

ID 1565 | CRITIQUE OF EVERYDAY LIFE AND POST-POSITIVIST PLANNING

Sabine Knierbein¹

¹Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban Culture and Public Space, TU Wien, Austria
knierbein@skuur.tuwien.ac.at

1 EVERYDAY LIFE RESEARCH, UNSETTLED ROUTINES, AND PLANNING

Lefebvre's books on the 'Production of Space', 'The Right to the City' and the 'Urban Revolution' have been widely discussed in planning theory, and are constantly referred to in (scholarly-activist) planning practice, e.g. in the urban protests against massive gentrification and in recent solidary struggles against post-political regimes heralding austerity policies. However, Lefebvre's (2014) century-long oeuvre on the 'Critique of Everyday Life' spanning from (1) his analysis and observations of rising fascism in the 1920s/1930s; (2) the post-WWII urban modernization and the 'internal colonization' of everyday life routines in France and Europe in the 1940s/1950s; and (3) the advent of paradigmatic shifts between production and consumption in the city in the 1960s/1970s towards the era of global urbanization; has received few attention in the realm of urban studies, and even less so in planning. This is remarkable, as this three-volume work conveys several insights on un- and resettlement of urban routines useful to understand present changes mediated through everyday life in contemporary cities.

In a context of a felt unsettling of urban and national routines, particularly marked by the years 2011 and 2016, this paper pays tribute to Lefebvre's complex spatial understanding of the critique of everyday life as an analytical perspective to detect, identify and qualitatively understand changes on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of society. Then, focus will be set on the time span since the early 1980s to highlight contributions from social, political and cultural theory that have engaged with a more contemporary (spatial) critique of everyday life. These shifts in theorizing the city are connected to the contemporary critique of the earlier generation of post-positivist planning accounts and pave the way to (loosely) start thinking about conceptualizing a more recent generation of planning theories much more interested in affective, agonistic, performative, insurgent, relational and counter planning approaches, and thus, in the nitty-gritty political, cultural and social nuances of an updated spatial critique of everyday life.

2 THE CRITIQUE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

One of global capitalism's most powerful modes of expansion is urbanization (Lefebvre, 2003(1970)), implying an understanding of cities and urban space as key sites that catalyse growth, competition and individual freedom (Molotch, 1976). It is the ambivalent nature of processes of urbanization, and the uneven interplay between nation states and cities, that make the city a key field to understand, analyse and interpret different formants of capitalism, its inherent contestations, pitfalls and collapse (Schmid, 2005). Cracks, fractures, ruptures and the perpetuated crises at the heart of the current flexible capitalism get first visible in cities, mediated through processes of urbanization, yet contested through acts of urban resistance (Lehtovuori, 2010; Mayer, 2013).

While developing and following academic training schemes that would often deal with abstract space, the spatial arts have tended to neglect an understanding of the city as lived space (Tornaghi and Knierbein, 2015). Lived space is a contested and yet hopeful space characterized as much by affect, experience and sets of values, as by rational decisions and interest based struggles. But what exactly is this everyday life about, and how does it spatially manifest? How can the city as lived space be connected to a study of changing everyday life patterns? What can planners learn from scrutinizing everyday life? Lived spaces in the city are those places, where everyday life routines unfold and where new patterns and ways of living gain momentum. The minutiae of everyday life, however, are understood as a messy field, as there are everyday conflicts (e.g. exclusion, segregation and discrimination). Empirically speaking, spatial patterns of everyday routines become fundamentally unsettled (e.g. through everyday contestations) even before paradigmatic socio-political shifts gain momentum, when emancipatory movements grow and political mobilization starts to unfold out of unbearable everyday life conditions (Goonewardena et al., 2008).

Schmid (2005, p. 10f.) locates the emergence of critical urban studies with the rise of the crisis of the city in the 1960s which signified a loss of everyday qualities of life caused by massive Fordist urban expansion schemes (based on street infrastructure construction and related suburbanization as a spatial model to sustain the dominant expansion of car producing industries). Lefebvre has detected this crisis somewhat earlier, by studying the emerging industrialization-urbanization of France before and after the Second World War, where cities were organized as a type of 'new colonies', with those colonized living a commodified life in the banlieue, and those colonizing occupying cities' social and material centralities.

The city and the urban thus can be analysed as a palimpsest of constant crises of capitalism and of diverse attempts to overcome these crises through collective forms of self-organization. This new type of urban crises peaked at a moment when the impacts of capitalism's changing strategies were increasingly felt in everyday life, culminating in the wide social mobilization and urban resistance movements of the late 1960s, and the related global movement of the New Left. Some critics argue that the global social movements of 2011, the "year of dreaming dangerously" (Žižek, 2012), can be interpreted in a similar way, as now neoliberalization's impacts on contemporary everyday life routines had become unbearable in the direct aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 (Kaika and Karaliotas, 2017). The seismic precursors of these types of general paradigmatic shifts and civic upheavals (as in 1968, 2011) can be detected through a constant empirical monitoring of changing patterns of urban lived space, and often happen with a relevant delay after the introduction of new modes of urban restructuring (e.g. in France after the Marshall plan restructuring in 1950s/60s; worldwide after the introduction of neoliberal ways of urban policy making in the 1970s/80s).

