Post-suburban imaginaries: Possibilities for extending transit networks in postwar cities

Built environment and socioeconomic characteristics such as density, household income, car ownership, housing type and tenure, rent and housing costs are mapped against the network of frequent public transit routes in twenty American and Canadian metropolitan regions. The likelihood of living within a walkable distance to the frequent transit network based on these factors is modelled using logistic regression. The results show that the likelihood of access to the frequent transit network increases as house prices rise; in many metropolitan regions, there are large areas of affordable homes that are un- or underserved by convenient public transit. With some exceptions, the older centres of cities are more associated with robust transit networks, and the inner suburbs and outer centres are generally auto-dependent. As these suburban places diversify both in terms of urban form and socioeconomics, public transit networks have not kept up.

This paper explores the challenges and opportunities for extending the infrastructures of alternative mobilities into affordable postwar suburbs. The postwar suburb was built around the automobile as a way of organizing space and disciplining movement. This configuration is composed of wide, fast-moving arterials in superblocks, isolating areas of singlefamily homes and presuming car ownership. Today, these areas are becoming the new zones of affordability in cities, and this adds pressure and possibilities for transformation. Whatever form this transformation takes, it will be different from downtowns. What are the spatial and socioeconomic characteristics of these areas? How might flexibility allow for new types of mobility networks and built form?

### Malini Krishnankutty and Himanshu Burte, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

The urban suburb: The Mumbai experience

This paper will attempt to trace the historical trajectory of suburbanization in Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) in order to understand its distinctive characteristics. The MMR covers an area of 4355 sq. kms with a population of a little over 20 million people, residing in 8 Municipal Corporations, 13 Municipal Councils and 982 villages. Greater Mumbai (or Mumbai city) with a population of 12.48 million acts as the CBD for the region. Geography, economy, planning, transportation and affordable housing are key dimensions of Greater Mumbai's suburbanization. The paper will elaborate on the intersection of these dimensions in the process of suburbanization while also reviewing the various policies and regulatory frameworks that have complicated the developmental story of Mumbai in recent decades. The paper seeks to reexamine established distinctions between 'city' and 'suburb' in the context of MMR by focusing on the

specific character of Mumbai's suburbanization. It will frame the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of suburbanization in Mumbai by examining 3 things: a) The peculiarities that mark suburbanization within the MMR; b) The role of urban planning in suburbanization and c) The uneven pattern of governance and plan implementation in different municipal areas outside Greater Mumbai.

### Kubo Tomoko, Gifu University, Yui Yoshimichi and Sakaue Hiroaki, Hiroshima University

Aging problems in suburban neighborhoods in the Tokyo metropolitan area

Since the 1960s, the shortage of dwelling places in city centers has led to high prices and the development of suburban housing estates. Each estate was developed quickly, each dwelling with a similar layout. Therefore the residents in each housing estate are typically similar in age, family type and socio-economic conditions. Households with similar life-stage characteristics. similar sizes and similar economic statuses tend to show similar residential preferences. Homogeneity in terms of social class has been a hallmark of suburban neighborhoods and is determined by housing submarkets and the period in which the neighborhoods were developed. The decline in mobility after homeownership is another factor related to aging, since most residents stay in the same dwellings after purchase.

The problems of aging suburban populations are attracting considerable attention in Japan. Aging in suburbs can cause serious social problems; abolition of public transportation services and super markets, and, in the worst case, collapse of local communities. The increase in housing vacancies, which is closely connected with lack of security, sustainability, and bonds among residents in a community, is another example. This study identifies how suburban neighborhoods have generated over time in Japan and then we show a clear vision of the succeeding aging problems and generative process of housing vacancies in old suburban neighborhoods. First, we show how suburbanization occurred in Japan. Second, the study clarifies how aging and the social problems linked to it occur in Japanese suburban neighborhoods. Based on interview surveys of both local authorities and suburban residents, we clarify the mechanism that produces housing vacancies there. Finally, we discuss the local problems that are the result of housing vacancies in mature housing estates.

Ratoola Kundu, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai and Seema Kakde, Prayas, Pune

Limits to urban expansion: Contentious modes of (sub)urbanization

Fuelled by pressures of economic liberalization, the urban periphery is subject to the radical processes of transformation from largely agrarian to urban and uses, livelihoods, and lifestyles. Such restructuring is contested by existing inhabitants, local politicians and local businesses over issues of displacement, dispossession, loss of livelihoods, diminishing of control over natural resources, threats to existing power structures and identities that mediate claims to land and livelihood in the periphery (Arabindoo 2005). A key and emerging concern is the absence of a regulatory framework in addressing these multiple contestations, especially with respect to service delivery and infrastructure provisions; governance structures and planning bodies are sharply fragmented along rural and urban lines in India.

In this paper, the tensions across multiple local and state level actors such as the Maharashtra Industrial Development corporation, the gram panchayats and the Municipal Council of Ratnagiri is discussed with respect to the formal proposal to the state government's urban development department by the Ratnagiri urban local body to expand its limits into the surrounding peripheral area of villages and industrial estates. While the paper examines the varying perspectives of the key stakeholders in what has become a politically contentious issue, it locates the tussles within the larger context of urbanization and the contemporary political and economic forces that act on urban local bodies to bring more and more land in the peripheral area under their explicit control. Based on fieldwork, interviews and observations, this paper draws attention to the difficulties and challenges embedded within the process of expanding urban limits through administrative means and the strategies that inhabitants opposed to limit extension adopt to counter and subvert conflicting claims to the periphery.

### Rebecca Leach, Keele University

The suburban uncanny: Home, domesticity and cultural exclusion

In Jamie Peck's socio-economic critique of suburbia, privatism and separatism dominate, having a foundational role for the suburb in the emergence of a new bourgeois neo-liberalism. Likewise, design critics and communities, such as the planning and

architectural tradition described by Oliver et al, have had a complex relationship to representations of (British) suburbs: seen as at once stifling and only worthy of scorn or sniggers, yet gloriously celebrated as part of a quaint, homely ideal, the suburb is perpetually rendered other to the 'real' urban agentic world. In this paper, I map a countervailing voice: that which explores the suburban as the necessary Other of urbanism, but with a focus on the dynamics of psychoanalytic and symbolic violence that this wreaks on notions of everyday life. The 'suburbhate' within planning, design and contemporary art is, I contend, a masculinist/modernist construction: while this claim is not particularly new, in this paper I attempt to weave this critique through visual art exemplars while contrasting them with 'ordinary' visual and material cultural constructions. This ordinariness of suburban everyday life restates the value of the suburb in a feminist cast, in which domesticity, locality, communal activism and local visual/material pursuits (such as crafting and collecting) are not simply negated and lacking in agency.

# Donald Leffers and Gerda R. Wekerle, York University

Stories about developers: An interpretive institutional account of land use change and conflict in the Toronto region

Since 1945, most growth in Canadian cities has taken the form of outward expansion through the development of peri-urban land. Yet there is little academic understanding of the property developers who directly enact this land use change. Suburban research has neglected the importance of developers as actors that influence the governance, planning, and development of land. The stories told about developers as portrayed in popular media contribute to the framing of narratives of land use change and conflicts on the suburban and exurban areas of the Toronto region. Here we draw on certain strands of institutionalism that increasingly pay attention not only to the operation of formal arrangements (e.g., the planning system) in the formation and enactment of policy and plans, but also the flow of ideas and quotidian practices that underpin these arrangements, including informal relationships between actors. We focus on the period starting from the early 1990s when various growth management initiatives began in earnest in the Toronto region, putting the spotlight on land use change and increased efforts by the state to influence peri-urban expansion. We analyze newspaper articles to

identify land use change that has fueled conflict and debate; to identify relationships between developers and other institutional actors; to analyze moments when developers move outside the planning system to achieve their interests; and to delineate media and public portrayal of developers. The stories that emerge provide a rich account of developers as important actors in periurban land use change in the Toronto region.

### Ute Lehrer and Roza Tchoukaleyska, York University

Montpellier's suburban face-off: High-rise social housing in Mosson meets the village idyll of Juvignac

This presentation will explore a growing contradiction in the suburban and peri-urban development of Montpellier, France. It will contrast two neighborhoods that are facing each other at the urban periphery: the large social housing district of La Mosson with Juvignac, one of the city's most exclusive neighbourhoods. By examining the processes of agrarian preemption, capital speculation, public transport planning, and social housing policy, this presentation seeks to consider the disparate processes which have produced the uncomfortable face-off between Mosson and Juvignac, and interrogate the varied modes of producing suburban/peri-urban space in southern France.