An important point here is to stress that these types of more paradigmatic 'urban crises' rather mark an understanding of the urban as (1) a social, political and cultural culmination point of crises at different scales and in different fields and as (2) crisis machine in which modes of de- and reterritorialization are ventured as constantly changing, adapted, invented or renewed modes of (flexible) capitalism's accumulation strategies inscribed into spaces, societies, ecologies and cultures through an effort of seizing, capturing and high-jacking the meaningful patterns and practices of everyday life, and as (3) a catalyst for social self-organization to overcome the constant pitfalls, aporia and fragmentations inherent in flexible capitalism, taking forms of response, resistance, struggle, detour, and counter cultures in the city.

Following changing urban patterns, phenomena and practices through the lens of everydayness thus is a key entry point not just to understand urban life, but also to retrace how we gain knowledge about urban change and transitions, and how the social urban world is constituted: "Everyday life may be familiar to us, but this does not mean that it is understood. Analysing the everyday may bring out the extraordinary in the ordinary (...)" (Elden, 2004, p. 111).

2.1 LEFEBVRE'S CENTURY-LONG OEUVRE (UNTIL 1991)

The lived urban spaces of the city are key lenses to develop such a dynamic understanding, as here the socio-material impact of structural changes, but also the acts of resistance and of new paths of action get visible. However, some linguistic nuances need to be acknowledged, as Lefebvre (1988, p. 78) has delineated: "The word everyday [quotidien] designates the entry of daily life [vie quotidienne] into modernity (...) the concept of 'everydayness' [quotidienneté] stresses the homogeneous, the repetitive, the fragmentary in everyday life". Shields works with Lefebvre's distinction and explains that there is a notion of the banal, trivial and repetitive quality of social life under capitalism in which "these terms were ... used to refer to the uncatalogued, habitual and routine nature of day-to-day living rather than used critically to refer to the alienated, dry "everydayness" of daily life" (Shields, 1999, p. 66). In the lived spaces of the city, everyday life (now reinterpreted as a theoretical tool of critique as it bears the dialectic of the ordinary and the alienated) inscribes itself into the material arrangements of the urban fabric. Any attempt to intervene into the urban fabric (e.g. through planning, design), vice versa, means to unsettle urban everyday routines and practices, and thus, everyday life. Through spatial interventions proponents of the spatial arts may shape new chances and opportunities and an enhanced quality of life; yet their spatial interventions may also tend to contribute to accelerating processes of spatial alienation, for instance through paving spatial strategies for gentrification, displacement and dispossession. This way, on the contrary, quality of life is further diminished for those who have fewer resources (money, power, voice, networks, etc.) at their disposal. This way, planners may sharpen the social divide, by contributing to the uneven development

inherent in capitalist urbanization patterns. Smith's (2010 (1984)), uneven development has been an important concept as regards, as it is based on a conception of deep space which refers to "(...) the space of everyday life in all its scales from the global to the local and the architectural, in which (...) different layers of life and social landscape are sedimented onto and into each other. Deep space is quintessentially social space: it is physical extent fused through with social intent" (ibid., p. 214). Any study of everyday life draws near to acknowledging the uneven distribution of access and resources to pursue a decent everyday life that is visible not just with regard to uneven development between global North and South, between European North and South, between nation's major cities and their hinterlands, but first and foremost – as Lefebvre has it – between the urban centre and a city's periphery, a process of urbanization that Lefebvre referred to as the internal colonization.

As follows, main arguments that have characterized the scientific reflection of everyday life in relation to uneven development of urban space, will be gathered. Limits of such an endeavour issue a doubt on "the uniqueness of urban milieus for studying everyday life", as this has been "sociologically challenged" (Kalekin-Fishman, 2013, p. 721) e.g. by everyday life studies in rural areas. While acknowledging that everyday life and lived spaces are not limited to the study of the city, this research focuses on urbanization as 'thick' empirical source of possibilities to study deep space and to engage with everyday life (as both an investigation of the ordinary and of alienation). Yet the spatiality of everyday life has often only been randomly treated as a problematique in urban studies and planning theory accounts, in order to understand the everyday life not as it appears (on the surface, as visual reality), but in a more 'geological' way of approaching social theory. Everyday life forms the social magma that is both producing material surfaces and their slow, but continuous change, and from time to time, visible material and embodied eruptive moments (and rapidly changing urban landscapes) of social transformation.

Lefebvre has not developed a philosophy of everyday life, but a social theory of the critique of everyday life, by promoting a critical spatial understanding of the changing social world under capitalism. The early parts of his overall oeuvre focused on everyday life, a thread that would run through all different aspects of his work, sometimes implicitly, sometimes more explicitly. Lefebvre's oeuvre on everyday life was initiated in the 1920s/1930s when he started to prepare the first out of three volumes of "Critique of Everyday Life" 1946, to be followed by vol. II (1961) and vol. III (1981) (Lefebvre, 2014). While France entered a phase of rapid modernization after the Second World War, "Lefebvre progressively recoded his initial concept of 'everyday life' into a range of spatial and urban categories" (Ross, 1995, p. 150, cited by Shields, 1999, p. 39).

In the post-Second World War phase, it was seemingly accompanied by Lefebvre's utopian vision that (French) society would reconstruct a better (socialist) future (overcoming pitfalls of capitalist organization), whereas his later works concentrated on the analysis why and how capitalism was able to survive. At that point, Lefebvre did not go along with Marx' understanding that capitalism would die any more, rather the opposite: Following Rosa Luxemburg's early enquiry of why and how the capitalist mode of production was able to continue, Lefebvre (1988, p. 80) attempted "to answer not only how capitalism survives, but also how it is able to grow: (...) it could integrate an industry. It integrated agriculture, it integrated the .. city, it integrated space; and it produced what I call la vie quotidienne".

With the increasing urbanization of ways of living, "a realm that is essential to everybody but becomes increasingly deficient for its users as social space is integrated ever more directly into processes of capital valorization" (Ronneberger, 2008, p. 135). These findings marked a key shift in Marxist approaches to understand space and the city: "Whereas the economic had long played an overarching role under capitalism, the everyday was now acquiring the same significance" (ibid.), thus opening critical spatial inquiry to a range of disciplinary and cross-disciplinary endeavours ever since. Soja states that "what Lefebvre was doing was substituting everyday life for the workplace as the primary locus of exploitation, domination and struggle; and redefining social transformation and revolution as intrinsically more socio-cultural (and less economic)" (ibid., 1996, p. 41). He "envisioned the emergence of a new revolutionary subject that would revolt not only against the exploitation of labour-power, but against the destruction of its entire living environment", states Ronneberger (2008, p. 135). In this sense, "urban struggle, not class struggle" became "the motor of history, urban praxis and not industrial praxis, the new local of revolt" (Merrifield, 2002, p. 117). By the late 1980s and shortly before his death, Lefebvre adds another level of interpretation as "it is at this moment that technical revolution substitutes itself for social and political revolution, while capitalism seizes the ground that had escaped it in large part until then: everyday life"

(Lefebvre, 1988, p. 79), thus shedding light on the emergence of the dominance of technocratic thought over social and political concerns.

2.2 CRITIQUE OF EVERYDAY LIFE (AFTER 1991)

While Lefebvre's project remains one of the most important "diagnosis of modern everyday life and a reclamation of its critical potential" (Highmore 2002, p. 225), many traces in his work have been referenced and used by feminists, post-colonialists, art historians, aesthetic theorists, architects, human geographers, urban planners, urban activists over the last couple of decades (Shields, 1999). During the late 1980s and 1990s, however, research on everyday life started to fade. Yet, in the new millennium, publications such as "The Everyday Life Reader" (Highmore, 2002), "Philosophizing Everyday Life" (Roberts, 2006), "Space, Difference, Everyday Life" (Goonewardena et al., 2008), the "Sociology of Everyday life" (Kalekin-Fisherman, 2013) and the first one-volume edition of Lefebvre's threefold critique of everyday life (ibid. 2014) mark a renewed attention for de-everydaying the familiar, and connecting it to space. Highmore's (2002) work offers a potential to bridge the emerging gap of understanding and theorizing the everyday that Lefebvre's death in 1991 has left. Another vanguard contribution that actively revisits the notion of the everyday by launching a critique of the modernist and Western version of social theory based on big collective organization and grand-scheme revolution is Bayat's (2010, p. 11) work "Life As Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East". His considerations raise a fundamental critique to the Western concept of 'public space' (as a modernist institution to which only a few have institutional access), while his intellectual focus remains on the spatial praxis and lived spaces of ordinary people.

2.3 TOWARDS A CONTEMPORARY CRITIQUE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

The most ambitious part of everyday life research is to overcome attempts of banalization which state that everyday life is all and nothing. Highmore (2002, p. 4) emphasizes that "the problem with the everyday is that its contours might be so vague as to encompass almost anything (or certain aspects of everything)", and continues to shed light on this challenge: "taken as an amorphous whole, work on everyday life might suggest that any fixing (especially in time and space) of the everyday is going to hamper discussion and perhaps limit the productivity of enquiry" (ibid., p. 37). To set up and offer a dynamic frame for situating scientific attention back on everyday life studies in the spatial arts, as follows, six aspects of everyday life enquiry have been synthesized to allow for a more in-depth understanding of contemporary global urbanization processes under capitalism, and its implications for planning: (A) Everyday life's uncanny character; (B) Everyday life as colonization, (C) Feminist perspectives on space beyond domination/marginalization, (D) Post-colonial everyday life research (E) Urban resistance as 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' and (F) Everyday life as spatial praxis and social action.

(A) Everyday life's uncanny character: Lived space analysis involves an understanding of "the everyday as a problematic, a contested and opaque terrain, where meanings are not to be found ready-made" (Highmore, 2002, p. 1). A wider conception would start from an understanding of the ambiguous, ambivalent and antagonistic character of everyday social relations and their spatial manifestations, because "the everyday does not supply happy endings or even happy beginnings" (ibid., p. 8) This points to the messy minutiae of everydayness: ordinary urban life bears certain uncanny and scary features that prevent any delving in romantic ideas of the ordinary as a field of urban enquiry. In "attempting to reveal the unconscious or nonapparent structures of everyday life" deep aspects can be uncovered "that are relentlessly gothic in their dimensions" (ibid.): For Freud it is the almost inevitable tragedy of loss, forbidden love and death anxiety, which lurks bubbling under the everyday. For Marx, everyday capitalism is a catastrophic engine devouring material and human resources and structured across class antagonisms" (cf. ibid.).