# Zhigang Li, Sun Yat-sen University and Fulong Wu, University College London

State-oriented community transformation in suburban Dongguan, the world factory of China

The glorious rise of China in the last decades is marked by an unprecedented development of townships or villages in the suburbia. An avalanche of studies have shed light upon various facets of China's emerging suburbia, vet its community changes have often been disregarded. To fill the vacuum, this study examines the recent community transformation of suburban Dongguan, the world factory of China, which is now facing a 'Greece-like' crisis. This study analyses the modality of the crisis, its dynamics and impacts. It is found that there are significant new changes that already jeopardise the future of Dongguan's suburbia, as the 'world factory regime' there is by no means a sustainable model for these communities. Moreover, suburban Dongguan's recent community transformation is de facto a state project used to face new challenges, yet its impact is uncertain at best. In this vein, to find a pathway towards a new stage of new developments

post-suburban China calls for further reforms as well as more holistic arrangements.

### Tingting Lu, University College London

The development of suburban residential enclaves in China: The case study of Wenzhou

Master planned estates are emerging as new forms of residential enclaves in suburban areas. The existing research owns the development of residential enclaves, such as master planned estates, gated communities, to the closure of fear, the privatization of community, and the aesthetical consumption. However, in Chinese cities, master planned estates gain specific characteristics, due to the state's control over land and development strategies, as well as the adoption of market economy. The way in which suburban places are turned into new residential development frontiers demonstrates the political economic circumstances of post-reform China. This study examines the development of master planned estates in Wenzhou, China, and argues the significant impacts from the processes of suburbanization and privatization to residential development. Besides the entrepreneurial strategies taken from the providers' side, residential preference profoundly affects the development of master planned estates in suburbs. This study explores the relationship between spatial factors of communities, residents' socio-economic status, community life, and sense of community. Based on a large-scale survey, this study is able to give a glimpse on everyday life in suburban master planned estates, and emphasize the driving forces from consumers' side to the development of suburban master planned estates.

### Willow Lung-Amam, University of North Carolina

The politics of multiethnic & multifaith suburbia: Integrating Asian temples and mosques

Suburbia is often portrayed in both scholarship and the media as conforming to a narrow set of social and spatial stereotypes, often cast as the exclusive domain of the white, middle-class and elites, the center of conservative, right-wing, neoliberal politics, and a homogeneous and relatively static built form. But in fact, U.S. suburbs are now home to the majority of ethnic minorities, immigrants, and the poor, a diversity of faith communities, progressive politics, and an increasingly diverse built environment. High tech suburbs, in particular, show some of the most rapid

demographic changes, with rapidly increasing populations of immigrants particularly from China, India, and the Middle East. These demographic shifts are reflected in the increasing number of suburban mosques and Buddhist, Hindu, and Sikh temples in regions like Silicon Valley and Research Triangle Park, North Carolina.

This paper explores what the landscape of suburban mosques and temples in these two high tech regions reveals about the diversity of contemporary everyday social and spatial practices and politics of multiethnic suburbia. Through analysis of archival and in-depth interview data with faith leaders, community members, and city officials and planners, it argues that faith institutions have often been at the center of debates over the changing racial and ethnic composition of suburbia, but are also critical social and political institutions for many Asian immigrants. They are service centers that connect immigrants to educational, health, and other community resources; they provide immigrants with an organized political voice; and they serve as platforms for community discourses around interfaith and ethnic intolerance and differences, and are thus spaces where the profound potentials of multiethnic suburbia might be engaged.

## KEYNOTE – Understanding suburbanization

Alan Mabin, University of the Witwatersrand

Researching African suburbanisms: Lives, places, words, images and paradoxes

Researching African suburbanisms raises all kinds of questions both common to suburban research around the globe and, perhaps, special in the context of Africa's varied cities. The key issue is change: in lives, places, words, images. Some African urban economies are growing at rates usually associated with eastern Asia, drawing many lives towards previously unthinkable resources. Physical environments mutate too, in ways hardly distant from accumulation of new resources. Vocabularies including those of place naming seem in flux too. Images of all kinds splinter and diversify: mapping is a new challenge, representations in numbers and other realist forms diverge from experience, and artists often seem to engage more acutely with shifting sensations of the city than researchers. How in these circumstances can suburbanisms in Africa be examined and reported? This presentation traverses settings, methods and results of research into change in African cities, focused on African suburbanisms. It contemplates difficulties of

knowing and further considers ways in which new knowledges may relate to shifting patterns of power. Yet in the context of all these shifting and interwoven patterns of life, at least the following paradox remains: as most cities change with bewildering rapidity, social forms and modes of living that make up so much of African urban life persist even as the physical environments of cities undergo sometimes extreme alteration. The final question for research, then, is as ever: how to inform thinking about how things may change into the unresearchable future?

# Alan Mabin, Margot Rubin, Alison Todes, University of the Witwatersrand

What a difference a metro makes! Or did it? Suburbanization and local government consolidation in Johannesburg

One of the rallying cries of the anti-Apartheid struggle was "One city, one tax base". Thus in the post Apartheid period, there was an amalgamation of local authorities with the intention of symbolic unification and equal governance for all citizens to facilitate the modes of wealth distribution and investment through cross-subsidisation, in general from the higher tax (or rates) bases of the previously white cities and suburbs to the designated black township areas.

It is often postulated that suburbanization is in part driven by fragmented local governance, which also exacerbates urban inequalities. It might thus be assumed that amalgamation of local authorities would make for equity and limit suburbanization. The South African case, where local authorities were consolidated into unitary metropolitan authorities between 1993 and 2000, is therefore of interest more widely, since forms of suburbanization have continued.

Yet the story is complex. The persistence of suburbanization is not necessarily a matter of failed 'regional governance', although forms of fragmented governance have continued through rounds of consolidation. Further, amalgamation has been associated with a redistribution of resources to former black townships, although deep spatial and social inequalities continue.

Based on extensive knowledge of several South African cities, and new research in Johannesburg under the 'regional governance' theme of the Global Suburbanisms MCRI (SSHRC), this paper will explore the relationship between suburbanization and consolidation of local government, enabling us to give complex answers to the question: what difference does

it make to achieve consolidation of local government, especially in highly unequal cities?

Alan Mace, London School of Economics and Political Science, Nicholas Phelps, University College London, and Roya Jodieri

City of villages? Stasis and change in London's suburbs

London has been described as a city of villages in which the pattern of suburbanization has taken placed in a context in which there seemingly has always been a there, there. To an extent, it presents a picture of incremental change to the point of stasis. Certainly much commentary has presented the suburbanization of London as having been fashioned in this incremental manner. In this paper we also depict suburbanisation in London as incremental change building upon prexisting patterns of settlement and associated transport connectivity. We view some of this relative stasis to be a product of the urban containment of London and the unleashing of suburbanisation in the rest of the South East of England. We also draw attention to on-going changes that have seen some suburbs evolve to have distinct social and ethnic compositions. However, we also highlight those important instances where suburban development has involved more radical breaks with the past through the late Fordist decentralisation of office and retail and their legacies.

### Claire Major, York University

Spatial constraints, hashtag ymm: Suburban life in Fort McMurray, Alberta

Fort McMurray, Alberta, home to migrant or newly permanent workers from across Canada and around the world, is the urban in the sea of boreal forest – but shadowed by another town entirely – the nearly 40,000 contract workers who live in company camps. As a resource town, dependent on a single industry, there are Canadian precedents that, in part, explain the nature of the socio-built form of the city. However, it is a departure from that framework: it is more like a suburb because of the kinds of spatial constraints on it. These result from complex relations—between the province and the municipality, because of the nature of "fly-in fly-out" work, because of uneven investment in social infrastructure—that are definitively place-based. In this paper I discuss how these shapings, framings, understanding, and uses of space necessitate and enable particular social responses that contribute to

both formal and informal ways of governance. I frame this as a suburban concern because the social responses often invoke the family, long associated with the suburban form. However, it is a case that also highlights new social governance modalities, such as social networking, that address or challenge perceptions about how social life is managed in suburban Fort McMurray.

### Antje Matern, Technische Universität Darmstadt

Urbanization by new governance arrangements? Practices of region building in Hamburg metropolitan region

Metropolitan regions became a prominent concept in German spatial planning ever since discourses about the competition of places and the role of world, global or creative cities started. Following the regional development approach to concentrate regional resources in global competition, metropolitan regions include a growing number of municipalities that bridge the functional and communicative gap between metropolis and hinterlands and transfer development impulses from metropolitan to peripheral areas by urban-rural partnerships. In this understanding metropolitan regions could be interpreted as urbanization strategy for rural hinterlands. Does the framing as metropolitan regions imply new spacing practices of local stakeholders in metropolitan regions? What is the role of actors from rural or suburban parts in multi-level-governance in large-scale region-building?

While the governance debate contributes to organizational patterns, structures and actor's constellations and research about metropolitan regions, focuses on infrastructures assets, practices of (collective) construction of spaces by regional stakeholders in urban-rural partnerships are underestimated. The paper contributes to the gap by analyzing spacing practices of urban-rural partnerships in the metropolitan region of Hamburg with regards to motivations, techniques and the materiality of practices. In this actors-oriented analysis different dimensions of on-going spacing processes are elaborated. In-between path dependencies regarding actors constellations and institutionalizations of collective acting and orientations on international discourses, the construction processes in Hamburg illustrates interdependencies of social practices and power constellations, localization and characteristic of actors and their involvement in collective spacing. Thereby, it identified imbalances of urban-rural partnerships in

region-building caused by inequalities of power and the reproduction of dependencies on spacing practices between actors different.

### Evan McDonough, York University

Madrid-Barajas Airport and the urban geography of globalization

McDonough's research uses photos and landscape interpretation to present the findings of the Toronto students experience in Madrid between October, 2012 and April, 2013. Beginning with the scale of the recently-expanded airport and its massive new terminal, the scope of McDonough's analysis of the built environment on this area of Madrid's periphery also includes the areas adjacent to the airport, other significant areas towards the north and east of the urban area, as well as other key sites in the city-region that, together, tell the story of Madrid's particular and recent experience of becoming a global city. Research of the built environment here includes a focus on the design and architecture of the new Terminal 4 and other iconic, large-scale uses of land outside of the city centre. Various factors with interests in development here - from municipal planners to the State and influences of the global economy - have converged on Madrid's periphery, co-constituting a place where these various forces and segments of the city are reflected in the built environment. The result is a landscape that includes a wide spectrum of contemporary suburban forms, including a colossal mixed-use, high-density construction site, car-oriented suburbs, abandoned megaprojects and subdivisions, the towering offices of Spanish and international corporate headquarters, new transportation links, and - within view of the new air traffic control towers – the expanding airport's namesake, the old village of Barajas.

KEYNOTE – Understanding suburbanization
Pablo Mendez, University of British Columbia
and Markus Moos, University of Waterloo

What do we measure when we measure suburbanisms?

Understanding the changing geographies of North American suburbs has been an important task of the social sciences and humanities for more than half a century. A question that lies implicitly or explicitly behind these efforts is: what counts as a suburb? Or, to put it differently, where does the urban end and where do the suburbs begin? Various methodological strategies have been developed to address this question, shedding significant insights into the uneven

development and constitution of metropolitan regions. But what happens when the focus shifts from suburbs as places to suburbanisms as ways of life? In this talk, I explore some of the outcomes of a project to empirically examine contemporary suburbanisms in the Canadian context. Geographical considerations remain crucial to this effort, but in many ways they take a different form. I discuss how typical measures of suburban characteristics were modified in the course of this research, and illustrate the ways in which common notions of where the suburbs lie are both altered and confirmed by this approach. Novel perspectives on the importance of various settlement and development processes emerge, alongside new theoretical and methodological challenges and possibilities. I argue that the empirical investigation of suburbanisms opens up new and exciting avenues in our quest to understand the important transformations currently redefining deeply held notions of centre and periphery in an increasingly urbanized world.

### Byron Miller, University of Calgary

A new kind of suburb? Interests, contention and comprise in the planning of Calgary's first major suburban development since the passage of Calgary's sustainability-focused master plan, "Plan-It"

Calgary is the most rapidly growing large city in Canada, with almost all of its growth since the 1950s added in the form of low density automobile dependent suburbs. Growth, however, has been costly, leading to considerable conflict over how Calgary grows. Suburban developers continue to insist that their traditional low density model is viable and what the market demands. City Council, however, decided otherwise in 2009, passing a new municipal development and transportation plan-"Plan-It"which calls for half of all future growth to occur within the existing built footprint of the city and the remainder to take the form of more dense greenfield suburbs. While planning policy for the City has changed, meaningful implementation depends in large measure on the specifics of new Area Structure Plans (ASPs) that guide greenfield development. Drafting of "Keystone Hills," the first new ASP since the passage of Plan-It, is now underway. The Area Structure Plan process is public, with a variety of stakeholders invited to participate—landowners, development companies, builders, planning staff, and citizen representatives. The ASP process, however, does not involve the future residents or their representatives. Rather, invited

stakeholders shape the ASP, each with their own concerns including risk, infrastructure costs, profitability, time-to-build-out, life-cycle-costs, affordability, property tax revenue generation, transit-suitability, environmental impacts, and more. These concerns are addressed in the context of broader political discourses around fiscal and environmental sustainability, what sort of city Calgary should be, and whose vision of Calgary is being realized. The final Area Structure Plan is a product of the municipal development plan framework, the inclusion and exclusion of particular interest groups, ideology, and the exercise of political power.

### Jacopo Miro, University of British Columbia

Social vulnerability and Vancouver's changing metropolitan region

In Canada and the United States, lower-income populations tend to cluster in and around city centres. The very term inner city evokes powerful images of impoverished neighbourhoods, ethnic minorities, and crime. Conversely, 'suburb' and 'suburban' have become synonymous with middle-class affluence, white folks and good schools. But for a long time this dichotomy has failed to capture the gradual blurring of traditional distinctions between cities and suburbs (Hulchanski, 2007: Freeman, 2011). In Vancouver, British Columbia, shifts in the social geography of the metropolitan region bring to light overlooked patterns of urban vulnerability, including a growing outward dispersal of low-income people over the metropolitan region (Ley and Lynch, 2012). These trends have wide ranging implications for planning. One source of concern is that poverty in the suburbs tends to be less visible, and thus more easily ignored (Freeman, 2011). Weak regional governance models make the coordination of housing, job growth and transportation policy more difficult (Allard and Roth, 2010). The polarization of the metropolitan region also raises questions about the ability of suburban municipalities to connect vulnerable groups to social services and key physical infrastructure. Are suburban municipalities equipped to assist an increasingly diverse and lower-income population?

Are suburban municipalities equipped to assist an increasingly diverse and lower-income population? What challenges do changing patterns of inequality create for local planning? How do vulnerable people access social infrastructure and amenities, and what role does policy have in this? As I tackle these questions I examine changing understandings of 'suburb' and 'suburban', and explore the historical conditions that have influenced patterns of suburban development in the Metro Vancouver region.

### Aidan Moir, York University

Transit City in turmoil: Reurbanization, economic spatial claims and the shortfalls of public transportation development within suburban districts

In March 2007, David Miller announced Transit City, his public transportation development plan in cooperation with the TTC. The controversial initiative included the construction of seven LRT lines strategically designed to connect Toronto's suburban areas to the city's main transportation system. While Transit City symbolized Toronto's reurbanization policy initiatives, a significant factor of the initiative was to decrease automobile congestion by connecting the city to its suburban commuter-communities, including Etobicoke, Vaughn, and Scarborough, through public transportation. Despite the utopian intentions of the initiative, Transit City faced significant, yet often hypocritical, press treatment. Through a critical discourse analysis of Transit City media reporting, this paper critiques how the press coverage negotiated the multiple political, social, and geographic interests embedded within not only Transit City, but also the larger infrastructure development of public transportation in Ontario. Particular attention is directed towards how the press conveyed an urban, Toronto-centric approach to transit development, bestowing their support of the plan for revitalizing the city's downtown core. The press conversely dismissed Transit City's attempt to build connections with suburban networks as a 'waste' of public resources, notwithstanding the fact these areas are largely composed of economically neglected communities whose citizens are not afforded the same access to transit as their downtown-Toronto counterparts. The condition of public transportation in the Greater Toronto Area remains a highly contested issue within the region's public discourse, and the debates, critiques and discussions concerning Transit City continue to manifest in present press reports of public transportation and reurbanization policies.

### Ceri Morgan, Keele University

Memorializing the suburb: Martine Delvaux's Rose amer'

Discourses around nationalist assertion during Québec's Quiet Revolution sought to embrace modernity; associating this with the urban centre of Montréal. However, as several critics point out (Linteau, Laforest), this period marks a growth in suburbanisation more than urbanisation. The fetishisation of the city in *le texte national* largely

ignores this; focusing instead on tensions between Montréal's two largest ethno-linguistic groups as a means of raising-consciousness amongst its readers of their colonised status. Representations of the suburb in later examples of the Québec novel tend to be negative: in Louis Hamelin's La Rage and Hélène Monette's postmodern gothic Unless, suburban spaces in the greater Montréal region are figured as boring and, in the case of the latter, literally deadly. In the light of recent re-evaluations of the Québec post war suburb in the social sciences (Fortier), it is interesting to note what Daniel Laforest has identified as a trend in literature to figure the suburb in positive terms. This tendency connects with the fondness found in other cultural forms such as cinema (and the smash nostalgia-fest, C.R.A.Z.Y. ) and music (Arcade Fire's internationally acclaimed album, *The Suburbs*). This paper will explore an example of Québec's suburban novel which mobilises a positive identification with this space. Set in a franco-Ontarian suburb, Delvaux's Rose amer combines a social portrait of a particular time and place with a wider commentary on the motherdaughter relationship and gender mores.