(B) Everyday life as colonization: A study of new forms of colonialisms can be facilitated through the study of fetish and colonial relations in everyday practice and objects. Another aspect strongly related to understanding everyday life as a fetishized form of how capitalism was able to spatially grow and expand, is to link everyday life research to a spatial investigation of power relations. Effective power relations occupy the terrains of everyday life, resulting in the finding that "ideologies reside in precisely those places where they are not perceived to be (or perceived at all)" (Highmore, 2002, p. 7), for instance, in the ordinary act of shopping groceries. Lefebvre considers the relation between power and the ordinary

not just at different scales, but with emphasis on their mutual entanglements. In this sense, the study of spatial patterns of urban everyday life is a useful resource to potentially identify structural aspects through (1) the study of fetishized forms of domination visible in public and private ways of living (e.g. as commodification of public space; or as regards the introduction of new products that transform everyday life, e.g. smart phones); (2) analysing practices of colonization that materially sediment as contested spatial relations between (social, physical, geographical, cultural, political) peripheries and centres; (3) an enquiry into power relations which structure urbanization processes and urban development policies, while studying those spatial contestations which bear the capacity to transgress (e.g. action-based) practices of resistance towards continuous achievements of emancipation.

(C) Feminist Perspectives on Space Beyond Domination: Feminist spatial debates have encouraged a wider activation of urban research perspectives in a threefold way: (1) to recognize, relocate and re-centre spaces and groups at the margin as agents for resistance and radical change; (2) to develop new subject-object relations as regards how researchers study urban everyday life thus articulating the social relations between researchers, and between researchers and those researched; and (3) to emphasize the role of the body in the production of space, thus linking to cognate emphasis on non-representational theory, performativity, passions, and embodied space. Yet it needs to be acknowledged, that in the study of social difference in the city, “everyday life can both hide and make vivid a range of social differences” (Highmore, 2002, p. 2).

(D) Post-Colonial Everyday Life Research: Particularly post-colonial accounts rooted in cultural studies have added more dimensions to a renewed critique of everyday life: (1) the dialectics of difference and commonality as an inseparable relation in lived space (Highmore 2002); (2) the radical change of positionality to choose marginality as a position to start research from (Soja 1996) and (3) the chronopolitical focus on ‘the art of practicing the now’ (Thrift, 2008). Present forms of emancipation and empowerment are performed by those social movements studied by activist-scholars interested in how everyday life patterns become unsettled and resettled in historical moments. These may relate to the emerging moments in which a European-centric model of exclusive urban modernity is deconstructed through a post-colonial critique to shape a path forward towards a worlded theory of urbanization, thus showing a changed understanding of global issues of public concern. However, it is not enough to develop postcolonial theories from the standpoint of the Western scholarly tradition and focus on neo-colonial patterns in Western societies. Western scholars also need to radically learn from cities and colleagues from other urban and world regions both as regards the way how the spatial analysis is framed, and as well regarding the empirical phenomena at hand and respective theorizations for the fields of urban studies and planning theory.

(E) Resistance as ‘Quiet Encroachment of the Ordinary’: What happens when everyday life is conceived from non-Western theories and empirical findings? Bayat’s work focusing on everyday life based theorizations combines an empirical contribution relating to the micro-scale of urban research claiming to analytically expand the notion of everyday forms of urban resistance with a fundamental critique of the modern conception of Western ‘social movements’ and of public space as an institution of (Western) bourgeois modernity which many of the urban subaltern – especially in contexts of authoritarian state rule – seek to avoid or circumvent. Empirical research from Middle Eastern cities has shown that new global urban restructuring is affecting these places and has pushed people living in informality further towards the margins.

Neoliberal modernity and its pace of global restructuring has brought (additional) masses of people into newsocio-spatial peripheries from which they now take (mass) action to improve their lives on their own. To study neoliberal modernity through the prisms of social non-movements, as Bayat (2010) has it, has reaffirmed the need for a politicization of registering the everyday: “the insistence that non-Western lives impact at the level of everyday life in the West is an important aspect of many recent forms of political culture (...) what happens at the level of micro-culture also reverberates at a more global level” (Highmore, 2002, p. 18). (E) Everyday Life as Action: One of the key sources to acknowledge Lefebvre’s critique of the prevailing abstract philosophies in the 20th century has been an understanding of everyday life as a philosophy of praxis, in which praxis can be considered to be a vehicle to embed conceptions of (present) time(s) into spatial analysis of changing patterns of lived space. Space, in this sense, needs to be understood as “an ensemble of a plethora of societal actions” (Schmid, 2005, p. 300) mediated through both individual and collective (everyday) social relations that are in a constant interplay in the self-creation of human beings. But which relevance then has the study of everyday life and lived space, if all niches can

be fruitful? The study of changing everyday life would cut across all these three fields, as (a) a study of action and praxis of the worldman has shaped; (b) a study of the experience, affect and altering potential of the lived social space; and (c) as a critique of abstract philosophy. Because “to study philosophy as an indirect criticism of life” as Lefebvre (2014, p. 272) put it “is to perceive (everyday) life as direct critique of philosophy.” But why, Shields asks, did Lefebvre opt into an investigation of life becoming seemingly boring under capitalism? Shields (1999, p. 67) emphasizes that such a scrutiny “indicates a domination of areas of human activity and relationships whose richness, if revealed, could become the basis for a reconstruction of human society”. This way, lived spaces becomes an intriguing subject allowing for constant crossovers for (ex-post oriented) social, cultural and political research in connection to (ex-ante oriented) perspectives into future planning praxis and theories, as it includes both the analysis of structural conditions and the impetus to sketch ways of action forward.

3 A NEW GENERATION OF POST-POSITIVIST PLANNING THEORIES?

As follows, an initial attempt to loosely rethink selected contemporary planning approaches will be presented, that stems from empirical public space research and the renewed critique of everyday life as sketched in rough contours above. Social change of the past 50 years, but also of the past decade, their spatial causes, side-effects and implications indicate a need to connect planning endeavours again to much more basic questions about whether, if and how planners intervene in everyday life conditions, and how planning contributes to a (re)production of everyday life patterns (seen as ordinary-alienated dialectics). As many urban societies are increasingly characterized by uneven development patterns, and the general level of socioeconomic well-being for bigger parts of the urban population has been constantly eroded, times for keeping planning in the safe-haven of a political thought have long passed by. But what is the societal role that planners can fill in order to address these pressing challenges? Many would argue that these are structural problems that planners are unable to address as this is out of their field of expertise. Others would suggest that planning should focus on a more liberal tradition to spatially promote growth and help the state to organize the conditions for that growth in order to provide prosperity and progress. Others would contest, that more of the same will only enlarge the divides and reproduce structural constraints based on the disruption of equity, equality and emancipation. In the light of the current increase in de-democratization of political ways of decision-making (post-political condition); new nationalisms and xenophobia visible through antagonistic public space contestations (anti-pluralist condition) and an increased financial capitalism that disempowers and dispossesses (commodification-through-crisis condition)—all transitions that constantly produce severe restrictions on the ability to access everyday life’s opportunities—planners cannot shy away from their responsibility to think about how they (re)organize space and thus power relations, and how they frame their own positionality in a spatial field characterized by constant struggles between politics and the political. With communities evicted and displaced, jobs lost, pensions evaporated, cost of living rising, citizens harassed and killed by the police, and with no effective or available democratic process to hold back and reverse these trends, planners often have to refocus on a task that has been deemed forgotten: to provide more basic and decent human living conditions, to propose alternative ways of urbanization and development that politically intervene into the cracks and crises of the current capitalist model and to propose spatial entries into how democracies can be constantly renewed.

Critique of Everyday Life	Urban Studies	Political Science	Planning Theory
3.1. <i>Public space under siege. On urban restructuring.</i>	postFordism, birth of neoliberal urban policies, social inequality	governmentality, neoliberalization and postFordism	Planning as governmentality
3.2. <i>The body under pressure. On politics of affect.</i>	embodied space: role of body politics, embodied space occupations	politics of affect, non-representational theory, performativity	Performative planning
3.3. <i>Contested modern public space. On everyday mass action.</i>	everyday urbanism, ordinary city, critique of modern Everyday Life	postcolonial accounts: social non-movements, everyday mass action	Insurgent Planning
3.4. <i>Lived space dialectics. On combined activism.</i>	emancipation, housing and public space: anti-eviction and de-commodification action	right to the city, feminist, Marxist and postmodern critique of everyday life	Relational planning
3.5. <i>Urban resistance. On increasing social inequality.</i>	struggles against depoliticisation of public space, weakness of representative democracy	presentist democracy, dissent vs. consent, marginalization vs marginal positions	Counter hegemonic planning

3.6. <i>Urban emancipation.</i> <i>On consent and dissent.</i>	the post-political and its discontents, struggles against disenfranchisement	post-foundational thought, politics of dissent, passion and politics	Agonistic planning
---	--	--	--------------------

Table 1 – Transfers between Urban Studies, Political Theory and Planning Theory

From this perspective, urban studies may serve as a field bridging empirical insights from publicspace research based on an (empirical, detailed, precise) critique of everyday life to the fields of socio-politicaland socio-cultural theory, from which many planning theorists draw their insights. This concluding part,therefore, does not offer a systematic reading of all post-positivist accounts in the Anglo-Saxon world, it israther a plea to (re)connect the field of planning to a deep reflection about those recent approaches inplanning that seek to render a relation between planning, everyday life and lived space, and thus preciselyaddress the respective societal, cultural and political context of a given planning situation. Some of potentialapproaches have been gathered in table 1 and will be briefly sketched as follows.

3.1 PUBLIC SPACE UNDER SIEGE. ON URBAN RESTRUCTURING.

This section combines three parts which (1) address different interpretations of patterns of urbanrestructuring (e.g. postfordist, neoliberal), (2) offer a political science-inspired reading of Foucault's theory ofgovernmentality as an explanatory frame for a historical analysis of urban restructuring and neoliberalization,and (3) establish a connection to understanding planning as governmentality. Critique of everyday life isaddressed here with a focus on power relations and on an understanding of planning as governmentality.practices shaping the actions of others and strategies for the management of a population with the aim toshow the unwitting effects of these regimes of practices on everyday life, yet to break free of the commonsenseacceptance of categories such as the ordinary, to open up ways of thinking differently (compare Huxley,2002, pp. 145-146). Hence, although power is an omnipresent dimension in human relations, and thus, inspace, power in a society is never a spatially fixed and closed regime, but rather an endless and open set ofsocial relations. The governmentality focus helps to explain how actually existing neoliberal urbanizationcame into being initially as a way of thinking in economics, and later as a practice of governing throughplanning which managed to literally transform the experience of societies, mediated through everyday life.