### Kate Mulligan (panel session)

Healthy Toronto by design: Public policy and public health in suburban Toronto

Panelists: Josephine Archbold, Stephanie Gower, Kate Mulligan, Sudha Sabanadesan Toronto Public Health (TPH) is playing a leadership role in influencing the development of healthy public policies that integrate social, environmental and economic factors in building a healthier, more equitable and liveable city. TPH's recent focus on the built environment and health has led to the development of a number of initiatives linking governance, land use, infrastructure and health in Toronto's suburbs. These include: Identifying and advocating for better public transit service in Toronto's suburbs; helping suburban neighbourhoods get active and make improvements that make streets more walkable and bikeable; creating healthier apartment tower neighbourhoods through the removal of zoning barriers that currently limit their potential; supporting access to healthy foods, green spaces and community farming / gardening in the suburbs; integrating health and equity considerations in Toronto's Official Plan for land development with a focus on including elements of "complete communities" in suburban neighbourhoods: and identifying and advocating for priority areas facing particular health risks, such as levels of obesity and

vulnerability to heat-related climate change impacts Under the *Healthy Toronto by Design* framework, TPH works collaboratively with municipal departments, community and academic partners to embed a health lens in municipal policy development and city planning. Strategies include partnerships, research, civic engagement and policy development within and beyond the public health sector. This panel brings together members of TPH's Built Environment Working Group to share case studies and discuss strategies used to reduce health inequities and improve population health in Toronto's suburbs.

## Naghmeh Nazarnia and Jochen A. G. Jaeger, Concordia University

Monitoring urban sprawl in the metropolitan areas of Montreal and Quebec

It is widely accepted that urban sprawl is an undesirable phenomenon because of its harmful outcomes on various environmental, economic and social aspects. Negative consequences of urban sprawl made this phenomenon a topic of great debate in the past decade. However, higher efforts are needed to protect agricultural lands and open spaces from urban sprawl. In this study, the newly developed metrics of urban permeation and weighted urban proliferation are used for the quantitative measurement of urban sprawl in the Montreal and Quebec census metropolitan areas. Ouantitative time series are presented for the time between 1951 and 2012. For example, the results show that in Montreal the degree of urban permeation increased from 2.21 UPU/m<sup>2</sup> in 1951 to 12.02 UPU/m<sup>2</sup> in 2012 within the metropolitan boundaries of 2012. Also weighted urban proliferation value in the Montreal metropolitan area increased from 1.37 UPU/m<sup>2</sup> to 10.55 UPU/m<sup>2</sup> from 1971 to 2012 within the metropolitan boundaries of 1971. The comparative assessment of urban sprawl in this study can be used as a tool for scenario analysis which would greatly help government agencies and city planners conduct a critical assessment of future plans and provide a basis for controlling urban sprawl and its negative consequences in these two regions and elsewhere.

Lenore Newman, University of the Fraser Valley and Katherine Burnett, University of Victoria

The rise of agriburbia: Food production on the suburban fringe

Farmland played a largely passive role during the suburban buildout of the twentieth century; however, the rise of the local food movement has contributed to increasing interest in farming in or near the city. Once simply a placeholder for future development, small-lot agriculture is increasingly seen as an important component of mixed use development. Although urban farming and community gardens have received significant attention, the growing importance of agriculture on the suburban fringe has been largely unexplored.

Agriburbia, a landscape in which farming and agriculture plays an important role in the developed form, is a term originally proposed by historian Paul Sandul to explain suburban development patterns in early 20th century Los Angeles. Similar patterns are emerging near several major metropolises, including Vancouver, Canada, where an Agricultural Land Reserve has preserved significant farmland within the suburban fringe. This resurgence is not without tension; residential and agricultural uses do not always coexist well, and the desire for mixed residential and agricultural development challenges traditional zoning practices.

In this paper, we document the resurgence of agriburbia on Vancouver's suburban fringe through the use of two case studies. These case studies demonstrate the potential role that farming and agriculture can play in suburban communities, while also highlighting tensions within the region's socio-spatial dialectic. Looking at the management strategies that have been successful in addressing these tensions, we consider the potential role these mixed-use suburban regions play in fostering sustainable practices and preserving small-lot farming in relation to traditional zoning practices.

### KEYNOTE - Governance

Christopher Niedt, Hofstra University

Creative destruction and political struggle in the suburban United States

For decades, sprawling greenfield development has defined the suburban morphology of the United States. But today, capital faces rapidly changing conditions – ranging from build-out to environmental vulnerability to changing market demand – that are turning investment inward, towards the urban core and older suburbs. At

the same moment, suburban ethnic and class diversity is increasing, with minimal spatial (or social) integration at the neighborhood level. This paper considers how the confluence of these trends sets the stage for intensifying conflict over who will control suburban redevelopment, who will reap its benefits, and who will bear its costs. These struggles will parallel historical and present-day episodes of intensified urban redevelopment – such as those moments of "creative destruction" described by David Harvey, Marshall Berman, and others – while remaining distinctive, due to suburban affinity for homeownership, traditions of home rule, and ambivalence towards the state.

### Seamus O'Hanlon, Monash University

A Victorian city transformed: Immigrants, apartments and suburban redevelopment in Melbourne, Australia

Melbourne was one of the 'instant' cities of the nineteenth century. Rising from a small settlement founded in the 1830s to a highly-suburbanised metropolis of half a million fifty years later, Melbourne is recognised as one of the world's great Victorian cities. Today, 180 years after its founding and with a metropolitan population of nearly 4.5 million people drawn from nearly 200 different ethnic groups, it is also one of the world's great immigrant cities. While the history of the Victorian city has been both well-told and publicly-celebrated, the emergence of the contemporary poly-ethnic suburban metropolis is less well-documented. Inspired by McManus and Ethington's 2007 call for historians to study suburban change over time, this paper seeks to redress this imbalance by chronicling changes in the built form and demographic make-up of two nineteenth century Melbourne suburbs which were rebuilt with low-rise apartment buildings by European immigrant developers in the 1960s. These case studies are used to show how changes in the built environment can alert us to the impact of immigrants on the suburban landscape, not just by looking at community and other public buildings, or indeed commercial streets, but also by examining the type and density of dwellings built by and for different ethnic and cultural groups across time. In doing so, the paper links the histories of these apartments to Dolores Hayden's work on reading urban landscapes as public history.

# F. Serkan Ongel, Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey

Suburbanization process in the global production chains: The case of Gebze District

The shift from the import substitution industrialization model of the 1970s to neoliberalization and export-led growth in the post-1980 period has reshaped the relations between the productive capital and the cities in Turkey. The productive capital has been pushed out to peripheries of the traditional industrial inner-city areas of Istanbul which has emerged on the global cities scene as the mother ship and showcase of Turkey's neoliberal economy. Meanwhile, the cities undertaking industrial functions are collecting production units of MNCs along with their suppliers who work formally or informally for the MNCs. In this context, I analyze Gebze as one of the new spaces of the global productive capital on the outskirts of Istanbul. I particularly focus on the functioning and organization of "global supplier networks," their site selection, and finally, the ways in which they affect the spatial organization in Gebze region which in turn generate socio-economic, environmental, public health issues in the city. To this end, the paper will be based on mixed-methods including workers survey, in-depth interviews with managers of automotive firms who were selected by statistical methods, workers and trade union's administrators in Gebze.

# Geoffrey Ross Owens, Wright State University

Transgressing the rural-urban divide: Peri-urban or suburban development in Dar es Salaam Tanzania?

By the early 1990s, Tanzania began an ambitious privatization program, leading to more fortunate suburban residents acquiring private ownership of houses and plots, and less fortunate residents fending for themselves in Tanzania's emergent private employment sector. Urban wage earners, initially employed in Tanzania's civil and parastatal sectors. moved from the City Centre to its periphery to recreate the 'garden suburbs' of their colonial-era predecessors, or sometimes to engage in urban farming or small business on the city's periphery. Peri-urban districts also house renters, day laborers, tradespeople and other non-landholding residents contributing to the community life, but whose critical role remains invisible to many living there. This proposed paper focuses on the dilemmas faced by non-landholding, peri-urban farmers of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Based

upon structured and unstructured interviews of over 100 farmers in two peri-urban districts, most do not view themselves as engaged in employment. Many are retired, or left work because of age, infirmity or redundancy. And although most grow produce intended for urban markets, they don't consider farming a business either. In their view, commercial farming requires capital in the form of land, fertilizers, mechanical tractors, water pumps or other devices. Urban farmers often see it as a "project" (mradi), generating income, hoping that real employment might be obtainable sometime in the future. Though often treated with disdain, and perceiving themselves as unproductive members of the urban matrix, their invisibility is predicated on their transgression of the conceptual boundaries between rural and urban life.