3.2 THE BODY UNDER PRESSURE. ON POLITICS OF AFFECT.

This second approach offers (1) an entry perspective into conceptions of space that discuss socialrelations through aspects of body, performance and action, thus promoting an understanding of embodiedprotest as an affective form of staging dissent and thereby shaping 'the political' in the city. It furtherconnects (2) 'the political' to considerations of the role and meaning of 'affect' to access a wider strand of(feminist) thought in political theory. Theories of affect address the minds' power to think (reason) and thebody's power to act (passion) (Hardt, 2007). They force us constantly to pose the problem of the relationshipbetween mind and body with the assumption that their powers constantly correspond in some ways (cf. *ibid.*,7). In this vein, affection assigns a relational moment, through which the capacity to act is decreased orincreased through the encounters between bodies, affected or/and affecting each other. Non-representationaltheory (Thrift, 2008) includes much of the non-intentional and non-discursive aspects of everyday life into anunderstanding of space and links this to the way politics and the political work beyond reason, using acombination of reason and passion, of thinking and acting. Thrift used the concept of "performance" tounderstand "the art of producing the now", the urban present conditions of everyday life (Dirksmeier andHelbrecht, 2010). Finally, (3) a transfer will be established between considerations linking embodied spaceconceptions, politics of affect and a more recent strand in planning theory, that is, performative planning.Recalling on Lefebvre's urge to centre praxis as any point of departure for further theoretical reflection,performative planning reconstitutes public space as a realm where praxis and theory meet. It thus meansmore than physical design; it is also concerned with social settings and activities (Altrock and Huning, 2015).

3.3 CONTESTED EVERYDAY SPACE. ON EVERYDAY MASS ACTION.

In the past decades, alternative urbanisms have enriched the spectrum of public-space-focused planning interventions (e.g. everyday urbanism, ordinary city, insurgent planning, insurgent public space, guerrilla urbanism, etc.). Many of these contributions stress the relevance of lived space dimensions for planning, albeit in nuanced ways. While (1) urban studies scrutinize approaches to adopt, appropriate and act (in) public space through changing everyday practices, (2) political scientists are currently discussing the theory of “social non-movements” (Bayat, 2010), as sketched above. Planning theorists link Bayat’s position to (3) insurgent planning with a post-colonial focus on the everyday dimension of urban space. Mirafteb (2009) has revised Western notions of radical planning by elaborating this concept: Practicing insurgent planning acknowledges what the hegemonic drive of neoliberal capitalism tries to obscure: the oppositional and transformative practices that citizens and marginalized populations invent day-by-day outside global capitalism’s definition of inclusion. Insurgent planning approaches strip ‘democracy’ and ‘inclusion’ of their formalistic elements, recognizing the ability of counter-hegemonic movements to choose own ways of constituting their collectivities and their participation.

3.4 LIVED SPACE DIALECTICS. ON COMBINED ACTIVISM.

In the context of the introduction of neoliberal urban policies in very different urban contexts, many cities around the world witness an increase in urban inequalities which is visible and can be analysed at the interface of public space and housing research. As a case study, struggles and resistances to push for the right to housing and for public space to reinstitute democratic decision making in praxis have been successfully intertwined. Housing rights movements have brought silences and absences that exist in the private realm into the public debate, and have simultaneously re-framed what was considered as individual and personal failure a structural problem of public concern (Garcia-Lamarca 2017). These empirical findings echo (2) the feminist critique that public space debates often do not include the fates of the so-called urban subaltern, the marginalized and disenfranchised urban populations for whom to become public would potentially pose a threat: this relates for example to a whole range of professions working in grey legal and labour conditions, such as nannies, housekeepers, gardeners, etc (visible in the private households). This critique sheds a light on the private-public relation vice versa, as it criticizes the silences and absences in public space that get visible once we carefully realize an ethnography of the living and working conditions of (un)paid labour and its reproduction in the private realm. These considerations are linked (3) to the concept of relational planning which stems from the family of approaches that coin public space as relational (Tornaghi and Knierbein, 2015), where feminist approaches need to be integrated into planning for relational public space. These approaches include (a) transdisciplinary approaches to city making; (b) context-specific, people-centred urban development tactics; (c) social space based conceptions of public space and urban cultures to conceptually recover the lived spaces in the city; (d) a focus rather on ‘inclusion through action’ (performative, material) than on ‘participation through discourse’ (communicative, symbolic); (e) alternative development paths beyond top-down modes of territorial urban restructuring.

3.5 URBAN RESISTANCE. ON INCREASING SOCIAL INEQUALITY.

This section is an attempt to better understand that the current waves of urban protests are inherently linked to rapidly changing structural conditions and the decline of (national) democracies. It offers (1) an insight into youth’s struggles in public space against a new tech- and expert-led gentrification and traces of a qualitatively new contestation unfolding around the use of public sports grounds. In San Francisco, tech workers from the Silicon Valley and related IT areas are not just the new gentry to habit the houses where former communities of colour (Afro-American and Hispanic-Americans) have been displaced through massive gentrification along the Google bus routes, but the city authority also facilitates that new IT related dwellers (particularly young white affluent men) are offered to ‘hire’ a sports pitch for money, a public space which is already a lived space for young people who grew up using the pitch in an inclusive way for newcomers (Maharawal, 2017). This empirical case is (2) discussed against theories that point to the current conjuncture of post-politics in seemingly democratic societies while emphasizing the omnipresent democratic deficits of state governance: Rancière (2010, p. 60) states that democracy (...) is the constituent power of “those who have no part – which does not mean the ‘excluded’ but anyone whoever”. Lorey (2014) expands on this thought as a critique of representative democracy as a form of

bourgeois democracy by developing the concept of 'presentist democracy' which she claims has been globally practiced through the principle of horizontality in the recent civic uprisings. For her, the modern promise of coming democracy has remained unfulfilled, as the political democracy remains separated from an achievement of claims of social equality. This debate is transferred (3) to the planning field by elaborating on what Purcell denominates as counterhegemonic planning, by asking: How planners can best resist neoliberalization? For Purcell (2009, p. 141) "democratic resistance to neoliberalism must explicitly and directly challenge the foundations of the neoliberal project". Purcell (2009) concludes that planners must learn from counter-hegemonic movements' struggles, and must make it their business to actively nurture them, for they offer a way out of the wilderness of neoliberalism: "Reclaiming power through political mobilization is our best hope for creating more democratic, more just, and more civilized cities." (ibid., p. 160)