#### Kyle Peterson, University of Calgary

Deceptive engagements: New urbanism and gentrification in Calgary's established suburbs

While considerable criticism has been aimed at New Urbanism's environmental determinism, there has been little discussion of its principles as a destructive socio-spatial process. As part of an effort to confront Calgary's sprawling suburban development, a group of New Urbanist (NU) activists initiated a charrette planning process in one of the city's established suburbs: the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA). The International Avenue Design Initiative (IADI) envisioned the GFLA's automobile-dependent landscape becoming a pedestrian-scaled ethnically diverse complete community. Lauded as an alternative framework for inclusive democracy, IADI aimed to influence the City of Calgary (COC) to adopt its NU framework for future City planning implementation. The IADI charrette process, however, ensured a public engagement strategy that excluded the GFLA's vulnerable population (ethnic, low-income, renters, etc), which represents the majority of the neighbourhood. Instead, IADI reflected pre-conceived visions from nonresident urban designers and Caucasian middle and upper class community members. The outcome of IADI will be the gentrification of the GFLA. The attention IADI garnered led to the COC initiating its own conceptual plan: the Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept (SE17). Although SE17 is not a verbatim copy of IADI, NU principles guide the COC's plan. The public engagement strategy adopted in SE17 produced results that were nearly identical to IADI. Both IADI and SE17 reflect how "sustainable (re)development" and "community empowerment"

can be a guise for gentrification and exclusivity. Whether a consensus about the neighbourhood's future character and evolution was formed must be seriously questioned.

### Robert Pluto, Ryerson University

Structuring suburbanisms: Neoliberal economic policies and productive living spaces in Mississauga

This paper discusses the influence and role that neoliberal economic discourses play in the nodal development of suburban living and working spaces in Mississauga. Bordering the western edge of Toronto, Mississauga exhibits the particular differences of urban planning strategies between the downtown core and suburban periphery of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). I use Mississauga as a case study to demonstrate that the indoctrination of neoliberal economic discourses in Canada has resulted in the shift towards customer-service oriented municipalities. These cities encourage the development of "productive" living and working areas over more socially beneficial ones. With a population of over 700 000, Mississauga is divided into smaller "city-centers" or nodes, around which particular kinds of infrastructural development are preferred and encouraged. Specifically, this essay will look at the ongoing development of and relationship between centers of artistic production and consumption (the Living Arts Center and the Art Gallery of Mississauga) and nearby high-rise condominiums. This essay will first survey the more general economic and political criticisms of neoliberal governance (Martin 2002; Couldry 2010; Hardey 2007; Harvey 2008, 2010), then briefly develop how the preferential development of economically productive living and working spaces privileges corporate elites (Catungal et al. 2009; Comunian 2011). It will argue that the development of artistic production and high-rise dwellings in the city center of Mississauga is a symptom of this economic bias, while feeding into the city's plan of stimulating cultural capital through artistic production.

### Jan Polivka, Technische Universität Dortmund

Suburban life cycles: Approaching the spatiotemporal varieties of suburbia

This paper presents a model of suburban life cycles that seeks to explore different phases of sub-urban development in various parts of the urban fringe. The research followed the assumption that suburbia is neither a "pre-determined" spatial unit, nor is it stable and remains the same alongside its development trajectory. We applied our approach to different parts of the metropolitan fringe in German metro regions, including housing districts, commercial areas and subcentres. 12 case studies have been conducted between 2010 and 2012 in prospering or stable metro areas (Hamburg, Kassel), and also in regions that undergo major transformations (Leipzig, the Ruhr area). The case studies revealed that suburban areas are characterized by a stunning variety of sociodemographics, economic development, built environment, individual potentials, problems and challenges. We derived three individual life-cycle phases from our analysis: Build-up-, maturity- and transition-phase. These phases, primarily applying to suburban housing areas, do exist as sort of ideal types during the first two generations only, and they tend to change later on. As a consequence of maturity, suburbs are subject to various strategies and micro-practices of policy and planning, in order to cope with contemporary change. We detected three "ideal-types", each depending on specific framework conditions: growth, consolidation and adaption. In addition, we discuss place-making as a social and communicative strategy that could help a certain sense of community and collective action to develop – in order to overcome the immanent property or, at least, image of suburbia as a sort of enclave space or "privatopia".

# Bhuvaneswari Raman, Jindal Global University

Patterns and practices of land transformation in urban periphery: The case of Chennai

This paper examines the patterns and practices of land transformation in the periphery of a metropolitan city, viz., Chennai in South India. Chennai, the capital city of Tamilnadu, is home to a population of nearly seven million and is the fourth largest city in the country. The paper illustrates diverse trajectories and forms of land transformation in the city's peripheries of the city, the logics underpinning it and the institutional realms in which it is enacted. The diverse phenomenon observed in the city is explained in this paper through a historical focus on the role of State and non-state institutions in land. Unlike other Indian cities, besides the state institutions in charge of land and planning at the regional and the local level, Chennai's institutional framework and laws relating to land were mediated by two key forces among others viz., the external influence

of the World Bank and the party politics. The role of these interventions was not uniform across the city. In addition, there was a shift in the priority of party politics and their alliances with various constituencies in the city. This influenced a shift in the form of land and infrastructure intervention at the city level. In the light of the phenomenon and practices observed in the city, the paper examines the relevance of various concepts including suburbs, rurban zone, peri-urban to the Chennai case.

### Fujie Rao, University of Alberta

Factors influencing the management of retail development: A multi case study of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada and Portland, Oregon, USA

The principal research question concentrates on how municipalities have managed the tensions between economic forces driving retail change (economic efficiency) and efforts to support or preserve local retail areas as a means to promote community sustainability after the end of the Second World War. The study is a multiple case study focusing upon Edmonton, Alberta, Canada and Portland, Oregon, USA.

The response to the rise of large format retail development by municipal governments has differed significantly in case cities, although both of them have prepared similar good plans in the 1970s. In Edmonton, the shift from traditional retail formats to large-format retail has mostly been permitted to occur through free market activity resulting in decaying inner city retail areas. In Portland, a relatively better mix between local retail areas and large-format retail forms has been achieved through incremental planning efforts. Through historical planning document readings, interviews with professional planners and councillors, and field trip observations in case cities, key retail development projects and the relevant municipal policies have been reviewed, discussed and reflected. In each city, three categories of topics have been primarily reiterated in the planning practice, including economy, environment and community. Edmonton has spent more efforts on increasing affordability (economy). Portland has shown more interests on pursuing complete community (community). City administrative structure, financial relationship between federal government, state and city, and local culture are possibly the key factors determining the different planning practice focuses and outcomes.

### Per Gunnar Røe, University of Oslo

Ideology, planning and meaning in suburbia: Investigating the case of row house areas in Oslo

A substantial part of the suburbanization of Oslo has been planned in detail by public authorities, based on a post war welfare state policy. This has produced certain suburban landscapes, architectural forms, structurepractice relations, suburban images, and representations of social life, happiness and disorder. The ideal type was the satellite high rise estate, increasingly criticized and devaluated during the 1960's and 70's. On the one hand, architects, planners and civil society reacted against this spatial form and life world. On the other hand they related the developing discourse and practices to the dominating representation of the North American suburbs; suburbia. Much effort has been put into the wish to create a third way. This has produced a nearly undisputed ideal type of Norwegian Suburbanism: The wooden row house. This is a low scale but not sprawling, a dense but not high rise suburban form. In this paper I investigate the relations between ideology, discourse, meaning and practice in suburban landscapes. The row house area differs from the comprehensively planned new towns or satellite suburbs, where the planning rationale is theorized and critiqued, and the discourse and social field of privatized and privately planned suburban landscapes. What ideas and theory laid the ground for the production of such areas? How were they planned, and what architectural forms were produced? How do people living there relate to the planning and architectural discourse in their everyday practices and construction of meaning, and what role may the wider social context have? What is the relation between ideas and identity? These questions will be investigated within three suburban row house areas in Greater Oslo.