3.6 URBAN EMANCIPATION. ON CONSENT AND DISSENT.

This last part connects (1) post-foundational thought in urban and planning theory (Wilson and Swyngedouw (2015, p.6): "in post-politics, political contradictions are reduced to policy problems to be managed by experts and legitimated through participatory processes in which the scope of possible outcomes is narrowly defined in advance." Post-foundational thought characterizes processes of post-politicization with the following aspects: (a) depoliticization; (b) disappearance of the political; (c) erosion of democracy; (d) weakening of the public sphere; (e) politics of ethnicized and violent disavowal; (f) exclusion and containment of different political-economic models (ibid). To keep liberal democracy alive—Mouffe (2013) states—, dissent needs to be cultivated within agonistic struggles (by adversaries), to prevent that political passions are misguided into extremist political forms of agonistic struggles (between enemies). Agonistic struggles are thus part of the constant renewal of the balance between equality and freedom, whereas antagonisms prioritize freedom over equality. Current modes of post-positivist planning (3), however, are heavily consensus-based, while dissent is not actively cultivated in planning schools (Purcell 2009). Formal participatory modes of communicative and collaborative planning tend to use consensus-building and majority-decisions, while (in)advertently flattening the contradictory voices of minority or marginalized groups. This situation calls for a more radical and egalitarian democratic thought in planning. Consensus-based liberal planning approaches have been criticized for they may silence out citizens and leave reasoning about decisions to managers, politicians and experts in processes of multilevel governance. Hillier (2002) has thus been advocating a dissent-based conception of agonistic planning, and has simultaneously asked what Mouffe's agonistic democracy would look like at an urban scale of decision-making. Yet while agonistic planning has been introduced, the power of public space research to understand the link between politics and passions in planning, that is a key aspect linking to current everyday life transitions, still remains to be explored in depth. Albeit not new, the claim for a re-democratization of planning as spatial praxis seems all too urgent, as in times of increasing everyday life restrictions and threats to democratic ways of living "it is a question of a slow, but profound modification of the everyday—of a new usage of the body, of time and space; of sociability; something that implies a social and political project; more enhanced forms of democracy, such as direct democracy in cities" (Lefebvre 1988, pp. 86f) that planners do need to engage with. This concerns as well innovative ideas about a "definition of a new citizenship; decentralization; participatory self-management(...)—that is, a project for society that is at the same time cultural, social and political" (ibid.).

If there is a new generation of post-positivist planning accounts that actively makes use of a renewed critique of everyday life, then this critique must work to reconnect political, social and cultural theory to planning praxis, with a strict focus on the ambivalent dialectics inherent in lived space.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Altrock, U., & Huning, S. (2015). Cultural interventions in urban public spaces and performative planning: Insights from shrinking cities in Eastern Germany. In C. Tornaghi & S. Knierbein (Eds.), *Public Space and Relational Perspectives. New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*. London, England: Routledge.
- Bayat, A. (2010). *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Dirksmeier, P., & Helbrecht, I. (2010). Intercultural interaction and "situational places": a perspective for urban cultural geography within and beyond the performative turn. *Social Geography*, 5, 39-48.
- Elden, S. (2004). *Understanding Henri Lefebvre. Theory and the Possible*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- García-Lamarca, M. (2017). Recuperating the Public Through Housing Rights Struggles in Spain. In J. Hou & S. Knierbein (Eds.), *City Unsilenced. Public Space and Urban Resistance in the Age of Shrinking Democracy* (pp. 44-55). London, England: Routledge.
- Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R., & Schmid, C. (2008). *Space. Difference. Everyday Life. Reading Henri Lefebvre*. London, England: Routledge.
- Hardt, M. (2007). Foreword. What Affects Are Good For. In P.T. Clough & J. Halley (Eds.), *The Affective Turn. Theorizing the Social* (pp. ix-xiii). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Highmore, B. (2002). *The everyday life reader*. London, England: Routledge.
- Hillier, J. (2002). Direct action and agonism in democratic planning practice. In P. Allmendinger & M. Tewdwr-Jones (Eds.), *Planning Futures. New Directions for Planning Theory* (pp. 110-135). London: Routledge.
- Huxley, M. (2002). Governmentality, Gender, Planning. A Foucauldian Perspective. In P. Allmendinger & M. Tewdwr-Jones (Eds.), *Planning Futures. New Directions for Planning Theory* (pp. 136-154). London, England: Routledge.
- Kaika, M., & Karaliotas, L. (2017). Athens' Syntagma Square Reloaded: From Staging Disagreement Towards Instituting Democratic Spaces. In J. Hou & S. Knierbein (Eds.), *City Unsilenced. Public Space and Urban Resistance in the Age of Shrinking Democracy* (pp. 121-132). London, England: Routledge.
- Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2013). Sociology of everyday life. *Current Sociology* 61(5-6), 714-732. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0011392113482112>
- Lefebvre, H. (1988). *Towards a leftist cultural politics*. In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003 (1970)). *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (2014). *Critique of Everyday Life – The one volume edition*. London, England: Verso.
- Lehtovuori, P (2010) *Experience and Conflict: The Production of Urban Space*. Farnham, Ashgate.
- Lorey, I. (2014). The 2011 Occupy Movements: Rancière and the Crisis of Democracy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 31(7-8), 43-65.
- Maharawal, M. M. (2017, in press). San Francisco's Tech-led Gentrification: Public Space, Protest, and the Urban Commons. In J. Hou & S. Knierbein (Eds.), *City Unsilenced. Public Space and Urban Resistance in the Age of Shrinking Democracy* (pp. 30-43). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mayer, M. (2013). First world urban activism: Beyond austerity urbanism and creative city politics. *City*, 17(1), 5-19.
- Merrifield, A. (2002). *Metromarxism. A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Miraftab, F. (2009). Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 32-50.
- Molotch, H. (1976). The city as a growth machine. *Toward a political economy of place*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(2), 309-332.
- Mouffe, C. (2013). *Agonistics. Thinking the world politically*. London, England: Verso.
- Purcell, M. (2009). Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements? *Planning Theory*, 8(2), 140-165.
- Rancière, J. (2010). *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. London, England: Continuum.
- Roberts, J. (2006). *Philosophizing the Everyday: Revolutionary Praxis and the Fate of Cultural Theory*. London, England: Pluto Press.
- Ronneberger, K. (2008). Henry Lefebvre and Urban Everyday Life. In Search of the Possible. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom & C. Schmid (Eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life. Reading Henri Lefebvre*. (pp. 134-146.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ross, K (1995) *Fast cars, clean bodies. Decolonization and the reordering of French culture*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press
- Schmid, C. (2005). *Stadt, Raum, Gesellschaft. Henry Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes*. Munich, Bavaria: Franz Steiner Verlag.