### Parastou Saberi, York University

"Renovating the middle ring neighborhoods" in Toronto: On the politics of space and neo-colonial pacification

This paper makes a theoretical intervention in analyzing the current politics of place-based urban policy in Toronto's 'inner suburbs' which are populated by majority non-white working-class populations. By historicizing the ideologies at the heart of the recent policy activisms around there-development and policing strategies that target the racialized peripheral spaces of Toronto, I propose that conceptualizing such strategies simply with reference to

urban/suburban 'ways of life' and a suburban 'concentrated poverty' reify the historical processes of racialized territorialization of social relations in white-settler-colonial Toronto. I highlight the importance of examining such state-bound strategies in relation to the broader politics of security-development and (neo-)colonial relations of domination. I thus conceptualize these strategies as a modality of neo-colonial pacification that aims to reshape non-white working-class spaces and subjectivities.

### Seth Schindler, Humboldt University of Berlin

Inter-class relations in India's 'New Towns': waste management in Noida

Recent census data confirms that contemporary India is experiencing urbanization beyond its largest metropolises. One phenomenon that is beginning to attract scholarly attention is the growth of 'new towns,' suburbs that ring India's largest metropolises. Many of these new towns have attracted hi-tech firms and affluent residents, and some scholars have interpreted this pattern of growth as evidence that the so-called 'new' middle class seeks to 'bypass' the poor in India's metropolises. This paper argues that on the contrary, the urban poor play an integral role in the everyday life of new towns because their labor in the informal service sector – e.g. as waste collectors, domestic servants, gardeners, drivers, security guards, etc. – ensures the social reproduction of the 'new' middle class. This paper focuses on waste management in Noida, a new town on Delhi's periphery, and demonstrates that instead of bypassing the urban poor, the new middle class seeks to reestablish a dominant class position in the new towns by strictly regulating how and by whom space is used. Given the absence of an effective municipal solid waste management system, most waste in Noida is collected and handled by small informal enterprises that enter into agreements with resident welfare associations. This demonstrates that inter-class relations in new towns are often mediated through market mechanisms. Although the new middle class is able to bring superior financial resources to bear, a significant amount of urban space and flows of people/material escape its control. In this particular case, 'illegal' dumping sites serve as a daily reminder of the limits of affluent residents' control over space, and they call into question the ability of the 'new' middle class to discipline the urban poor.

### Karl Schmid, York University

Oil-dependency and the vulnerabilities of the suburbs

This paper examines the vulnerability of the suburban way of life in relation to car and oil dependencies, using current assessments to inform the situation faced by the Greater Toronto Area. High gasoline prices appear to be a potent vulnerability even if they have not yet triggered a crisis in the suburbs. In the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), two-thirds of suburban Torontonians make all their daily trips by car, and all but a tiny fraction of personal vehicles are powered by gasoline. Since 2009. gasoline prices increased seven times faster than family incomes. Higher density building, a switch to electric vehicles, and higher-quality public transportation are some of the responses proposed to mitigate these vulnerabilities. This paper assesses a range of quantitative and qualitative sources including GTA data and related research emerging on Australian suburbs. It discusses the implications of these vulnerabilities, other social and economic factors shaping particular suburban vulnerabilities, and the feasibility of alternatives. The paper concludes that the mitigation of vulnerabilities requires a far greater understanding of the deeply embedded cultural logics relating suburbanism, energy use, economic growth, and car-dependencies.

# Deen Sharp, City University of New York The suburban Arab spring

Tahrir Square emerged as the epicenter of both the Egyptian revolution and the Arab uprisings more broadly, or more popularly known as the Arab Spring. The spatial dynamics of the uprisings, however, are not only in the streets and public squares of the major metropolises. Despite urban spaces outside the major metropolises remaining almost invisible in discourses surrounding the Arab uprisings, small cities played a critical role in the revolts in 2011, the year that changed the Middle East. Indeed, the protests antedate the move to public squares in capital cities. The Arab uprisings powerfully demonstrate that history is not only shaped by the capital cities of the region, but also by highly complex and diverse set of spaces and actors, of which small cities make up a central, not peripheral, part. The uprisings have brought to the fore the urgency of establishing a small cities research agenda for the region. Engagement with space beyond the metropolis would not only introduce new avenues to analyze the historical contexts and undetermined futures of the Arab uprisings but also engender an improved understanding

of social life in the region more broadly. It took a fruit and vegetable vendor to instigate a region-wide revolution and depose the big men – Ben Ali, Mubarak and Saleh. It took small cities to awaken the larger metropolis.

# Jie Shen, Fudan University and Fulong Wu, University College London

Suburbs as space of capital accumulation: Understanding suburban new town development in China

From Harvey (1985) and Walker (1981) to more recently Cox (2010) and Peck (2011), the thesis on suburbanisation as a solution to capital accumulation crisis was well developed in the Western context. While post-war suburbanization led by the 'secondary circuit of capital' successfully expanded outlets for the over-accumulated capital from the sphere of production, the recent rise of economic activity on the edge and the retrofitting of suburbia served as an integral part of post-Fordist accumulation regime.

Existing studies on urban China recognize that city-based and land-centered urbanization process play an important role in local capital accumulation. However, since 2000, Chinese cities witnessed a new round of rapid suburbanization, accelerated by administrative annexation and new town development. Suburbs are evolving into regional growth nodes with comprehensive urban functions. The claim that 'the main driving force of urban sprawl in China is local government's willingness to lease more land' (Zhang, 2000: 131) or the characterisation of China's urban sprawl as merely 'a land enclosure movement' (Deng and Huang, 2004: 219) is too narrow.

Based on a detailed case of Shanghai and one of its outer suburban districts, Songjiang, this paper explores the underlying rationale and dynamics of the new mode of suburban development. It demonstrates that suburbanisation in the form of new town development is an essential accumulation strategy in response to a variety of specific new circumstances, including fiscal recentralisation, stringent control of land development, urgent needs for industrial restructuring, and imperatives to accommodate the influx of a diverse labour force. Moreover, during the process, a peculiar growth machine is empirically found to have been established in which real estate development and industrial development mutually reinforce each other. Lastly, with great economic capacity and political power, the state plays a decisive and indispensible role in creating conditions for suburban growth and thus capital accumulation.

### Elliot Siemiaticki, University of British Columbia

Changing places: (Sub)urban political economy for the 21st century

Suburbs have traditionally been conceived as both place and process. As a place, the suburb is understood to be located at the margins of the city-region in definitional contrast to a dense urban core. As a process, suburbanization refers to the expansion of residential and consumption activities where there is thought to be dichotomy between the working city and the consuming suburb. In this paper, I argue that suburbs are changing along both of these dimensions and I explore the theoretical and methodological possibilities of a suburban political economy approach to understanding twenty-first century city-regional development. The main contention of this paper is that whereas the place and process dimensions of suburbanization were generally aligned in the twentieth century iteration of suburban growth, twenty-first century logics of suburbanization have become fractured and displaced. Indeed, in many city-regions downtown cores are being re-cast as residential and consumption spaces dominated by condominiums and leisure amenities while peripheral municipalities are emerging as the engines of employment growth. Furthermore, as suburban municipalities grow in terms of their relative population and employment profiles, the 'center of gravity' for city-regions increasingly shifts from the core to the suburbs. I use the cases of Vancouver and Toronto to examine how the economic. social, political, ecological and built-form geographies of city-regions are changing. This paper illustrates why suburbs/suburbanization ought to be at the center of attention for urban studies in the 21st century and what a political economy approach might bring to such scholarship.

## Andre Sorensen and Paul Hess, University of Toronto

Retrofitting suburbia: Differentiated geographies of opportunity

Over the last decade a priority of urban policy-makers has been to promote redevelopment, urbanization, and intensification of older suburbs. The goals vary from 'smart growth' ideas of preventing sprawl through intensification, to increased densities that allow viable public transit services, to revitalization of declining areas, to encouraging mixed-use intensification that will allow walking for an increasing share of everyday activities. During the last few years an increasing volume of research literature focuses on such 'retrofitting' of suburbia. Yet it is clear that only some suburbs are likely to see a significant amount of retrofitting, and far fewer will be transformed through such retrofits into viable urban places, or will produce other desired outcomes such as improved quality of life and a reduction in automobile dependency. As it would be wasteful to invest major new resources into places that fail to generate self-sustaining urbanization trajectories, a crucial research question is whether – given similar investments of public and private resources – some suburbs are more likely than others to be amenable to urbanization, and if so, how might they be identified. To date, little research examines this question. Using the Greater Toronto Region as a case study, this paper creates a typology of suburban forms, and maps the geography of urban forms that demonstrate potential for urban retrofitting, as opposed to urban patterns that are likely to inhibit change in the long term. Our hypothesis is that this analysis will yield useful insights into macro regional-scale and micro local-scale strategies that will aid in successful suburban retrofitting, as well as complementary strategies to protect areas that deserve preservation.

### Greg Suttor, University of Toronto

Housing regime change and the geography of low income in Toronto

The character of suburbs significantly mirrors the degree of mix in housing and income. In urban Canada, the shift from the postwar to the neoliberal era brought notable changes in such mix. This paper examines the imprint of the changing socio-tenure regime on the geography of low income in Greater Toronto, including the different profile and trends of inner and outer suburbs. Three phases and elements dominated: the capitalist rental high-rise sector which was integral in postwar suburb-building and tended to income mixing: social housing development in 1965-1995; and poverty trends in the postwar rental sector after the postwar era. The shifting contribution of each is measured here for 1971 to 2006 using administrative and census data. Although social housing barely exceeded 10 percent of total production in its prime, this was enough to absorb and to locate spatially about half of net low-income rental demand for a generation. But spatial income trends are increasingly linked to income

trends in multi-unit market rental (high-rise and other) – a "return of the down-market". This interpretation points to the significance of housing system change in the widening urban spatial disparities which have alarmed local opinion-shapers but which echo global trends.

#### Luděk Sýkora, Charles University

Suburban revolution in post-socialist Europe: legacies, capitalism and new path dependencies

Suburbanization has become the predominant mode of urban development in post-socialist metropolitan areas of Central and Eastern Europe. Post-socialist suburbanization is characterized by fragmented spatial patterns broadly associated with urban sprawl and with controversial environmental, economic, and social consequences. This calls for a critical scrutiny of the process, driving forces, and consequences that might stimulate transformation in current practices in metropolitan development. The paper first juxtaposes differentiated trajectories, patterns and underlying forces of urbanization and suburbanization under two different political and socio-economic regimes of socialism and capitalism, each producing its own logic of urban space generation. While socialist metropolitan areas developed without suburban residential communities and commercial strips typical of American urbanization in particular, this form of suburbanization has quickly developed on a massive scale since the late 1990s. Secondly, referring to the examples of population, housing and job growth and decline in core cities and suburban hinterlands, the paper presents the scale and dynamics of massive urban deconcentration leading to radical reconfigurations in metropolitan regions. Examining the role of socialist legacies and contemporary driving forces of suburbanization, sprawl in particular, I argues that the radical transformations of post-socialist metropolitan areas through suburbanization are associated with the introduction of socio-economic principles of capitalism and its inherent spatial logic. Neoliberal capitalism, practiced in postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe, has created optimal conditions for unfettered suburban sprawl. The development in the suburban hinterlands of postsocialist cities has been managed through a mixture of free market practices centered on the belief in the sanctity of private property rights and a highly decentralized, local, regionally uncoordinated system of land development controls conducive to the proliferation of sprawl. Sprawl brings radical and

irreversible changes in settlement structures through a formation of new path-dependencies based in mutually reinforcing effects between emerging patterns of spatially fragmented suburbanization and deeply localized nature of land and territorial development regulations.

# Laura Taylor, York University and Kirsten Valentine Cadieux, University of Minnesota

Sprawl and the ideology of nature

This paper critically explores the significance of the ideology of nature in producing the culture and form of cities—particularly the exurbs beyond the metropolitan fringe of Canadian cities. In North American human geography, a vibrant discussion of the dualism of culture and nature has raised a number of critiques of modern life, most notably the contradiction between the idea that nature should be protected from settlement for its own sake and the way that our privileging of an idealized nature motivates people to seek natural residential settings. There has been both recent and longstanding interest in theorizing the role of nature in the production of the city (Bunce 1994; Gandy 2003; Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2006) but these have not interrogated the role of the ideology of nature in producing contemporary settlement patterns or suggested the ideology of nature as an issue for spatial planning. This paper discusses how the continual search for natural settings contributes crucially to sprawl as the most natural nature recedes further and further from the expanding city. A goal of urban and regional planning has been to stop sprawl by placing boundaries around growing cities to protect the integrity of rural areas, reinforcing the belief that nature and high quality of life are found outside the city. We argue that the role of the desire for nature in the experience and production of landscape is seriously understudied and underacknowledged in thinking about sprawl.

## Tolga Tezcan, Turkish Institute for Industrial Management

Suburbs within the suburb: Core-periphery relationship among Gebze's Neighborhoods

Gebze, on the border of Istanbul, hosts the most developed industries in Turkey with 11 Organized Industrial Zones. It is also regarded as "the area of last hope" and 95% of its population is constituted by internal migrants. Residents of Gebze who have

experienced the migration processes, have developed the strategy of forming neighborhood clusters in order to mitigate the socio-economic risks generated by the urbanization processes. Attempting to diminish social and economic inequalities and to develop requires underdeveloped units. Developed industrial cities and class differences emerged with capitalist system, have pushed neighborhoods to the configuration of coreperiphery relationship and "organic" unity among neighborhoods have been decomposed. One of the main barriers to the development of Gebze is İstanbul, which sees Gebze as an "outdoor factory" within a core-periphery relationship. However, "peripheral" Gebze itself gave birth to new peripheries on a neighborhood level, a socio-spatial process that gave way to new tensions among neighborhoods. These new spatial relations require new ways of conceptualization. I argue that the core-periphery model provides a sociological and geographical framework for contextualizing spatial inequalities. While there is a common tendency to evaluate Gebze as a suburb of İstanbul, the issue of internal suburbs and the construction processes of them related with İstanbul have been ignored. This presentation addresses the lack of focus on the internal core-periphery dimension by examining neighborhoods of Gebze. My paper is based on an extensive household survey with a sample of 1072 households, and classifies 22 neighborhoods of Gebze as periphery, semi-periphery and core neighborhoods by performing multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). MCA is based on variables of socioeconomic status (SES), salary of the households and the average rent expenses in each neighborhood.

### Alison Todes, University of the Witwatersrand

New African suburbanisms? Exploring the growth of the northern corridor of eThekwini/KwaDakuza in South Africa

This paper presents a case study of new forms of 'suburban' growth in an African context, exploring the nature and form of this growth, its drivers, and how it is shaped by policy and institutions (Mabin, Butcher and Bloch, 2011; Harris et al, 2012). The term 'suburbanism' is understood in this context as 'the combination of non-central population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion' (Ekers, Hamel and Keil, 2010, p.1). The paper provides a window into new forms of growth in the northern corridor of the eThekwini (Durban) metropolitan area of South Africa, and the adjacent KwaDukuza municipality since the early 1990s. It outlines the evolution of development in

these areas, the role of various actors, agencies and institutions in shaping growth, in particular, the role of a major landowner and of provincial government in driving growth within northern eThekwini, and the way these processes were affected by changing governance structures. The very different dynamics in the KwaDakuza area are also explored. A particular focus of the paper is the way municipal spatial planning has intersected and interacted with these growth dynamics: growth has seemingly been contrary to planning principles of compaction and integration, and major private sector and provincial players have driven their own planning processes and agendas, which, while the focus of tension and contestation, have also influenced municipal plans for the area. The paper is based on some 20 key respondent interviews conducted since late 2011, and on documentary and secondary sources.

### Estair Van Wagner, York University

Extracting suburbia: Aggregate, agriculture and the suburban transformation of rural Ontario

Conflicts over the development of private land on the suburban-rural fringe of major cities have become some of the most contentious environmental disputes in the Province of Ontario. These land use conflicts reveal the complexity of human relationships with land and the non-human environment. This paper looks at recent conflicts in Southwestern Ontario about the siting of industrial aggregate quarries. In particular, it examines how claims by non-owner parties are shaped by the context of rapid suburban development in the Greater Golden Horseshoe area; and, how such non-ownership claims have the potential to shape suburbanization in the future.

These conflicts highlight the tensions that arise as rapid suburban growth transforms peripheral rural areas through extractive processes that are fundamentally reshaping Ontario's landscape. Areas that have been characterized by agricultural and recreational use are rapidly shifting to industrial and extractive uses to provide the raw materials for urban/suburban infrastructure in the Province. While this development primarily occurs on private land, a range of non-owner actors have emerged as interested, vocal and assertive parties in regulatory decision making and legal processes. Local community groups, municipal governments, First Nations, environmental groups, agricultural organizations, and recreational users have all asserted claims about the ways in which privatelyowned land can, and should, be used and decision makers are struggling to adequately respond.

Such claims push the boundaries of the regulatory frameworks governing urban and suburban development to account for non-ownership interests in land use law and policy. In doing so, they challenge the primacy of the private property model in Canadian land use planning and at the root of the suburban ideal.