- Shields, R. (1999). *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle. Spatial Dialectics*. London, England: Routledge.
- Smith, N. (2010 (1984)). *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (4th ed.). London, England: Verso.
- Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Cambridge, England: Blackwell.
- Thrift, N. (2008). *Non-Representational Theory: Space. Politics. Affect*. London, England: Routledge.
- Tornaghi, C., & Knierbein, S. (2015). *Public Space and Relational Perspectives. New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*. London, England: Routledge.
- Wilson, J., & Swyngedouw, E. (2015). *The Post-Political and its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
- Žižek, S. (2012). *The Year of Dreaming Dangerously*. London, England: Verso.

ID 1571 | SYSTEMATIC SHARING OF EXPERIENCES AND KNOWLEDGE OBTAINED IN PILOT PROJECTS

Elena Gilcher¹; Gerhard Steinebach¹

¹Chair of Town Planning, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, University of Kaiserslautern
elena.Gilcher@ru.uni-kl.de; gerhard.Steinebach@ru.uni-kl.de

ABSTRACT: Pilot projects are implemented in order to obtain knowledge and experiences that can be reused later on – either in other pilot projects, in large-scale projects or even in the legislature. In this paper, we address the question of efficient and effective distribution of insights between pilot projects. We present detailed considerations on the required structures to share the experiences and knowledge obtained by evaluations of the stages of a pilot project. Foremost, a systematic interaction between project participants and a central collection of experience is required. The collection should be publicly and freely available. By establishing such structures, the reuse of existing knowledge and experiences is significantly simplified. A common structure for pilot projects, for example, allows for information sharing between equal stages of pilot projects. Given that the obtained knowledge and experiences of these individual stages are easily accessible, the hampering need to review a comprehensive final project report is eliminated. For future pilot projects as well as large-scale projects, the cost associated with reusing existing experiences and knowledge is reduced and the cost-benefit ratio improves. We exemplify this by investigating systematic information sharing between equally structured pilot projects. To that end, we present the relevant background on knowledge management as well as project structuring – two complementary parts for the success of pilot projects – and contribute their systematic linkage for an efficient and effective reuse of knowledge and experiences.

1 INTRODUCTION

Spatial planning often has to deal with novel challenges where no experiences or knowledge pre-exist – neither specific nor general. In such scenarios, it is common scientific practice to create a model and test a hypothesis on it. Models reduce the complexity of reality and are simplified projections of real systems or issues they help to understand. Simplification is characterized by illustration, reduction and pragmatism. If a developed model turns out to be too simplistic with respect to a specific aspect, e.g. because it abstracts certain aspects too much, it is usually refined. Afterwards, examination is repeated on the more elaborate model that, in turn, might reveal decisive weaknesses in a different aspect. Then, the process is repeated. After the model's accuracy was assessed positively and if obtained results are promising, real-world tests are conducted.

In spatial planning, however, this approach is usually destined to fail as the model cannot be refined to a level that allows for sufficient certainty. Spatial planning activities are always embedded into a socio-cultural environment. They involve many participants that are linked by complex structures. Neither the participants nor the structures can be captured appropriately in a simplifying model. Therefore, spatial planning implements pilot projects – small-scale, short-term real-world studies. They constitute the preferred instrument approach for novel challenges in spatial planning.