### Thomas J. Vicino, Northeastern University

Controlling Local Immigration Policies: Challenges for Suburban Governance

This paper chronicles and critically examines the evolution of the immigration policy debate at the local level of American government. An increasing number of local jurisdictions have implemented their own immigration laws, many of them coined "Illegal Immigration Relief Ordinances" (IIROs). During the late 2000s, this debate reached the suburbs, and the conflicts in two suburban jurisdictions are examined: Farmers Branch, Texas and Carpentersville, Illinois. Fearing an influx of immigrants, these suburbs addressed the issue of immigration with policy and planning responses such as English-only ordinances, local police enforcement of federal immigration laws, anti-immigrant ordinances related to local employers and landlords, and elimination of social services. Drawing on archival research, population analysis, and key informant interviews, I analyze the evolution of each suburb's IIRO and adopt a theoretical framework of the "right to the suburb" to examine the socioeconomic, policy, and planning debates in contested suburban spaces. This research demonstrates how policymakers and planners need to be prepared to deal with a new suburban diversity of people.

### David Wachsmuth, New York University

Megaregional alliances for competitiveness: Putting suburban governance in its place

Recent scholarship on North American suburban and post-suburban governance has successfully managed to move the suburbs out from under the shadow of central cities. I argue in this paper that this scholarship may have been *too* successful, and that suburban governance should be re-embedded in large-scale sociospatial contexts. Increasingly, however, these contexts are not central-city/suburban metropolitan areas, but rather sprawling, polycentric, transjurisdictional megaregions. Contemporary American suburban governance neither is autonomous nor subordinated to the city, but is co-constituted with the megaregion.

I substantiate this argument through a comparative analysis of the contemporary large-scale geography of US urban competitiveness policy. Based on a comprehensive survey of greater-than-metropolitanscale planning projects, governmental coordination efforts, and business coalitions in the realm of economic competitiveness, I map out established and emerging territorial alliances in a new suburbanized, megaregional urban terrain. In contrast to the growth machines operating within cities and metropolitan areas, based on collective elite interests in defending placebound investments, I identify loose megaregional territorial alliances that seek to geographically expand and intensify markets. These alliances are anchored by 1) private firms in sectors such as transport, logistics and finance which have an interest in strengthening the connectivity of megaregional markets, and 2) public institutions to collaborate across jurisdictions. This network of large-scale territorial alliances is the structural context within which contemporary American suburban governance now occurs, and the paper concludes with a comparison of case studies in the Great Lakes (the New International Trade Crossing) and Texas (the Trans-Texas Corridor) regions where suburban municipal governance confronts this context head on.

### Alan Walks, University of Toronto

Automobility and the politics of Canadian suburbs

Research examining the electoral leanings of suburban and inner city voters in the United States, and to a degree in Canada, is by now well established. Suburban voters have increasingly shifted toward the right since the 1970s, while inner-city voters remain solidly to the left. However, the precise mechanisms fuelling such a divergence remain less well-known, as does an understanding of which kinds of suburbs have been most tempted to shift their allegiances. In this paper, I trace the leanings of inner-city and suburban voters over time across Canada's metropolitan areas, and delineate the mechanisms that are associated with greater movement in partisanship. Six different dimensions of suburbanism are examined for their effects in influencing voter partisanship in federal, provincial, and for the City of Toronto, municipal, elections. Of these, automobility - the promotion and dependence on automotive mobility - is found to feature strongly. It is automobile-dependent neighbourhoods and suburbs that have shifted most strongly toward right-wing parties at each scale, and it is automobility that shows the strongest statistical

explanatory power in predicting support for right-wing politicians at each scale. However, the other five dimensions are also found to influence political leanings, and are associated with specific mechanisms related to partisanship. The implications of these findings are discussed in relation the future of suburban politics in the context of austerity, deindustrialization, and energy vulnerability.

### Jill Wigle, Carleton University

Peripheries, boundaries, and change in the Chalco region of Mexico City

This presentation explores the diverse forms of urban/suburban development taking place in the Chalco region in the southeastern metropolitan periphery of Mexico City. Once a major dairy producing area, Chalco is now undergoing rapid restructuring through various "formal" and "informal" development processes. In many cases, this involves the conversion of communally-owned and managed agricultural land into privately-owned or occupied residential dwellings and areas. These socio-spatial transformations have produced a complex landscape in which mass-produced subdivisions, car-oriented commercial centres and informal settlements are juxtaposed with pre-existing pueblos and traditional market places. These patterns of disparate development have produced new social and material boundaries, and often, new spaces of conflict related to access to urban services, transportation, governance and land use. The presentation will explore these transformations through recent research that combines field visits, interviews, and secondary data.

### David Wilson, University of Illinois

The new suburban disciplining and excluding: Chicago's Berwyn

A growing number of American suburbs now struggle with the contradictory forces of promoting inclusion and exclusion like never before. Resistance to social, spatial, and demographic change now meets a new rhetoric of inclusiveness as historically unprecedented rates of newly arrived immigrants are seen to represent an influx of needed waged laborers but also potentially turbulent community change. Illustrative of this is Chicagoland's Berwyn, an increasingly heterogeneous community economically and demographically which now navigates tensions engendered by the simultaneity of globalization, transnationalism, and neoliberal

sensibilities. This study chronicles this entanglement of complexity and illuminates an emergent technique such suburban political governances are now using to subtly propel socio-ethic exclusion: "architectures of discipline." I chronicle how new built forms are deployed as complex signifiers to regulate, manage, and contain newly arrived immigrants. Amid pronouncements of community social progressiveness and community acceptance of diversity, I show, this hermeneutic-laced architecture symbol functions to purvey judgments about the character of recent arrivals and to maintain a sense of ideal socio-moral order in the community. I conclude that this discursive tactic, a sign of America's turbulent economic, socio-ethnic and racialized times, appears to be rapidly spreading across U.S. suburbia.

## Arica Young, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

When the developers are the residents: Creating a social and environmentally sustainable subdivision in northern Virginia

What happens when people develop a residential community from the ground up with the objective of fostering social sustainability and conserving farmland in one of the United States' fastest-growing suburbs? In 1991, a Virginia farm family and their friends set out to create a neighbourhood based on cohousing principles 10 miles outside Washington, DC. None of them were architects, but they had land and were driven by the vision of a community rich in social capital and filled with residents dedicated to preserving open space and farmland. The result: Blueberry Hill Cohousing, a 19-home subdivision relatively hidden from the nearby expanding edge city of Tyson's Corner in Fairfax County, VA. This paper examines the extent to which the community's original social and environmental sustainability goals have been met and how the community's use of cohousing's guiding precepts on design, management structure, and activities influence social networks' development. The paper also explores how strong social networks may strengthen a community's long-term stability and facilitate the residents' daily living experience. From this case study, the paper may offer broader lessons on techniques to meet social sustainability goals for residents in new and existing suburban communities.

### Douglas Young, York University

Renewing Toronto's suburban towers: Everyday life and the contradictions of neoliberalism

Established in 2008, the City of Toronto's Tower Renewal program works to encourage upgrading of the city's more than 1,100 post-war highrise rental apartment buildings. Many of those buildings (85% of which are in the private sector; 15% in the social sector) are located in inner suburban districts and are. increasingly, home to low-income, racialized and recent immigrant communities. This progressive seeming project acknowledges the importance of the city's highrise rental buildings in providing a relatively affordable material basis for everyday life. At the same time, however, the program can also be seen as supporting a shrinking of ambition in the realm of affordable housing and, more broadly put, neighbourhood renewal. In contributing to a shift in discourse and policy towards market based solutions to a crisis in housing affordability and neighbourhood livability, Toronto's Tower Renewal program provides evidence of the contradictions of neoliberal urban governance. In this paper I reflect on Tower Renewal as an example those contradictory tendencies and of what Theodore and Peck (2011) describe as a "mongrel mode of urban governance."

# Marie-Hélène Zérah, Institute of Research for Development, Paris

Between state and market. Dharuhera, Haryana: The story of a rapid urbanization process

This paper highlights the range of interrelated transformations that occur with the emergence and the production of urban space. It focuses on the case study of a small town located 70 km from Delhi, the capital of India. This recently declared urban settlement is an example of a village growing into a small industrial town and increasingly integrated as a satellite town of a global city region. Many of the functional and spatial changes of the last decades can be explained by a rational urbanization process boosted by the process of public policies and economies of agglomeration. However, a more situated analysis of the settlement also tells a story of unexpected events and of a local history that structure the urbanization process. In this sense, the transformation of this town and the surrounding villages is emblematic of an urbanization process betwixt and between planning and contingency.

This paper will focus on understanding the external forces of growth as well as endogenous changes. The methodology is based on a diversity of tool: an exhaustive survey of local elected representatives, a mapping of land use changes over the last 20 years, a qualitative survey of the market and real estate entrepreneurs to map social changes and social mobility and a series of interviews with other actors. The main argument developed is that, despite an

apparent conformity with models of economics of agglomeration, local agency and entrepreneurship contribute as much to the process of urbanization.